

**CRITICAL EVALUATION OF “ADJACENT AREAS” CONCEPT FROM
URBAN GROWTH PERSPECTIVE IN TURKISH URBAN PLANNING: THE
CASE OF ANKARA**

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URBAN GROWTH PERSPECTIVE IN TURKISH URBAN PLANNING: THE
CASE OF ANKARA**

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

CRITICAL EVALUATION OF “ADJACENT AREAS” CONCEPT FROM URBAN GROWTH PERSPECTIVE IN TURKISH URBAN PLANNING: THE CASE OF ANKARA

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The effects of expansion of cities on the fringe area are still the common problems of several countries as well as Turkey. The main problem stemming from rapid urban growth was described as urban sprawl that has been used as waste of land, time, and natural resources. Although sprawl becomes usually unplanned, uncontrolled, and uncoordinated, it can be claimed that some local and national government policies triggers the urban sprawl by creating planned areas more than required.

The growth management policies are utilized to provide a responsible balance between development and the infrastructure needed to manage the impacts of development and to control urban sprawl. Four types of urban containment techniques have been used in several countries to control urban sprawl according to fundamental purposes of “where to grow” and “where not to grow”. These are greenbelt, urban growth boundary, urban service area and adjacent area.

The main objective of this thesis is to investigate the impacts of urban growth on physical development of metropolitan cities and to critically evaluate the “raison d'être” and changing meaning of adjacent areas concept in Turkish urban planning experience in a historical context. Ankara planning experiences are examined as a

case study to what extent adjacent area is a functional and effective tool to control sprawl.

Keywords: Adjacent Area, Urban Growth, Sprawl, Urban Growth Management, Urban Containment.

ÖZ

KENTSEL BÜYÜME BAKIŞ AÇISINDAN TÜRKİYE KENT PLANLAMASINDA MÜCAVİR ALAN KAVRAMININ ELEŞTİREL DEĞERLENDİRMESİ: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

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Kentlerin dış sınırlarına/çeperlerine doğru genişlemesinin etkileri Türkiye'nin de dahil olduğu birçok ülkenin ortak problemidir. Şehirlerin hızlı büyümesinin bir sonucu olan kentsel saçaklanma doğal kaynaklar, yer ve zamanın israfı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Genelde planlanmadan, kontrolsüz ve düzensiz bir yayılma olmasına rağmen, bazen yerel veya merkezi yönetimlerin gereğinden fazla alanı planlamaya açarak bu saçaklanmayı arttırdıkları iddia edilebilir.

Kentsel büyüme yönetim politikaları, gelişme ve bu gelişmeden kaynaklanan altyapı ihtiyaçları arasında sağlıklı bir denge kurmak ve kentsel saçaklanmayı kontrol etmek için kullanılır. Çeşitli ülkelerde kentsel saçılmayı kontrol etmek için, temel amacı kentlerin nereye doğru büyüüp nereye doğru büyümeyeceğini yönlendirmek olan dört tür kentsel sınırlandırma aracı kullanılmaktadır. Bu araçlar “yeşil kuşak”, kentsel büyüme sınırı”, “kentsel hizmet sınırı” ve “mücavir alanlar” olarak sayılabilir.

Bu tezin temel amacı kentsel büyümenin metropoliten kentlerin fiziksel gelişme alanları üzerindeki etkilerini araştırmak ve Türk kentsel planlama deneyiminin tarihsel çerçevesinde mücavir alan kavramının varoluş nedenini ve zamanla değişen anlamını araştırmaktır. Kentsel saçaklanmanın önlenmesinde mücavir alan

kavramının ne ölçüde etkin ve işlevsel olduđu Ankara planlama deneyiminde araştırılacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Mücavir Alan, Kentsel Büyüme, Kentsel Büyüme Yönetimi, Kentsel Sınırlandırma

To
My Father İbrahim Yıldırım

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABŞBİDB- Ankara Büyük Şehir Belediyesi İmar Daire Başkanlığı

APFOs- Adequate Public Facilities Ordinances

LCDC- Land Conservation and Development Commission

LUP- Land Use Plan

METU- Middle East Technical University

MHA- Mass Housing Administration

MPO- Metropolitan Planning Office

MPWS- Ministry of Public Works and Settlements

MRH- Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing

MUSA- Metropolitan Urban Service Area

PPG- Planning Policy Guidance

ŞPO- Şehir Plancıları Odası

TODAİE- Türkiye ve Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü

UGB- Urban Growth Boundary

UGMAs- Urban Growth Management Agreements

UK- United Kingdom

USAs- Urban Service Areas

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

Urbanization can be defined as complex interaction, which transforms landscapes formed by rural into urban life styles and causes profound functional changes. Historically, the development of cities has been driven by increasing urban population. Over the last fifty years, the world has witnessed a dramatic growth of its urban population, from about 29% of the world's population in 1950 to 48 %2006. Urban population is still growing and concentration of population determines the form of metropolitan development. At this point, the increased population cannot physically be accommodated within existing city limits; the result of uncontrolled urban growth is therefore urban sprawl. At the end of the dispersion of urban structure, urban-rural boundaries are increasingly blurred and the relationship between city and countryside starts to shift. Even if sprawl takes place at the scale of the city, it may be more effectively dealt with at regional level.

Some scholars see sprawl as unwanted development and argue that it creates many environmental, economic and social costs and necessitates restrictive interventions. Other researchers on the other hand claim that sprawl has benefits such as low-density residential lifestyle, easy access to open spaces and see it as expressions of free choice.

Different countries around the world have responded to the growing concern about the problems associated with sprawl by creating a wide range of policy and instruments designed to control, guide, manage urban growth and protect open space. Urban containment is considered as an important policy for growth management.

Urban containment strategies represent an attempt to control the spatial pattern of development within a community or region. There are three types of techniques helping to achieve urban containment: greenbelts, urban growth boundaries, and urban service boundaries. While greenbelt might be open spaces such as farmland, forest, or other green space, that surrounds a city or metropolitan area, an urban growth boundary (UGB) is a dividing line drawn around an urban area to separate it from surrounding rural areas. In regard to Urban Service Areas (USAs), it delineates the area beyond which certain urban services such as sewer and water will not be provided.

The adjacent area concept has been a major planning instrument to control urban development in the Turkish planning agenda since the 1950s. During these years, Turkey has witnessed the rapid urbanization problems because of increasing population in metropolitan cities, especially Ankara, İzmir, İstanbul. Rural-urban migration led to a drastic increase in the demand for housing. Because of insufficient policies of government to provide house, newcomers have satisfied their residential needs by building informal settlements, particularly in the peripheral areas of large cities. Therefore, the objective of this instrument was to intervene immediately to squatter areas surrounding the metropolitan cities and to prevent illegal construction and disordered building in the zones, which did not have to be taken into municipality boundary for those days.

Aim of this study is to examine the impacts of urban growth on physical development of metropolitan cities and to critically evaluate the “raison d'être of adjacent areas” concept in Turkish urban planning experience in a historical context. The main question at this point is changes in the meaning of the concept to what extent adjacent area is a functional tool to control the development of metropolitan cities in Turkish case. At first, the reasons behind the rapid urban growth and the factors affecting the rapid growth in the fringes of metropolitan areas are to be put forward. Why the urban sprawl emerges and its consequences are to be answered. In addition to these, the following questions are asked: which tools are used to control the rapid growth in different countries, in which conditions emerged the issue of

adjacent area in Turkey, if there are any relations between controlling growth and adjacent areas, which forces affect the controlling of adjacent areas in Turkey, which problems exist among greater municipalities, town municipalities and district municipalities about adjacent areas issue etc.

Departing from these questions, the study takes Ankara as research case since she, after becoming capital city of Turkey, has become an attractive centre of migration. Growth rate in the urban population of Ankara was higher than the average rate for Turkey. It increased from 74.553 to 288.536 between 1927 and 1950 years. This means that it quadrupled in 20 years. As result of this massive migration, Ankara has faced the formation of squatter settlements in the fringes of cities and met the housing pressure in the areas out of the municipal boundaries. So, Ankara, where the adjacent area concept was firstly applied in 1958, was perceived as a model of Turkish case for execution of all new laws about urban planning.

1.2. Method of the Study

Understanding the forces shaping urban growth and resulting issues and dynamics of its own are of importance in finding out the solutions for these issues and tools to control urban development. Thus, in the first part of the chapter 2, the dynamics and different phases of urban growth and forces shaping it will be examined. In the second part of this chapter, we will discuss the concept of the urban sprawl and investigate its characteristics, causes and impacts.

The chapter 3 will mainly focus on different kinds of urban containment tools to manage urban growth and prevent urban sprawl. Growth management techniques control urban sprawl according to fundamental concepts of “where to grow” and “where not to grow”. Urban containment policies are considered an important instrument for growth management. It was mentioned that there are three types of containment tool: Green Belt, Urban Growth Boundary and Urban Service Area. These different tools should be evaluated according to the social and economic dynamics of each community itself.

The first part chapter will be examined the London experience of greenbelt in United Kingdom. In planning literature, London is accepted as the first successful establishment of the greenbelt in the late 1930s. The greenbelt is a physical area of open space such as farmland, forest, or other green space, that surrounds a city or metropolitan area. It is most restrictive form of urban containment policy and intended to be a permanent barrier to urban expansion because development is strictly regulated even prohibited on greenbelt land. The purposes of the Green Belt Policy are to check the unrestricted sprawl of large built-up areas and to assist in safeguarding the countryside from encroachment.

The second part of this chapter will be evaluated the Urban Growth Boundary in the case of Portland. In contrast to greenbelts, an urban growth boundary (UGB) is not a physical space, but a dividing line drawn around an urban area to separate it from surrounding rural areas. Under the UGB concept, local governments estimate the amount of land needed for new business, housing, recreation, etc., for a period. They then draw a line around this land. New development can occur within the line but not outside it.

Urban Service Boundary, the third type of urban containment tool, will be the last part of chapter 3. It will be explored in The Minneapolis-St. Paul case of US. Urban Service Areas are defined as artificial boundaries established by a municipality beyond which no public infrastructure services will be extended. It delineates the area beyond which certain urban services such as sewer and water will not be provided.

Chapter 4 will investigate economic, social and administrative conditions causing the emergence and change the meaning of adjacent area concept in terms of urban containment tool in Turkish planning agenda. In addition, we will compare the adjacent areas concept with the other urban containment tools mentioned in the previous chapter. In order to comprehend the origin and changing meaning of adjacent areas concept, it is necessary to explore the economic, social, legal and

administrative structure of Turkey in terms of urban growth forces, which shape sprawl of cities.

In the first part of chapter, urban sprawl process of Turkey will be analyzed in four periods. These periods are based on economic growth strategies, political regimes and social dynamics affecting the urbanization process and state intervention in the urban spaces related to changing capital accumulation process. The first period will include early republican period between 1923 and 1946 when the state was the hegemonic actor in the process of urbanization and it owned the large part of the industry and strictly controlled the economy. The second is postwar rapid urbanization period between 1946 and 1980 that can be evaluated as beginning of urban sprawl resulting from squatter settlements surrounding the big cities with immigration from rural to urban related to rapid urbanization after the end of the Second World War due to the import substituting industrialization and mechanization in agricultural sector. The third period between 1980 and 2000 will be remarked that urban sprawl increase- thanks to export oriented legal, administrative and economic changes- influenced by new liberalization and privatization policies. The years after 2000 will be evaluated as last period of urbanization process of Turkey. It can be claimed that urban sprawl increased together with neo-liberal policies and the market-oriented arrangements shaping urban spaces by creating rent-centered urban development and partial solutions in this period.

In order to comprehend difficulties of controlling urban development, it will be crucial to analyze Turkish legal, administrative and planning problems. These problems will be categorized three main titles, which are authority confusion, partial planning approach and land speculation with respect to previous part analysis. Planning process makes a whole with legal, economic and administrative structure. Economic, social transformation lived in Turkey affected the legal arrangements rapidly. Overabundance, complexity of laws and disunity of one another made difficult to solve problems.

The last part of the chapter 4 will find out adjacent area concept and its effectiveness in Turkish planning system as an instrument for urban development. In this part, origin and changing meaning of adjacent area concept will be evaluated by researching legal and administrative arrangements about it in Turkish planning legislation. The adjacent area was firstly stated in 1956 with 47th article of Development Law no 6785 when Turkey met rapid urbanization problems, illegal construction and disordered building surrounding metropolitan cities. The adjacent area concept was declared in this law to direct prospective expansion of the city. In order to answer these questions that we have posed before, we will discuss the “raison d'être” of this concept. Therefore, Turkey Grand National Assembly official reports on this planning tool reviewed. In this part, “adjacent area” concept is studied in four main periods. First period is between 1956 and 1972. This period is related with the adjacent areas entered in Turkish Development Law (law no 6785). In the second period between 1972 and 1980, conception of adjacent areas adjoining with municipal boundaries was abolished. During the third period between 1980 and 2004, economic and functional meaning of adjacent areas has emerged with Development Law no 3194, Municipal Income Law no 2464 and Property Taxes Law no 1319 and Greater Municipality Law no 3030. With Development Law no 3194, (current law) plan preparation and approval responsibilities and competences were left to municipalities. Determining principles, planning and construction in the adjacent areas according to development Law will be explained in this part. In the last period after 2004, with the enforcement of Greater Municipality Law (law no 5216) the regulations were made concerning the control of integrity of adjacent areas.

Ankara well illustrates the issues discussed in the thesis. She is the capital city of Turkey and has faced uncontrolled development problems. She has experienced many practices about her adjacent areas. Thus, she has been chosen as case study of this thesis. With in this frame in Chapter 5 adjacent areas concept will be examined from Ankara case and each plan period will be analyzed from the perspective of controlling urban growth using adjacent areas as a tool. Therefore, the problems of urban growth during the planning periods and the use of adjacent areas to solve these

problems will be reevaluated the planning experiences of Ankara with respect to her adjacent areas. The urban growth trends after the plans including both approved and unapproved and changes in the boundaries and declarations of adjacent areas are studied. Thus, effectiveness and success of using adjacent areas as a tool to control urban growth in Turkey will be found out. In chapter 6, evaluations about urban containment tools will be discussed related to findings of precious chapters. Finally, in Chapter 7 general evaluations will be made.

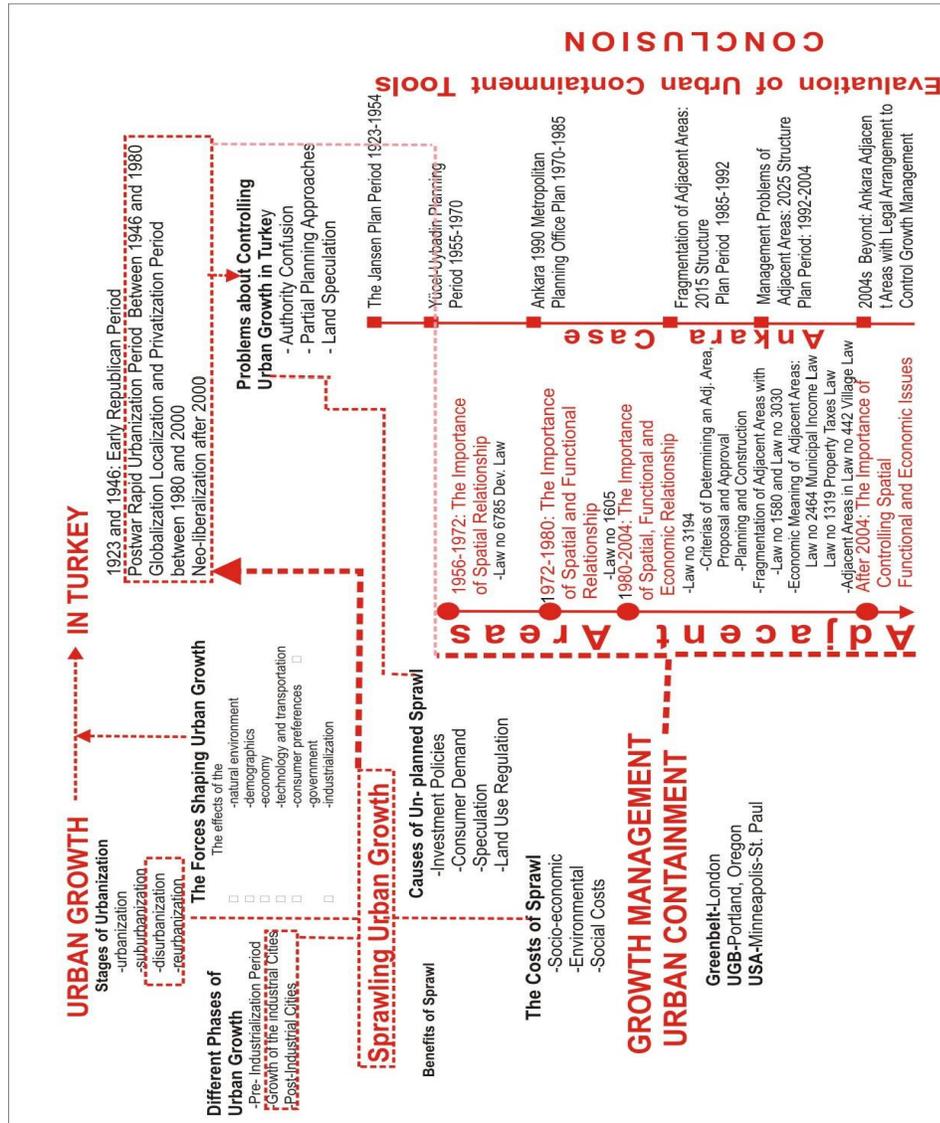


Figure 1.1. Relational framework of the study.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN GROWTH

Urbanization can be simply defined as a demographic process of shifting balance of national population from rural to urban areas. Antrop (2004) defines this process as a complex interaction which transform rural landscapes into urban life styles and causes profound functional changes, followed by morphological and structural ones.

Historically, the development of cities has been driven by increasing urban population. Over the last fifty years, the world has witnessed a dramatic growth of its urban population, from about 29% of the world's population in 1950 to 48 %2006. If the trend goes on, the world urban population is expected to rise to 61% in 2030. This serious growth will reveal the importance of controlling mechanism to prevent the trouble emerging with urbanization (Jenkins, et al., 2007:9).

Urbanization is not new and its roots go back to early history but it only started to grow in a significant way following the industrial revolution. Before 1850, no society could be described as largely urbanized and cities were tied to water sources like harbors, rivers, and canals. Urbanization showed an almost exponential growth since the end of the 19th century (Champion, 2001). This process is intimately related to the introduction of new modes of transportation, in particular those that allowed mobility of the masses such as the railroad. The next big changes were incited by the introduction of the engine technology and the telephone. The truck and telephone enabled businesses to move away from the center city and take advantage of lower land costs but still maintain their connection to the central port or railhead. The automobile increased the availability of private transportation, so individuals took residence in suburbs while commuting to work using the personal automobile (Law, 2006:2).

Klaassen and several urban scholars explain the urbanization phases according to the combined growth and decline of the urban center and the urban fringe area (See Figure 2.1) (Klaassen et al., 1981; Champion, 2001, Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003). According to them, there are four stages in process of urbanization. These are urbanization, suburbanization, dis-urbanization and re-urbanization. Each of these phases is marked by specific development trends of the core, the ring and the wider hinterland of a city.

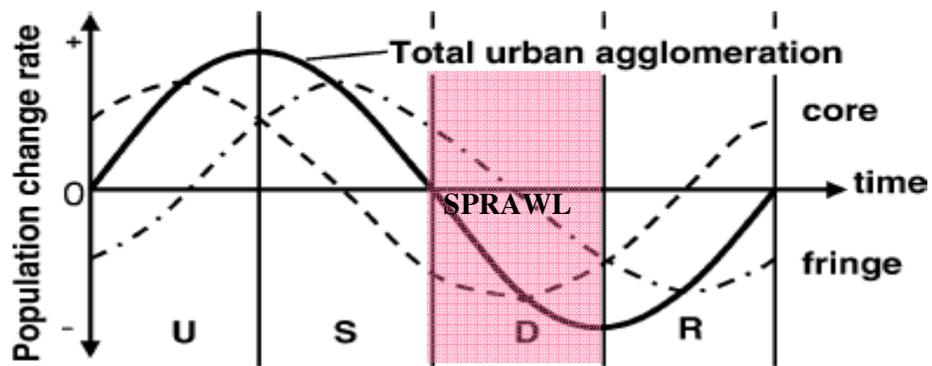


Figure 2.1. Stages of Urbanization: U, urbanization; S, suburbanization; D, disurbanization or counterurbanization; R, reurbanization .

Source: Champion, 2001.

Urbanization stage is the first step of growth of city. Industrial development begins at the cities and these cities attract the people from fringe. During this phase, the loss of jobs in the agricultural sector is another factor, which leads to migration flows towards the city, especially to the core. In this phase, people start to migrate and live into cities and population concentrates in the city center by migration from the fringe. In the course of time, the growth of the cities created congested and unpleasant urban cores, with overcrowding and poor quality housing. This is one factor pushing population outward; however, changes in urban form are also related to changes in society, the accompanying technological and economic progress created greater fluidity in the population, with changes in transport and technology (Antrop, 2004).

As a result, the second phase (suburbanization) begins and inner city loses population while the urban fringe zone is growing rapidly. In the subsequent suburbanization period, the economic restructuring of the city and the evolution of land prices induces a shift of population and jobs from the core to the ring (Champion, 2001).

In the third stage, the disurbanization phase starts when the total population of an observed functional urban region (core and ring) decreases, leading to the redistribution of inhabitants and jobs in favor of small and medium cities. Thus, this stage consists of the beginning decline of the urban population by loss of people in both center and fringe (Champion, 2001).

The fourth phase is re-urbanization with an increase in population in the core of the city. This reurbanization trend may be due to successful regeneration measures within the city centers, to a selective migration of (young) households in search of urban lifestyles or to the newly arising importance of global cities (Panebianco and Kiehl, 2003).

The 1950's-1960's saw growth within the official municipal boundaries with overspill either annexed as separate towns. The above description of transitions merely describes the movement of population at the scale of the city, and between official city boundaries. Urban population is still growing and these urban concentrations of population take the form of megalopolises¹ or metropolitan areas. At this point, inward migration from the country to the city continues but now there is equally powerful outward wave of migration from the city to the suburbs in other words the third phase of growth (disurbanization or counterurbanization) causes sprawl which means uncontrolled growth of metropolitan areas. The increased population cannot physically be accommodated within existing city limits; the result of an increase in urban growth is therefore urban sprawl. Most management of sprawl takes place at the scale of the city; however, sprawl is part of overall regional growth and may be more effectively dealt with at this level (Chin 2002).

¹ A term coined by Jean Gottmann, he used it first time in his book named as *Metropolis on the Move* in 1967.

In Gottmann and Harper's words (1967: 101), urban regions are growing, and the consequences for urban form are:

"..breaking out of the old bounds, walls, boulevards, or administrative limits which set it apart, the city has massively invaded the open country, though parts of the countryside may have kept their rural appearance. The growth in size of population has also meant a spectacular growth in area for the modern metropolis."

2.1. The Forces Shaping Urban Growth

The movement of rural people to the cities is not a new phenomenon and it is not restricted to particular part of the world: its unique factor is its universal character and explosive pace at which it takes place. This is largely due to the natural increase of population, added to the limited employment opportunities and subsistence chances in rural areas. The most important factors, which force urban growth, are environment, economy, demography, technology, transportation, infrastructure, government.

- **The effects of the natural environment:** Aspects of the natural environment that may affect urban expansion include those of climate, slope, insurmountable barriers, and the existence of drillable water aquifers.
- **The effects of demographics:** Demographic effects may include rural-migration and natural population growth in the city, the level of urbanization in the country, and the rank of the city in the country's urban hierarchy.
- **The effects of the economy:** Aspects of the economy that can affect urban expansion include the level of economic development, differences in household incomes, exposure to globalization, the level of foreign direct investment, the degree of employment decentralization, the level of development of real estate finance markets, the level and effectiveness of property taxation, and the presence of cycles of high inflation (Kivell:1993).
- **The effects of the technology and transport system:** Aspects of the transport system that affect urban expansion may include the introduction of new transport technologies and most notably the private automobile, transportation costs. The level of government investment in roads, the

existence of city centers that were already developed before the advent of the automobile, and the existence of a viable public transport system are the other factors which accelerate the urban expansion (Anderson and Heimlich, 2001). New information and communication technologies (such as internet, local and wide-area networks, fiber optics, portable computers and so on) are indirectly reshaping today cities. Changing patterns of employment and manufacturing process, changing fortunes for urban locations and changing land use demands are associated with new information and communications technologies (Kivell:1993).

- **The effects of consumer preferences for proximity:** The households' choices and demand may affect the form of urban expansion. For example, consumers may prefer proximity to open space, single-family dwellings, home ownership and the appeal of gentrified neighborhoods. Demands on housing environment in secure and natural amenities, with low density, larger houses increase and this is closely related with increase in income and changes in life style (Shlomo et al., 2005).
- **The effects of government:** Variations in the form of government, whether it has totalitarian or democratic, may affect the form of urban expansion. The other factors can be mentioned such as the number of independent municipal governments in the metropolitan area, the share of the metropolitan area not incorporated into towns, the share of land in the metropolitan area in public ownership, the existence of an effective metropolitan planning agency and the type, strictness, and quality of enforcement of various urban development controls (Shlomo et al., 2005:8).
- **The effects of industrialization:** Urbanization is closely related to industrialization and economic growth and spread with the innovations caused by the Industrial revolution. The consecutive phases of urbanization can be seen as a diffusions wave (Pacione, 2001) and urbanization process is very significant for understanding the change of the landscape in the countryside.

2.2. Different Phases of Urban Growth

The industrialization is the most important factor that brings about urban expansion. We will analyze the growth of cities in three main sections: pre-industrialization period, industrialization period and post-industrialization period.

2.2.1. Growth of Cities in the Pre- Industrialization Period

Before the industrial revolution in 19th century, cities were essentially small-scale settlements. There was a rigid social order stemming from the tradition of medieval feudalism. These cities had small population and a small proportion of total population of society was living in city. The cities were surrounded by a wall. Residential status was declining with distance from the core. While the elite lived in the exclusive central core, the mass of population lived around the periphery of the city. Residential areas were differentiating by occupation. There was not functional specialization of land use (Knox and Pinch, 2000:24).

In conclusion, in pre-industrial cities in which everything physical was at a human scale, “walking city” in which the distance between home and work were even more tightly constraint by the organization of work into patriarchal and familial groupings (Knox and Pinch, 2000: 27).

Rodriguez-Barchiller (2000:261), emphasizes the characteristic of the pre-industrial cities as essentially compact and organized around a series of focal points of religious, political or civic relevance, almost in a kind of “compact multi-nucleated” pattern.

According to Antrop (2000), only a limited number of urban places became real cities in pre-industrial period. The majority of settlements were small towns, villages and hamlets and the countryside to form the necessary route network for trading. Urban places relied their subsistence on a much larger hinterland than rural villages.

The difference between villages and urban places do not differ in population size and morphology only, but also in a different concentration of multiple activities, people and cultures in one place (Pacione, 2001). Cities had advantages that were legally protected by privileges. During most of the history, cities were manifestly walled and physically separated from the surrounding rural land. Cities rapidly became almost autonomous centers of innovation from which new ideas, technology and goods spread out over the trading world.

2.2.2. Growth of the Industrial Cities

The cause of growth is primarily economic, supported by the technology, which emerged during the industrial revolution. From the mid-nineteenth century until about 1950, the industrial revolution transformed city from the agricultural economy to one based large-scale manufacturing (Gillham, 2002).

At beginning of the 1800s, more people lived on farms than in the cities. The onset of the industrial revolution brought about a great shift in population, drawing people from farms into burgeoning cities. Probably the most fundamental change was emergence of the factory. The rise of the manufacturing sector was not only responsible for the emergence of new industrial cities, but it also contributed to the growth of traditional urban centers. The fast population growth was linked to the development of industry and commerce in and around cities, which caused an advantageous geographical situation favorable for the development of the new industries and international commercial networks (Knox and Pinch, 2000: 28).

In this age, competition for the best and most accessible sites for the new factories and the warehouses, shops and offices brought about the first crucial changes in land use. Land was given over to uses that could justify the highest rents, rather than being held by a traditional group of users.

The historical identity and structure of the major growing cities changed rapidly, while others stayed within their medieval walls. The fast growth lead to congestion

within the old urban limits and a 'spill-over' occurred into the surroundings, mainly following the main roads. The railroad and new waterways were also crucial arteries for new development (Stern and Marsh, 1997).

As the full affect of excess of births, which largely resulted from improvements in medical practice and public health, were reinforced by massive immigration. The rate of urban growth accelerated in response to the cities' increased range and number of opportunities. Changes in building technology and improvements in urban transport systems are other significant factors, which endowed the modern city with a series of suburban zones (Knox and Pinch, 2000: 28).

Especially, after Second World War, the economy was greatly stimulated by the government spending on the interstate and intra-urban highway systems. These new roads enable urban dwellers to decentralize out of inner-city areas into surrounding low-density suburban areas. This increased distances between home, work and centers for shopping and boosted automobile industry. The mobility of people did not only change with increasingly faster modes of transportation; it was also conditioned by the spatial reorganization of the landscape, in particular as a consequence of previous urban sprawl and new accessibility opportunities (Antrop 2004:13).

This process resulted with emergence of the 'megalopolis' a multi-city, multi-centered urban region characterized by a high proportion of low density settlement. Within these metropolitan areas, the pattern of urban life is shaped by the contradictory forces of centralization and decentralization. On the one hand, the concentration of power in the giant corporations has made for a centralization of administrative and bureaucratic activity in the central business districts of cities. On the other hand, the new locational freedom of many shops and business enterprise has prompted a decentralization of jobs (Kim, 2005).

The mode of transportation determines largely the possibilities of movement and accessibility. Mobility of the masses starts with the railway and the steamship. The railway induced new settlements in countryside. Villages that received a station

developed rapidly into urban-like centers and their surroundings changed accordingly (Antrop, 2004).

The massive individual movement started mainly after the Second World War when the automobile became the main transportation mode. The decentralization of the city, together with the increase personal mobility afforded by the automobile has increased the range of opportunities available to the affluent urbanite for employment, shopping, recreation and socializing. According to Antrop (2004:13), the generalized car use increased mobility, allowing rapid urban sprawl and the formation of suburbs and metropolitan villages and edge cities. Consequently, the relations between the urban and the rural changed deeply. The early introduction of the automobile in Europe in the beginning of the 20th century was not only status symbol that was localized in the cities, but an important means of the disclosure of the countryside.

2.2.3. Post-Industrial Cities

According to Bell (1973) in the 1950s and 1960s, ironically post-industrial society thesis emerged from experience when fordism is claimed to have been at its zenith. Bell argued that heavy industries were decreasing in importance and being replaced by service forms of employment. An economic transition has occurred from a manufacturing based economy to a service based economy.

The prerequisites to this economic shift are the processes of industrialization of liberalization. Growth has been prominent in sectors such as finance, business, services, retailing, leisure and entertainment. Key trend of this service has been development the traditional manufacturing center. The growth of service economy has had important consequences for the social geography of the cities (Knox and Pinch, 2000).

A consequence of service growth has been increasing competition among cities for employment. It is argued that whereas heavy manufacturing industries tended to be

firmly rooted in particular places (because of their dependence upon large amounts of capital investment in buildings, machinery, equipment and specialized skilled labour), service industries are much more mobile. The reason for this mobility is that the basic ingredients for services-suitable office properties and large supplies of female workers- are much more geographically dispersed. Consequently, there is much more locational freedom on the part of service companies. The result has been vigorous campaigns by city authorities to attract major service employers (Knox and Pinch, 2000).

Globalization has had profound impacts upon cities leading to the emergence of world cities, center of corporate and financial control. Information technology and changes in world governance led to the spread of industry and dominance of the financial sector. These developments appeared to confirm the belief that the world was fast becoming a shared social and economic space (Jenkins et al, 2007:25). New telecommunication systems have also allowed the exchange of ever more complex information over greater distances.

Furthermore, increasing competition between cities is also best understood as a response to the process of globalization. To be competitive in global markets, cities are finding that they need to establish themselves as strategic nodes in international firms to attract greater foreign investment and generate new jobs. As they link themselves to global markets, cities are increasingly exposing their residents to the risk, as well as the benefits, of being more tightly integrated into world networks of finance, information and production. Successful cities, those that are able to attract foreign capital investment and technology have been able to accelerate their economic growth to spectacular heights (Rodriguez-Barchiller, 2000).

Globalization has allowed individual cities to break away from the fate of their national economies. Increasingly success or failure depends on the ability of municipal governments to capitalize on the assets of the local environment and to provide the modern infrastructure, enabling environment, and low-wage, flexible workforce demanded by modern businesses.

In conclusion, urbanization is a complex diffusion process, which acts differently in space and at different scales. It can be seen in its unique historical development and considering the natural variation of the landscape.

2.3. Sprawling Urban Growth

Cities grew rapidly because of immigration stemming from industrial developments and particularly expanded towards periphery mainly due to the increase in uses vehicles after the Second World War. In the 21st century, the fast growth of cities in order to provide the requirements of increasing population and the effects of expansion of cities on the fringe area are still the common problems of several countries as well as Turkey. Although sprawl becomes usually unplanned, uncontrolled, and uncoordinated, it can be claimed that some local and national government policies triggers the urban sprawl by creating planned areas more than required. It is necessary to understand characteristics, causes and impacts of sprawl how to manage problems stemming from growth. So firstly, we will define the concept of sprawl by researching its origins.

2.3.1. Definition of Urban Sprawl

The phenomenon of “urban sprawl” has received extensive attention in the literature particularly since the 1980s. The term sprawl is frequently used to describe spread of urban land uses currently taking place at the metropolitan fringe². The term has become more varied in literature because it lacks precise meaning. Moreover, definition of urban sprawl has become a vague concept. There is also little agreement on the characteristics, causes and impacts of sprawl. It is agreed that sprawl occurs

² The urban dictionary defines sprawl as ‘...unplanned and rampant suburban and urban growth because of the way it eats up the landscape and sprawls out the extent of a metropolitan area’ (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=sprawl>, Last Accessed Date: 10.08.2007).

on the urban fringe in rapidly growing areas but apart from this there is little consensus (Chin, 2002:2).

The Sierra Club (2001:1), describes suburban sprawl *“as irresponsible, often poorly-planned development that destroys green space, increases traffic and air pollution, crowds schools and drives up taxes”*. Others compare sprawl to the disease process, calling it a cancerous growth or a virus (Di Lorenzo 2000). Harvey and Clark (1971, 475) use moderate definition: *“the scattering of urban settlement over the rural landscape”*, *“low-density urbanization”* (Pendall 1999:555), and *“discontinuous development”* (Weitz and Moore 1998). Galster (2001), appreciates sprawl as *a condition of land use and states that general approaches to sprawl can be by aesthetics, efficiency, equity, and environmental aspects*.

Therefore, sprawl must be considered in a space-time context as not simply the increase of urban lands in a given area, but the rate of increase relative to population growth. *“At a metropolitan scale, sprawl may be said to occur when the rate at which land is converted to non-agricultural or non-natural uses exceeds the rate of population growth”* (Barnes et al, 2001:2).

Some urban scholars define the sprawl based on spatial forms. According to Harvey and Clark (1971) and Ewing (1994), there are three basic spatial forms of sprawl that occurs beyond the current perimeter of contiguous development. These are leapfrog, highway ribbon development and low density scattered development.

Leapfrog kind of sprawl is a discontinuous pattern of urbanization, with patches of developed lands that are widely separated from each other and from the boundaries. Leapfrog development sprawl is caused by various factors. Physical geography such as rugged terrain, wetlands, mineral lands, or water bodies may preclude continuous development or make it prohibitively expensive.

Ribbon kind of sprawl is development that follows major transportation arteries outward from urban cores. Lands adjacent to corridors are developed, but those without direct access remain in rural uses (Harvey and Clark 1971:476). Over time,

these nearby “raw” lands may be converted to urban uses as land values increase and infrastructure is extended perpendicularly from the major roads and lines.

Low-density kind of sprawl is the highly consumptive use of land for urban purposes along the margins of existing metropolitan areas. This type of sprawl is supported by piecemeal extensions of basic urban infrastructures such as water, sewer, power, and roads.

Ewing (1994) and Pendall (1999) define sprawl as a matter of degree. It is not a specific urban form, ranging from compact to dispersed development. These sprawling urban forms reach from contiguous urban growth over linear patterns of strip development to scattered development. In terms of urban form, sprawl is positioned against the ideal of the compact city, with high density, centralized development and a spatial mixture of functions.

In Clawson and Hall’s word (1973), compact growth around a number of smaller centers, which are located at a distance from the main urban core, is also classified as sprawl. This is superficially similar to the poly-nucleated city where the downtown is served by several centers that are more distant.

There are other urban scholars defining sprawl based on land use. The Transportation Research Board in United States (1998) lists characteristics such as low-density residential development, homogenous single family residential development with scattered units, non-residential uses like of shopping malls etc. strip retail, freestanding industry, office buildings, schools and other community uses.

The other alternative method of definition is based on the impacts of sprawl. The idea was first put forward by Ewing (1994), and later by Johnson (2001). It provides an alternative to definitions based on urban form, and is based on the idea that the distinction between sprawl and other forms is a matter of degree. It is suggested that sprawl can be defined as any development pattern with poor accessibility among related land uses, resulting from development which is not concentrated and which has homogenous land uses.

Many definitions of urban sprawl use the concept of low density to identify sprawl, however, this is neither quantified, nor explained adequately. Because, low-density is a relative concept which varies with each countries cultural expectations (Chin 2002:5).

A more useful descriptor of density would include all urban land areas, including residential, industrial, institutional, service, commercial, vacant land in leapfrogged tracts and agricultural land which has been withdrawn from active use for land speculation. Agricultural land, parks, and land unsuitable for building, e.g. marshy land would not be included as there is no potential for development (Chin 2002:6).

Consequently, Torrens (2006:249) compared sprawl to urbanization that came before it. He explains the attributes, which are important in defining it by compiling the other writers' views:

“First, sprawl is a process of urbanization - urban growth by suburbanization. This process is quite rapid. Second, sprawl manifests on the periphery of cities, often in previously non-urban areas on the metropolitan fringe. Third, sprawl is commonly characterized as low-density in development. Fourth, sprawl is a piecemeal form of development. The urban morphology of sprawl is scattered and fragmented in pattern. Fifth, sprawl may be characterized by homogeneity of land use. Single-family uses lead the activity patterns of its residential landscape; commercial uses are more likely to be arranged as ribbon-sprawl or retailscape -swaths of activity buffering highways and highway entry/exit ramps, with relatively little provision for non-automobile access. Sixth, sprawl has well-argued aesthetic characteristics. The urban form associated with suburban sprawl often garners criticism for the blandness of its design. Seventh, sprawl exists under a relatively loose planning regime compared with that, which operates in central urban areas or suburbs under growth management policy.”

2.3.2. Causes of Unplanned Urban Sprawl

There are many studies about causes and effects of sprawl in literature and there is uncertainty about the causes and consequences of sprawl. Some consequences can be perceived as causes of sprawl. In its broadest definition, Downs (1999:956) explained ten causes of sprawl. These are:

“(1)unlimited outward extension of development, (2) low-density residential and commercial settlements, (3) leapfrog development, (4) fragmentation of powers over land use among many small localities, (5) dominance of transportation by private automotive vehicles, (6) lack of centralized planning or control of land uses, (7) widespread strip commercial development, (8) great fiscal disparities among localities, (9) segregation of types of land use in different zones, and (10) reliance mainly on the trickle-down or filtering process to provide housing to low-income households.”

If it is necessary to categorize, we can compile them under four general titles: investment policies, consumer demand, speculation, land use regulation.

2.3.2.1. Investment Policies

Government spending such as housing policies, highway construction and subsidies for water, sewer, electricity and other utilities is the most encouraging factor creating sprawl since infrastructure provides the essential framework for development. The construction of the interstate highway system makes easy to access a large areas outside of central cities. As sufficient development occurs, one of the first demands of new rural citizens is for road improvements and the construction of new roads provided development of alternative transport modes. New roads precede migration outward from the cities. With the widening network of feeder and tributary road construction, development and sprawl is inevitable (Couch and Karecha, 2003a)

Government subsidies for automobile use increase urban sprawl. This increase in private transport and the decline of public transportation stem from government policies which harass public transportation with taxation, even while subsidizing the automobile.

Insured home mortgage programs tend to favor investment in new housing. State policies such as home mortgage and property tax deduction allow more families to own single-family dwellings. Thanks to these opportunities, these families can pay for larger homes on larger cities further away from urban areas. But these home owners consume more housing resources. At last, this all-process, new single-family housing over multiple-family, stimulate urban sprawl (Nelson et al, 1995). Moreover, personal housing increasing with the migration outward from center, public health pressures motivate replacement of private wells with public water supplies. Sewer service, and especially trunk sewer lines, is the last infrastructure investments to occur. These services encourage newcomers to the outside.

2.3.2.2. Consumer Demand

The increase in the population of cities was an increase in the demand for housing. The lack of available housing in the central cities meant that the population had to be accommodated elsewhere. The outward movement of residential population fuelled by higher levels of income, increased personal mobility and improvements in transportation. Especially, rising standards of living in the postwar period enabled the majority of families to afford an automobile and a house located a considerable distance from work. That means, changes in housing demand was a change in the mode of transportation, with the development of the private automobile. This change in mode of transportation is perhaps the single most important enabling factor leading to urban sprawl (Nelson et al, 1995).

The other factor, which causes sprawl, is individual preference. Some families preferred the suburban lifestyle. Reasons of this choice include a preference towards better schools, less crime, and a generally slower lifestyle than the urban one. This trend increased the movement of not only residential development but also manufacturing and services.

The movement can be seen as a result of consumer demand for low-density single family housing on large masses. According to this view, demand is driven by individual preferences:

“the ideal of owning a single family home, the need for an adequate environment for raising a family, a strong desire for privacy, and the appeal of a rural ambiance are among the most prominent reasons for choosing suburban and exurban locales.”(Audirac et al., 1990: 473).

2.3.2.3. Speculation

Speculation is a natural future of the development process. It results in certain land being withheld from development while nearby or surrounding properties are developed. All suburban land was not created equally. Some tracts have better infrastructure, some are too small or too large, some have better roads or more desirable proximity to other development or transportation networks, etc. The suburban housing market fluctuates because of this, sometimes for only short periods of time, but also varies over short distances. These factors can be combined with the reality that there are few buyers and sellers at any one time. In short, the suburban land market is very complex and difficult to predict (Law, 2006:5).

Speculators buy land because they expect the price to go up in the future. Some land speculators buy raw or underdeveloped land, hold larger rural parcels in the path development and just let it sit until they think the time is ripe for development. When many speculators are doing this in some area at the fringe of a city, often developers skip around them to areas further away from the city. That creates land-wasting urban sprawl, which then requires more roads and longer water pipers and makes it uneconomical to have public transportation (Nelson et al, 1995).

The land price rises too high because of land speculation for those wanting land for actual use. Since speculation makes prices higher, land becomes priced for future use, not present-day use. So those wanting sites for residences, offices, hotels, factories, and shopping centers, don't invest or make their investment in the outside

of city which are cheaper areas where there is no speculation. This process creates discontinuous pattern of urbanization, in other words leapfrog. Speculation can be inefficient or induce sprawl if it is subsidized by public policies. For example, tax policies, preferential assessment policies such as greenbelt taxation, and undervaluation of land for property tax assessment purposes will actually stimulate speculation (Harvey and Clark 1971).

2.3.2.4. Land Use Regulation

The governments' decisions on land-use can influence urban growth and cause sprawl. Sprawl is the result of governments' inability to plan for future growth or stick to existing plans. Land-use controls that are more restrictive inside urban areas than outside can make rural areas more attractive. This will cause some urban development to seek out rural areas. Bad land use planning (uncontrolled development of rural area) is the result (Nelson et al, 1995).

2.3.3. Benefits of Sprawl

Some urban scholars such as Downs (1999), Benfield et al (2001), Glaeser and Kahn (2003) have pointed out the benefits of the urban sprawl. The benefits of sprawl can be mostly told as a low-density residential lifestyle, easy access to open space, a broad choice of where to live and work, and the ability of middle- and upper-income households to isolate them from poverty.

The main benefit of sprawl for most consumers is cheaper, larger homes manifested this claim in their research using the 1999 micro data from the American Housing Survey. In the major cities of US, the average central city resident has 496 square feet per person, while the average suburban resident has 570 square feet per person. The other benefit can be observed as the concentration of people in crowded urban areas leading to discomfort and the easy spread of disease. In addition, the decentralization of employment actually reduces the pressure on crowded downtown streets. By moving to lower densities, the traffic problem is reduced. Indeed, one of

the major appeals of sprawl cities is that they have shorter commutes than dense downtowns.

Downs (1999) claimed that the quality of life of such a lifestyle in crowded urban areas is not so attractive. Because the lifestyle includes excessive travel, traffic congestion, a lack of affordable housing, expensive infrastructure, and deteriorating open space and he emphasized that sprawl is expression of free choice. These are ownership of detached, single-family homes on spacious lots, ownership and convenient use of automobiles, employment in low-rise workplaces with free parking, residence in small communities with strong local governments and an environment free of the signs of poverty.

2.3.4. The Costs of Sprawl

Urban sprawl has become an increasing priority on the urban agenda due to its contribution to unsustainable land use and consumption. Its consequences are evaluated based on its economic, social and environmental costs. These are high cost of extension of facilities and services; wider social and economic disparities between social groups; a decrease in the quality of the urban environment and in the quality and quantity of green space, and increased use of the private car and decreased use of public transport, leading to pollution, traffic congestion.

2.3.4.1. Socio-economic Costs of Urban Sprawl

The economic costs of sprawl can be analyzed at two different scales: micro-level and macro-level. Firstly, at the micro-level urban sprawl has hidden costs (notably transport costs) on individuals and households. In addition, sprawl cause waste of time and energy in micro-level. Secondly, at the macro-economic level, urban sprawl can be associated with high costs of urbanization and infrastructure (arterial roads and water and wastewater transmission lines) development (Nelson et al, 1995). In general, higher density development is less costly to serve than lower density

development. The costs of extending facilities can greatly increase if an area develops initially in a low-density, leapfrog, or at times radial pattern and later needs facilities. Thus, urban sprawl can and often does require extension of facilities and services in an economically inefficient manner. In conclusion, low-densities are associated with increasing costs per capita of land, infrastructure and services

Sprawl contributes to the increase of cost in two ways. When a new housing development is built, it requires taxpayers to essentially “re-create” a new infrastructure of roads, facilities such as schools, parks and public safety services in rural areas. It requires also taxpayers to continue supporting an older set of public facilities in urban areas, even though the population base is in many cases declining. The result is that property taxes rise in both rural towns and in cities (Maine State Planning Office, 1997: 10). In conclusion, less densely developed areas cost more on a per-unit basis for operations, maintenance, and repair than more dense areas.

2.3.4.2. Environmental Costs of Urban Sprawl

Sprawl is increasingly viewed as a significant and growing problem that entails a wide range of environmental costs. Environmentally, rapid urban sprawl means that a large-scale of natural or rural area will be converted into human urban land use. This land conversion often involves destruction, damaging or alteration of natural environments by physically removing the elements of ecosystems, building barriers to natural processes, disposing pollutants to alter natural geo-chemical processes, and so on. Deforestation, pollution, filling wetlands, these are just some of the problems related to urban sprawl. Moreover, the sprawl form leads to increased auto use and auto emissions (Marathé:2001).

The worst impact of sprawl on the environment is loss of agricultural land for the production of food that occurs when farmland is subdivided into residential lots. Thus, farmlands become less productive when it gets closer to outside of the city. Productive farms depend on a variety of support services. Economically, if there is

no mass production, it causes reduction-supporting services. As support, services erode, farming economy further declines (Couch and Karecha 2003a).

Other effects of sprawl are depletion of open space in the surrounding countryside and fragmentation of wildlife habitats. It also often results in the elimination of top-level predators, which in turn can unbalance the remainder of the ecosystem. Sprawl not only consumes wildlife habitats, but also degrades adjacent habitats with light and noise pollution emanating from developed areas.

2.3.4.3.Social Costs of Urban Sprawl

Sprawl's social cost can be ascertained most distinctly between those residents remaining in the central city and living in periphery. Latter has fewer provision of public infrastructure, more vehicle miles traveled, more expensive transit, and a variety of negative quality of life.

Another social cost of sprawl can have a devastating impact on the poor and racial minorities who are often concentrated in inner city neighborhoods. Nelson (1995) observes that low-density development has led to intensification of residential segregation by race and social class and it sharpen racial segregation within metropolitan areas.

Sprawl leads to an erosion of functioning urban cores. This has not only social and infrastructural consequences but also impacts on innovation capacity of regional economies-in formless space, creative milieus may develop worse (Cervero et al. 1997).

According to Richmond (2000), social negative impacts of sprawl are: poverty becomes concentrated in urban areas, society re-segregates along racial and economic lines, and public investment in urban facilities and services becomes unfeasible, social anxiety increases due to financial instability, rising housing costs and limited employment opportunities.

CHAPTER 3

GROWTH MANAGEMENT AND URBAN CONTAINMENT TO PREVENT URBAN SPRAWL

Countries around the world have responded to the growing concern about the problems associated with sprawl and increasingly land-consumptive development patterns by creating a wide range of policy instruments, designed to manage urban growth and protect open space (Bengston et al, 2004). To control, guide, or mitigate the effects of growth, “growth management” term is used in developing and developed countries. Many urban scholars have provided definitions of growth management. In general, growth management is a policy that controls urban sprawl according to fundamental concepts of “where to grow” and “where not to grow.”

According to Chinitz (1990:4) “Growth Management” seeks to maintain an ongoing equilibrium between development and conservation, between various form of development and the concurrent provision of infrastructure, between the demands for public services generated by growth and the supply of revenues to finance those demands, and between progress and equity.

In De Grove’s (1992:1) word, growth management plans carefully for the growth in an area to achieve a responsible balance between the protection of natural systems (land, air, and water) and the development required to support growth in the residential, commercial, and retail areas etc. Its aim is to provide a responsible balance between development and the infrastructure needed to manage the impacts of development.

As stated by Fulton et al (2002:3) growth management measures are those local government land-use regulations that restrict the rate, intensity, type, and distribution

of development in a jurisdiction. Growth management schemes also regulate timing and sequencing of development within a community.

Nelson and Duncan (1995) addressed the purposes of growth management in terms of five issues: (1) controlling urban sprawl, (2) protecting taxpayer money, (3) expediting economic development, (4) shaping efficient urban form, and (5) improving the quality of life.

Urban containment³ policies are considered an important instrument for growth management. Urban containment strategies represent an attempt to control the spatial pattern of development within a community or region. Urban containment plans are more comprehensive than other planning and regulatory programs, such as environmental regulations. The benefits of successful urban containment techniques can include greater predictability of the development process, more cost effective provision of public services, encouragement of infill and redevelopment of existing urban areas, reduction of urban sprawl, and protection of agricultural land and environmental resources.

One of the cornerstones of urban containment is limiting development beyond an urban containment boundary such as an urban growth boundary, urban service limit. The objectives of urban containment are the efficient delivery of public facilities; the preservation of farms and forestland; the reduction of air, water and land pollution; and the cultivation of quality of life by creating an urban ambience (Bengston and Youn, 2006).

³ The Dictionary of Geography defines urban containment as “the policy of limiting sprawl by restricting out-of-town development.

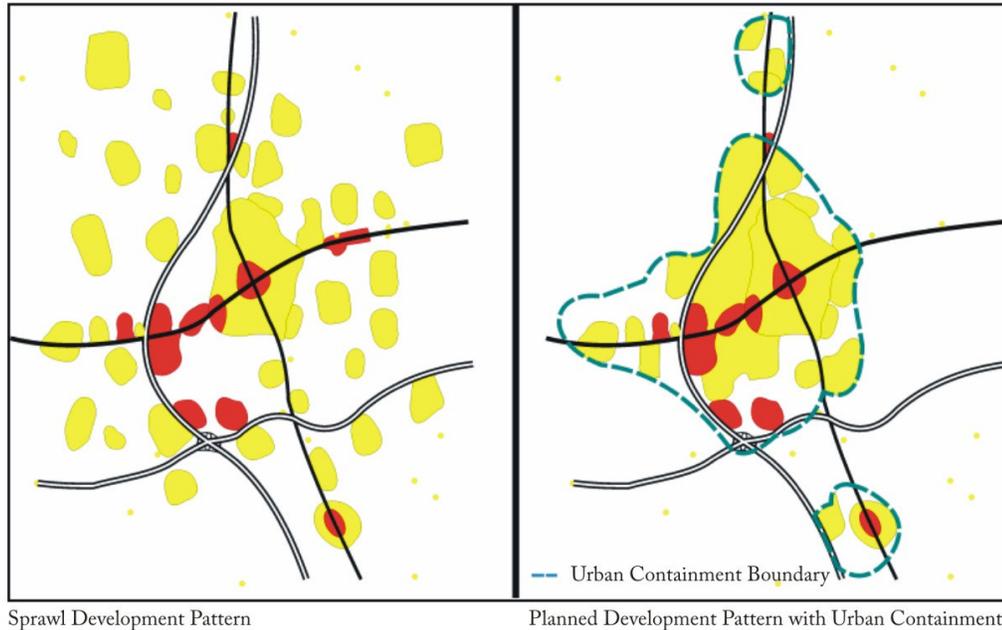


Figure 3.1. Comparison of Sprawl Development and Planned Development Patterns
Source: VAPA, 2000.

Although urban containment plans vary in their stated goals depending on where they occur, most share these specific elements essential to effective urban containment:

1. Protect public and merit goods: Public and merit goods such as clean air, rivers, agricultural areas and forestland must be preserved for the future.
2. Accommodate development needs: Urban containment intervenes in the market in an attempt to consider all the development needs of an urban area, including public facilities, business and housing. It does this by containing development and by managing rural and ex-urban development.
3. Provide adequate facilities at minimum cost and with equitable burdens. Urban containment attempts to provide facilities at low cost and with equitable burdens for an area's residents.

4. Prevent negative and foster positive externalities. Urban containment attempts to prevent negative externalities and encourage positive ones. If several antique stores locate near each other, a mutually positive externality is created because they will attract customers who want to comparison shop.

5. Implement plans efficiently. Urban containment programs strive to understand the economic, housing and public works needs of an urban area, in order to accommodate those needs and anticipate the growth of the area. Effective urban containment must make long-term development easier to predict and manage for the results desired by the community.

Urban containment strategies historically, have been developed and administered at the national, regional and local levels. National urban containment policies have been in place for many decades in a few countries, including the United Kingdom and the Republic of Korea. In other countries, including the United States, local urban containment programs have been created by individual municipalities without direction or assistance from state or national Governments (Dawkins and Nelson 2002).

There are three types of techniques helping to achieve urban containment: greenbelts, urban growth boundaries, and urban service boundaries.

3.1. Greenbelt

One of the tools to control urban growth is the creation of greenbelt areas around the city. The greenbelt is a physical area of open space such as farmland, forest, or other green space, that surrounds a city or metropolitan area. It is most restrictive form of urban containment policy and intended to be a permanent barrier to urban expansion because development is strictly regulated even prohibited on greenbelt land.

Within this containment tool, only a limited amount of housing will be allowed in expanded villages. Large-scale new settlements will be allowed only under special circumstances. Settlement expansion in the open countryside is prohibited for preventing to create ribbon development or a fragmented pattern of development.

This policy is mostly used in Britain, Japan and South Korea because they have severe land pressure and stringent urban containment legislation and policies. London was the first major city to introduce a greenbelt system in the late 1930s. Other cities that have adopted, Asian megacities including Tokyo, Seoul, and Bangkok and many large European cities such as Berlin, Vienna, Barcelona, and Budapest (Kühn 2003).

3.1.1. Greenbelt Case in London

The original concept of clear physical boundaries between large cities and their surrounding countryside dates back to the late nineteenth century when Ebenezer Howard introduced his proposals for managing growth in London and maximizing accessibility to adjacent green land. His ideas were further developed by Raymond Unwin in the 1930s and by Patrick Abercrombie in the Greater London Plan of 1945.

3.1.1.1. The Role of Green Belt in British Planning System

The United Kingdom has a long history of land planning, with stringent development controls on all urban and rural land since 1947 (Cherry, 1988). Development rights have been nationalized, and all development is by permit. From 1968 to 2004 there has been a two-tier system, with Structure Plans at the county or regional level, and Local Plans at the municipal level.

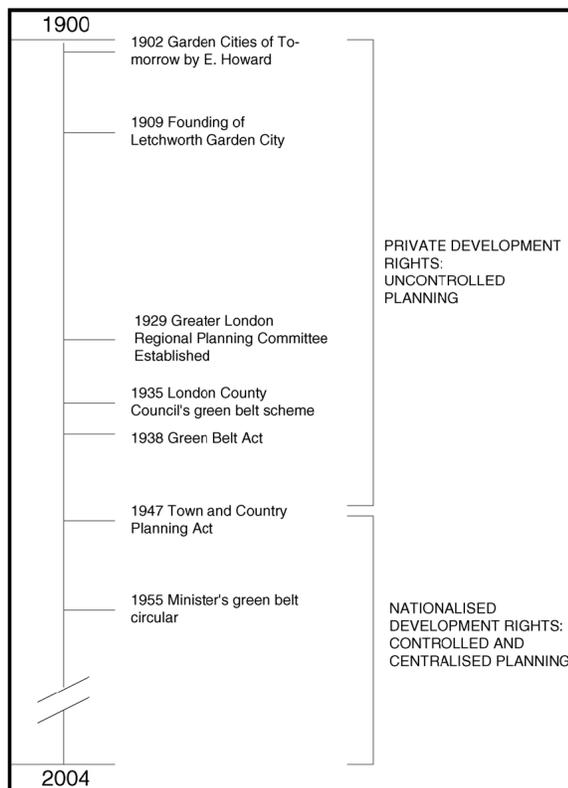


Figure 3.2. Important Events in UK Greenbelt Planning 1900-2004
 Source: Amati and Yokohari , 2006.

The former set broad policies for spatial development and the latter follow through with detailed proposals on a land parcel basis. In addition, the national Planning Directorate (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) issues planning policy guidance notes (PPG), to which local planning agencies must adhere. The structure and local plans are revised on a 5-year cycle, and have a 10-year time horizon (15 years from initial preparation). Three PPG notes are particularly relevant to the issue of urban containment (ODPM Planning Directorate, 2004).

PPG 3 (Housing) sets a national target that by 2008 60% of additional housing should be on “brownfield” sites (previously developed land), thus greatly reducing “greenfield” development. Planning authorities must make a strong case for exceptions to the national target. In Local Plans, the search sequence for earmarking of housing sites must start with re-use of brownfields, followed by urban extensions,

followed by new or expanded settlements beyond the urban perimeter. “Only a limited amount of housing” will be allowed in expanded villages, and large-scale new settlements will be allowed only under special circumstances (which include location along a high-capacity public transport corridor). To “make the best use of land”, new housing developments of less than 30 dwellings per net hectare (12 per net acre) are strongly discouraged, and intensification within the existing urban fabric is encouraged. Local plans must allocate sufficient housing sites for at least 5 years of housing demand (Greater London Authority, 2004).

PPG 7 (Countryside) asserts that the “countryside should be safeguarded for its own sake,” and emphasizes landscape character in addition to the more traditional concern with preservation of better agricultural lands. Again, housing development should not occur in the open countryside away from established settlements, and settlement expansions “should avoid creating ribbon development or a fragmented pattern of development.” This PPG underscores the need for very strict control in designated areas (national parks, areas of outstanding natural beauty, greenbelts, and the like). The separate Green Belt PPG (no. 2) expands on the need for wide and permanently designated belts, and specifies “inappropriate” development to be disallowed in them (almost everything unrelated to agriculture or recreation). Existing villages may be included in the greenbelt (“washed over”), or excluded (“inset”), if limited expansion is proposed. According to the latest policy (Greater London Authority, 2004) statement (the revised PPG 2, published in 1995) the purposes of the Green Belt Policy in England are:

- to check the unrestricted sprawl of large built-up areas;
- to prevent neighbouring towns from merging into one another;
- to assist in safeguarding the countryside from encroachment;
- to preserve the setting and special character of historic towns; and
- to assist in urban regeneration, by encouraging the recycling of derelict and other urban land (Greater London Authority, 2004).

One of the central tenets of post-war UK planning has been the strict separation of countryside and urban areas, achieved largely through the implementation of green belts. The preservation of a wide band of open space to surround the urban area partially explains why large cities such as London have stopped growing since the Second World War (Longley et al, 1992).

3.1.1.2. Greenbelt Implementation in London

England is the most important example of green belt cities. The successful establishment of the greenbelt around London during the 1930s acted as an inspiration for postwar planners in the United Kingdom. The Greenbelt system is instituted in British cities, remarkably for London. The main ideas were suggested by Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City movement around 1900s. Howard's green belt was intended to have an agricultural function to supply produce for the town. The first green belt purchases were made as part of the founding of Letchworth Garden City in 1909, where 500 ha of agricultural land were purchased as a buffer between Hitchin and Baldock (Elson, 1986).

A key institution of professional planning ideas and open space plans, were the Joint Town Planning Committees. They had a 'purely advisory' function taking a broader view of town planning. The largest and most influential one was at the time was the Greater London Regional Planning Committee established in 1929 and composed of 138 local authorities, controlling an area of 2952 km² (Thomas, 1970). This Committee encountered difficulty in finding money to purchase land for green belt implementation. In 1935, London County Council implemented a greenbelt scheme around London. After that in 1938, in order to preserve the green belt, the Greenbelt Act was passed for London. In this act disposal of greenbelt lands by local authorities were restricted. . Furthermore; right after the act Council allocated 2 million pounds for purchasing lands.

Then in 1944, London Plan Abercrombie tried to achieve three goals with green belts in London. First, one is restriction of urban growth, second one is definition of an outer limit and the last one is provision for recreation as a primary use of the land. This regional plan imposed a tight urban development boundary, beyond which a broad band of land was designated as a “green belt”, within which development would be severely curtailed. The “overspill” population from London would be accommodated in independent and freestanding new towns beyond the greenbelt. This plan proposed a reduction of over 1 million people from London's congested areas.

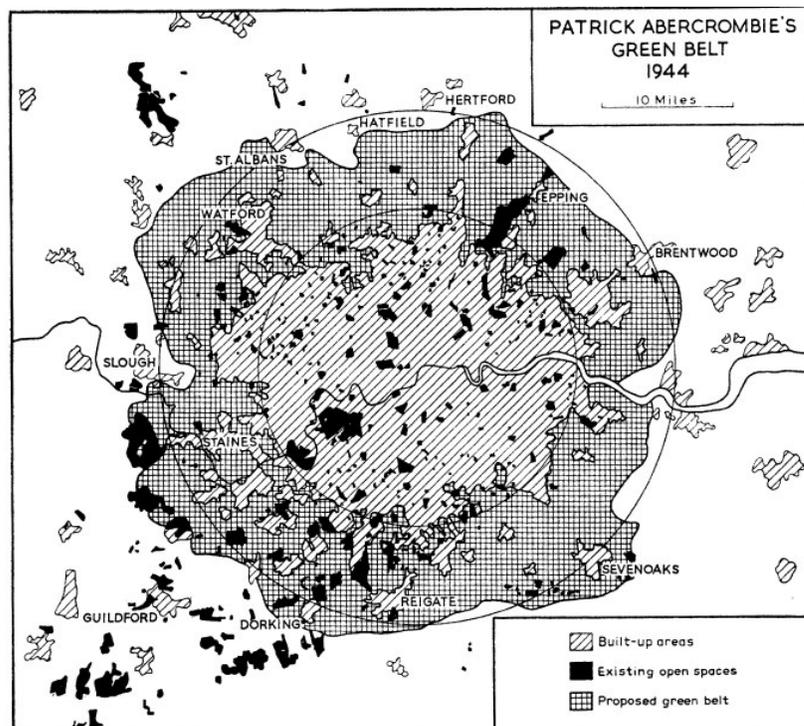


Figure 3.3. Patrick Abercrombie's Green belt, Proposed in 1944
Source: Thomas, 1963.

Continuously in 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, green belts were determined as complementary policies of expanded town programs. This allowed the post-war green belt to be effectively implemented. The 1947 Act meant that it was no longer necessary to buy the land and/or to compensate landowners when they were not

permitted to develop. The Act also introduced a stronger role for central government in the planning of the green belt. The New Towns Act provided for the creation of over 10 new towns, eight of them around London (Thomas, 1970).

Through a series of circulars and planning policy guidance notes central government set the aim of the green belt during the post-war period. The first of these was a 1955 circular of Ministry of Housing and Local Government that established the following aims for the green belt at the national level and advised planning authorities establishing green belts:

- to check the further growth of a large built-up area;
- to prevent neighboring towns from merging into one another; or
- to preserve the special character of a town.

The idea is a ring of countryside where urbanization would be resisted for the foreseeable future, maintaining an area where agriculture, forestry and outdoor leisure could be expected to prevail. The fundamental aim of green belt policy is to prevent urban sprawl by keeping land permanently open, and consequently the most important attribute of greenbelts is their openness. These 1955 aims represent the core of the green belt's aims that are currently set out in Planning Policy Guidance 2.

This greenbelt policy was tried to be relaxed in 1970's and 80's. In mid-1971, for example, the government decided to extend the Metropolitan Green Belt northwards to include almost all of Hertfordshire (southeastern England). In Thatcher period, the reason of this policy change was to give way to urban development and cope with increasing residential land prices. Difficulties in the implementation process of green belts led to the questioning of the policy in the 1980s. Preservation of agricultural land, the green belt policy and the restrictive planning idea in general, were regarded as the reasons for the rise in residential land prices and rents in the 1980s (Marsden et al, 1993).

According to Hall (1974), at the local level the green belt is effective at limiting development in the urban fringe. At the regional scale and subsequent works have shown that development ‘leapfrogs’ the green belt into deeper rural areas by enforcing growth within surrounding settlements. Such development has been linked to a higher car use and longer car journeys.

The 1984 circulars on Green Belts (14/84) and Land for Housing (15/84) prove that the government was intending to relax the green belt policy (Cullingworth, 1997). When the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and a group of Members of Parliament from the UK’s Conservative Party reacted to a threat to the green belt by adding the function of “urban regeneration” to government policy (Marsden et al., 1993).

But in 1990s, the importance of green belts and contribution to sustainable development were recognized clearly with emergence of environmental issues. Central Government’s Planning Policy Guidance 2 prescribes the aims of the green belt. According to Gallent et al (2006), latest policy Guidance 2, put simply, greenbelts are viewed as a generic intervention, designed to achieve wider objectives, without a specific purpose tied to the area of designation itself.

This is understandable when the size of London’s green belt is considered. The latest figures show that London’s green belt covers 508,500 ha and has largely remained undeveloped during the post-war period (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2003). The Metropolitan Green Belt now covers parts of 68 different Districts or Boroughs (see Figure 3.4).

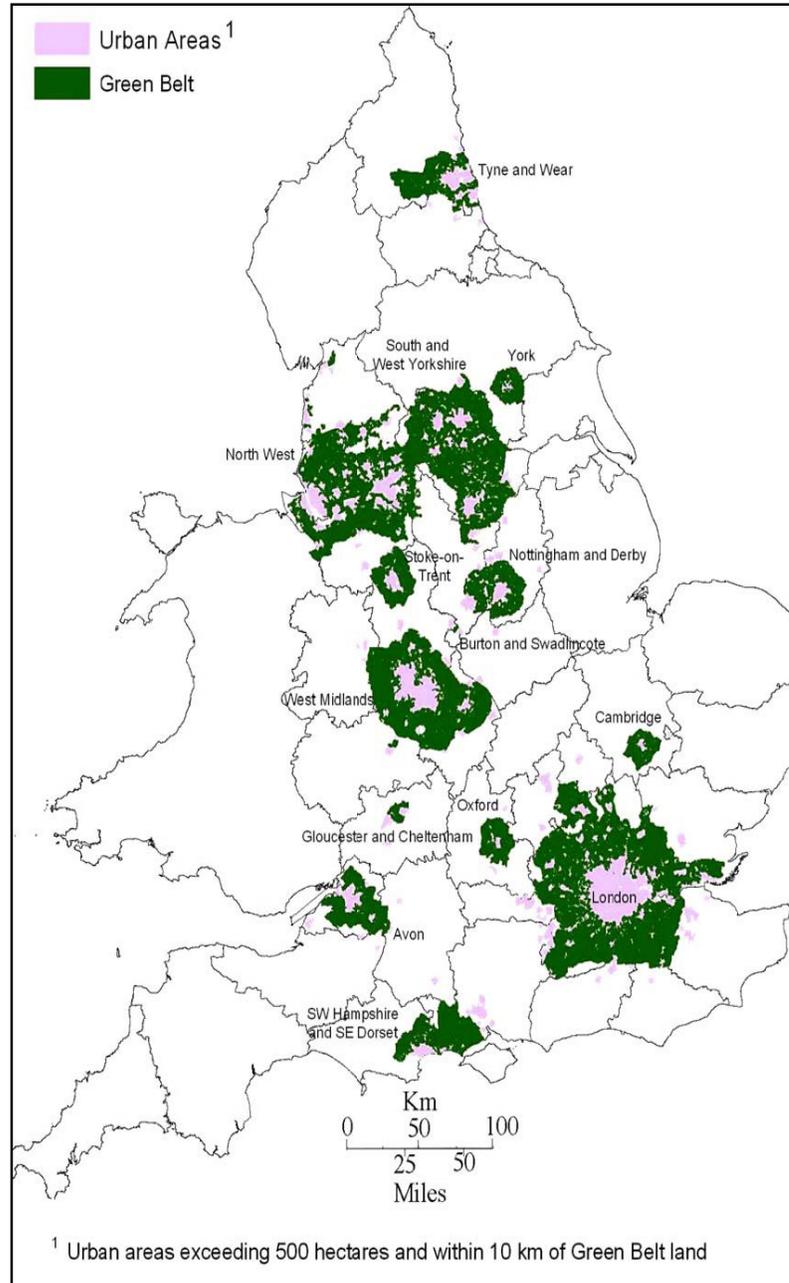


Figure 3.4. Green belt areas in England.

Source: (Cullingworth, 1997).

As Elson (1986) points out the total area covered by green belts in England is about

1.556.000 ha outcomes of green belt policies in England are:

- 1- Managed the process of decentralization into specific physical forms,
- 2- Contained patterns of new development,

- 3- Ensured separation between urban areas, thus retaining their much valued identities,
- 4- Retained valuable agricultural land and other space extensive uses,
- 5- Retained accessible land in pleasant surroundings nearer to people living in cities,

London's boundary was not drawn to accommodate expected future population growth with the designation of ample land for urban development, but rather to avoid expected population growth and in fact to decrease population. London did not stop growing, but it did grow much less rapidly than metropolitan areas beyond the greenbelt (Cullingworth, 1997).

3.2. Urban Growth Boundary

In contrast to greenbelts, an urban growth boundary (UGB) is not a physical space, but a dividing line drawn around an urban area to separate it from surrounding rural areas. Land within the UGB is made available for urban development while land outside the UGB remains primarily rural for farming, forestry, or low-density residential development (Nelson et al, 1995) .

Under the UGB concept, local governments estimate the amount of land needed for new business, housing, recreation, etc., for a period of time. They then draw a line around this land. New development can occur within the line but not outside it. Growth boundaries also allow states to determine for transportation, schools and sewers to those cities and counties that have taken steps to identify and implement boundaries and make regional plans (Jun 2003).

Moreover, it defines the limits of urban growth. It is a type of growth-phased program. Zoning and other regulatory tools are used to implement an UGB. UGB establishes a clearer "urban edge" than other forms of growth management. Areas outside the boundary are zoned for rural use, and the area inside is zoned for urban use. While greenbelts are intended to be permanent, UGB can be temporary. The

UGB is drawn according to expectation growth over time, and it can be expanded as needed. Therefore, it is more flexible in expansion because it is drawn mostly consistent with economics of plans public facilities (Nelson et al, 1995).

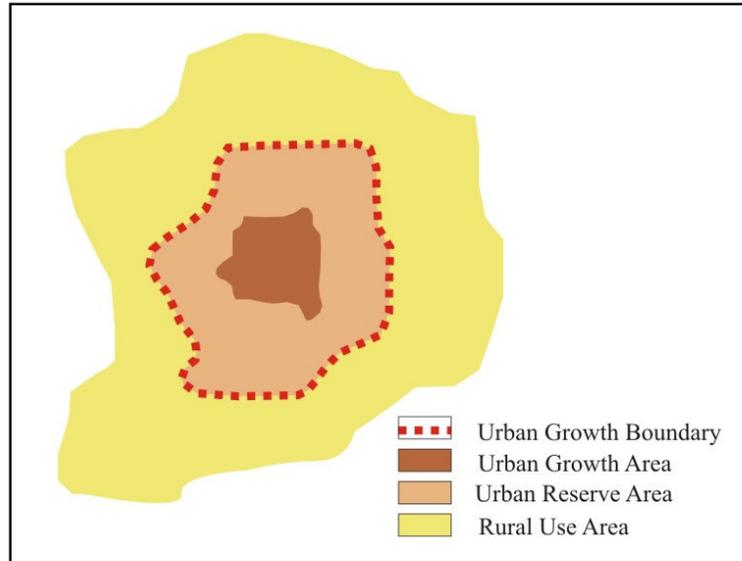


Figure 3.5. The Urban Growth Boundary Schema
Source: Nelson 1995:80

Several factors must be considered when developing a long-term UGB. Population and economic growth must be forecasted clearly and be estimated of total land supply needed to accommodate forecasted growth. Types of development must be decided (residential, industrial or commercial). The natural resources areas to be protected from urban development and locations of natural hazard areas to be avoided must be determined. Fiscal capacity of local governments to provide needed urban services is the last important factor for determining long term UGB. Therefore, the boundaries must be drawn according to available infrastructure capacity (Nelson, et al, 1995).

Urban growth boundaries, however, may have unintended, negative side effects for reducing the supply of land for housing. For example, it may reduce the amount of housing developed to meet market demand, increasing prices and reducing housing

affordability. In addition, growth boundaries and growth management tools are often implemented in an unrealistic political environment. Public support for growth management is often support for growth control; rather than direct control to stop new development completely. Thus, the local debate often focuses on population growth and overall new housing built, not whether the people or homes are in the right place at the right density (Bengston, et al: 2006)..

It is most used in the United States of America. For example In Oregon, the Land Conservation and Development Act of 1973 requires the delineation of urban growth boundaries around all of the state's cities and around the entire Portland metropolitan area (Bengston, et al: 2006).

3.2.1. Urban Growth Boundary Case: Portland, Oregon Experience

Oregon is a state in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States. The state lies on the Pacific coast between Washington on the north and California and Nevada on the south, Idaho on the east. The Columbia and Snake rivers form much of its northern and eastern boundaries, respectively. Salem, the state's third most populous city, is the state capital. The state's most populous city is Portland (http://www.citycomparator.com/cities_1_234_portland.html, 20.01.2008).

Metropolitan Portland is the Oregon's largest metropolitan area. It is composed of parts of 3 counties and 24 cities. Metropolitan Portland covers 3026 square miles and is home to 2.3 million residents. The area's overall population density is about 364 persons per square mile. The metropolitan area's population exceeded 1.3 million in present time (http://www.citycomparator.com/cities_1_234_portland.html, 20.01.2008).

The area's industrial base is a highly diversified mixture of manufacturing, business and personal services, and trade. Metropolitan Portland exports medical, financial and business services to national markets and throughout the Pacific Rim. The metropolitan area has had an annual employment growth rate of over 4% since 1985 and annual population growth of 1.3% (Frenkel, 2004).

After the World War II, Portland's economic prosperity increased rapidly with changing settlements patterns and growing consumerism. Suburbanization, sprawl and environment degradation emerged because of increasing automobile ownership and road congestion. Middle class households moved from the city for the suburbs while the poorest population groups and immigrant minorities remained in the downtown areas (Nelson et al, 1995).

In 1970s, Portland used UGB as a tool to control its development in the framework of Oregon's jurisdiction. As part of Oregon, Portland had to apply Oregon State's Growth Management Policies for combating sprawl problem. Therefore, it is important to analyze Oregon's policies (Frenkel, 2004).

3.2.1.1. Oregon's Growth Management Policy

Urban growth management in the USA is applied in an irregular manner. While European countries apply urban growth management, planning policies and land use regulations throughout national territories, such policies and regulations are applied in only a few states in USA. Oregon is one of the USA states, which has the longest continuing history of statewide growth management and land preservation. It is a recognized leader of urban growth management in the USA and many states are now implementing features of Oregon's planning (Jun, 2003).

Oregon's urban growth management policy can be considered an outcome of the growth control movement that took place spontaneously across the United States during the 1960s and 1970s (Mandelker 1999). Since 1973, Oregon has maintained a strong statewide program for land use planning.

In 1973, Oregon accepted Land Use Act, setting up the framework needed to carry out obligatory statewide planning measures. The legislature also created a new citizens' board, the Land Conservation and Development Commission (LCDC), which identified and issued 19 statewide planning goals. The goals express the state's

policies on land use and on related topics, such as citizen involvement, housing, and natural resources preservation, protection of agricultural land, transport and urbanization (Jun, 2003).

This Act delineated urban growth boundaries around all of the state's cities and around the Portland metropolitan area (Pendall et al, 2002). State law requires each city and county to adopt a comprehensive plan and the zoning and land-division ordinances needed to put the plan into effect. The local comprehensive plans must be consistent with the statewide planning goals. Plans are reviewed for such consistency by the LCDC.

3.2.1.2. Oregon's Urban Growth Boundary Policies

Oregon's the state-wide planning 14th goal about UGB "urban growth boundary". It forces cities to estimate future growth and needs for land and to plan and zone enough land to meet those needs. It calls for each city to establish an UGB to identify and separate urban reserve area from rural use area. An urban growth boundary is essentially a line drawn around a metropolitan area that delineates where urban development may take place (inside the UGB) and where it may not (outside the UGB). The main point is to manage growth without permitting urban sprawl by restricting development to a well-defined contiguous area (Knaap, 2000).

Three of the most important goals of the UGB legislation are: (1) to protect valuable farmland from development, (2) to provide for more efficient urban development, and (3) to facilitate development by identifying buildable, serviceable land.

The establishment and the change of a UGB is a cooperative process between a city and the county or counties that surround it. Urban Growth Management Agreements (UGMAs) are used to establish procedures for coordination between counties and cities. UGMAs establish procedures for planning and managing growth in the unincorporated area within an UGB and for changing the UGB. For larger urban areas that include more than one city within an UGB, there might be individual

agreements between each city and the county or there might be one agreement among all of the jurisdictions. The most basic issue in an UGMA is defining a decision-making structure, roles, and responsibilities for each of the jurisdictions (Frenkel, 2004).

Land outside UGBs is restricted to farming, forestry and other resource uses. However, land outside UGBs that is unsuitable for resource uses due to terrain and soils conditions or historical development patterns, are given an “exception” status and allowed low-density development. During the period 1975-86, local plans were reviewed by the DLCD, for technical consistency with these and other statewide planning requirements. Plans that met statewide requirements were officially ‘acknowledged’ by the LCDC (Frenkel, 2004).

Although simple in concept, the construction of UGBs proved difficult in practice. Part of the difficulty stems from the uncertainty concerning the rate of urban development. With the rate of urban development uncertain, determining exactly how much land to include inside a UGB can be a difficult problem. Too little urban land could cause land price inflation whereas too much would not prevent urban sprawl. However to enhance the possibility of successful growth management UGB have been accompanied, especially in Portland and other metropolitan areas, by a detailed and comprehensive growth management program which details land-uses, density and transport development (Knaap, 2000).

The UGB is the most prominent part of Oregon’s planning system, and its effects are probably greatest in the Willamette Valley, which contains the state’s richest farmland and 70% of state’s population. This is where most conflicts will arise, as much of the future development in the state will probably locate in the Valley (Marin, 2007).

Oregon is a recognized leader of urban growth management in the USA and many states are now implementing features of Oregon’s planning. By 1999, more than 100 local communities were carrying out some form of UGB (Staley and Mildner, 1999).

On the other hand, the third statewide land use goal sets up the foundation of agricultural and forest land use policy. It states, “Agricultural lands shall be preserved and maintained for agricultural products, forest, and open spaces. These lands shall be inventoried and preserved by exclusive farm use zones”

One of the key goals of the statewide planning program was the protection of Oregon’s valuable farmland and farm industry. One of the key goals of the statewide planning program is the protection of Oregon’s valuable farmland and farm industry. It is clear that the program has succeeded in drastically slowing the pace of farmland conversion, and directing most development inside the UGBs. Between 1987 and 1999, the population in the Willamette Valley increased by 23%. In those 12 years, the Valley lost less than 1% of its farmland (4070 acres), to rezonings and UGB additions (Frenkel, 2004).

The statewide planning system has changed the pattern of development in rural Oregon. There are definitive boundaries between communities and between rural and urban uses. Most development has successfully been focused inside the UGBs in Oregon. Therefore, it is differentiated from other American cities, which have grown uncontrolled. In United States, it is difficult to legislate how and where to build, and even more difficult to change development patterns. Despite that, it does not legislate rigid standards and specific development patterns; the Oregon planning system was able to assure “efficient” and “compact” development (Jun, 2003).

In conclusion, the UGB signaled where development would take place and how much area would be needed in the future for the city to function as a healthy, fair, and sound community. The UGB prevented market failures and misallocation of resources that lead to urban sprawl and developmental advantages in suburbs by internalizing and limiting externalities that might arise through shopping malls, office parks, and residential development (Marin, 2007).

3.2.1.3. Portland Experience of UGB

The Portland region has the only elected multipurpose regional government in the US. Voters created Metro in 1978 by merging a regional planning agency and a weak metropolitan service district into a new unit of government with an elected executive and a council elected by districts (Song, 2002).

State land use laws required Metro to establish a regional urban growth boundary (UGB) and empowered Metro Council to make binding policy decisions regarding development within the boundary. In 1979, Portland set up the first UGB around a metropolitan area. The UGB is a legally enforceable line that separates developable land from rural land around cities and allows local governments to direct the type and timing of development projects. Under state laws, local governments can impose substantial limits on development outside the boundary, whereas inside they use fees, zoning, tax incentives, and urban services to guide the growth (Knaap et al, 2000).

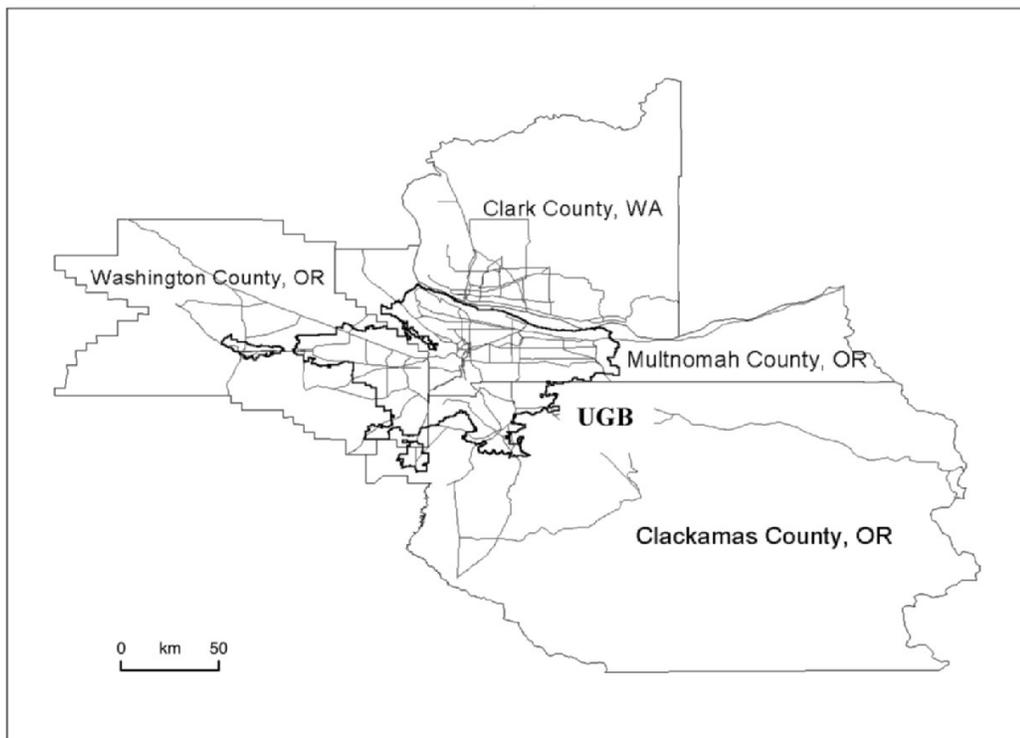


Figure 3.6. Portland's Urban Growth Boundary

Source: Jun, 2003.

The land allowed for urban uses in the UGB is determined on the basis of 20 years projections of population and urban land uses, then adjusted every 5 years. The UGB helps local governments to control urban spatial expansion onto farm and forestlands. By supporting urban services such as roads, parks, schools, fire and police protection, and water and sewer systems, the UGB promotes efficient use of land, public facilities, and services inside the boundary (Song, 2002).

3.3. Urban Service Areas (Urban Service Limit or Urban Growth Stopline)

Urban service areas (USAs), the third type of urban containment policy, are even more flexible than UGBs. Urban Service Areas are defined as artificial boundaries established by a municipality beyond which no public infrastructure services will be extended. It delineates the area beyond which certain urban services such as sewer and water will not be provided (Pendall et al, 2002).

Basically, USAs are established by cities to define the limits where they provide services such as streets, sewer lines, and water lines. Firstly, USAs tend to control urban sprawl. Any land outside of this USA will not receive public financed infrastructure; rather the developer must pay for it if they want to develop the land. This makes most projects outside the USA cost prohibitive for developers and forces them to either not develop or look within the USA (Johnson, 1998).

Second, it allows for the planning of urban developments. USAs provide developers with perfect information about where the infrastructure will be put in; meaning they can more easily plan urban projects. Lastly, USAs achieve desired growth and development by only installing infrastructure where the city wants development thus providing a developer the incentive to build in those desired development zones (Pendall et all, 2002).

In general, urban service boundaries have had limited success in containing sprawl, because they tend to be easily and frequently amended in the face of political pressure to accommodate growth, and because they tend to not be accompanied by

regulations, aimed at limiting development beyond the urban service boundary (Dearborn and Gygi, 1993).

3.3.1. The Minneapolis-St. Paul Urban Service Area

In many states and metropolitan areas, the initial response to this problem entailed a "pull" policy that restrained new urban growth to the provision of urban infrastructure, rather than "push" policies of urban containment. Pull policies employ urban service areas or tools designed to link infrastructure and growth, most notably APFOs (Adequate Public Facilities Ordinances) or "tiering" mechanisms. Urban service areas resemble urban growth boundaries in the sense that they create geographical limits on urban growth (at least urban growth that requires the extension of public water and sewer systems). However, they also tend to be more flexible and easier to move because they tend to be concerned with the geographical sequencing of growth rather than its constraint (Local Government Commission, 2005:16).

However, in many cases APFOs or tiering mechanisms are adopted independently, absent an overall urban service area strategy. Much of the motivation for adopting these policy tools as financial, not geographic that is, they sought to reduce the cost of infrastructure to the communities hosting the growth. As a result, they do not always shape growth geographically in an overt fashion. APFOs require that infrastructure be in place before development is permitted. APFO programs are implemented at the municipal or county level, sometimes based on guidance or mandates from state law. They do not necessarily impose an ultimate outer limit on growth, but they do change the geographical calculus of growth and some evidence suggests they do increase densities more than urban growth boundaries (Pendall et al, 2002).

Among the best-known tier systems are those in Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Diego, and Palm Beach County. Minneapolis, the largest city in Minnesota, is the center of finance, industry, trade, and transportation for the Upper Midwest. The region is one

of the fastest-growing metropolitan areas of the Midwest. Minneapolis-St Paul is known as the Twin Cities. Minneapolis is just west of St. Paul separated from it by the Mississippi River. In the 1950s there were two distinguishable and separate urban centers connected only by a street car service -trams or, as they are now known, light rapid transit. The trams have long since disappeared and the cities have joined physically. The twin cities is further known for its attention to physical environment and transportation planning (Gow, 2000).

There is a form of metropolitan government in The Twin Cities. The Metropolitan Council was established by the Minnesota legislature in 1967. It replaced a largely ineffective body called the Metropolitan Planning Commission. The mission of the Metro Council is to “provide leadership in the effective planning of regional growth, redevelopment and in the delivery of quality regional services”. Its jurisdiction covers seven counties in the Twin Cities area. Yet the council is not a level of government in its own right: its taxing powers are set by the legislature and its responsibilities are primarily those of co-ordination and providing some metro region scale infrastructure services (The Brookings Institution, 2006).

The Metro Council has the task of reviewing and commenting on local government plans. It can require a local authority to modify a comprehensive plan (or part of one) where the plan may have a substantial impact on or contain a substantial departure from metropolitan policies and/or “metropolitan system plans”. The latter are effectively infrastructure plans for metro-region services. These services cover sewerage, transportation and regional recreational open space and the capital budgets for these (Gow, 2000).

Responses to growth, in its first years it concentrated on establishing the region’s infrastructure - transit, highways, parks and open space, solid waste management and airports - to serve development. It was a somewhat hierarchical, top-down and expert-driven organization and under it were four separate agencies operating sewerage, transit, airports and parks. Each agency functioned under the umbrella of the council (Johnson, 1998).

In 1975, the Metropolitan Council formally established the Metropolitan Urban Service Area (MUSA), encompassing Tiers I through III, an area then incorporating 576,000 acres with a population of one million. Of that acreage, 47 percent (270,000 acres) was already developed and 20 percent (116,800 acres) was vacant and developable. An additional 189,200 acres were vacant yet undevelopable due to environmental constraints. The council had a 20-year planning framework but included enough land in the MUSA to accommodate 25 years of growth (Dearborn and Gygi 1993).

The Development Framework defined an important constraint the “MUSA line” or Metropolitan Urban Service Area. This was not a rigidly fixed line in the land. It could be moved, and was. However, it identified the boundary between serviced urban land (water supply and sewerage) and the unserved, peri-urban rural land (Goetz et al., 2003)

The Council uses plans for water and sewerage and other services to control the location of development. Jurisdictions in the metro area are required to prepare comprehensive plans that are consistent with the Council’s regional plans for highways, transit, water and sewerage, housing, solid waste management and health. Council authority, however, extends only to those areas considered of regional significance. The Council and area jurisdictions also developed the Metropolitan Urban Service Area (MUSA), where development would be encouraged in some areas and discouraged in others. Urban expansion in each city is negotiated with the Council in accordance with the regional comprehensive plan. Service extensions are granted by the Council on a city-by-city basis, based on needs (Gow, 2000).

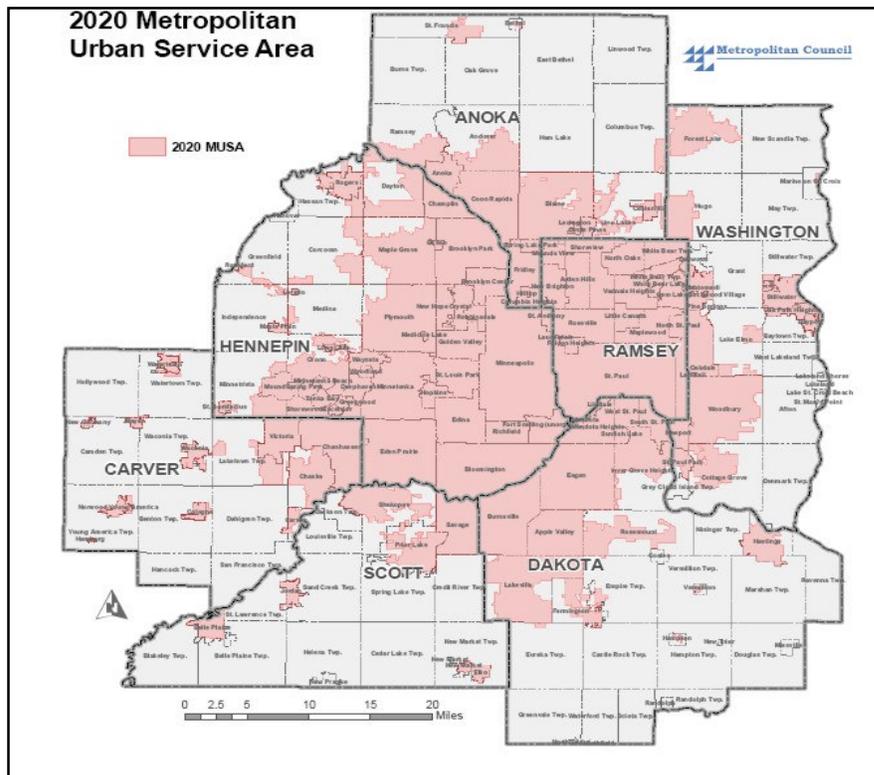


Figure 3.7. Metropolitan Urban Service Area Map

Source: <http://www.metrocouncil.org/about/facts/MUSA2020map.pdf> , Last Accessed Date: 25.01.2008.

The MUSA and its associated policies have affected the pattern of development in the region. New development in the rural areas of the MUSA has declined dramatically since 1978, two years before the growth plan was implemented. The areas where urban services are provided have expanded in a manner consistent with guided growth. Major regional highways and sewerage facilities have expanded only within the urban area. Neighboring jurisdictions within the region are kept aware of each other's plans to a much higher degree than before the Act's passage. Finally, the importance and primacy of planning on a regional basis have been established. There have been many, mostly minor, adjustments to the MUSA boundary line over the years. Some cities have petitioned the Council for major expansions into rural areas and rezoning requests are expected to follow (Johnson, 1998).

In 1976, the Metropolitan Land Planning Act was passed and with it the Metro Council's Development Framework was developed. The Metropolitan Land Planning Act of 1976 gave the Metropolitan Council limited planning authority over the Minneapolis/St. Paul metro area, a seven-county region covering 3,000 square miles and home to two million residents (Dearborn and Gygi, 1993).

Both these events signaled a change to a regional planning approach. The new policy was to guide growth. This involved:

- defining an area of land for planned urbanization, including an “oversupply” capacity to keep costs down
- coordinating the delivery of regional services to areas planned for development
- maximizing the return on development by not over-extending services
- accommodating growth in a staged, sequential manner
- helping communities guide growth through plans and development controls.

The Metropolitan Land Planning Act requires that all local governments within the seven-county area prepare comprehensive plans. Among other things, these have to include a land-use plan and a public facilities plan. They have to deal with transportation, sewerage, parks and open space. The Act places the Metro Council at the top of a hierarchy. Its policies provide the basic framework within which local government comprehensive plans should be developed. The Metro Land Planning Act ties zoning in with comprehensive plans, which means that zoning ordinances cannot be written which are inconsistent with a comprehensive plan.

According to The Brookings Institution (2006), despite its metropolitan planning institutions, Minneapolis-St. Paul sprawled dramatically in the 1980s and 1990s, with a 54 percent increase in its urbanized land base between 1982 and 1997. Population grew only 25 percent during that period, meaning that density declined 19 percent, from 4.3 to 3.5 people per urban acre. Sprawl occurred despite population growth of about 15,000 residents each in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN GROWTH AND ADJACENT AREAS IN TURKEY

4.1. The Forces Shaping Urban Sprawl in Turkey

There are differences between Turkish and Occidental urbanization process because Turkey has lived neither industrialization nor urbanization related to it, in the 19th century. Urbanization in Western Europe and in the United States lasted more than 150 years with relatively smooth evolution from rural to urban community. Although Turkish cities practiced the transition from traditional to modern urban settlements during the middle of nineteenth century (Tekeli 2000:29), the real boom in terms of urban growth in Turkey took place after the Second World War.

Urbanization in Turkey has been motivated by different factors and therefore, the urban space in Turkey in each era has been shaped by different waves of urbanization. It seems necessary to view the transformations experienced in Turkey in accordance with the economic growth strategies, political regimes, and administration. Trends of urbanization can be analyzed within the historical context of Turkish urbanization. Urbanization process of Turkey can be evaluated in four periods: from 1923 to 1946 (Early Republican Period), from 1946 to 1980 (Postwar Rapid Urbanization Period), from 1980 to 2000 (Globalization, Localization and Privatization Period) and 2000 to nowadays (Reinforcement of Neo-liberal Trends).

4.1.1. Urban Growth Forces between 1923 and 1946: Early Republican Period

The first period covers the era from the declaration of the Republic to the end of Republican Party's rule. This era is the years of radical reforms in every field of the young Republic and in İlhan Tekeli words (1998a) it is the period of radical modernity. In fact, it covers the two sub-periods in economic terms: First Liberal Period until Great Depression in 1929 and the "Statist" period.

It can be told that there are three important components of urbanization in the early republican period of Turkey: Ankara's declaration as capital city instead of Istanbul, railroad policy and plantation of factories in small cities around the railroad after the Great Depression. These policies were aiming to build a nation state. Elites of the Republic endeavored at in the process of urbanization. Urban development was vital for diffusion of these ideas to rural population and success of such a modernization attempt (Tekeli, 1998a:1). Shortly, the urbanization process and the modernization were closely interrelated. These attempts could be realized in Ankara, with respect to its growing importance as the capital city. Urbanization of Ankara would be an ideal model for all cities in the country. The republican regime also spent such efforts in other Anatolian cities in order to increase the integration in the national level. To summarize, in this period, the state was the hegemonic actor in the process of urbanization it owned the large part of the industry and strictly controlled the economy (Şengül, 2001:75).

After Ankara became the capital city, immigration gained gradually acceleration and its population increased rapidly. The city displayed a continuous population growth at the rate of 6.18 percent per year until 1945 with immigration from all over the country. Nevertheless, the city received population especially from the Central Anatolian provinces (ACC, 1998:57). For controlling this growth, "Ankara Directorate of Developments" was established in 1928. Ankara was the centre of institutional planning and after 1930's the experiences gained from Ankara practices were to be made widespread through "Municipal Construction and Roads Law",

“General Health Act’ and “Building and Streets Law” by giving the municipalities the task of making plans. After the 1935’s new arrangements were made in order to take planning practices under discipline and to increase the role of the central institutions, such as founding planning units under the Ministry of Interior and the founding of “Municipalities Bank” as an institution responsible for preparing development plans in the name of the municipalities. Being a development and investment bank, its major function was to provide financial and technical assistance to local authorities for settlement development besides banking operations.

Consequently, development activities were taking place only within the municipal boundaries and there was no measure taken to direct the developments out of the municipal boundary of cities in this period. There was incompatibility of plans with the Turkish cities and they were prepared with aesthetic motivation and ignorance the application problems. In addition, the municipalities have not enough resource, the plans cannot be properly practiced.

4.1.2. Postwar Rapid Urbanization Period between 1946 and 1980: Beginning of Sprawl Process

Turkey lived a rapid urbanization process after the end of the Second World War in 1945. This process led to significant political, economic, and social transformations. The political and economic liberalism trend spread in the international context and this wave effected Turkey, too. On the political side, the transition from a single-party to a multi-party system was the most important political change. Moreover, economic side, Turkey implemented a mixed economy like many other developing countries.

On the urban side, cities became the attraction points for migrants due to the increasing economic and social utilities, such as the presence of a wider range of goods and services including health and education. İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara were the most attractive destination for migrants in this period. As result of this massive migration, Turkey has faced to the formation of squatter settlements in the fringes of

cities. We can claim that this is the first period of emerging of uncontrolled growth in Turkey. Moreover, governments did not take measures to prevent the spread of squatter settlements. In, contrary, they legalized the existence of squatter settlements (Tekeli, 1998a:13).

In the 1950s, with the Marshall Aid, the advanced technology imported from the United States and the agricultural sector has undergone a modernization process. This mechanization caused unemployment in the rural areas and accelerated the migration to urban areas. Ultimately, a large number of people were to move from rural to big cities in search of employment opportunities and a better standard of living. Since industrial developments mainly took place in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir these cities were more attractive than others, most of the migrants preferred these cities. The other reasons to migrate to these cities is the concentration of social and economic activities there.

Rural population continued to flow into these settlements without taking into consideration whether they were capable of absorbing the new incoming power or not. Newcomers also faced with the accommodation problem: It was impossible to meet their housing need from the urban housing market. Therefore, they built their dwellings themselves, generally on the public lands. In 1950s, Turkey's population increased to more than 44 million from 20.9 millions. Urbanization rate between 1950 and 80 increased even more. It is esteemed that 350.000 persons have moved the villages to cities per year in this period. So, in 30 years, 3.5 millions people immigrated to cities (Kartal, 1983:93). As the result of this massive migration, problem of housing shortage emerged at urban areas. Cities growing only, with build- and-sell housing supply type, searched for other alternative housing supply types in order to overcome the problems caused by high-density population. In this period, there were three housing supply types which had different settlement characteristics. First of these is the build-and-sell production realized at the existing development areas and at the adjacent areas in cities (Bilgin 2000). Second slice of urban housing production is (%40-45) realized by illegal housing development and called as gecekonu. This type of supply, which spread at public lands surrounding

the planned development areas and near the industrial areas, developed as the result of populist planning policies. The third supply type is cooperative houses (approximately 10% of the whole supply ratio). It helped income groups with systematic revenue to own houses with suitable credits. Progressive construction techniques and organizations were not used even though they were mass production. With their sizes, space organizations and equipments they modeled mid-income groups' apartment standards (Bilgin 2000). To overcome housing problem prevailed in Ankara, lawmakers adopted the Law no 5218 (Law Enabling the Ankara Municipality to Allocate and Transfer Part of Its Land Under Special Circumstances and Without Having to Comply with The Provision of Law no 2490). This law was valid for Ankara Municipal Area. Law no 5228 (Law Encouraging House Construction) extended the jurisdiction of Law no 5218 to all municipalities in Turkey. With this law, municipalities were enabled to obtain state lands to build houses.

In that period, the private sector generally preferred to invest in the western parts of the country due to the infrastructure facilities. The state gave priority to build highway construction through the encouragements of western countries for their own interest. Investments on the transportation and communication systems in return removed the barriers from intermigration.

In the end of 1950s, cities' uncontrolled growth problems increased. In 1956, as Buildings and Streets Law was not capable of solving the these problems, Law no 6785: Development Law was brought into force founding the institutional base for transferring the rights of municipalities over planning to the central government units. And two years later, Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing is founded in 1958, as a major central controlling actor in the planning process.

The central government became the major factor in the planning practice. The concept of "adjacent areas", emerged first time. The development problems of the big cities were tried to be solved by extending the boundaries of the plans from the

municipal boundaries to the “adjacent area” boundaries that include the surrounding area as well. The basic properties of the Law no 6785 may be grouped as follows:

- Municipalities with a population over 5.000 were obliged to prepare “Development and Sewerage Plans” and municipalities with population less than 5000 were obliged to prepare ‘Road Direction Plans’.
- Development Plan that were made inside the boundary of municipality and its adjacent area must lastly be approved by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing after the decision of Municipal Council for plan changes.
- Development Plans were being prepared for 4 years and approved by Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing.
- State lands allocated for general services were conveyed to the municipality by decision of Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing (Kubin, 1994:30).

To summarize, in the aftermath of the 1950s, the big cities of Turkey in general, Ankara in particular had to cope with an unprecedented rate of urbanization under a new political regime. The cities were not prepared to receive this amount of migrants. In addition, the major consequence of this migration was observed as a severe housing shortage in the big urban centers (Özüekren 1997: 33). Because the State could not control migration or provide new houses, we can see the first kind of sprawl movements in scattered zones in this period. Especially, immigration has had a considerable effect on the growth of urban population of Ankara because share of migrants exceeded all expectations, and had to set up new ways to deal with the urbanization problems (Keskinok, 2006:55).

After the May 27 military coup of 1960, the new Constitution introduced the concept of social and welfare state. Thus second planned period began in the history of Turkish development. The principles of planned economy were approved to achieve structural modifications. Import-substituting industrialization model was implemented for economic development of Turkey.

In this period, new institutional arrangements were made, such as the founding of “State Planning Organization” and another is the “Metropolitan Planning Offices” (Tekel, 2001: 709). In 1965 Metropolitan Planning Office were established in three major cities Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir, whose the basic aim was to think of the city as a total entity. These offices as department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing had only the responsibility of preparing the plan having no rights of approving or implementation. But, these planning bureaus could not succeed in establishing the macro-forms they foresaw for the cities, as their tasks other than preparing plan was not well determined, and it was not easy to coordinate central and local administrators.

In the aftermath of the 1960s, a large-scale migration from rural to urbanized part of the country has continued. But the flow of unskilled labor power to the Western European countries especially to Western Germany has diminished the rate of rapid urbanizations (Tekeli, 1998a: 16).

For long-run solution to problem to squatter “Law no 775: Gecekondu Law” was accepted in 1966. This law had three significant purposes: those houses in ‘improvement zone’ would be rehabilitated, those houses in ‘elimination zones’ would be demolished. Finally, for houses in ‘prevention zones’: cheap housing or rental housing could be built and suitable lands for housing construction could be supplied by state. Thus, this law legitimated the presence of squatter areas and the squatter areas in the structure of urban areas were guaranteed (Özüekren 1997:34). The cities within this era were growing like an oil-drop with ever-increasing density. In addition, the problems of infrastructure, traffic congestion and social equipments continued to exist and to increase especially until the mid 70s. Especially in this period, squatter houses have become commercial asset and after 1970 these houses construction became commercialized. Firms have been formed to provide land and equipment for the poor. Amnesty implementations and provision of municipal services have led to the construction of unauthorized apartment blocks by small scale speculative house builds (Tekeli, 2000: 30).

In this period, another important factor influential on the change of cities is the starting of car production in Turkey in 1970s and increasing in the number of car-owners. With acceleration of industrialization process in Turkey, light industry has located at the city center, while heavy industry selected periphery of city. Production activities began to go further from city center and adjacent areas with the construction of small-scale industrial sites and organized industrial regions.

In 1972, Development Law has obtained new definitions and rules with the amendments enacted with the Law no 1605 dated 1972. With these amendments, development activities started to be made outside municipal boundary and adjacent areas. Thus, Governorships became responsible to control settlement and development activities in the areas outside the municipal boundary and adjacent areas. The widespread implementation of this authority by governors would take a long time. As a matter of fact during this period, it was only done macro scale land use plans which named as “the whole city plan” in some cities such as Malatya or Erzurum (Tekinbaş, 2000). But, it was implemented in a few numbers of cities. These plans foresaw a second-house-type settlements in the coastal areas and new kinds of settlement areas (such as industrial, squatter prevention zone and mass housing) which are socially related to city however physically disconnected with the municipal boundaries. In a short period, governorships preferred to leave making these kinds of plans due to lack of personnel and equipments.

During this period, the proportion living in urban areas increased from 24,9 % to 43,9 %. In 1945, population living in urban areas was about 4.687.102. It was 5.244.337 in 1950 and 19.645.007 in 1980. The growth rate of urban population was averaging 4.19 per annum, which was largely due to the high rates of migration from rural to urban areas (TODAİE, 2002:5).

With these developments, cities grew at the end of 1970s and began to give signals of congestion (Tekeli 1998b). Furthermore, in one hand, build-and-sell mechanism consumed all the planned lands, in other hand; “gecekondu” mechanism invaded all the public lands at the periphery of cities.

Consequently, import-substituting industrialization model in this period provided conversion of commercial capital to industrial capital, this accumulation model based on expansion of internal market and incitation of consumption caused concentration of population in three big cities. But, this brought about some problems such as accommodation, degradation of nature, providing public services. Although some solutions in metropolitan scale were tried in just three cities (Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir), these efforts were not enough to solve sprawling process.

4.1.3. Globalization, Localization and Privatization Period between 1980 and 2000: Increasing Sprawl Problems

At the very beginning of 1980s, Turkey experienced an economic crisis and it has accepted the 24 January Re-Adjustment Decision which incited the economic liberalization (Tekeli 1984b:232) and the Turkish Armed forces intervened once more. The new government explained that it would support this liberal economic program. Its aim was to open Turkish economy to western world and to integrate it into the system of global capitalism. In fact, liberalization policies were adapted throughout the world in 80s and aimed at a fundamental break with the old national developmentalist strategies.

The Turkish experience with economic liberalization with structural adjustment policies in the period following the 1980s was a radical shift in its economic course. The regime used greater involvement in the industrialization effort and “*applied the orthodox policies counseled by the International Monetary Fund in the hope of restructuring the economy toward greater openness and liberation*” (Keyder and Öncü 1993:19). With this shift in economic policies, from import substitution to export oriented, urban space has become more open to the manipulations and speculations of capital. After such a transformation in economic strategies, the idea of investment into large-scale industry was abolished and capital has started to be invested into the built environment in major cities.

As stated by Keskinok (2006:16), each re-liberalization period in Turkey accelerated the development in favor of existent growth pole. It means unlimited growth of metropolitan cities. This kind of growth which is in favor of firms and sector focused, inevitably becomes a grave threat for natural and cultural resources. Therefore, it can be considered that liberalization and privatization policies applied after 1980s allowed opening to development of all areas, which were attractive for capital.

Important legal arrangements were made in the 80s to regulate the operations applied on the illegally built houses. Law no 2805 in 1983 is the most significant law about this question. This law consisted of all the illegal construction besides housing. Industrial and touristic developments also contributed to irregular urban development. This law contributed to legitimization of squatter houses. According to this law, unauthorized buildings that were constructed before 01.01.1983 would be conserved. According to 13th article of this law, those lands of the Treasury and Provincial Local Administration, on which there existed illegal buildings would be transferred to municipalities as long as these lands took place within the adjacent area of the municipalities.

The Mass Housing Law in 1984 is the other important law accepted in this period. With this law, Mass Housing Administration based on this law and financial supports were effective. This law caused a mass housing and cooperative boom in Turkey through intensive implementations. The lands in fringe would convert to urban terrain and increase urban growth in fringe area (Tekeli, 1998a:22). There are some factors, which were effective on mass housing areas and cooperatives, supported by credit options, selecting location at the periphery. Cities were insufficient to achieve big housing projects with requirement for more space and unfilled spaces. Therefore, land prices at the periphery were low and public lands were used for this development. In addition, municipalities making speculative plans responded to these pressures easily.

This era has presented with a special focus on the further fragmentation of the urban areas under the impact of globalization dynamics. Behind these multi-dimensional changes, new legal and institutional organizations played an important role, too. Factors such as foundation of metropolitan municipalities with the Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law in 1984, transferring of planning authorities from central government to local governments with the new Law no 3194: Development Law which was entered into force in 1985, establishment of new municipalities around the central city and increases in the financial resources are among the reasons of spatial changes in metropolitan cities.

In 1984, a new administrative order was instituted in the metropolitan cities named as 'greater municipalities' with law no 3030. The metropolitan areas considered the boundaries of the greater municipality. These boundaries are not defined considering any scientific aspects and the metropolitan influence area was not taken account in determining greater municipality boundaries. This boundary definition excluded some settlements that should be in the metropolitan area in terms of economical and social relations. On the other hand, planning authorities were diversified and metropolitan areas were fragmented within boundaries of the greater municipalities. The greater municipality had the responsibility of preparing or getting prepared the development plans. For the areas out of the boundaries of the greater municipality, the town municipalities were the authorities of planning that approve the local plans prepared. In practice important conflicts emerged at this point. The local plans prepared for the town municipalities did not consider macro-scale policies and this may determines the development of the form of the city in a way that such macro plans do not propose.

Within the framework of Law no 3194: Development Law, Provincial Directorate of Public Works and Settlement gave permission for construction at parcel scale and this caused development of fragmented housing estates. Therefore, there were problems in administrative structure in the management and coordination of planning applications and controlling facilities such as informal and speculative building, lost of public lands, lost of agricultural lands etc.

In 1990s, the policy of privatization gained importance. In fact, as Keskinok (2006:106) said the privatization and planning have foreseen two opposed kind of development. While former put forward the market's anarchic and unequal development, the latter consists of planning and organizing development in equal way for public interest. In 1994, the Privatization Administration has been established with the Law no 4046⁴. According to Keskinok (2006:108) this law and institution have been most powerful attack to planning system in Turkey because with the privatization, common propriety and lands have been sold to big capital holders and this law caused the creation of convenient ambiance for rents and speculation.

A reflection of this age on the cities was the decentralization of the industrial production. Big enterprises in 1990s, have increased its power in urban areas with large scale investments to build edifice such as shopping malls, five star hotels and business centers and major Turkish cities have become the market of speculative profits (Şengül, 2001: 89). The other important trend of this period concerning urbanization was the movement of high and middle-income groups to areas passing over the rings of squatter development. The wealth of middle classes increased and they started to move to satellite cities or suburban areas, which are placed even farther than squatter districts already surrounding the cities. The new upper class members also moved to the suburbs more luxurious homes and more secure communities named as gated communities.

To sum up, in these years, while these liberal policies and privatization eroded the power of nation state, they enforced local authorities in terms of using urban space, created significant rent for big capital holders. The local governments started to open to development more than needed and tried to make urban land more attractive in favor of big construction firms. Thus, the urban space was perceived as a commodity with a high exchange value and the plots of land have turned to be suitable for land speculation and sprawling of cities started to become uncontrolled.

⁴ Concerning Arrangements for The Implementation of Privatization and Amending Certain Laws and Decrees with The Force of Law

4.1.4. Reinforcement of Neo-liberal Trends and Efforts to Create “World City” after 2000

The new world order model proposed by Multinational firms, international financial organizations such as IMF and World Bank has suggested to globalization and integration of capital. In other words, the main purpose of these neo-liberal policies is to abolish all the restriction, mainly nation-state, which prevents free movement of capital (Ersoy and Keskinok, 1997).

With these policies, competition among cities or region has replaced with competition among states. Therefore, local and regional scale policies have substituted national scale to increase their competition ability. These cities and regions have tried to enhance their attractiveness to draw multinational firms to invest. Thus, they will integrate more to international financial system. These policies caused unlimited growth of cities and changed urban spatial pattern and urban planning. This uncontrolled growth resulted with the real estate and land speculation. Urban space is commoditized and the firms aiming just profit neglected the bad consequences of their policies for natural and cultural resources.

In regard to Turkey, the market-oriented laws accepted after 2000s, aimed to facilitate the movements of capital and to let free circulation of foreign capital unconditionally with concomitant to neo-liberal wave in international arena. These neo-liberal policies displayed its impact in urban areas and the laws concerning urban management with Law no 5393: Municipality Law, Law no 5216: Greater Municipality, Law no 5302: Provincial Local Administration Law etc. Güler (2004) claimed that these policies have predicted "public-private partnership" to provide public services. It can be told that the meaning of citizen and public services has changed. Consequently, this process might incite to getting into debt of municipalities.

With Law no 5373, Land Office was abolished and its authorities were transferred to Mass Housing Administration. After this amendment, Mass Housing Administration

was authorized to prepare and to get prepared development plan and to change it, in the areas where to be implemented the Urban Transformation Projects. In addition, the MHA collaborating with private sector intensified its efforts to produce house for profit. Thus, MHA helped the acceleration of movements of capital for private sector. In these years, Mass Housing Administration embarked on build new houses in all over the country, especially in the big cities. Between 1984 and 2006, Mass Housing Administration granted 331.012.405,27 YTL house credit to 3.293 projects for 944.507 houses (Akin, 2007).

With Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law in 23.07.2004, the authorities of greater municipality have been reinforced. This law had given to local authorities the responsibility of selling public lands, using them in order to intervene into the urban land market or creating funds with public interest objectives. According to 27th article of this act, the responsibility of the adjacent areas under the greater municipality boundary was given to greater municipalities (Duyguler, 2006).

According to this new law in force, boundaries of the Greater municipalities are determined to a radius scale according to its population. For cities with less than one million population, the radius was considered as 20 km., for cities with the population from 1 million to 2 million the radius was considered as 30 km., and the cities with more than 2 million population the radius was accepted as 50 km. Thus, the boundaries of the greater municipalities in Turkey have been expanded since the law has been accepted and these greater municipalities' authorities were reinforced. In addition with Greater Municipality Law, town municipality problems have been tried to be solved by connecting them to the greater municipalities as first degree municipality.

The boundaries of Istanbul and Kocaeli Greater Municipality are defined as the city property boundaries. For other greater municipalities, the boundaries were determined according to their existing governorship building as the center under the limitation of the municipality boundaries.

In 2005, Law no 5393: Municipality Law was approved. This law can be perceived as beginning of process of privatization on municipalities. According to this law, Municipalities could establish enterprise and get into debt for the works needed foreign source by taking the opinion of “Undersecretary of Treasure”. With these amendments, “the citizens benefiting from public services replaced with client” (Keskinok, 2006:56). According to the 69th Article titled ‘Land and Housing Construction’ of the law the municipality has been allowed to produce land with infrastructure, mass house and to buy, rent or sell land, expropriate, exchange land and collaborate with related administrative institutions and banks and develop projects with them within the municipal and adjacent area boundary.

Consequently, it can be claimed that with neo-liberal policies, the movement of international capital has left out national planning policies and legislation. In this new period, in which the nation-state was both directly and indirectly under threat and in which the concept of "competitive cities and regions" was introduced as an external intervention, the planning problems of the urban space are handled only according to the interests of the great multinational companies. This situation resulted in the sacrifice of the natural and cultural values in order to gain more profit.

4.2. Problems about Controlling Urban Growth in Turkey

4.2.1. Authority Confusion

In Turkey, there has been a delegacy conflict both between the central authority and greater city municipalities and within different ministries of the central authority and even between the different district municipalities and greater municipalities, due to the definition of responsibilities and delegacies remain unclear in the legal arrangements on the planning process. The solution of the conflicts mentioned was left to the courts. Because harmonization could not be reached between the planning legislation and local administration, the problems on planning system and delegacy continue to be indeterminate. Moreover, the overlap of administrative and legal limitations on delegacy brings different problems with itself.

There have been different planning concepts in the planning and development law. While some of these concepts could be met in the Development Law and related by-law, which are designed to regulate the operation of the law, the others, can be met in other laws and legal documents. In the metropolitan areas of Turkey, lots of central and local authorities are responsible and hold delegacy for the spatial planning and development. In the conservation areas, cultural and touristic development and protection zones, in the touristic areas, special environmental protection zones, the responsibility/delegacy of planning is left to different Ministries of the central authority.

The spatial plans in Turkey are defined in two main scales, names of which are not generally talked about: Macro-Scale-Plans (Regional Plans) and Micro-Scale-Plans (Development Plans). The development plans can also be divided into two parts as Structure Plans and Implementation Plans. Another type of plans which has been defined in the 5th article of the law titled “Definitions” is ‘Land Use Plan’. This type of plan should be considered as a high-scale-plan.

Although this plan is the content of its definition in the 5th article (titled Definitions) of the Law, it takes no place in the definition of development plans. In short, we can talk about 3 main planning scales, when we assess the related articles of the Development Law, which are Regional Plans, Land Use Plans and Development Plans. Metropolitan Area Development Plans which could not be met in the Articles of ‘Definitions’ and “Planning Scales” of the Law no 3194: Development Law, however takes place in the 9th article of the Law should also be placed between the regional plans and land use plans in term of scale and scope (Ersoy, 2007:122).

Although the definitions, scales and by whom they will be implemented are not exactly clear, it can be derived from the 5th and 6th Articles of the Development Law and also from the By-Law on the Principles of Planning⁵. There had been a continuous confusion and conflict between the Ministry of Public Works and

⁵ Before its name was “By-Law About the Principles of the Making of Development Plans and Changing Them”. It was changed in 2001.

Settlement and the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and later with the enforcement of the Law no 4856 titled 'Law on the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry' dated 2003 the conflict was concluded to the favor of this Ministry. However, with some laws put into force after 2004 (Law no 5216 Greater Municipality Law, Law no 5302: Provincial Local Administration Law, Law no 5393: Municipality Law) the problems that who holds the delegacy of drawing Land Use Plans and in what scale arise again.

A new plan definition arose (Provincial Land Use Plan) and a new authority of planning was also added to the planning agencies (Provincial Local Administration). The discussions on the scale problems were to be solved by the 'Law no 2872 Environment Law amended with the Law no 5491' enacted on April 26th, 2006 (Ersoy, 2007:129).

The Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law and Law no 5302: Provincial Local Administration Law have some regulations about planning activities and administration of metropolitan areas. By force of the Law no 5216 Greater Municipality Law, the delegacy to prepare 1/1000 scaled Implementation Plans as local plans are given to the district municipalities and first-degree municipalities. First-degree municipalities were the town municipalities, which were within the greater municipality boundaries, however independent in terms of the planning delegacies.⁶ Before town municipalities benefited the right of planning and implementing their own Structure and Implementation Plans as indicated by the "Law no 1580: Municipality Law", According to Law no 5216, they are holding the same rights, privileges and responsibilities as the district municipalities. Since, that there exists no other local authority in metropolitan areas of authority, which are independent of the metropolitan administration, is important to the effectiveness of

⁶ Together with law no 3030 in 1984, a new administrative order was founded, the metropolitan areas were divided into three portions, where the confusion is further intensified by the authorities of different municipalities: the greater municipality, the district municipalities, the town municipalities. The greater municipality has had the responsibility of preparing or getting prepared the development plans. For the areas out of the boundaries of the greater municipality, the town municipalities are the authorities of planning that approve the local plans prepared. In practice important conflicts emerge at this point. The local plans prepared for the town municipalities might cause uncontrolled development of metropolitan area in a direction which is inconsistent with the macro-scale policies.

plans of a metropolitan scale, it is an important principle brought by the Law no 5216.

The article of Ersoy (2007) titled ‘The Problem of Planning Scales and Macro Scale Planning in our Development Legislation’ takes the photo of the last situation after the amendments in the legislation.

Tablo 4.1. Planning Scales and Delegacies

PLAN NAME	PLANNING AREA	SCALE	PLANNING AUTHORITY	PLAN APPROVAL AUTHORITY	LEGAL BASE
Regional Plan	Region	Indefinite	State Planning Organization	State Planning Organization	Law no 3194: Development Law
Provincial Land Use Plan	Area within Provincial Boundary	Indefinite	Provincial Local Administration	Provincial Local Administration with related Municipalities	Law no 5302: Provincial Local Administration Law
Metropolitan Area Development Plan	Metropolitan Area	Indefinite	Ministry of Public Works and Settlements	Ministry of Public Works and Settlements	Law no 3194: Development Law
Land Use Plan	Region and Basin	1/50.000 1/100.000	Ministry of Environment and Forestry	Ministry of Environment and Forestry	Law no 5491 Amending Law no 2872: Environment Law
Structure Plan	Area within Boundary of Greater Municipality	1/25.000	Greater Municipalities	Greater Municipality	Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law
Structure Plan	Municipal Area and Adjacent Area	1/5.000 1/2.000	All Municipalities	Related Municipality	Law no 3194: Development Law
Implementation Plan	Municipal Area and Adjacent Area	1/1000	All municipalities except for greater municipalities	Related Municipality	Law no 3194: Development Law

Source: Ersoy, 2007.

The planning delegacy of the Greater Municipality is not only limited to implementation and preparation of the structure plans scaled between 1/25000 and

1/5000 but also included the acceptance and approval of the Provincial Land Use Plans (can be scaled both 1/50000 and 1/100000) as indicated in the Provincial Local Administration Law. In the Law no 5302: Provincial Local Administration Law dated February 22nd, 2006 it is stated that “the provincial land use plan is to be prepared by greater municipalities and provincial local area administration under the coordination of the governor and later subject to the approval of both the municipal and provincial councils”.

4.2.2. Partial Planning Approaches

The partial plan has been defined as a plan prepared on the areas that are outside the existing development plan boundaries is not an integrated position with this plan and it provides social and technical infrastructure requirements in its own plan boundary. Definition of partial plan is mentioned in the "By-Law Concerning Development Plan Preparation and Plan Changes" of Law no 3194: Development Law. In Turkey, partial plans have been generally used for answering some demands in a short time and bringing rapid solutions without any researches. Partial plan implementations, particularly in metropolitan cities, has brought "Urban sprawl" formation into agenda, in far and close urban environment and in rural areas, that have provided a relative accessibility.

Partial plans can be prepared on the lands both inside and outside the boundary of municipality and its adjacent area. Partial plan implementations, inside the boundary of municipality and its adjacent area, are under the control of related municipality. Partial plan implementations, outside the boundary of municipality and its adjacent area, are under the control of related Directorates of Public Works and Settlement.

If the partial plan area is inside the existing development plan boundary, partial plans should be prepared according to the plan decisions and planning brief of the development plan. On the other hand, partial plans can also be prepared on the lands outside the development plan boundaries without macro-scale plan decisions.

Planning conditions and criteria of partial plans are considered by the related public institution according to the general characteristics of the province. Therefore, these planning conditions and criteria may vary from province to province.

After the mid 1980s, the number of partial plan implementations increased opposite to macro-scale plan decisions (Keskinok, 2006:100). Partial plans were usually prepared for, secondary housing areas and touristic facility areas on coastal sides, for mass housing areas and industrial areas in urban fringes. Speculators used partial plans for their own benefits. With partial plans, particularly in fringe areas of metropolitan cities, a leapfrog and dispersed urban fabric was formed and land use decisions was not adapted and integrated through these scattered urban areas.

The amnesty law 2981 that was brought into force in 1984, more than being an amnesty for the gecekondu's, was rather an attempt to apartmentalize the gecekondu areas, which to a high degree made planning loose its meaning. With this new law besides the squatter areas the areas where potentially squatters may develop were also included for developing improvement plans. These plans are prepared and approved by the district municipalities without considering the policies of the macro-scale plans.

Instead of macro-scale plan, cities were formed with partial and independent interventions. The logic of these plans have been to find rapid solution without any research and to make them within the boundaries of the ownership. Thus after the 1980s development of cities was rarely directed by macro-scale plans, but was rather the sum of local plans and improvement plans, which are also not considered within a macro-plan but started and ended within their own planning boundaries.

4.2.3. Land Speculation

Land speculation is nurtured by the tendency of savings towards most profitable investment, depending on the gap between the profit brought by the real estate and profit brought by other instruments of investment. In other words it is a “wait and

see” situation against short-term fluctuations in real estate prices (Geray et al, 1999:44). This is because of that the land is both a secure and individually effective instrument of investment due to the continuous and high inflation rate. However, this situation results in a pointless expansion of the cities where the high-profit-expectations of speculators as the proprietors of land and houses in the urban development zones put pressure towards expansion. The determining factors of the prices of urban land are the position of the urban land (its closeness to the city center), its physical and social infrastructure and the legal limitations concerning the land (such as construction permit and the number of storey allowed by the development plans).

In Turkey, increasing inflationist pressures and the scarcity in the variety of financial instruments has accelerated the land speculation and made its impacts to continue for a long time because urban land has been more secure investment instrument. Moreover, the rural immigration towards urban areas which has started in 50ies and continuously increasing until its sharp breakthrough in the first years of 80ies and its indispensable result namely “Gecekondu” areas surrounding the cities together with the clientalist attitudes of local policymakers have altogether made urban land as the most important instrument of the land speculation. The land without any urban infrastructure surrounding the great cities which generally belongs to public has been an instrument of sweeping urban rent as time goes by. The “Gecekondu” areas which in the beginning only providing a source of income to the “land mafia” by providing them to sweep the rent of enclosing and selling the public land or the land under the ownership of other people to the new immigrants of the city has later served as a source of income for low-income groups through the means of “providing land registry, permit for adding storey etc...”.

The Condominium Law which had been put into force before 1965 has served to increase the surplus value sourcing from the manufacturing of construction by supporting industrial accumulation. While the large-capital owners were engaging themselves to the industrial investments, the urban areas were exposed to a process of placing high blocks of flats dominated by the procedure of “build and sell”.

During 1970ies the “Gecekondu” amnesties has resulted in a change in the meaning of “gecekondu” s, which first served only as a shelter, took over also a commercial role. This resulted in the takeover of the public land by private proprietorship and the income generated from the urban land was used to support capital accumulation.

The year 1980 has been the starting point of a new era, which is called globalization. With globalization, the policies were adopted towards scaling down of the state and assigning the private sector to make economic and social investments with aim of abolishing barriers in front of the private sector. As a result of the new structuring policies adopted, the state has took the leading role in investing in areas where the private sector lack due to the low-profit rates, preparing the legal framework to accelerate capital movements and regulating the market, while scaling itself down also in the area of public services to let it to private sector, no matter domestic or international. During these years, the construction of satellite settlements around the great cities especially targeting high-income groups by the public investment has resulted in land speculation created by the government itself, which made it impossible to implement decisions taken by plans in urban areas.

In a newspaper article dated October 20th, 2005 (Vatan), it is stated that the land speculation has changed the implementation area of a project. According to the article, Mass Housing Administration of Turkey preparing a project of 23 thousand dwellings on the Ankara-Eskişehir Highway had to give up this project due to the triple to quadruple increase in land prices because of the delay in the approval of the development plan. Mass Housing Administration declared that it will keep the new implementation area of the project as a secret. The plans made are not totally invalidated by the land speculation. However, land speculation makes it impossible to control development of the cities and thus leads to an unplanned expansion. As a result of this, the urban areas which did arise neither under the control nor in accordance with the willingness of the local administrations will hamper the building of infrastructure and delivery of urban services by the municipalities and will increase the cost of delivery of both infrastructure and urban services.

4.3. Adjacent Areas as a Tool of Urban Containment in Turkey

4.3.1. The Concept of Adjacent Area

Adjacent area is defined as a neighbor area to a municipality in dictionary. In Development Terms Dictionary, It is defined as the areas impacted by urban sphere and controlled by a municipality according to development law. And adjacent areas of Greater Municipalities is constituted from sum of all adjacent areas of district municipalities (Bolat et al., 1998:80).

Adjacent areas, according to fifth article of Development Law, are the areas controlled by municipalities. But, according to Mazı and Arslan (2003), adjacent area boundaries are not administrative boundaries. If a municipality is established, legal personality of villages within this area is abolished however in adjacent areas; the villages keep their legal personality.

The authority given to municipalities especially about development and for special occasions have displayed great variability as time goes by and included the administrative and financial activities. In one sense, two kinds of task areas were created. The first of these is the area within the municipal boundary regulated according to Law no 1580: Municipality Law (now Law no: 5216) while the other is adjacent areas (Arslan and Mazı, 2003).

4.3.2. Changing Meaning of Adjacent Areas: Planning, Responsibilities and Control of Adjacent Areas

The adjacent area concept has occupied the Turkish planning agenda since the 1950s. During the period between 1923 and 1945, from foundation of the Republic to the beginning the World War II, Turkey tried to empower internal markets by increasing its industrial investments and improving its transportation network. This industrialization process shaped the urbanization process in Turkey and felt mostly in Ankara and Istanbul. In fact, growth rate in the urban population of Ankara was higher than the average rate for Turkey. Urban population of Ankara increased from

74.553 to 288.536 between 1927 and 1950 years. That means it quadrupled in 20 years. The reason for this increase was the new role assigned for Ankara as being the capital city of the young Republic.

In the large cities of Turkey, rural-urban migration led to an increase in the demand for housing. Because of insufficient policies of government to provide house, newcomers have satisfied their residential needs by building informal settlements, particularly in the peripheral areas of large cities. The squatter housing, which are called “gecekondu” in Turkish, are consistent features of cities in many developing countries.

The year in which the Law no 1580 promulgated is 1930. This is the first Law in which the municipalities were given many responsibilities by the central authority. The responsibilities of the municipalities in the Law take place in 74 different articles. Mapping, land registry, making development plans, programming their investments according to plans and more importantly making the five-year-development-plans can be among those responsibilities. The Law no 2290 dated 1933 called ‘Law on Municipality, Construction and Roads’ which had been in force up to the year 1957, had been inadequate and had not been able to go beyond constructions within the municipal borders and only under limited conditions. In this period, development activities were taking place only within the municipal boundaries, the settlement pressure around the cities could not be oppressed and the number of uncontrolled and squatter settlements were continuously increasing. There was no measure taken to control the situation. In 50ies, the Law was, no doubt, inadequate to meet the needs of its period⁷. As we said before there was a need to meet the pressure towards settlement in the areas out of the municipal boundaries, however, in this Law there were no clauses concerning the problem. Exactly at this point, the Law no 6785 introduces the notion of ‘adjacent areas’.

⁷ In the preamble of the Law No 6785, it was stated that the Law No 2290 (Law on Municipality, Construction and Roads) was inadequate to execute development works, it had rather the quality of a regulation than of a law, and inadequate to meet needs (see The Preamble of the Law No 6785, Period:X, Law Term:2, No:73).

The objective of adjacent area was to intervene immediately to squatter area around metropolitan cities. The main aim behind this notion was the prevention of land speculation, illegal construction and disordered building in the zones of possible development. According to Tekinbaş (1992), the legal regulation of adjacent area, which came in to force with Law no 6785: Development Law, was a “precaution” when we took into consideration the problems of urbanization of that era.

In fact, this situation was clearly put in the discussions in the National Assembly⁸ of Law no 6785. In the minutes of the Law no 6785 dated June 25th, 1956, the representative of Kocaeli of that time, Sadettin Yalım, took the floor and expressed that the related articles of the Law would end up in important difficulties in terms of application. According to him, with the promulgation of the related articles of the Law, many citizens living outside the city, who are in need would not be able to build their own houses according to the decision of the Development Council anymore. The situation might not bring about important problems in great cities, but it certainly would in small cities and provinces. Therefore, the people who could not find or afford land within the city could naturally build their houses in the outer city. Especially, the municipalities responsible for the enforcement of this Law will prevent many of our citizens who live in villages close to municipal center to build their own houses, by extending its enforcements to close villages.

After Yalım, Himmet Ölçmen went on the floor on behalf of the Tentative Council and stated that the dismay of Yalım was not a proper one, on the contrary to what he said the most beautiful area in the way of the expansion of a city might lies out of the municipal boundaries such as the workers’ settlements and in these areas which are out of the municipal boundaries the construction would be permitted by the proposal of the Province and approval of the Ministry of Public Works. He added that the construction of “Gecekondu”s would not be permitted anymore in the most beautiful places of the city and that areas which could not exposed to parcellation for the time would become the most beautiful place of the city within the forthcoming one or two

⁸ 47th article of Law no 6785: Development Law was accepted in the Turkey Grand National Assembly, after Saadettin Yalım (Kocaeli) and temporary representative Hikmet Ölçmen (Konya) discussed. (see TBMM Zabıt Cendiresi, Seksen Birinci İnikat, Devre X, Cilt:12, İçtima:2, 25.VI.1956 Pazartesi, pp.495-496)

years. So, he put out the reason why adjacent areas needed by emphasizing that the article would not lead to the impediment of construction, but on the contrary only would hinder construction of illegal buildings and of course ‘Gecekondu’'s.

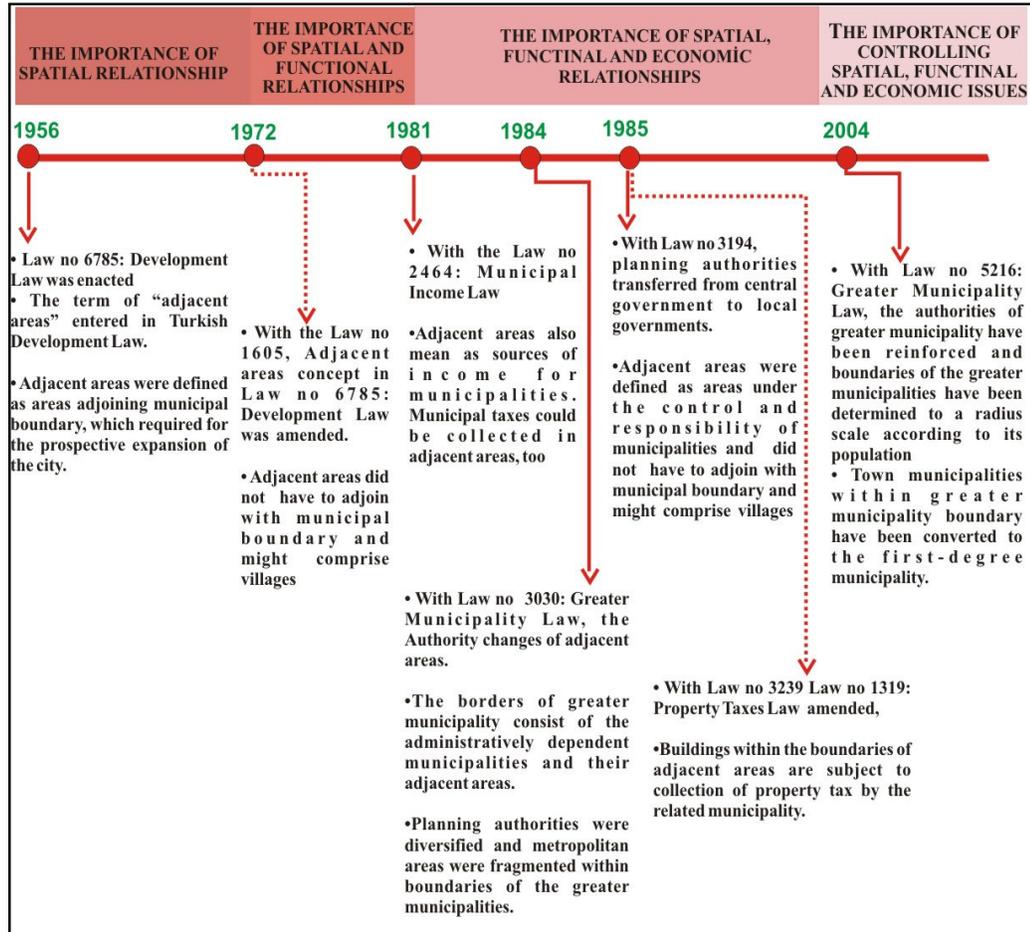


Figure 4.1. Milestone of the concept of adjacent areas.
Prepared by: Thesis Writer

In this part, “adjacent area” concept can be analyzed in four main periods. First period is between 1956 and 1972. This period is related with the adjacent areas entered in Turkish Development Law (law no:6785). The second period includes between 1972 and 1980. Necessity of adjacent areas adjoining with municipal boundary was abolished in this period. During third period between 1980 and 2004, economic and functional meaning of adjacent areas has emerged with Law no 3194:

Development Law, Law no 2464 Municipal Income Law and Law no 1319: Property Taxes Law, and Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law. The last period begins in 2004 with Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law regulations concerning to provide the control of integrity of adjacent areas.

4.3.2.1. Adjacent Areas in Law No 6787: Development Law between 1956-1972: The Importance of Spatial Relationship

The adjacent area concept was firstly stated in 1956 with 47th article of Law no 6785: Development Law. According to 47th Article of Law no 6785, adjacent areas were defined as areas adjoining municipal boundary, which required for the prospective expansion of the city. The decrees of Law no 6785: Development Law makes it possible to characterize the adjacent areas as the municipal growth areas (especially the urban growth) or the areas where the uncontrolled growth should be taken under control. For a land to be announced as adjacent area; the proposal of municipality, decision of Provincial Board of Directors and approval of Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing⁹ are required.

According to 1st Article of Law no 6785, all public and special construction activities were subjected to this law within boundary of municipality. And this law was comprised within municipal boundary. With 47th article of Law no 6785: Development Law the authority given to municipalities on development would be comprised adjacent areas, too.

⁹ In 1958 Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing is founded up for the purposes of planning villages, towns, cities and regions, working on residence policy and building materials, taking precautions before and after disasters, setting up Urban infrastructure and organizing the relationships between municipalities (See <http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/english/tarihce.php>, Last Accessed Date: 08.07.2007)

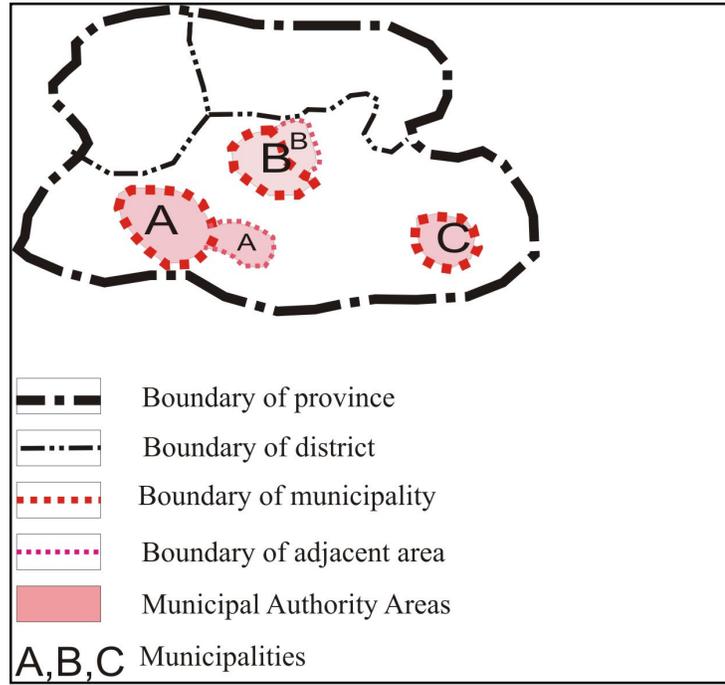


Figure 4.2. Adjacent areas according to Law no 6785
Adapted from: Tekinbaş,1995.

Adjacent areas should adjoin with municipal boundary. For example, in Figure 4.2 adjacent areas of both Municipality A and Municipality B adjoin with the municipal boundaries. Those areas determined by taking potential expansion areas into consideration.

The Development Regulation reveals criteria in determining adjacent areas. According to the Regulation, Municipalities the proposal of an area to be announced as adjacent area needs to meet at least one of the following conditions according to the Article 47 of Development Law:

- The need for a common order in these areas since they are prospective construction sites or countryside because of social relation in these areas.
- To avert risks arising from not adopting development plan in terms of both urbanization and housing.

- The need to determine their construction situation due to their topographical and geological conditions.¹⁰

The decrees of Law no 6785: Development Law implemented by the municipalities within the boundaries of both municipalities and adjacent areas. There are no decrees about development implemented to the areas outside those boundaries. As a result of this, the need for counteracting against settlement around cities away from any kind of control arises. With the help of the Law no 6785 the development plans which were limited to the municipal boundaries expanded to include adjacent areas.

In the legislation, it has been clearly stated that the determination of the boundary of adjacent areas are assessed according to certain criteria. The demands for determination of adjacent areas are concluded according to these criteria. As it can be understood from the reasoning of Article 47, the law adopted the aim of a rapid intervention to squatter settlement, which could be observed around the great cities in those years.

During these years every kind and scale of plan was subject to the approval of the same central authority, no problems were met in implementation of the Law and Regulation. According to Tekinbaş (2000), “The Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing had approved adjacent areas with ‘The Adjacent Area Plans’ and set, as well, development rules concerning these areas especially in the fields of construction and prohibition of construction.”

4.3.2.2. Adjacent Areas in Development Law between 1972-1980: The Importance of Spatial and Functional Relationship

47th Article of Law no 6785: Development Law has obtained new definitions and rules with the amendments enacted with the Law no 1605 dated 1972. This law states

¹⁰ Under these circumstances and under the condition that this area is not the adjacent area of another municipality, the borders of adjacent areas determined with the decision of Provincial Board of Directors and approval of Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. Within these borders, development law, development regulation and other legal rules are implemented by the municipality, of which proposal is approved.

that in determining adjacent areas there is no need to adjoin municipal boundary and that adjacent areas also include villages.

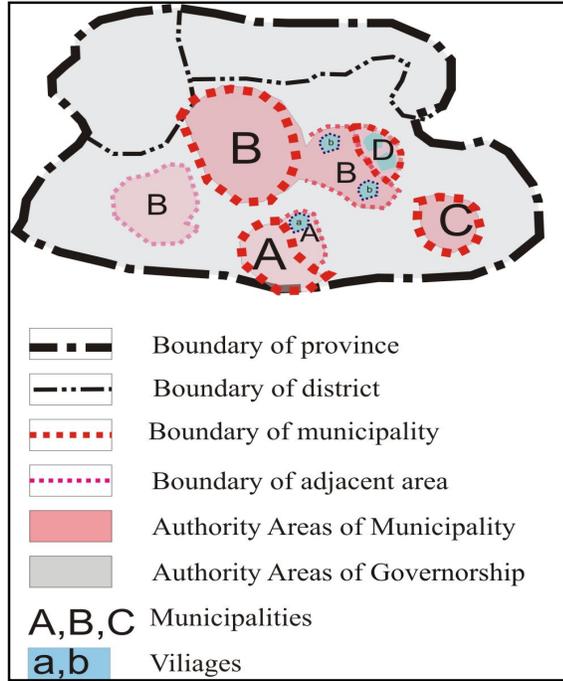


Figure 4.3. The spatial change of adjacent areas after the amendments enacted with the Law no 1605 dated 1972.

Adapted from: Tekinbaş,1995.

For example, think about municipalities A, B and C. It is possible that municipality A adjoins its adjacent area and it also possible any municipality B does not adjoin its adjacent area. There can be adjacent areas belonging to more than one municipality within the boundary of a province or city (see Figure 4.3).

Beyhan (2000) focused on the change in the definition of adjacent area after this law. In the past, the adjacent area was only signifying a spatial continuity of the municipal areas but later it started to signify a connectional-effectual continuity, too. Mostly municipalities use the areas, which are not contiguous to them for several technical services such as water, energy and sewerage system. Moreover, some municipalities

in coastal areas were able to control touristic coasts, which are not contiguous to their boundaries.

While amendments brought about by Law no 1605 had given a lot of tasks and authority to Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing established with Law no 7716, the annex 7, annex 8 of Law no 1605 and the regulation based on these annexes published on the official gazette dated October 18th, 1975, were altogether pointing to development activities outside municipal boundary and adjacent areas and investing authority to control this untouched area to Governorships and again Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing.

4.3.2.3. Adjacent Areas in Law no 3194: Development Law and Other Legal Arrangements between 1980-2004: The Importance of Spatial, Functional and Economic Relationship

The fundamental result of the determination of one area as the adjacent area of the municipality has been the delegacy of municipalities to undertake development activities on that area since the terms entered the law. However, after 1980, adjacent areas mean more than development activities to municipalities.

4.3.2.3.1. Adjacent Areas in Law no 3194: Development Law

Law no 3194: Development Law came into force in 1985 and led to the abolishment of the Law no 6785: Development Law. According to 5th article of Law no 3194, the ‘adjacent area’ was defined as ‘being under the authority of municipalities’. 45th article of Law no 3194 reveals that the adjacent areas can comprise the villages and gives to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement the right to approve by itself. It means that the Ministry can take the ex-officio competence of plan preparation and approval about adjacent areas if it finds necessary (Duyguluer, 2005). Law no 3194 enacted in 1985 substituted the amended Law no 6785 and contains differences about adjacent areas as follows:

- While 1st article of Law no 6785 limits the area covered by the law to municipal boundary, the 2nd article of Law no 3194 terminates these limits by stating that all official and private buildings whether within the municipal boundaries or not are covered to the decrees of this law.
- While there was no definition of adjacent areas in the Law no 6785, in the 5th article of Law no 3194 adjacent areas are defined as ‘areas under the control and responsibility of municipalities in terms of development legislation.

Table 4.2. The Comparison of Adjacent Areas in the Development Laws

	Law no 6787	Amendments with Law no 1605	Law no 3194
Years	Between 1956 -1972	Between 1972-1985	After 1985
Articles About Adjacent Areas	Article 47	Article 47	Articles 5 and 45
Concept of Adjacent Areas	Required areas for the prospective expansion of the municipality	Required areas for the prospective expansion of the municipality	Areas under the control and responsibility of municipalities
Responsibility	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality
Approval of boundary by	Ministry	Ministry	Ministry
Development Plans made by	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality
Development Plans Approved by	Ministry	Ministry	Municipality Council
Physical Characteristics of Adjacent Areas	adjoin with the boundary of municipality	Not have to adjoin with municipal boundary and may also comprise villages	Not have to adjoin with municipal boundary and may also comprise villages

Adapted by: Law no 6785: Development Law, 1956; Amendments with Law no 1605, 1972 and Law no 3194: Development Law, 1985.

In the 45th article of Law no 3194 the procedure and essence of determining adjacent areas has been changed radically in comparison to Law no 6785. The statement of

Law no 6785 about adjacent areas as ‘areas adjoining with the boundary of municipality and necessary for the prospective expansion of the municipality has been entirely abated. Thus there are no criteria left to determine adjacent areas. Moreover, the Ministry’s authority which was limited only to approval of the announcement of adjacent areas was expanded to include “returning for revision and change”.

Besides, while Law no 6785 has no articles about ‘being expelled from being adjacent area’, the Law no 3194 states the expelling is also subject to the same procedure. This once more emphasizes that there is no criterion in determining adjacent areas, because if the area was in the direction of settlement growth, it could not be expelled from being an adjacent area. More importantly, the statement ‘Ministry can take ex-officio decision for one area to include it to or expel it from being adjacent area when needed’ gives the whole authority to the Ministry.

4.3.2.3.2. Criteria of Determining an Adjacent Area, Proposal and Approval

According to 47th article of law no 6785, determining factor of including an area to adjacent areas is ‘its necessity in terms of the growth of the settlement’. According to Tekinbaş (2000), in Law no 3194 different than older legislation, there is no criterion about assessment the proposals on adjacent areas and no regulations based on Development Law were issued. With this law following 1985, there is a variety of reasons in the proposal and approval of adjacent areas. As a result of this, Ministry executes issues related to proposals of adjacent areas according to circulars issued in 1986, 1990, 1992 and 1997. This is why, the Ministry declared its view and criteria through the medium of circulars on the assessment, examination, and approval of adjacent areas. There are some principles for municipalities in determining adjacent areas. They are:

- **In Terms of Administrative Boundaries:** The boundary of adjacent areas should not cross the boundary of district to which the municipality is bounded or

another municipality's boundary. Even if an adjacent area within the boundary of another municipality is approved, it is possible that this approval can be void and it should be taken into consideration that residents of one municipality/district should follow his bureaucratic issues in the other municipality or districts. Moreover, if the adjacent area includes villages, the villager should be asked their views and according to 20th article of Village Law, the Village Electoral College should enunciate positive view on this issue.

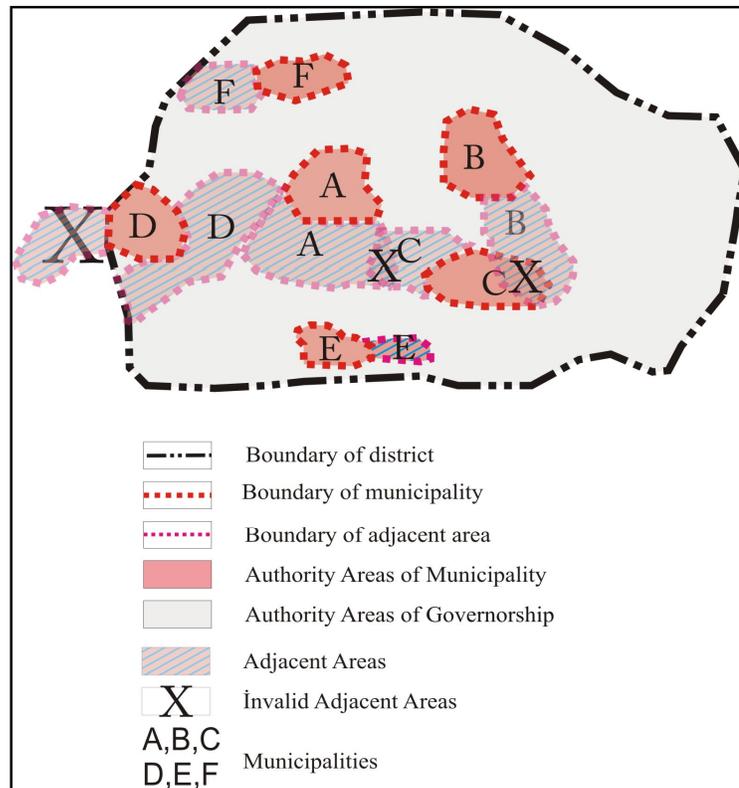


Figure 4.4. Adjacent Areas in terms of the Administrative Units.
Adapted from: Tekinbaş,1995.

- **In Terms of Urban Expansion:** The size of adjacent area should be at a physical scale that the municipality does not fail in realizing its tasks and responsibilities. Otherwise, the municipality could not serve properly.

- **In Terms of Procedure:** The municipality should first ask the opinion of the Ministry before having the Provincial Board of Directors decision
- **In Terms of Technical and Financial Power of the Municipality:** The income and spending balance, possession of equipments and their condition and the number of workers are important for a municipality to comply with its increasing responsibilities as the size of adjacent areas rises. A municipality which has a limited number of personnel and equipment cannot control the adjacent areas effectively.
- **In Terms of Reasoning of the Proposal:** Municipality is expected to reason why it wants to declare an area as adjacent area (such as protection, expansion etc.). By doing this the municipalities are required to have plans, to assess the density rate in the planned area, development program etc. The type and quality of construction in adjacent area, population density, construction density and similar characteristics supply important data for determining adjacent area. Thus, in determining the adjacent area, the qualitative characteristics of the area plays a role as important as its physical size. For example, physically smaller adjacent areas may have a denser structuring, more intense economic activity in comparison to a larger one, and thus may increase the responsibilities and burden of attached municipality. Thus, in the determination of the adjacent area demographic, economical and structural qualities should be taken into consideration as well.

45th Article of Law no 3194 covers decrees about determination and approval of an adjacent area. According to this, the proposal on the borders of adjacent area is sent to the Ministry based on the decisions of Municipality Council and the Provincial Board of Directors. The Ministry after examining the proposal decides whether to approve it as it is or by changing it or may return it to be changed by the municipality.

In the Law no 3194, there also exists a decree that the decisions of Municipality Councils and the Provincial Board of Directors will be sent to the Ministry by the Governorships. After promulgation of the Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law (10.07.2004), the Provincial Local Administration Law no 5302 (22.02.2005), Law

no 5393: Municipality Law (03.07.2005), the Ministry of Public Works and Settlements published a circular in 26.04.07 how to apply this law and eliminate hesitations. According to this circular, following procedure must be below:

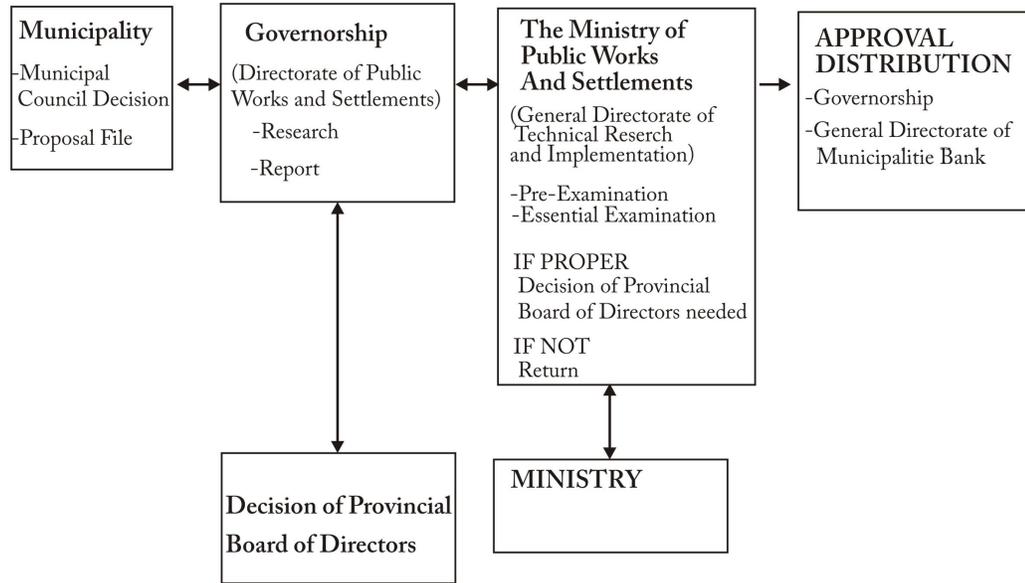


Figure 4.5. The Workflow Scheme of Adjacent Area Proposal
Source: Üncü, 2007.

The procedure defined above works as follows:

- **Reasoning report:** The municipality by taking its resources into account determines on the adjacent area which will be under its control and responsibility and prepares a report about this area including information and its thoughts on it such as existing constructions, natural resources etc. The report should also include the targets of the municipality concerning this area such as protection, proposed density of construction etc.
- **Map scaled 1/25 000 displaying all valid borders:** The of possession by the villages in the adjacent area which the municipality wants to include within its boundary should be shown and also, if there exists, the document approved by the governorship and showing settled areas of villages. A map scaled 1/25 000 should display municipal boundaries, if exists, boundaries of villages and also the boundaries of districts, when needed.

If there are newly established municipalities or districts within the boundary of proposed area, their boundary should also be displayed in the map and the date and number of the Official Gazette concerning the announcement of this newly established municipalities and district should be added. The boundary of existing development plans should also be included in this map. It should be pointed out whether the area belongs to the expansion zone of another municipality.

The provider of infrastructure services such public utility services, drainage and wastes in the proposed area should be pointed out as well as planned investment in the proposed area such as mass housing, industrial zone, small-scale industrial zone etc.

- **Approval forms required by the Ministry:** Besides, the adjacent area assessment forms should also be filled in compliance with the reality. Eke (1998) puts it out; “the urgency and size of the need for adjacent area will be determined by these forms filled by the municipality in demand for an adjacent area. At the same time, the capacity of municipality in terms of delivering services is attempted to be measured with these forms. It is an indicator of the sufficiency of the municipality for the area demanded. The aim is to assess the rationality and effectiveness of the municipality”
- **Decision of the Municipality Council and Assent of Village Association:** The decision of Municipality Council including the petition of villages indicating their assent of being included within the borders of adjacent area is delivered to the governorship.
- **Governorship** delivers two copies of these documents to Ministry after checking appropriateness and accuracy of them.
- **Ministry** once again checks appropriateness and accuracy of the documents and then examines them in terms of related boundaries, approvals made before and effectual plans and if needed on spot investigation is made. If the demand decided to be a proper one, Ministry wants the governorship the Provincial Administration Board decision to be taken. The Ministry approves the adjacent area only after Provincial Administration Board decision is received and sends

the map scaled 1/25.000 to governorship and with the medium of governorship to related municipalities and other related institutions.

4.3.2.3.3. Planning and Construction in the Adjacent Areas According to Development Law

Adjacent areas are completely under the authority of municipalities regarding development legislation. Municipalities are responsible to enforce the development legislation in these areas. Moreover, all the responsibilities given to municipalities by the development and other related legislation was also applicable to the adjacent areas.

The meaning of being adjacent areas totally under the control of municipalities in terms of development legislation is that special delegacies given to municipalities by the Law no 5393: Municipality Law, Law no 3194: Development Law, Law no 2634: Encouragement of Tourism and Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law was also applicable in adjacent areas entirely or in some cases partially as well as within the municipal boundaries and that the duties defined with these laws would be enforced by the municipalities (Tekinbaş, 1995).

However, the municipalities have to use their delegacies according to the legal framework formed by laws, by-laws, regulations and circulars, which mean the announcement of an area as an adjacent area does not mean that municipality's delegacy does not have a limit. Law no 3194: Development Law defines the limits of municipalities delegacies in the first section of the Law called "Aim, Scope and General Essence" in which there are three articles. They are as follows:

"Article 1: This law is prepared with the aim of compliance of settlement areas and the construction in these areas with plans, the requirements of natural sciences, health and environmental conditions.

Article 2: All official or private buildings to be built within the boundaries of municipalities and adjacent areas, and lying out of these boundaries are all subject to the enforcement of this law.

Article 3: Any area cannot be used for the purposes against principles of planning of any scale, conditions of the region and requirements of the by-law.” (Law no 3194: Development Law).

In that case, the delegacies of the municipalities over adjacent areas are limited by: development law and related laws, usage decisions developed according to plans of any kind and scale and requirements of these plans, being in accordance with the condition of health and physics, related by-laws, harmony with the environmental conditions, as well as their delegacies over the municipal boundaries (Tekinbaş, 1995:15). The by-laws to which municipalities are subject to obey can be seen in the Figure 4.6

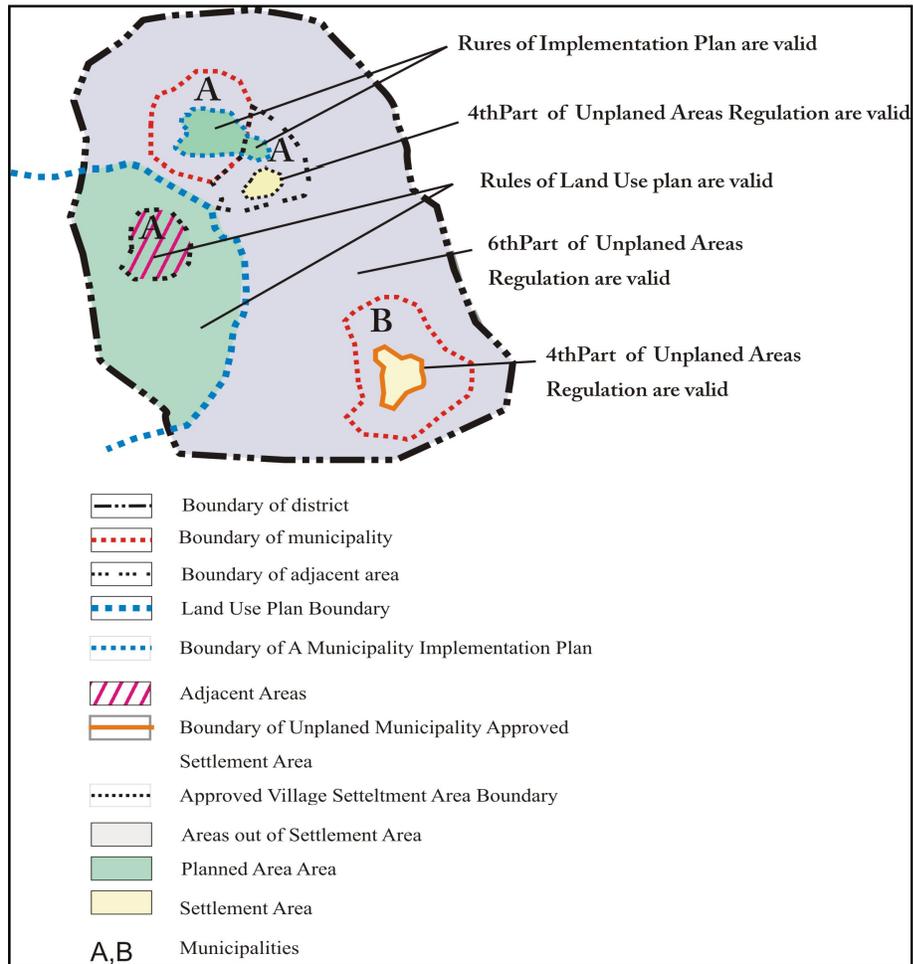


Figure 4.6. By-Laws to be implemented by the municipalities on the adjacent areas. Adapted from: Tekinbaş,1995.

Municipalities are responsible of the development implementations in the adjacent areas. Municipalities should implement their activities in the adjacent areas according to the legal framework defined in the following paragraphs:

If there exists plans of any kind or scale to be implemented in the adjacent areas, the municipalities should first of all obey decrees of the Development Law. And these areas should be considered as areas allocated to the prospective development of the city. The parcellation and construction permits used in settlement areas can also be applied to these areas. In this case construction is permitted if the condition required by the 23rd article (construction permit in the development areas) of development law. The permit for settlement depends on whether the parcellation is done and approved, whether the sewer system and its roads are built (Mengi and Keleş, 2003).

If there is no decree in the Law concerning plan, the municipalities which are outside the scope of the Law no 3030” should obey the decrees of the “By-Law Concerning the Type of Development”. Moreover, there can be villages in the adjacent areas. If these villages are not included by any plan of any kind or scale, then they are subject to the decrees of the “By-Law for Unplanned Areas”¹¹. The definition of the ‘settled area’ taking place in the forth article of the by-law mentioned is as follows: According to this definition the municipalities¹² can determine settled areas with two motivations:

First, the municipalities for which there is no development plan prepared and for which there is no exigency of drawing a plan according to Development Law can determine settled areas (neighborhoods). Second, the municipalities can determine

¹¹ The name of by-law “Development By-law Applicable to Areas within or out of the boundaries of Municipality and Adjacent Areas which do not have a Plan” changed with “By-Law for Unplanned Areas” in 2001.

¹² The 7th article of the Development Law states that it is an exigency to make development plans for areas population of which is more than 10. 000 according to the results of the last census. Whether a development plan is needed for the municipalities with a population less than 10.000 or not, is to be decided by the municipal council.

the settled areas of the villages and hamlets in their adjacent areas which are not included by any development plan.

Moreover, Municipalities are responsible of implementing the 4th article of the “By-Law for Unplanned Areas” in their settled areas. The areas determined and approved as the settled areas lying out of plans of any kind or scale are called “unsettled areas” and municipalities are responsible to enforce the decrees of the 6th article of the “By-Law for Unplanned Areas”.

In short, for adjacent areas to earn a meaning in terms of the web of inspection, delegacy and responsibility, it is an exigency for municipalities to found a healthy structural bound between administrative structure, income-spending level, equipment and personnel quality, size and accessibility of the municipality.

According to the additional article no 16 which has been added “Law no 442:Village Law” with the Law no 3367, the settlement plans of the villages lying within the boundaries of the adjacent areas are done by the governorship under the organization and coordination of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs and with the approval of the Ministry of Settlement and Public Works. To escape from this complicated administrative structure, it is needed to relate the boundaries of adjacent areas to the boundaries of the districts (Tekinbaş, 1995).

4.3.2.3.4. Fragmentation of Adjacent Areas with Abolished Law no 1580 Municipality Law and Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law

There are no special regulations made by the Law no 1580: Municipality Law dated 1930. However, if we handle adjacent areas within the legal framework as a tool “*to control and direct development*” of cities (Ertürk, Keskinok, Haliloğlu, 1999), some articles of the law are problematic in terms of the deterioration of spatial wholeness by being fragmented of metropolitan area. The first one of them needs close investigation in terms of holistic urban development. At this point, the new types of administrative boundaries emerged in the adjacent areas of a city, which constitutes

wholeness with its new development focuses. The 7th Article of the Municipalities Law no 1580 amended with Law no 7469 (dated May 4th, 1960) is important; which determines criteria about establishment of municipalities. According to this article, for villages and different parts of villages to establish a municipality there must be at least 500 m. distance between them and they, at least, must have a population of 2000 people.

The establishment of new municipalities within the adjacent areas of a city having a particular direction of development will create a dual administrative structure and will lead to uncontrolled development to the disadvantage of natural resources. It will also result in the diffusion in the delegation about planning in an area requiring a macro scale plan, and this situation will have negative effects on wholeness of the city in terms of planning principles. This had been a chronicle case for metropolitan municipalities in our country especially during the time zone when Law no 3030 was in force. The reason of the disconnectedness was due to the exclusion of town municipalities from the authority of metropolitan municipalities.

There has been created some autonomous municipalities within the adjacent areas which could apply plans under no macro scale planning and synchronization. The Circular no 521.96/53290 (16.07.1996) sent to the governorships by the Ministry of Interior, the importance of the subject was emphasized by stating, “in the establishment of new municipalities following principles should be followed”:

- to be careful about the matter that the prospective municipalities in the adjacent areas of greater municipalities should not be established as independent units based to Law no 3194: Development Law, but established as sub-province municipalities subject to the control of greater municipalities,
- in the examination of proposals for new municipalities, to take into account not only the population criterion but also the conditions of the area and other related development and environment legislation in accordance with Law no 1580.

- to ask for the views of representatives of the Ministry of Tourism in the case of the formation of administrative units in touristic areas.

According to 5th Article of Law no 1580 the municipal boundary of the municipalities with a population under 80.000 the decision of the municipal council was approved by the administrative council of the province to which the municipality was subject after taking the opinion province's or sub-province's administrative council. However, the case was different in municipalities with population higher than 80.000, in which case cabinet decision required¹³. The phenomenon of increasing immigration especially after World War II has led to important problems in metropolitan cities. The Law no 6785: Development Law was also covering the municipal borders at this time. The expansion of municipal borders to control the suburbs of the cities defined a long process when Law no 1580 was taken into account. According to Tekinbaş (1992), adjacent areas had accelerating effects for municipalities to control municipal boundary. So, the decrees of Development Law would also be applicable to adjacent areas.

The Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law was put into force in 1984. This law had been enacted before Law no 3194: Development Law came into force and there have been no decrees in the Greater Municipality Law concerning the adjacent areas. According to this law, greater municipalities were responsible of coordinating, approving and directing structure plans for district municipalities within their boundaries. District municipalities prepare development plans and apply them for their.

The 21st Article of Law no 1580 makes the Law no 3194 also applicable to metropolitan municipalities by stating that 'Law no 1580 and other related laws decrees of which are not in confrontation with this law will be valid metropolitan and district municipalities. However, in this law there are no specific decrees about adjacent areas within the boundaries of greater municipalities.

¹³This authority belonged to Council of Ministers was transferred to the Ministry of Interior with decree law no 336 in 1988. Later, this decree law has become act with the Law no 3612 in 1990.

According to Tekinbaş (2001:110), since the greater municipalities are based and function according to a different law, the circulars based on Law no 3194 are insufficient in terms of the adjacent areas. This insufficiency was attempted to be overcome by the by-law. According to 7th article of the by-law titled ‘Establishment and Boundaries’ adjacent areas and their borders are subject to the decrees of development legislation for the sake of the wholeness of the greater municipality. Again, in the paragraph F of its 8th article, it is stated that ‘the greater municipality regulates the areas by law which covers metropolitan areas and its adjacent areas’. Thus, the greater municipalities were given the delegacy to do regulative operation about development concerning the municipal and adjacent areas.

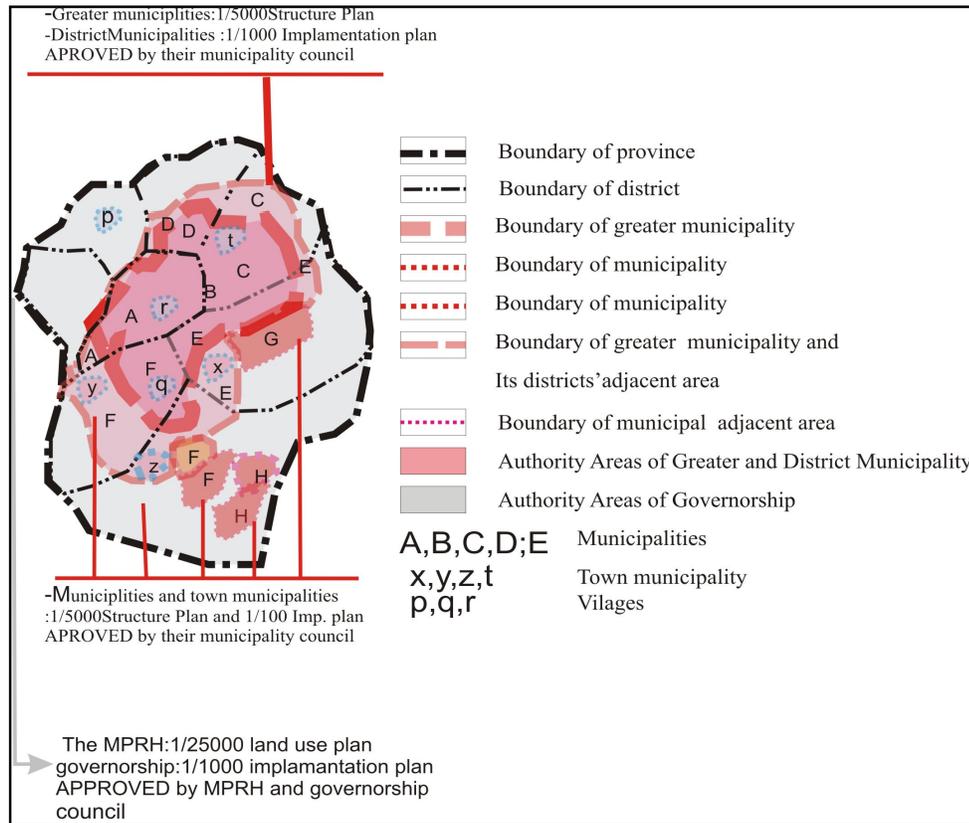


Figure 4.7. The Authority changes of adjacent areas after Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law.

With this by law, the boundaries of greater municipality and district municipality as well as adjacent areas and their boundaries are also regulated. According to 7th article, boundaries of the district municipalities established within the metropolitan municipality are also administrative boundaries of the parts of borders of these district which are within the borders of metropolitan municipalities. Adjacent areas and their borders are subject to the development legislation for the sake of the wholeness of the metropolis. According to these decrees, the borders of metropolitan municipality consist of the administratively dependent municipalities and their adjacent areas. Thus, it can be concluded that the metropolitan municipalities does not have separate adjacent areas, however they have the control of adjacent areas belonging to dependent municipalities.

**4.3.2.3.5. Economic Meaning of Adjacent Areas: Law no 2464:
Municipal Income Law and Law no 1319 Property Taxes
Law**

With the legal regulations, adjacent areas also mean as sources of income for municipalities, while they were only an area for development activities before. One of the regulations mentioned is the one stated in Law no 2464: Municipal Income Law dated 1981: “all the municipal taxes, most of the compulsory levies and all of the operations subject to charge can be collected in adjacent areas, too”.

In the 104th article, in the collection of levies such as electricity and air gas consumption taxes, construction, building and business permits in the adjacent areas are subject to the condition that the municipality delivers municipal services to those areas. The services which should be delivered to adjacent areas are determined according to the communiqué of Ministry of Interior issued on official gazette dated 16.09.1981. According to this communiqué, the services to be delivered to adjacent areas are:

- a) building roads for vehicles according to regional characteristics of the area and their maintenance,

b) delivering clean and healthy drinking water to the adjacent area.

However, these services do not have to be provided by the municipality. Even if the municipality does not deliver these services, if there are any other intuitions providing them, then the municipality has the delegacy to collect taxes and levies stated in the Municipal Incomes Law.

Another regulation is the amendment made to the Law no 1319: Property Taxes Law dated 1970 with Law no 3239 in 1985. With this amendment, it is legally stated that buildings within the boundaries of adjacent areas are subject to collection of property tax by the related municipality.

Moreover, the repeated 44th article added to the Law no 2464: Municipal Incomes Law with the law no 3914 has been amended with Law no 5035 and according to this amendment the houses, businesses and other buildings within the municipal or adjacent areas, which are benefiting from the environmental cleaning services of the municipality are subject to pay environment cleaning tax.

4.3.2.3.6. Adjacent Areas in Law no 442 Village Law

Seven articles added to Law no 442: Village Law dated 1924 by the Law no 3367 in 1987 are about the villages within the boundary of adjacent areas. According to 16th added article, Rural Settlement Plan has been prepared by governorship under the coordination of Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs and approved by Ministry of Public Works and Settlements.

According to Tekinbaş (1992) in terms of planning, villages under the jurisdiction of village law, which take place within the adjacent areas, are administratively dependent to governorships, while they are dependent to municipalities considering licensing, financial and punishment obligations. It is necessary to correlate between district and adjacent area boundaries to prevent administrative problems.

4.3.2.4. Adjacent Areas in Adjacent Area in Municipality and Greater Municipality Law after 2004: The Importance of Controlling Spatial, Functional and Economic Issues in Adjacent Areas

Before 2004, there were three kinds of municipality in Turkey. First one (independent municipalities such as town municipalities) was subject to the abolished Law no 1580 dated 1930 and the second one was greater municipalities subject to the abolished Law no 3030 dated 1984, and last one was the district municipality, which was established within greater municipality. After Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law (dated July 10th, 2004), town municipalities within greater municipality boundary have been converted to the first-degree municipality. So authority confusion stemming from legal structure between greater municipality and town municipality has been solved.

The Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law dated 2004, which abrogated Law About Approval of the Amendment of the Decree Law no 3030 about Administration of Metropolitan Municipalities resulted in radical changes for metropolitan municipalities and increased their delegacies in general. According to this new law in force, boundaries of the Greater municipalities are determined to a radius scale according to its population.

In the Law, in İstanbul and Kocaeli the Greater municipality boundaries are administrative borders. In other greater municipalities the borders was determined according to, accepting the existing governorship building as the center under the limitation of the administrative borders, for cities with less than one million population the radius was considered as 20 km., for cities with the population from 1 million to 2 million the radius was considered as 30 km., and the cities with more than 2 million population the radius was accepted as 50 km. The new categorization was as follows:

- Boundaries equal to the area of the province (2 provinces): İstanbul ve Kocaeli
- Provinces with a population less than 1.000.000 (r=20 km.) (10 provinces): Adapazarı, Antalya, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Eskişehir, Gaziantep, Kayseri, Konya, Mersin ve Samsun.

- Provinces with population from 1.000.000 to 2.000.000 (r=30 km) (2 provinces): Adana ve Bursa
- Provinces with a population more than 2.000.000 (r=50) (2 provinces): Ankara ve İzmir

In including municipalities to the boundaries of the greater municipality, the criterion is the real borders of a municipality not the borders of its adjacent areas. If any part of the real border of the municipality lies within the imaginary circle drawn by the respective radius, then this municipality is accepted to dependent to the greater municipality (Altaban and Duyguluer, 2004). There is a great danger of drawing the borders of metropolitan area with such a method of calipers. The reality will not encompass the procedure.

While some settlements which are sociologically under metropolitan effects lie out of the responsibility area of the greater municipality, some municipalities which are disconnected with the metropolis due to their rural and socioeconomic qualities will be in the metropolitan area. On the other side, although at first the expansion of the borders of greater municipality seems as something positive, it also have the risk of bringing lots of problems by itself. The border of municipality defines the area to which the municipality is responsible to deliver its services. This kind of expansion will end up in the change of the status of villages of rural quality to neighborhood and the delivering of all municipal services to those areas will become mandatory, whereas most of the greater municipalities meet difficulties in delivering services to existing urban settlement areas.

With this law it has been stated that town municipalities within the borders of greater municipalities will become first-degree municipalities and villages lying within these borders will turn to neighborhood. Although the legal personality of forest villages continues, it has been stated that these villages are considered as adjacent areas of the greater municipality. In a circular dated 2007, the Ministry stated that there is no more need for these areas to be proposed as adjacent areas. In the same circular:

According to the first subparagraph, the municipalities and villages lying within the borders of the town municipalities made dependent to metropolitan municipalities,

together with villages within the borders of the adjacent areas of greater municipality, the ones outlying the distance stated in the first paragraph, may be included in greater municipality in a time span of six months of the issuance of this law in the official gazette. The procedure is demand of the village council or municipal council, decision of greater municipality council and then approval of the Ministry of Interior, no other procedure is required. The greater municipality council's decision also shows in which first-degree municipality or district municipality the will be in.

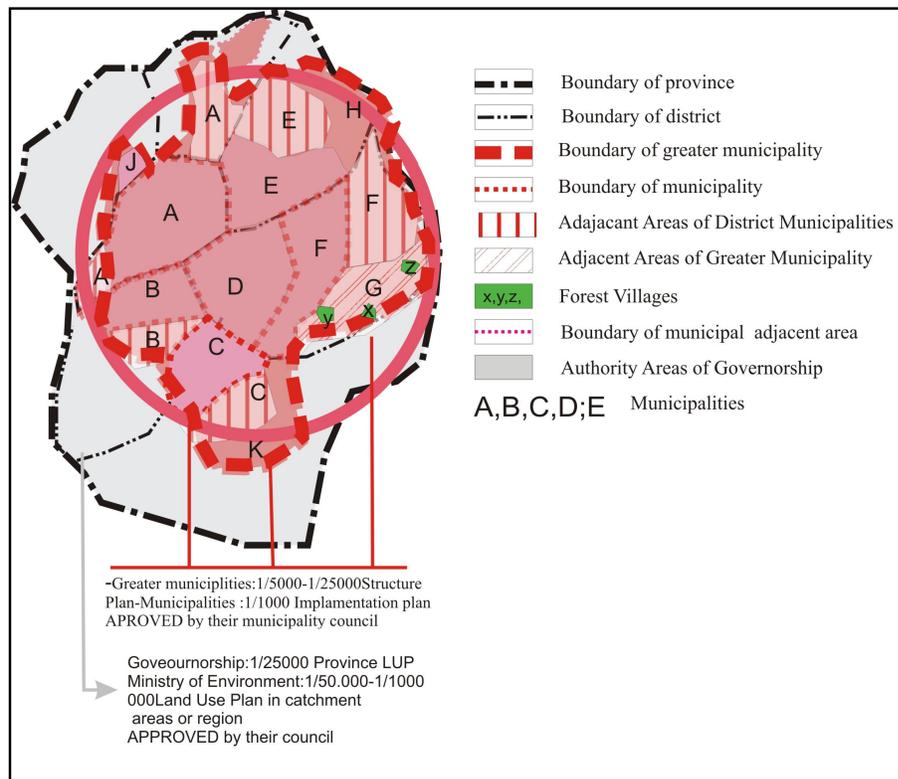


Figure 4.8 Change of adjacent areas after Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law

Prepared by: Thesis Writer

So, the existing municipal and adjacent areas are subjected to a new kind of regulation. The determination of metropolitan municipal borders according to certain distances, resulted in the parcellation of adjacent areas, which was formed according to different legal and jurisdictional criteria before; thus led to the deterioration of the wholeness formed before. It is also envisaged to be subject to new kind of application. On the other side, after the envisaged applications are performed, the areas outlying the borders would be also under the control of the municipality. Thus, these areas would also be included in the responsibility of the greater municipality in terms of delegacies and responsibilities, which means further expansion in the delegacy and responsibility area of municipalities.

The distribution of adjacent areas of greater municipalities within the district municipalities and first degree municipalities is made by the council of greater municipality. By this, it is aimed to regulate a matter which led to confrontation before because of the circular of the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement dated 25.12.1995.

With these changes in the Municipality Law, great emphasis was given to regulation considering adjacent areas, which mean adjacent areas in legislation are handled as a regulation subject differently than before. These regulations are in the direction of increasing the delegacies of greater municipalities on adjacent areas and enabling their easier expansion towards adjacent areas.

CHAPTER 5

URBAN CONTAINMENT IN TURKISH PLANNING PRACTICE IN THE CASE OF ANKARA: EVALUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT PLANS OF ANKARA WITH RESPECT TO ADJACENT AREAS

The city of Ankara has adopted the leading role in terms of the greater planning experience of the state, since it has become the capital city of Turkey. Nonetheless, especially the immigration faced after the Second World War which are generally directed to great cities has had great impact on the urban space of Ankara and has affected the birth and definition of the problems such as squatter 'gecekondu's, uncontrolled growth, scattered settlement and speculative developments. The city encountered a lot of problems to control them.

Development plans outline the route of a city's future of 15-20 years by using different types of data and technique. They are the determining tools of defining general character, healthy development and control of the city. However, it is possible that these tools may have limited effect on directing the city. Especially the limiting role of partial developments can also be observed in the example of Ankara in where the made or will-be-made development plans are more under the effect of those partial plans than being guiding. The low price land in periphery of city and, thus, the implementation of master plans, which are generally concentrated on planning the city, according to urban and rural settlement demands resulted in an imbalance of the protection and use of resources. How can we relate adjacent areas which are used to control the speculative developments and as a tool for growth management to plans implemented in the example of Ankara? It can be observed that, since the Jansen plan, Ankara has expanded and developed different from all

plans foreseen and especially that it has reached the populations target even before this plan reached its target year.

The problems of urban growth during the planning periods and the use of adjacent areas to solve these problems have been analyzed to understand the relation between the planning experience of Ankara and adjacent areas. In preceding chapters, we discussed that the term 'adjacent areas' in our country first appeared during 1950s. The rapid growth trend starting after Ankara has been declared as the capital city of Turkey, the reasons of the problems and the search for solution need to be analyzed. Thus, it will be examined the growth trend of Ankara, the methods used to control this growth and the importance of adjacent areas on this process since Ankara as been declared to be the capital city.

The declaration of adjacent areas in Ankara first started in 1958. Before this period there have been several changes in the boundary of municipalities in 1926, 1940 and 1942. After 80s, the boundary of adjacent areas have continuously changed. In the year of 2004, with the Law no 5126, the boundary of the greater municipality of Ankara has been announced to be within the radius of 50 kilometers of city center.

In this part of thesis, the problems of growth in Ankara and how they were controlled by plans will be discussed. Thus, first of all, it has been studied the urban growth trends after the plans including both approved and unapproved ones started to be made. Later on, the relation between the changes in the boundaries and declarations of adjacent areas in different periods has been researched. The aim in relating adjacent areas more to when the planning operation begins than to the date in which the plan is approved is to decide whether adjacent areas are effective in controlling urban development.

5.1. Rapid Spatial Expansion: The Jansen Plan Period 1923-1954

Ankara was a small town of 20.000 populations in 1920. Together with being determined as the capital city of the new Republic, it has faced a rapid increase in population size. Hence, the priority of the republican administration has been its reconstruction as a proper capital city and overcoming sheltering needs of civil servants of the city. In order to find solutions for this population increase, and to control the development of the city, the Law no 417: Ankara Municipality Law has been enacted in 1924. During the first years of the Republic, construction implementations were made according to ‘Municipalities Law’ dated 1877 and “Building Law” dated 1882 (amended in 1926).

With the decision of reconstructing Ankara as a modern city in 1924, there has been important controversy about the direction of growth of the city. Should it be reconstructed in the old city center or should new settlement zones be opened? The supporters of the old city center were arguing that transfer of the taxes of residents to new areas is unethical and even that the old city would be neglected as their dissidents were arguing that the expropriation and reconstruction costs would be too high due to the density and insufficient infrastructure of the old city and that there was no space enough to expand. The landowners in the old city were rich trades/craftsmen of Ankara. However the newcomers had bought some land from surrounding vineyards. The density of official buildings and the function of it as a trade center combined with an insufficient but still existing infrastructure had increased the land prices in the old city. Naturally, the development implementations in this area would lead to further enormous speculative increase in the real-estate prices in old city. In the Grand National Assembly, the debate has resulted on behalf of the supporters of new Ankara, due to the unwillingness to leave this enormous speculative profit to trades and craftsmen. On the one hand the decision about direction of expansion and growth towards new areas, on the other the amendment in the law of ‘electing’ and to ‘be elected’ conditions of members of city council, has led to a domination of newcomers in the decision of reconstruction of Ankara. This change gave Ankara the opportunity of growing in new city area, rather than on the

old core. The new development practices started with the selection of Yenışehir which is a partly swamp partly meadowland. In 1925, Law no 583 has been enacted to enable expropriation and construction activities. With this law, it has been emphasized that the main problem of urbanization is land. This expropriation covering an area of 400 hectares, has two important results, first of which is the conception of leaving the old identity of the growing city in its place and creating the new city in the near-by areas of the old one due to the economic difficulties in the improvement of both the quality of housing and urban quality. This kind of approach, by rejecting growing like an oil drop, helped to create a kind of growing within the borders of a new type of macroform.

Its other result is to prevent land speculation of newcomers (immigrants, new bourgeoisie of the republic etc.) in land prices (Tankut, 1990). Falih Rıfki Atay (1969) puts the situation out as *“We had jumped in speculation. Everybody was eager to buy land to sell it again in the future...”*

Since the reconstruction of Ankara held as a national problem, it has been thought that the city’s municipality by itself is not considered competent in the development process. Thus, in 1928, Directorate of Development of the City of Ankara operating under the central government was established with the Law no 1351. The duties of this directorate were planning, authority of approval of which was given to the government, of the city and implementation of this plans. After 1937, the directorate started to operate under the Ankara Municipality.

The First Plan of Ankara: The first planning of Ankara has been experienced as making different plans for the old and new cities. In 1924, for the old city of Ankara, the citadel and its surroundings has been planned, but municipal commission had rejected the plan since it has been considered as impractical.

But, the Lorcher plan concerning Yenışehir has been accepted and started to be implemented. This plan, considered the first plan of Ankara, which also covers Sıhhiye of today has decided on the fundamental issues about Kızılay and its

surrounding. Although this plan had been implemented, at the end of 1927, the city started to expand in the direction of Çankaya and Keçiören and in these years, the need for a holistic plan for the city arisen. When Lorcher Plan dated 1924-25 failed in view of facts such as partial and disconnected implementations and that the area of 150 hectares covering Yenişehir is considered insufficient to meet the real needs, it has been thought to implement a new plan.

Table 5.1. Lörcher Plan Foresights

Name of Plan	Lörcher Plan
Current Population	~65.000
Approval Year	1925
Settled Area (ha)	~280
Projection Year	–
Projected Population	~150000
Plan Area (ha)	~700
Macroform Strategy	Extension to the Yenişehir and forming new commercial areas at the vicinity of Railway station

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.



- 1924 makroform
- Lörcher plan boundary

Figure 5.1. Boundary of Lörcher Plan and 1924 Macroform

Source: Günay, 2005:68.

In the year 1927, there has been a contest about the Ankara city plan. In 1928, the winner of contest H. Jansen made the city plan of Ankara. Jansen, by regulating the unplanned developments and partial planning attempts made before him, tried to manipulate the urban growth of Ankara (Bademli, 1994). He accepted that the implemented parts of Lorcher plan to stay unchanged (Kurt, 2006). The population size was projected to reach 300.000 in 50 years period in Ankara on an area of 1500 hectare which means a population density of 120-240 people per hectare.

Table 5.2. Jansen Plan Foresights.

Plan Name	Jansen Plan
Year of Preparation	1928
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Rapid urbanization
Current Population	~75.000
Approval Year	1932
Settled Area (ha)	300
Area within Municipality Boundary (ha)	16.000
Projection Year	1978
Projected Population	300.000
Plan Area (ha)	1.500

Settled Area /Plan Area	0,2 (300 ha/1500 ha)
Current Population./Settled area	250 (75.000person/300ha)
Current Population/Plan Area	50 (75.000 person/1500 ha)
Projected Population/Plan Area	200 (300.000person/1500ha)

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

Jansen strictly warned against the speculative demands for undefined urbanization. To him, the plan boundary and the control of urban development legally within the urban fabric were essential for the success of this plan. Otherwise, *scattered* development in outer areas of the city would have disturbed the substance of the plan.

In 1929, while Jansen plan was still being a concept project, it has been announced to the public and started to be implemented. The opposition against it which started with its announcement had continuously increased after its approval. On the one hand the negative effects of the opposition groups, on the other this mis- or false statement of the projections underlying principles of planning resulted in the failure of the plan. However, the approval of the plan, state's passing of free land to foreign embassies, opening of the boulevard and the housing construction in Yenışehir has

Table 5.3. Urban Population Increase of Turkey and Ankara between 1927 and 1940

Years	TURKEY	ANKARA
1927	3.306.000	74.000
1935	3.803.000	122,000
1940	4 346.000	157.000
1945	4.687.000	226,712
1950	5.244.000	288,536
1955	6.927.000	451,241

Source: DİE, 2001.

As it is seen in the table, Ankara absorbs an average of 5 to 6 thousand people every year. This immigration together with the effect of Great Depression of 1929 on fixed-income group privation of housing, has led Ankara to face an important housing problem.

By 1935, pressures for the development on the outer parts of the plan boundary had increased in real sense. The population density differed from one zone to another. At this time the planned area was much more smaller than the borders of municipality. Planned area was 1500 hectares while municipal area was 16000 hectares. The municipality dealing with infrastructure such as roads, drainage etc. had authority in the area lying in between planned area and municipal borders. The developments between planned area and municipal boundary, which is especially the development space of the city, were not based on any plan and had been the source of speculative movements (Tankut, 1993).

Between two borders, the phenomenon of *cooperatives* raised in these years. While the intensive housing problem faced by the low-income groups was solved by constructing huts nearby the city center, middle-income groups chose the cooperatives to solve their sheltering problems. However they had to choose the

areas out of the city center, since the price of the zoned land was over their purchasing power, this is the story of Bahçelievler in which the first mass-construction cooperative was built. However, its having the municipal permission for settlement had been problematic, since the Administration of Development Committee was against the housing in the areas without settlement permit by arguing that this would lead the city to scatter, that the infrastructure problems for this area which is only 3 kilometers away from the city center could not be solved and that there would be problems in the effectiveness of municipal services.

During this period, there had been an increasing and uninterrupted demand for building permits in the areas which are not planned. With a decision taken in 1935, those kinds of permits were given under the condition to face and accept the possible changes in the circumstances in future which will arise due to planning. However, the city's administration had to accept the emerging negative circumstances. So, Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative got its construction permit in 1937.

In the year 1937, Ankara Directorate of Development has added east-west axis to the north-south axis of growth. With the decision of colliding the city's planned boundary with the boundary of the municipality, planned area has increased to 16.000 hectares , which also means that in some parts of the old city the speculative areas would expand.

The increasing immigration movement to Ankara after the Second World War made transformation inevitable for Ankara and the phenomenon of 'squatter' made its mark on the city. Ankara reached the amount of population in 25 years, which it was assumed to reach in 50 years. In the first half of 1950s, parallel to widening of roads, constructing of new roads and opening of public square, the urban space expanded. While the density was increasing in Cebeci, Yenisehir, Bahçelievler, Çankaya, İstasyon Akköprü and Sanayi Çevresi the Keçiören and Etlik districts which were still vineyards in 1940s joined to the city and constructions in Esat and Aşağı Ayrancı close to Kavaklıdere which started to develop in 1940s started to emerge. At this time there were still vineyards in Dikmen and Yukarı Ayrancı. While the trade

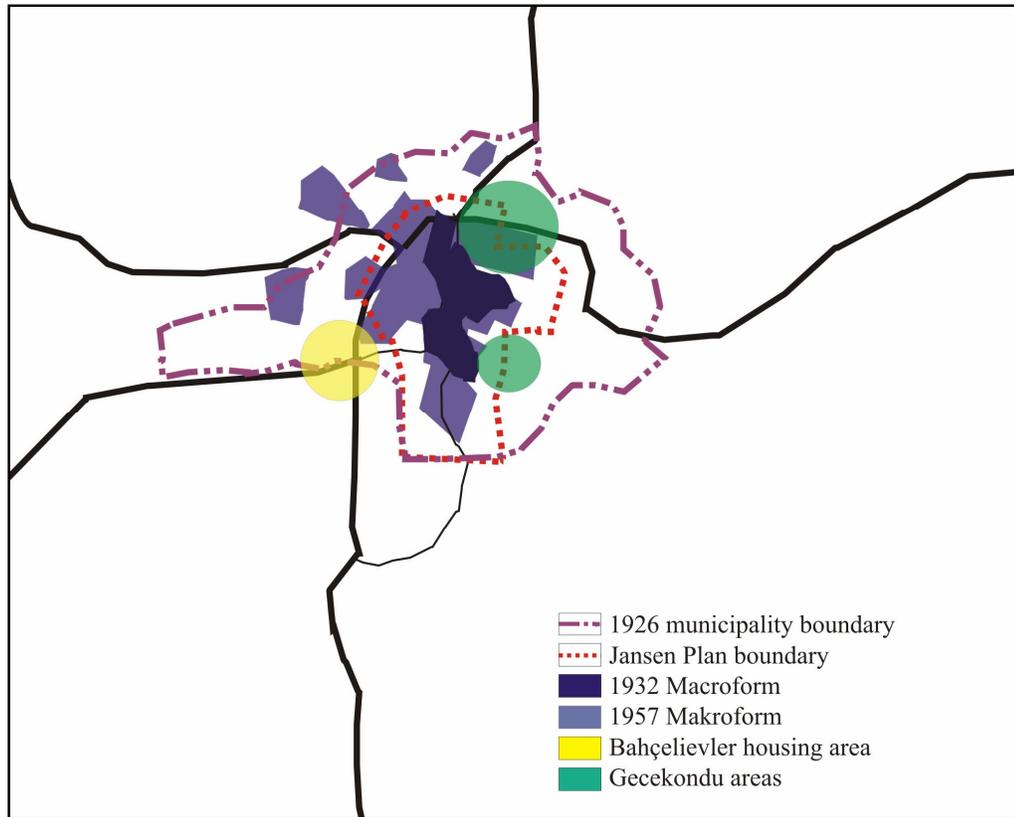


Figure 5.4: Jansen Plan and Macroform Change between 1932-1957
 Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

In conclusion, Jansen plan failed to respond to the unexpected growth of city. Partial plans of cooperatives and revisions just legalized the existing unauthorized stock and triggered eventual expansion to the fringe. Land prices increased in planned area and urban expansion to the periphery intensified. Gecekondu areas became widespread at the fringe. Together with development pressures that were not compatible with the plan, planned area had to be expanded to municipality boundary. Jansen plan could not give any issues about urban containment for rapid population growth and unexpected urban development. So, the failure of Jansen Plan displayed the necessity of urban containment policies the outside of planed area for prospective expansion of the city.

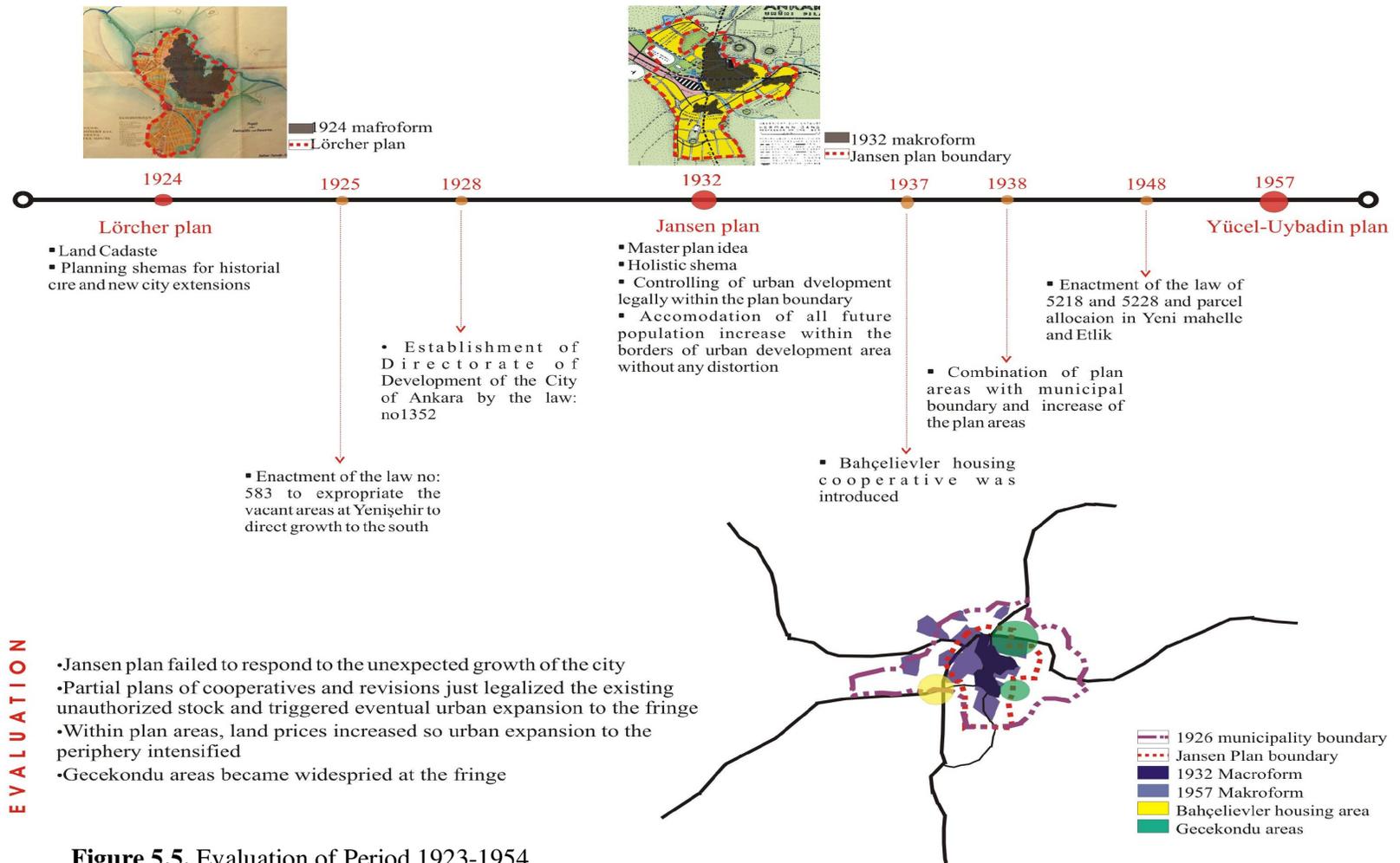


Figure 5.5. Evaluation of Period 1923-1954

Table 5.4. Evaluation of Jansen Plan Period

Aim of the plan	To direct Ankara's urban development by regulating old fragmented planning attempts.
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Rapid urbanization
Main Development Policy	Development within the plan boundary -the control of urban development legally within the urban fabric.
Macroform Strategy	-Preservation of Yenışehir development as in Lörcher Plan - The preservation of the old city, -Worker neighborhood in East (Cebeci), West (Maltepe, Tandoğan) -Sitte and Garden City approach.
Urban Form Objectives	-Well defined bounded -Mono-centric -Inward looking
Urbanization Problems in Plan Period	-Unintended housing development outer of the plan boundaries (low density-middle class cooperative housing development and squatter development) -Increasing of land prices within inner city and speculative pressures at the fringe of city.
Conclusion	- By combining a plan area (1500 ha)with municipal boundary -(16,000 ha).strictly defined development margins became invalid in 1938. -Unexpected increasing of population before projected year (The plan reached its projected population already in the 1950's but it was assumed to be achieved in the year 1978) -Speculative pressures have been highly active in shaping the city. -In 1955 a new competition is held to produce a new master plan for the city

Prepared by: Thesis Writer

5.2. First Adjacent Areas Coming to Agenda: Yücel-Uybadin Planning Period 1955-1970

Jansen development plan lost its effectiveness since Ankara's population growth increased more than assumed and thus physical restructuring of the city could not be managed according to development plan. In 1952, for Ankara at the beginning of a new structuring it was decided for a new development plan by holding a contest. At the end of the contest which was announced in 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan was approved with the decision of cabinet at the same year and started to be implemented.

Although Yücel-Uybadin Plan showed remarkable effort to adapt with Jansen Plan which stressed on the north-south axis, its density was more than the one of Jansen plan. The plan was limited within the municipal boundaries and both in north and south of the city limits of development were pushed to higher altitudes. It was designed as a very dense city by also taking measures against 'gecekondular' which expand in the form of oil drop (ABŞBİDB, 2006). In this plan, the peripheral road to which two arteries towards west, one towards north and another towards east would be connected to provide for intercity highway network. And, it was assumed that some developments spots in Mamak were to be created, that cultural and administrative centers as well as trade and health zones were to be determined, and that Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kızılay and Tandoğan Squares should be improved. However, all of these premises could not be realized.

Table 5.5 Yücel Uybadin Plan Foresights

Plan Name	Yücel-Uybadin Plan
Year of Preparation	1955
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Increasing population with migration
Current Population	455.000
Approval Year	1957
Settled Area (ha)	~5.720
Adjacent Area Approval Year	1958
Adjacent Area (ha)	71.000
Projection Year	1987
Projected Population	750.000
Plan Area (ha)	12.000

Settled Area/Plan Area	0,47 (5720/12000)
Settled Area/Adjacent Area	0,08 (5.720/71.000)
Plan Area/Adjacent Area	0,16 (12.000/71.000)
Current Population/Plan Area	37 (455.000/12000)
Projected Population/Plan Area	200 (750.000/1500)

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

The plan covered an area of 12.000 hectares and its population target at the end of 30 years was 750.000 people. As soon as the plan was approved in 1957, speculation and rapid population increase had showed their effects. As Its operational area was limited to the municipal boundary, this increased building demand within the planned area and illegal building tendency out of the municipal boundary. In the plan, the solution to construction of illegal building was not proposed. Existing Gecekondu areas in Altındağ, Yenidoğan, Mamak and Kayaş was designed as normal planned area. According to Baykan, (2005:81), this situation became ground of understanding of improvement plan in 1980s.

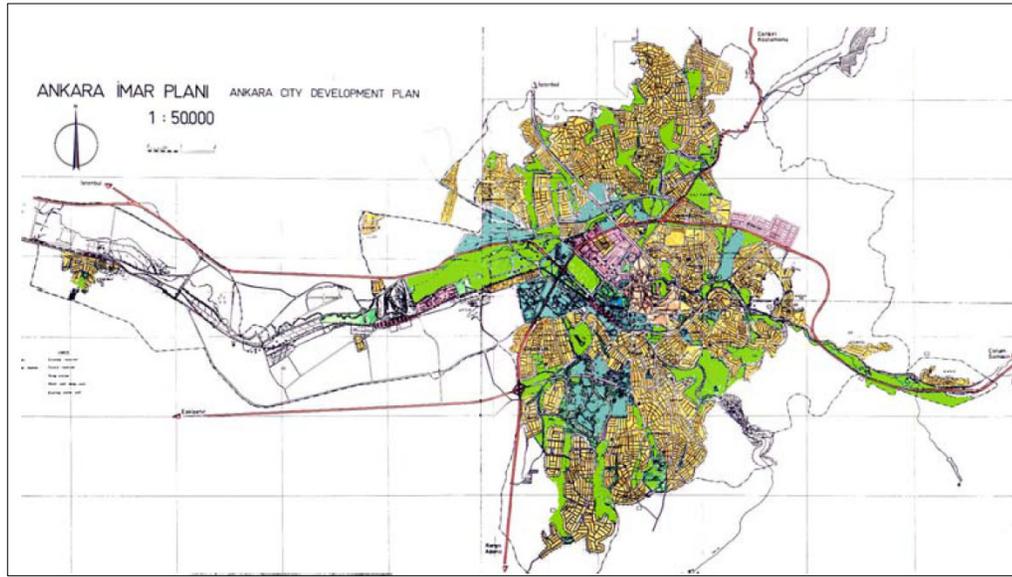


Figure 5.6. Yücel-Uybadin Plan
Source : ABŞBİDB, 2006.

From the 1950s, ‘build-sell’ type of construction, as the most critical development process for the Turkish urbanization had come into agenda. During those years, high land prices brought about a new type of land ownership called as “fragmented ownership”. Middle-income families could not afford to build 1-2 storey-houses by themselves. This type of ownership was complementary with the ‘build-sell’ system. In the emerging system, individual production of multi-storey apartments by private developers ended with multi-ownership in one building plot -vertical ownership-. The Law of Flat Ownership legally defined new sort of ownership in 1955. In the new ownership pattern, there can be owner of one unit within a multi-unit building. After the 1960s, housing cooperatives emerged through the legalization process of fragmented ownership (Türel, 1986: 56-57).

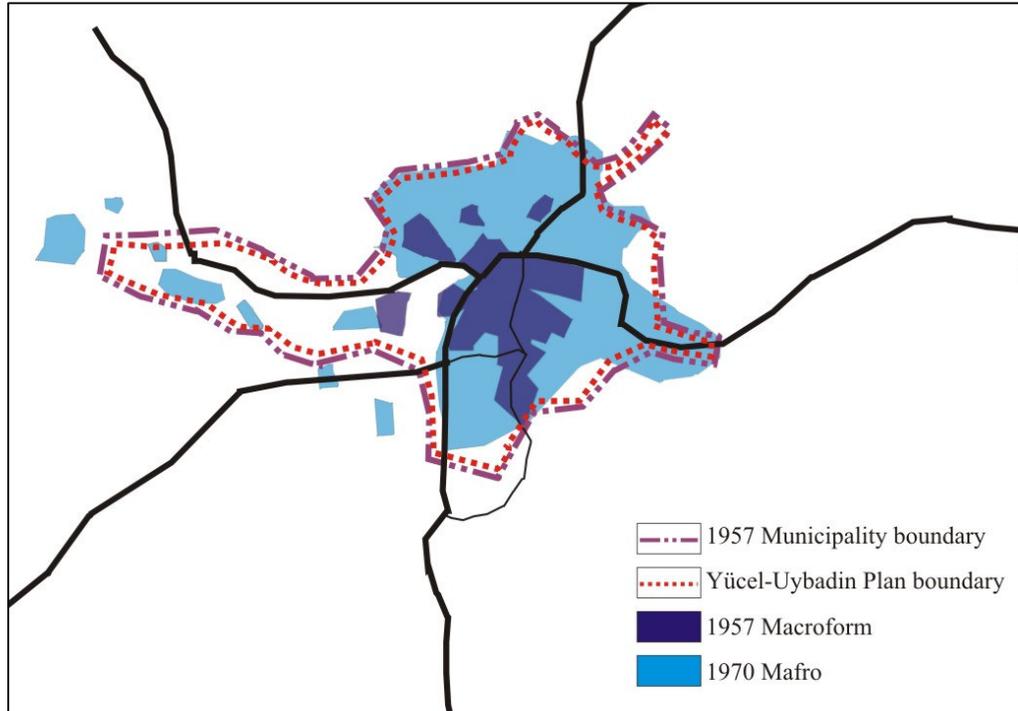


Figure 5.7. 1956-1970 Macroform, Yücel-Uybadin Plan and Boundaries. Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

In 1957, Law no 6785: Development Law was put into force which has substituted Municipality, Law no 2290: Construction and Roads. With this law a new kind of perspective was created (Geray, et al., 1983). This law provided legal base for having construction permits in the unplanned areas as well as the opportunity for development law to be implemented to areas outside of municipal boundary. With this law, development would expand to adjacent areas and the legal mechanism enabled to control periphery, which had developed in the 40s with the increase in the number of cooperatives.

After 4 months that the term of “adjacent area” was showed off in the Law no 6785 dated to 16.01.1957, the adjacent area operations had started in Ankara and the proposal of adjacent areas was sent to the Governorship in 8 May 1957 to be forwarded to the Ministry. With the decision dated 14 May 1957 of Council of Provincial Local Administration, the map of ‘adjacent areas necessary for the

prospective expansion of the municipality' was forwarded to the Ministry¹⁴. This period coincides with the period when Yücel-Ubaydin Plan was approved (1957). However, Ministry did not approve the proposal sent without legal grounds and returned it to Governorship whereon to Municipality of Ankara resent the map to the Ministry, this time with its legal grounds, at 29 January 1958. These legal grounds were related to the approved structure plan and were reasoned as follows:

- To control countryside because of the social relations in the area outside the approved structure plan.
- To prohibit small private parcellations in prospective construction sites and settlement areas which can be re-established in the future outside the planned areas and even if the structure plan is not implemented in these zones to avert risks in terms of both urbanization and housing.
- To control areas which are not appropriate for settlement even in the future due to their topographical and geological conditions.
- The safety of dams and surrounding area.
- To determine the safety area for landing of planes in the airports and military zones while taking their possibility of expansion.
- To implement development law for the facilities of the Middle East Technical University in the expansion zone of Ankara.

The Ministry agreed upon the proposal and approved the first map of Municipality of Ankara showing adjacent areas (75.000 ha) on 14 February 1958 (Duygulu, 2006:159). The first adjacent area determined is the first sign of the attempt to control the speculations on the periphery of Ankara. This motivation also was revealed in the legal grounds of adjacent areas. These legal grounds show us how the adjacent areas emerged as a tool to control city's growth. The will to control the area outside of approved structure plan became inevitable.

¹⁴ Since there was no Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, the term 'Ministry' refers to the Ministry of Public Works (Nafia Vekaleti).

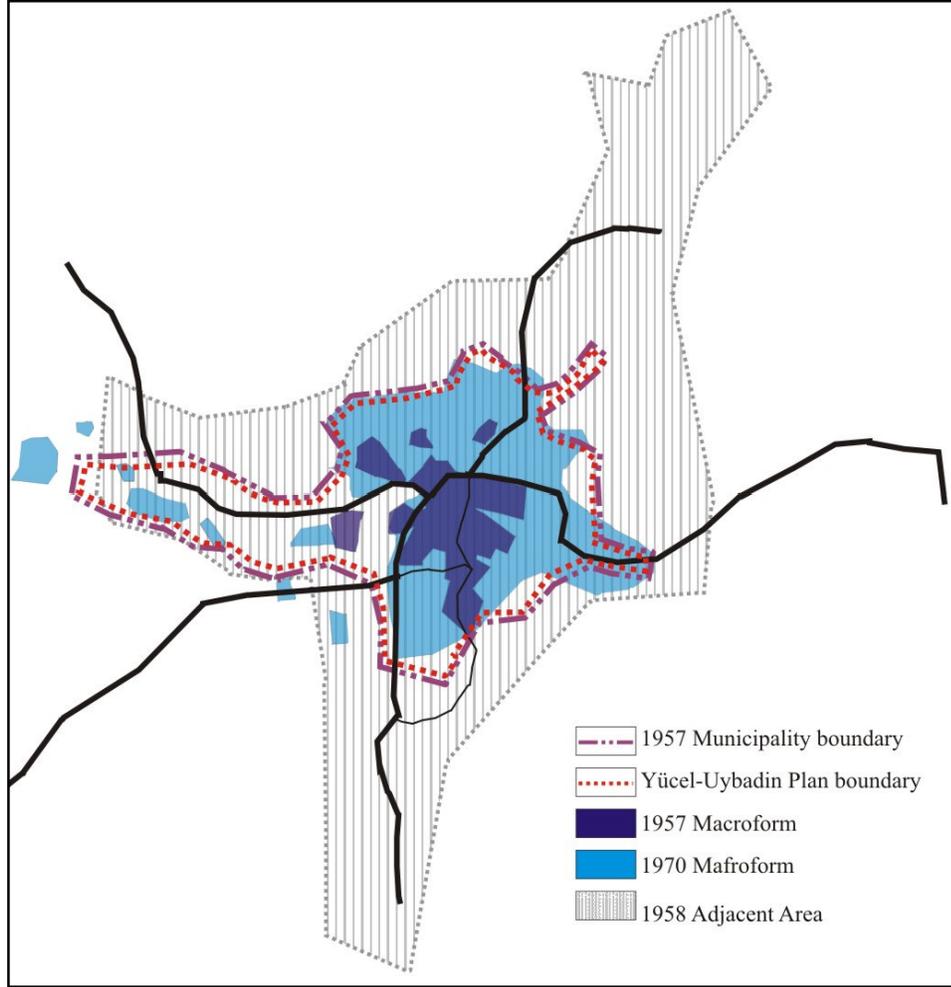


Figure 5.8. 1957-1970 Macroform, Yücel-Uybadin Plan and 1958 Adjacent Areas
Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

The development permits in adjacent areas under the control of the municipality could not solve the housing problem in Ankara, and during this period policies to increase density of existing texture had been adopted. With the Regional Flat Order Plan approved at 1968 which was based on the Law of Flat Ownership dated 1965, buildings in Ankara were permitted to be one flat higher. The maps increasing the number of flats were including all of Yenışehir. The number of flats increased two more times with the Modification Plans dated 1970 and 1973, which gave way to very high building on Atatürk Boulevard. Yücel-Uybadin Plan loosed its

effectiveness on a macro scale due to flat order plans and partial urban physical development plan and modifications. The city took its form not according to targeted plans but according to flat order plans.

Table 5.6. Urban Population Increase of Turkey and Ankara between 1955 and 1975

Years	Türkiye	Ankara
1955	6.927.343.	451.241
1960	8.859.731	650.067
1965	10.805.817	905.660
1970	13.691.101	1.236.152
1975	16.869.068	1.701.004

Source: DİE, 2001.

Yücel-Uybadin plan provided the plan to be insufficient in dealing with the speculative pressures that started in the previous era. The development permits in adjacent areas under the control of the municipality could not solve the housing problem in Ankara, and during this period policies to increase density of existing texture had been adopted aiming at density increases administrative arrangements and local plans. With the Regional Order Plan of Modification approved at 1968 which was based on the Law of Condominium dated 1965, buildings in Ankara were permitted be one flat higher. The maps increasing the number of flats were including all of Yenışehir. The number of flats increased two more times with the Modification Plans dated 1970 and 1973, which gave way to very high building on Atatürk Boulevard. Yücel-Uybadin Plan loosed its effectiveness on a macro scale due to flat order plans and partial plan and modifications. The city took its form not according to targeted plans but according to flat order plans.

With increments in building densities within the layout of the plan brought between 1960 and 1970, the plan area developed for 750.000 population, was carrying a population more than 2 millions (Altaban, 1987: 134).

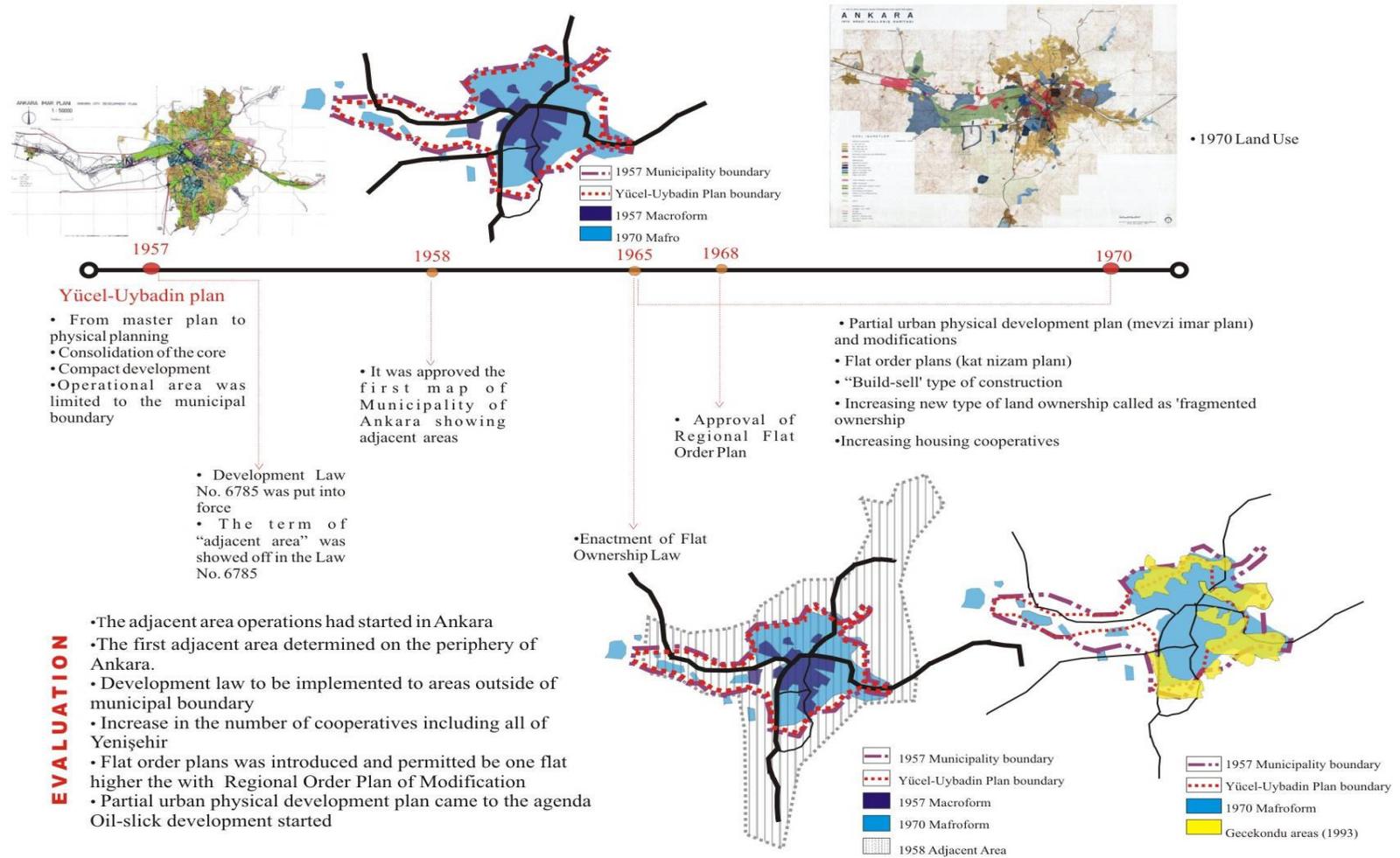


Figure 5.9. Evaluation of Period 1954-1970

Table 5.7. Evaluation of Yücel-Uybadin Plan Period

Aim of the plan	To find solution Ankara's urban rapid growth and to direct main development tendency
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Increasing Population with migration
Main Development Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -meeting housing demand by increasing densities in Settled areas by limiting within the municipal boundaries -development to western corridor -to create developments spots - to create peripheral road that provide easy access, -to control oil-drop expansion
Macroform Strategy	-high density development with intensification in inner city
Urban Form Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -intensive -continuous -confined
Urbanization Problems in Plan Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rapid population increase -illegal building tendency out of the municipal boundary -apartment buildings in individual parcels - increasing the number of flats
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the adjacent area operations had started in Ankara - first adjacent area determined on the periphery of Ankara. - development law to be implemented to areas outside of municipal boundary - increase in the number of cooperatives including all of Yenisehir - flat order plans was introduced and permitted be one flat higher the with Regional Order Plan of Modification - partial urban physical development plan came to the agenda -oil-drop development started

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5.3. Adjacent Areas as a Tool for Development Plan: Ankara 1990 Metropolitan Planning Office Plan 1970-1985

After the 1960s rapidly increasing population displayed its effects more distinctly in uncontrolled way outside of Ankara's municipality boundary. With the increasing responsibilities of the central authorities, Metropolitan Planning Bureaus have been founded as branches of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. In the 1969 year, Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office as a department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing which had only the responsibility of preparing the plan having no rights of approving or implementation. (Bademli,1994). In the 1970s, because of the high land prices within the planned inner city, almost 60% of the population -low-middle income, which cannot afford development costs- were excluded and compelled to locate adjacent unplanned areas (Altaban et al., 1980: 146).

As new unauthorized developments did not occur in low-density areas but in medium to high-density areas, they were not developed separately from the existing city, but closely adjacent to it. Actually, this was the case, which Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office had to deal with. The aim of the bureau for the urbanization of Ankara directs from the original planning approach of the team to the planning process of the city. Different from the previous ones, the planners aimed to direct and canalize future development within a determined pattern.

Frameworks and principles were formed a plan schema at 1/50.000 scale. This plan was shaped by related sectoral project packets, such as mass housing, industry, institutional-regional development projects. (Bademli,1986: 109). There were three major criteria in determining the macroform of the city:

- A physical structure that utilizes the existing transportation and technical infrastructure, depending basically on public transport and providing maximum intersection areas with the nature.
- A form that is most probable to be realized, not rejecting but organizing the trends.

- Considering the development strategies of the authorized public bodies.

In determining the form of the city alternative models have been discussed. These forms were mainly, oil-slick, linear, satellite and corridor. The various alternatives of these four models were studied. After eliminations, alternatives were reduced to two: satellite and corridor form and third alternative was added as trend- oil slick to show how the city was likely to develop without any plan control mechanism. Trend schema is relatively consistent with today's urban conditions of Ankara. It represents the development condition without any plan. Low-density dispersed housing pattern by means of high rate of private auto usage and emergence of huge separate shopping centers through the outer axes.

In satellite schema, existing urban settlements within the radius of 100 km. would turn into growth poles. Low-density housing and multi-centrality were the principle conditions. While further development of the existing city was prohibited in the fringe, new separate nodes, with auto-based mobility patterns, ensured the dependency to the central city.

In the last alternative, corridor schema, the transformation of existing transportation axes turns into high-density development corridors. Among these three alternatives, corridor scheme was chosen. It was mentioned the best alternative to solve air-pollution problem fundamentally. This plan different from the previous two alternatives which proposed development along north-south axis, determined that the west axis is most suitable for development, hence proposed a development in this way, along corridors. There were two major corridors towards west in the plan, the northern one İstanbul Road, and the southern one Eskişehir road.



Figure 5.10. 1990 Structure Plan (Metropolitan Planning Office Plan)

Source: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

This plan proposed Ankara's development outside of topographic pot which tied a main corridor. So, İstanbul route which contained main settlements became first steps of realization of corridor developments. The population targeted (2.5 millions) in the plan merely reached by making intensive and extensive migration estimation (low migration estimation: 2.8 millions, high migration estimation: 3.6 millions).

Table 5.8. Urban Population Increase of Turkey and Ankara between 1970 and 1990

Years	Turkey	Ankara
1970	13.691.101	1.236.152
1975	16.869.068	1.701.004
1980	19.645.007	1.877.775
1985	26.865.757	2.304.166
1990	33.326.351	2.584.594

Source: DİE, 2001

The true determination of the problems of Ankara, a more proper population projection, the office to play an important role in developing strategic projects for the city that would channel development in west has been effective as well in this success. According to Baykan, (2005:97) in 1990s the targeted population was less than existing population. Thus, this is the first time in Ankara's Planning history, the synchronization was provided between targeted population and development areas.

Table 5.9. 1990 Structure Plan Foresights

Plan Name	1990 Metropolitan Planning Office Structure Plan
Year of Preparation	1970-75
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Decreasing urbanization rate
Current Population	1.200.000
Approval Year	1982
Settled Area (ha)	~22.500
Adjacent Area Approval Year	1973
Adjacent Area (ha)	74.500
Projection Year	1990
Projected Population	2,8-3,6 milyon
Plan Area (ha)	43.250

Settled Area/Plan Area	0,52 (22.500/43.250)
Settled area/Adjacent Area	0,31 (22.500/71.000)
Plan Area/Adjacent Area	0,60 (43.250/71.000)
Current Population/Settled area	53 (1.200.000/22.500)
Projected Population/Plan Area	low migration: 64 (2.8 millions/43.250) high migration: 83 (3.6 millions/43250).

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

Beginning of the 1970s, while urban settled area was 22.500 hectares. This was more than Yücel Uybadin Plan which was proposed 12.000 hectares for 1987. To control the illegal areas development which was outside of the planned areas and speculations, the adjacent areas had to be changed. Plan targeted area was foreseen in 43.250 hectares for 3.6 million person in 1990. The demand of inclusion of Etimesgut and Lodumlu villages in adjacent areas to direct development of city towards to west and to control disorder development was approved with

Development Administrative Committee Decision (13.03.1973), Committee of Provincial Administration Decision (08.05.1973) and Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing approval (25.09.1973). In this period, while urban settled area was 22.500 hectares, plan area was foreseen in 43.250 hectares. And the zone in new adjacent area boundary became 74.500 hectares.

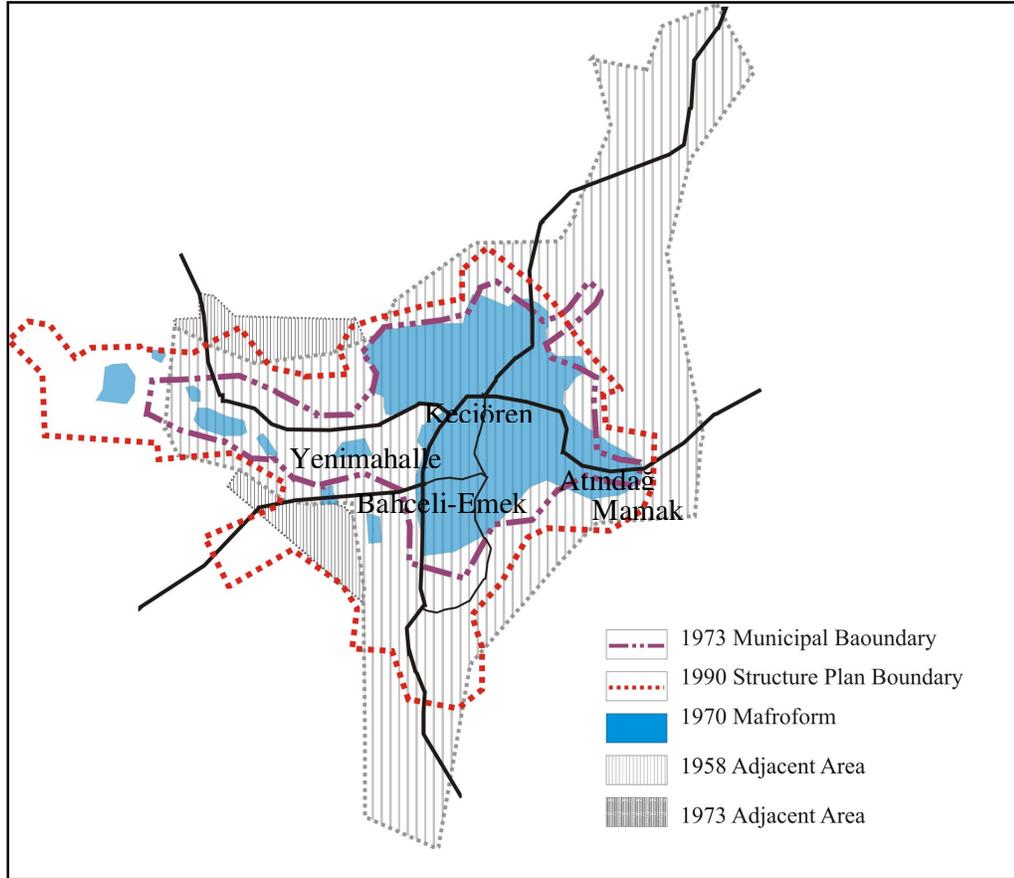


Figure 5.11. 1990 Structure Plan and Adjacent Areas

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

The office to play an important role in developing strategic projects for the city that would channel development in west has been effective. Bademli (1994:42) claims that the scheme was evaluated as a frame and matured with time. According to him, plan became successful to direct the development outside of municipality boundaries.

With respect to the realization of the plan, implementation process in squatter prevention zones (Sincan), new housing developments (Batkent, Eryaman) and Ankara Organized Industry Area can be regarded as the success of the Ankara 1990 Plan by enabling land stocks of public for further developments (Bademli, 1986: 110).

But, because of amendment of structure plan made in short term, additional structure plan, the improvement plans aiming regulate illegal buildings areas (gecekondu), partial planning for adjacent areas outside of municipality boundary, failing to control illegal buildings, the 1990 Ankara Structure Plan began to lost its function (ABŞBİDB, 2006:50).

After 1983, important changes occurred such as the new amnesty laws 2981, 3290, 3366 and 3414 that were to be prepared and approved by the district municipalities without any concern for appropriateness with the master plan. Also together with the abolishment of the Metropolitan Planning Office, in line with the Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law and the new Law no 3194: Development Law, there were three different authorities responsible for the metropolitan area, which are the greater municipality, district municipalities and the governorship.

The metropolitan planning office was abolished and a metropolitan planning unit was founded under the greater municipality of Ankara. There was a metropolitan boundary that was determined by the metropolitan planning office through implementation. This boundary was approved in 1975. However the boundaries of the greater municipality authority area remain smaller. Sincan and Gölbaşı municipalities were not included within this boundary and central authority has the responsibility for such metropolitan areas outside the municipal boundaries. Hence, all these changes provoked incremental and independent interventions made in the city and resulted in developments that are incompatible with the plan. Thus although the plan may be considered to be successful, the recent legal arrangements have been destructive for the plan. As a result of these factors a new plan was put in the agenda.

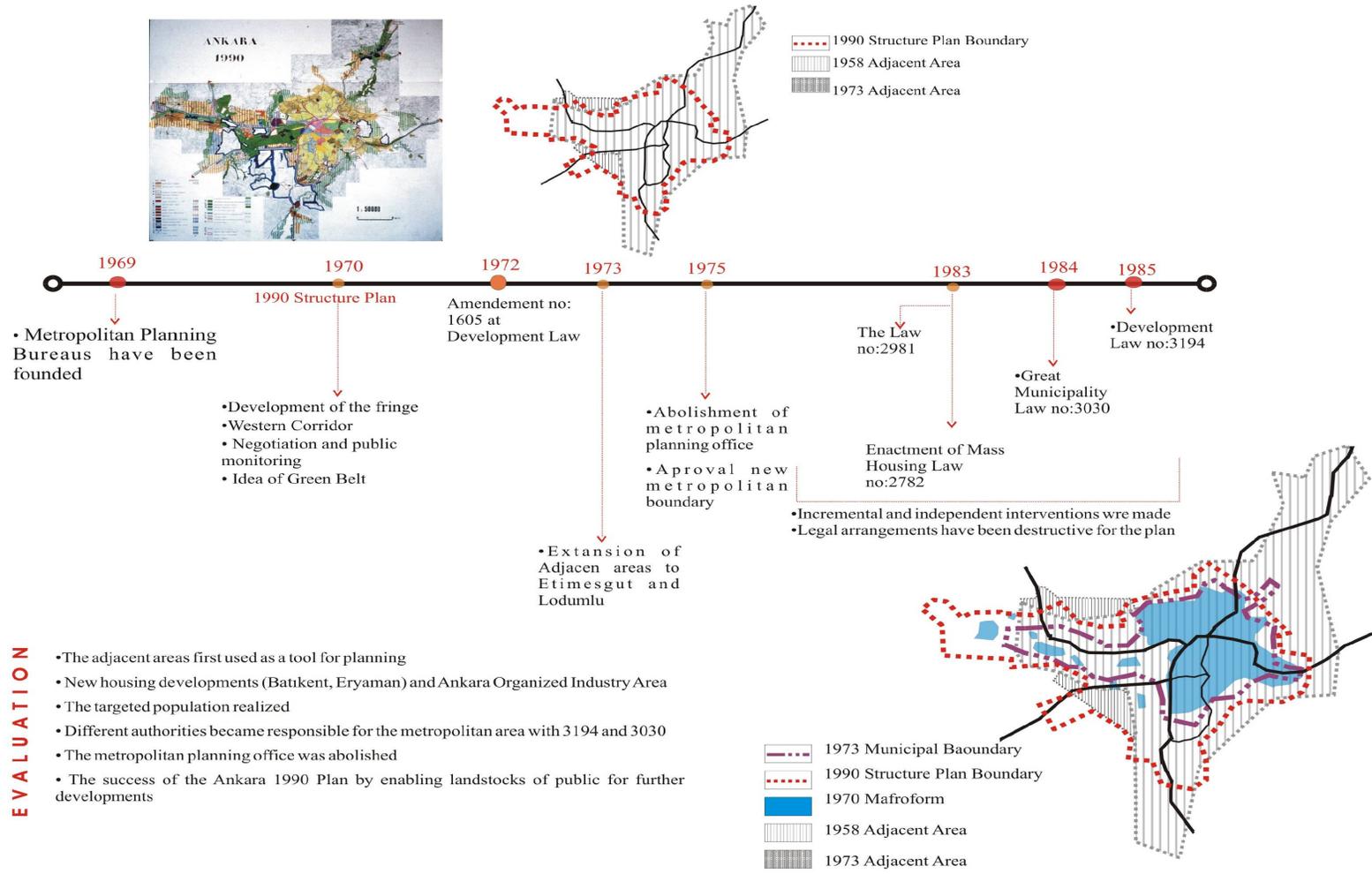


Figure 5.12. Evaluation of Period 1970-1980

Table 5.10. Evaluation of Ankara 1990 Metropolitan Planning Office Plan Period

Aim of the plan	to direct and canalize future development within a determined pattern, controlling with management
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Decreasing urbanization rate,
Main Development Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - development outside of topographic pot - Solving air pollution -Development to western corridor -prevention of land resources -developing with mass housing cooperatives - providing maximum intersection areas with the nature -to control oil-slick expansion
Macroform Strategy	Coridoric extension
Urban Form Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -inflexible axis dominancy -denser ties with surrounding
Urbanization Problems in Plan Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -fragmented development outside the boundary -increasing transportation problem -apartment buildings in individual parcels - housing problems of middle and low income class
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the adjacent areas first used as a tool for planning -new housing developments (Batikent, Eryaman) and Ankara Organized Industry Area - the targeted population realized - different authorities became responsible for the metropolitan area with 3194 and 3030 - The metropolitan planning office was abolished - the success of the Ankara 1990 Plan by enabling land stocks of public for further developments

Prepared by: Thesis Writer

Besides, the need for decentralization is further emphasized putting forward that: “the population estimations showed that the city (metropolitan area) would double in 30 years reaching a population of 5 millions. METU planning group underlined the fact that if the new population would still be concentrated in the compact macroform it would be the death of the city.” (Günay, 1988: 44).

Table 5.11. 2015 Structure Plan Foresights

Name of Plan	2015 Structure Plan
Year of Preparation	1985-1990
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Increasing tendency escape from city (suburbanization)
Current Population	2.300.000
Approval Year	Not approved
Settled Area (ha)	~31.000
Adjacent Area Approval Year	1986
Adjacent Area (ha)	72.945
Projection Year	2015
Projected Population	4,5 milion-5,5 million
Plan Area (ha)	210.000

Settled Area/Plan Area	0,14 (31.000/210.000)
Settled Area/Adjacent Area	0,42 (31.000/72.945)
Plan Area/Adjacent Area	2,87 (210.000/72.945)
Current Population/Settled area	74 (2.3 million/31.000)
Projected Population/Plan Area	low migration : 21 (4.5 million/210.000) high migration : 26 (5.5 million/210.000)

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

Table 5. 11 shows that the proportion of Settled area to adjacent area is 0,42 while the proportion of plan area to adjacent area is 2,87. It displays that development of city outside of adjacent area is being projected in this plan. In these years, whereas

Macroform decisions about controlling of fringes were important in this plan. Bademli (1994) summarizes the macro-policies of the plan are as follows:

- New settlement areas should be developed outside the topographical bowl that the city is developed within.
- The new residential areas should contain 300.000 population at most, in order to avoid air-pollution risk.
- Decentralization should be obtained through strengthening the existing settlement areas within the 35-40 km. ring and/or through creating agglomerations around project areas.
- Distribution of employment should be used as a tool for decentralization .
- This decentralization should not be in a spread form, which depends on private cars, but should rather be in a star-shaped form depending on public transportation.
- The proposed form should be flexible, thus allowing for rich amounts of development alternatives in the future.
- In order to be effective the green-belt should reach a depth of 8-10 km.

The plan boundary was enlarged as the metropolitan area of Ankara included Elmadağ, Kazan, Çubuk, Akyurt, Temelli, Ahiboz settlements as well. However as these settlements were not within greater municipality boundaries, a protocol was arranged between Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, the governorship of Ankara and the greater municipality of Ankara, accepting the plan as the structure plan of Ankara, but it has not been approved. But the approbation of this plan was rejected (ŞPO, 2002).

With direction of legal and administrative changes, urban structure has transformed rapidly. Within Ankara metropolitan area covering 35 km impact zone there were some villages such as Bağlum, Pursaklar, Esenboğa. And Greater Municipality was under the pressure of these villages to be independent town municipalities. Together with 1990, these villages became town municipality, and separated from Ankara Greater Municipalities. Consequently, adjacent area started to be fragmented.

These years, problems about adjacent areas were accelerated. In Ankara's adjacent areas were narrowed after Akyurt Municipality's adjacent areas enlarged in Northeast. Therefore, in 1986 total adjacent area became 72.985 ha. But Sincan (1988) and Gölbaşı District Municipality (1991) was annexed to the Ankara Greater Municipality Boundary. Adjacent area enlarged at west and south west after annexing of Sincan to Ankara Greater Municipality and Çayyolu Mass Housing and Ivedik Small Industry Site Projects in 1990 (ABŞBİDB, 2006:10).

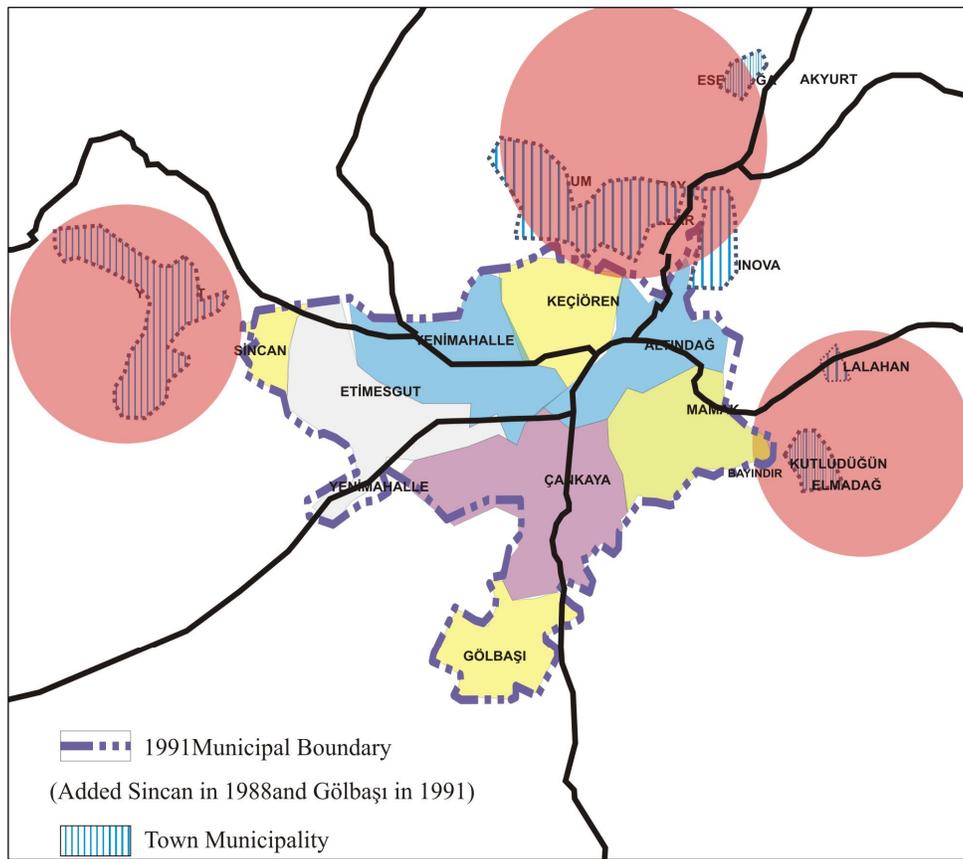


Figure 5.16. Limiting Affect of Ankara Greater Municipality and Independent Town Municipalities
Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

In 1991, Greater Municipality proposed to take in adjacent area the zone of Ortaköy, Nenek, Kızılca within the context of planning Ortaköy cemetery area in East; Karataş, Yakupabdal, Kıbrıs within the context of planning Doğukent; planning Susuz, Saray, Yeregiren settlements within the context of planning Susuzgöl and its surroundings. The Ministry approved these additional zones in 18.05.1992. (ABŞBİDB, 2006). And, adjacent areas increased to 96.180 ha in a short time.

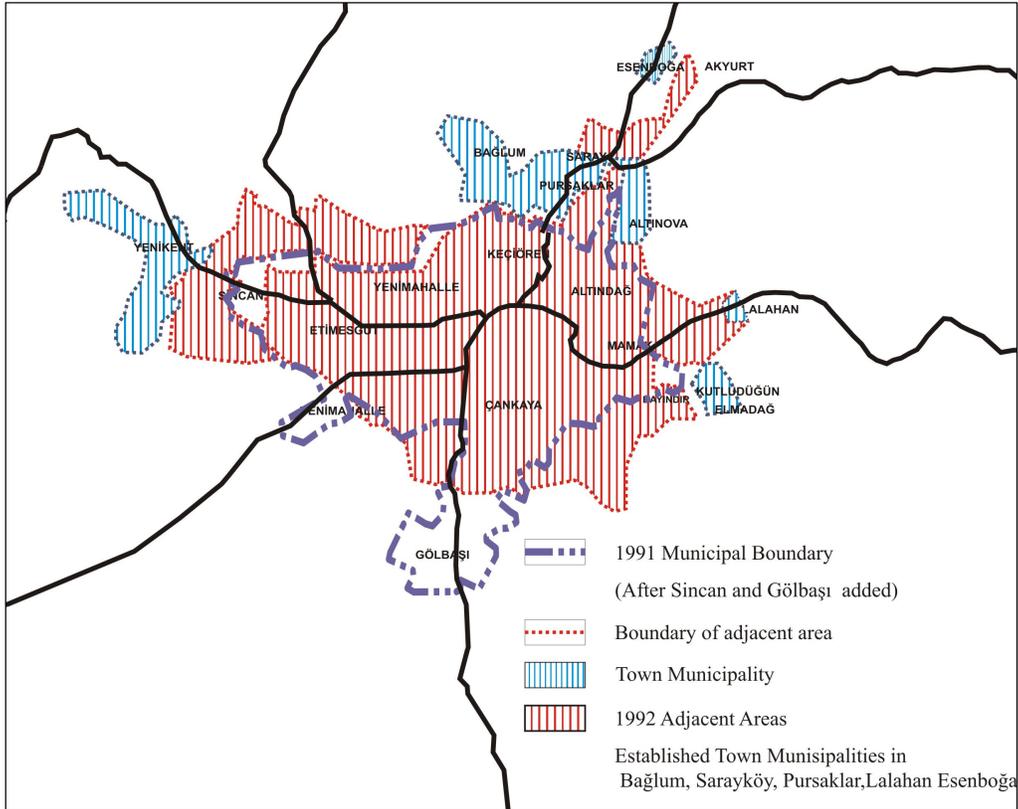


Figure 5.17. 1992 Adjacent Areas and Municipal Boundary

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

Despite this plan was not approved, it caused some speculative movements in determined axes. This plan's speculative impacts emerged with its partial planning and practices without amending 1990 Structure Plan and without plan decision. This partial approach appeared with partial adjacent area changes. Also together with the local plans

prepared outside the adjacent area of the greater municipality. New housing areas made partially in Çayyolu, Beytepe ve Gölbaşı. Improvement Plan practices prepared by district municipality 5.000 hectares of development was approved by the governorship of Ankara and the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. Industrial Area in İvedik demanded to extra adjacent areas had all negatively influenced the plan proposals. Within this direction, the adjacent areas addition was realized with approbation of Ministry in 26.06.1990. (Duygulu, 2006:). Also the proposed peripheral road in the plan was realized differently which unexpectedly influenced the form of the city, the highway project driven by General Directorate of Highways affected gravely (Bademli, 1990: 43) Thus a new plan was prepared considering all these developments contrary to the 2015 plan.

In conclusion, the necessary determination and administrative integrity could not be provided for decentralization foreseen in 2015 planning. Speculative development took place in the regions defined as axes and focal point. These developments increased the city's trend of dispersion and sprawl.

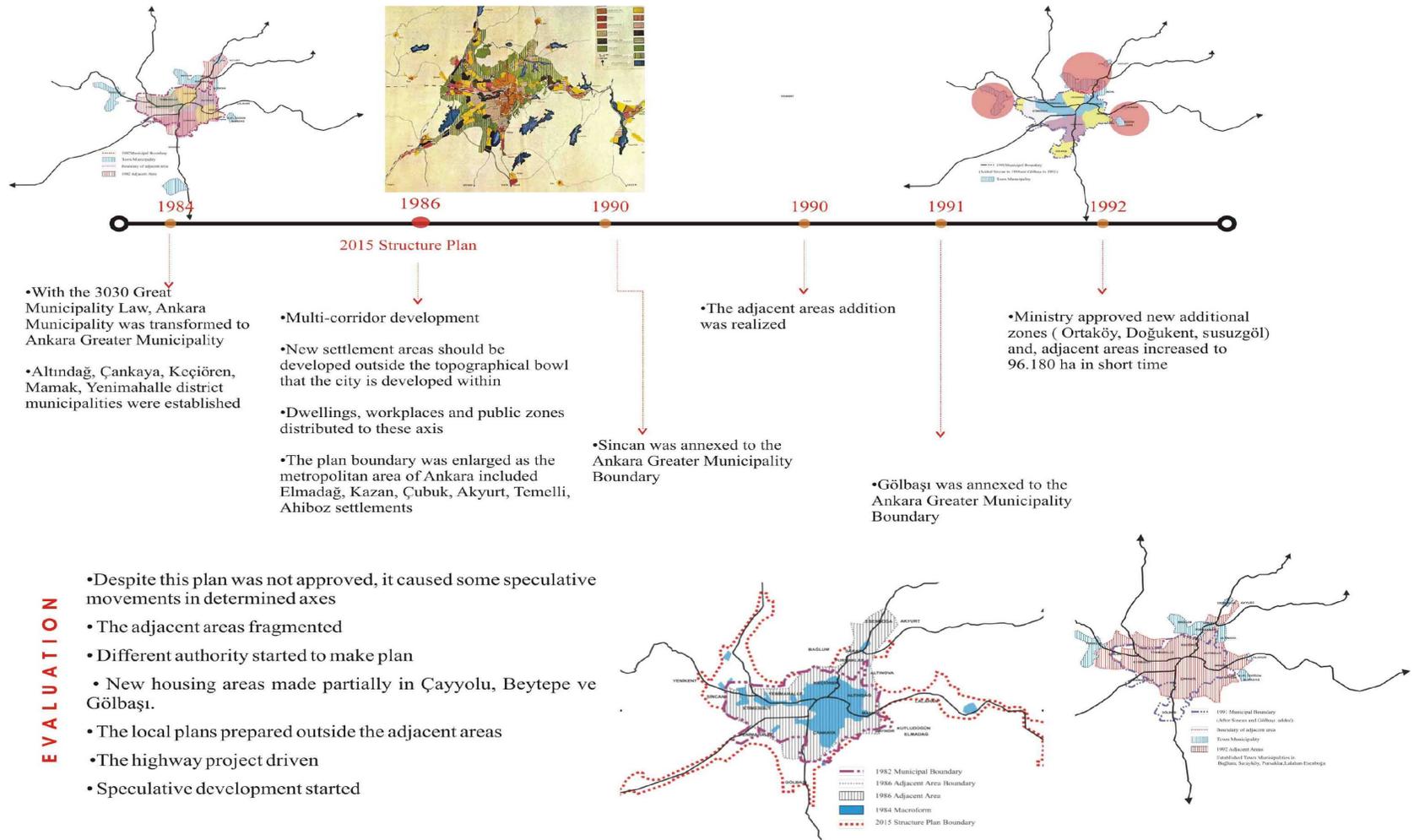


Figure 5.18. Evaluation of Period 1985-1992

Table 5.12. Evaluation of 2015 Structure Plan Period

Aim of the plan	Making a framework for development outside of municipal boundary and adjacent area
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Increasing tendency escape from city (suburbanization)
Main Development Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- development outside the topographical bowl- to avoid air-pollution risk- to create agglomerations- to create star-shaped form depending on public transportation
Macroform Strategy	Star Shaped
Urban Form Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Decentralized-Flexible
Urbanization Problems in Plan Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- limiting affect of independent town municipalities- increasing private car use- air pollution- insufficient urban services- administrative chaos
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none">-plan not approved-the adjacent areas fragmented-different authority started to make plan- new housing areas made partially in Çayyolu, Beytepe ve Gölbaşı.-the local plans prepared outside the adjacent areas- the highway project driven-speculative development started

Prepared by: Thesis Writer

5.5. Management Problems of Adjacent Areas: 2025 Structure Plan Period 1992-2004

The new plan was inevitable after the rejection of 2015 Structure Plan and the insufficiency of 1990 Structure Plan to direct urban development and to control rapid urbanization in southeast axis. In the first half of the 1990s, private entrepreneurs became influential pressure groups, demanding profitable opportunities for development in the periphery of the city. There were dynamics that increased the transformation of vacant land in the fringe into housing areas. In this period, various institutions alerted the Ministry on increase of approbation of partial plans. The difficulty of management of Ankara boundaries such as municipality boundary, adjacent area boundary, outside of these boundaries, by various establishments, necessitated the preparation of a comprehensive plan. Macro policies of this plan were clarified as follows:

- The settlement boundaries of the metropolitan area should be limited within the impact area of 35-40 km. radius, and new settlement areas should be developed around the existing ones and potential project areas.
- Encouraging high-qualified sub-center developments in potentially developable growth poles and corridors.
- A metropolitan form based on the development corridors defined by urban services and supported by public mass transit should be provided.
- Decentralization should be supported through extensive expropriations.
- Developing housing estates in southeastern corridor of Eskişehir axis for high and high-income families.

Table 5.13. 2025 Structure Plan Foresights

Name of Plan	2025 Structure Plan
Year of Preparation	1992-1998
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Speculative and partial urbanization demands
Current Population	2.800.000
Approval Year	Not approved
Settled Area (ha)	~45.000
Adjacent Area Approval Year	1994
Adjacent Area (ha)	201.878
Projection Year	2025
Projected Population	6,5 milion-8,5 million
Plan Area (ha)	200.000

Settled Area/Plan Area	0,22 (45.000/200.000)
Settled Area/Adjacent Area	0,22 (45.000/201.878)
Plan Area/Adjacent Area	1 (200.000/201.878)
Current Population/Settled area	62 (2.8 million/45.000)
Projected Population/Plan Area	low migration : 32 (6.5 million/200.000) high migration : 42 (8.5 million/200.000)

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

Population was projected to be between 5.5 and 6.5 million, but the plan was prepared for 8,5 million population with the reserved areas. The macro-policies of this plan were in line with the previous one, again decentralization was the key word, and a star-shaped form was proposed for the city. The population of Ankara was projected as the triple of the existing population. In addition, Settled area was 22 percentage of plan area. 78 percentage of this plan area was opening to the new development. The proportion of plan area to adjacent area was 1. It means that there were plan decisions for whole adjacent area. Although to make plan and take decision for whole area under the municipal control would have some benefits, it

by 2015 structure plan, ranging until Temelli, Ahiboz and Kazan. This boundary was approved by Ministry of Public Works and Settlement on 07.02.1994.

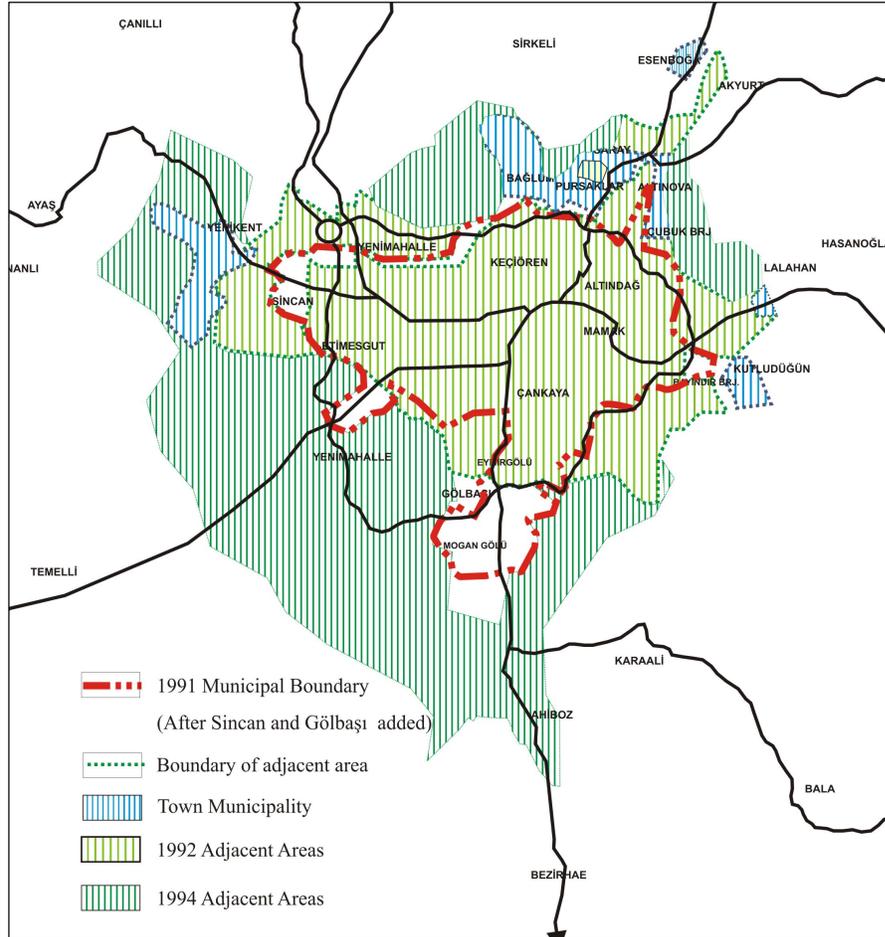


Figure 5.20. Adjacent Areas of Ankara in 1994

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

Duyguluer (2006:161) emphasized Ministry of Public Works and Settlement’s sensitivity on adjacent area in this period emerged with this plan:

“Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, wanted information about Macroform Scheme’s Boundary and data such as targeted projection and sectorial projection from Greater Municipality within targeting 2025 Structure Plan. Beside, Ministry stated the necessity the synchronization of new plan’s approval date with approval of adjacent areas”

The objective of Ministry of Public Works and Settlement's by wanting synchronization of approval of adjacent areas and new plan was to prevent speculations as it has occurred because of rejection of 2015 Structure Plan. During this planning period, uncontrolled and partial planning was inevitable, while we think that settled areas were 45 000 hectares and planned area was 200.000 hectares.

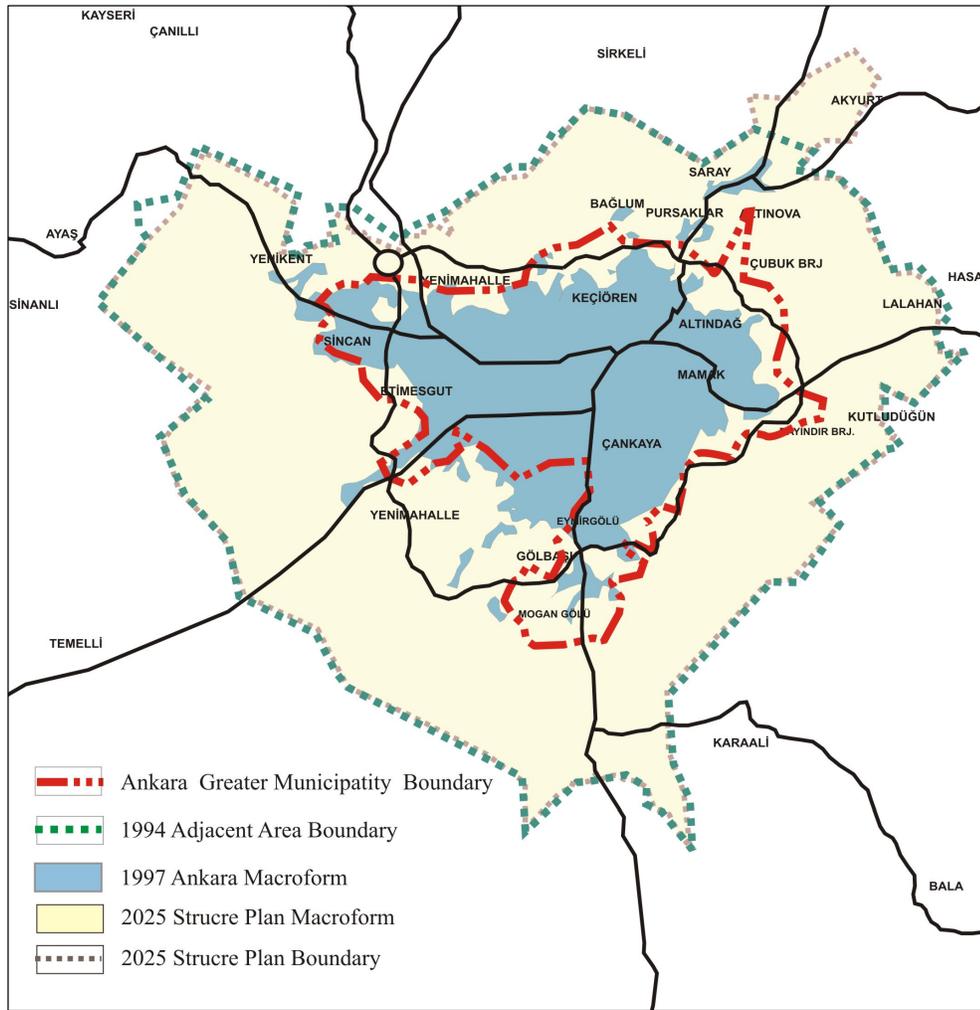


Figure 5.21. 1997 Macroform and Boundaries of Ankara 2025 Structure Plan and Adjacent Areas

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

Meanwhile, Greater Municipality government of Ankara changed after local government election in March 1994. In a while, Ministry of Public Works and Settlement re-changed the boundary of adjacent areas which has been accepted on 30.09.1994 and accepted to the 1992 adjacent area boundary again, because 2025 structure plan macroform decisions and boundaries were not concluded and developments stemming from partial plans were not adequate (Duygulu, 2006:161).

With this rejection, a long adjudication process started. (ŞPO, 2002:16). In this process, Southwest Ankara Development Axis and Yakacık-Yuva Land Use Plan with 1/25.000 scale was approved by Ministry of Public Works and Settlement; and the same plans with 1/5000 scale were approved by Governorship. After rejection of adjacent areas boundary by Ministry, the Greater Municipality applied to Court of Appeals. On the other hand, the discussions about possession of adjacent areas between metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities increased in this period. There is no exact definition in Law no 3194: Development Law and Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law about who has the authority and responsibility in adjacent areas. So, the ministry elaborated a regulation to solve this boundary problem (Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, TAU-25.12.1995). In this regulation, greater municipality is comprised of all sub municipalities, so adjacent area of greater municipality is under responsibility of both of them. Both municipalities council have to take a decision about the proposal of adjacent areas.

All this process finished in favor of Greater Municipality. And Court of Appeals accepted that the adjacent areas boundary approved in 07.02.1994 would be Ankara Greater Municipality in 01.10.1996.

At the same time, Plans scaled 1/5000 and 1/1000 were also to be cancelled with the cancellation of the land use plan concerning this area made by the Ministry by the decision of the Council of State about the application of Greater Municipality of

Ankara in 20.10.1997. However, the existent pressure and speculation problems increased in the southwest Ankara (ABBİDB, 2006:52).

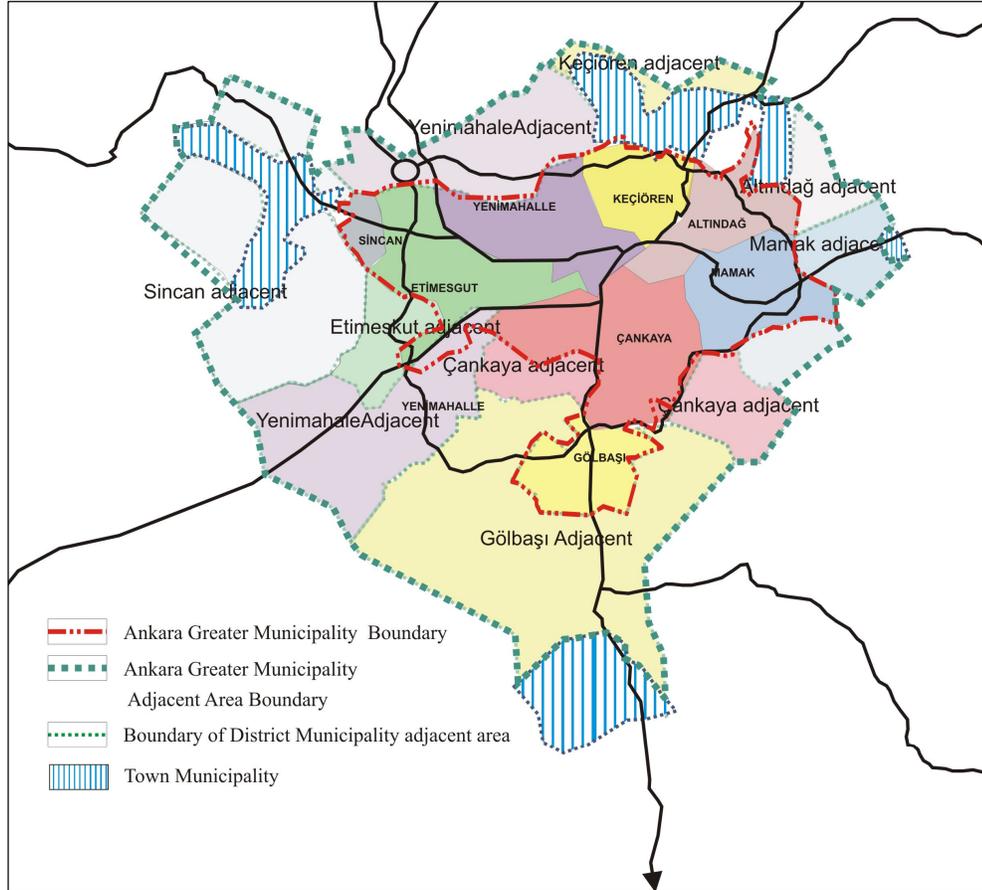


Figure 5.22. Adjacent Areas of Ankara Greater Municipality and District Municipalities

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

Bademli (1999) elucidated the 2025 planning experience in the presentation about “Planning in Ankara after 1980 and its Future”:

As a result, the planning attempts did not end in the way we wanted it to be and, the greatest problem of Turkey for today, the adjacent areas out of the authority area of the municipal boundaries, in other words the failure of metropolitan planning has transformed to a deadlock between the hands of the central and local authorities. In that period, we looked at the adjacent area boundaries of Ankara and saw that we could not apply a joint planning, thus increased the area

to be planned to 200 thousand hectares with the aim of the improvement of the partial plans done so far. In the course of the improvements of these partial plans, there has been a change in the administration and with this change; the Ministry has decreased the boundaries of adjacent areas to 100 thousand hectares again. They sued against the increase and they won. In that time I took the lesson: If the central authority, the local administration, the system of Greater Municipality, the district municipalities out of the reach of Greater Municipality and village administrations can not seat around a table to negotiate and produce policies together, the problems can not be solved, since the legislation does not allow it (1999:53).

In 1997, with the expansion of the adjacent area of the Akyurt Municipality and approval of the adjacent areas of the Esenboğa Municipality, there has been shrinkage in the adjacent areas in the direction of northeast. However with the cancellation of adjacent areas of Esenboğa Municipality, the area of the greater municipality of Ankara has reached, including both municipal and adjacent areas, to 193.262 ha., while the urban area to 52.272 ha. and urban population reached to 3.160.000 (A. BŞBİDB, 2006).

Moreover, there were two town municipalities and three district municipalities within the borders of Greater City Municipality of Ankara, which were not under the jurisdiction of Law no 3030. They were Yenikent (Sincan) in the northwest and Bağlum (Kecioren) in the north as subdistrict municipalities; and Pursaklar (Kecioren), Saraykoy (Kecioren) in the northeast and Altonova (Altındağ) in the east. These municipalities displayed examples of partial and disconnected practices. Moreover, applications carried out within the borders of the district municipalities in the fringe and neighborhood of the Greater City Municipality gave birth to new problems and imbalance of the population-labor force and transportation.

Especially these districts caused the irrational use of the sources within the metropolitan region. Partial approaches resulted in applications, which were neglecting what they affected. In the case of Ankara, mentioned districts can be densely met especially in the catchment area of Çubuk Dam (Bağlum, Pursaklar, Sarayköy, Altınova, Esenboğa), catchment area of Kayaş-Bayındır Dam (Kutludüğün).

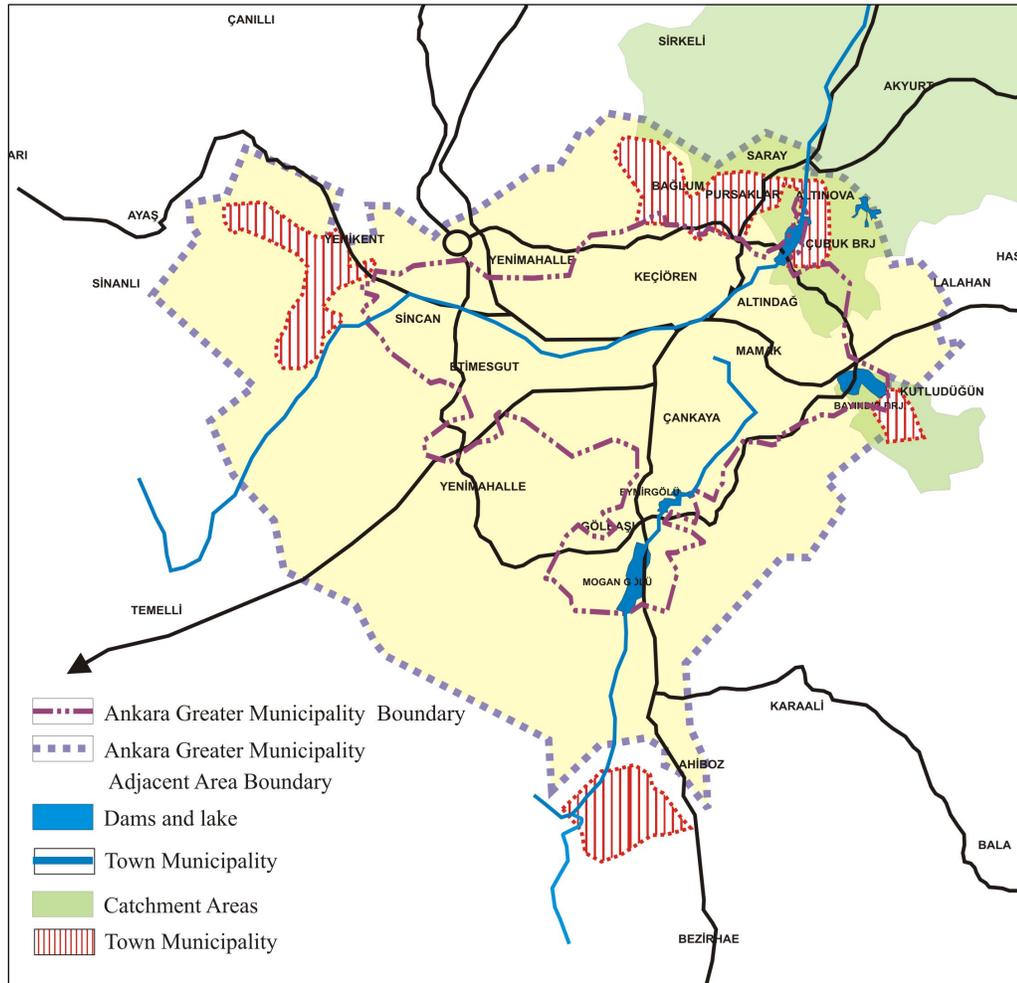


Figure 5.23. Catchment Areas and Dams of Ankara under the Pressure of Town Municipalities.

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

In the magazine of Chamber of City Planners dated July 5th, 2002 in which an article about a technical meeting on “*Problematic of Macro Scale Plan*”, it has been emphasized that:

“ the formation of a multi-fragmented structure and lack of the integrity in the metropolises is due to the deadlock sourcing from the Law no 3030: Greater Municipality Law. These deadlocks are also placed at the heart of the problems concerning adjacent areas I have been dealt so far. This law implies a regulation limited to adjacent areas and caused multi-fragmented developments in its area of enforcement. Moreover, it resulted to the formation of district municipalities within

the boundary of adjacent areas, which are out of the enforcement area of the Law no 3030 and these district municipalities were able to practice of independent plans which are not controlled by the macro scale plans. The transformation of the small settlements within the borders of adjacent areas of greater city municipalities to municipalities resulted in the deterioration of the integrity of administration and services, while at the same time damages the continuity of municipal development activities.” (ŞPO:2002,17)

In this era, making a comprehensive plan for metropolises and directing the urban development was almost become impossible due to the Law no 3030. However, with court decisions resulted in favor of Greater Municipality, Development Department of the Greater Municipality of Ankara has accelerated its efforts on the 2025 Structure Plan from 1997 to 1998, which was continued from the beginning of 90ies and at least in July 30, 1998 presented it to the approval of Ankara Greater Municipality Council.

But this plan was under the effect of pressure groups and capitalists and related to this under the effect of processes of land transformation aiming at opening new housing areas. The plan, while lacking institutional perspective, could not transcend being the analysis of existing situation. At the same time, another remarkable feature of the plan was creating new development zones for housing by exaggerating the population projections at a time in which the population increase rate decreases and the housing stock was sufficient. As a result, the plan lacked public support and was not approved by the Ankara Greater Municipality Council (ABŞBİDB, 2006).

During this process, an amendment in the “By-Law About the Principles of the Making of Development Plans and Changing Them” dated 1999, it has been stated that plans scaled 1/25.000, 1/50.000, 1/100.000 could only be made by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement and first time the land use and structure plan’s scales has been defined in the legislation. However, in “By-Law About the Principals of the Making of Land Use Plan” published in the Official Gazette no 24220 dated November 4th, 2000 it has been stated that land use plans could be prepared at a scale of 1/25.000, 1/50.000, 1/100.000 or at a smaller scale This situation led to confusion of authority in making of the greater scale plans. It caused a complex

formation of responsibility and authority pattern in the planning of greater municipalities (ŞPO, 2002).

During this period, the problems stemming from partial plans prepared by town municipalities (Pursaklar, Sarayköy, Bağlum, Altınova, Esenboğa, Yenikent) that are outside of the scope of Law no 3030 and being unable to intervene in adjacent areas outside the jurisdiction of the greater municipality resulted in the necessity to cooperate with The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (ABŞBİDB, 2006). And two kinds of 1/50.000 scale plans were approved by the Ministry.

First of these plans to be approved was the 1/50.000 scale “Partial Revision to the Ankara 1990 Structure Plan”, dealing with the Southwestern Ankara Development Axis (regarding the areas between the Eskişehir and Konya throughways and the beltway). This plan was approved by The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement on 18.07.2001. The second is the “Southwestern Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan” which was defined as being outside the highway on the axis mentioned in the first plan. The plan was approved by The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement on 24.02.2004. However, implementation of the plan was halted by the Council of State on 19.09.2006 by Court Ruling No. E:2005/875 on the grounds that despite it (the plan) being of 1/50.000 scale it was fragmented and did not uphold to the principals of modern metropolitan planning.

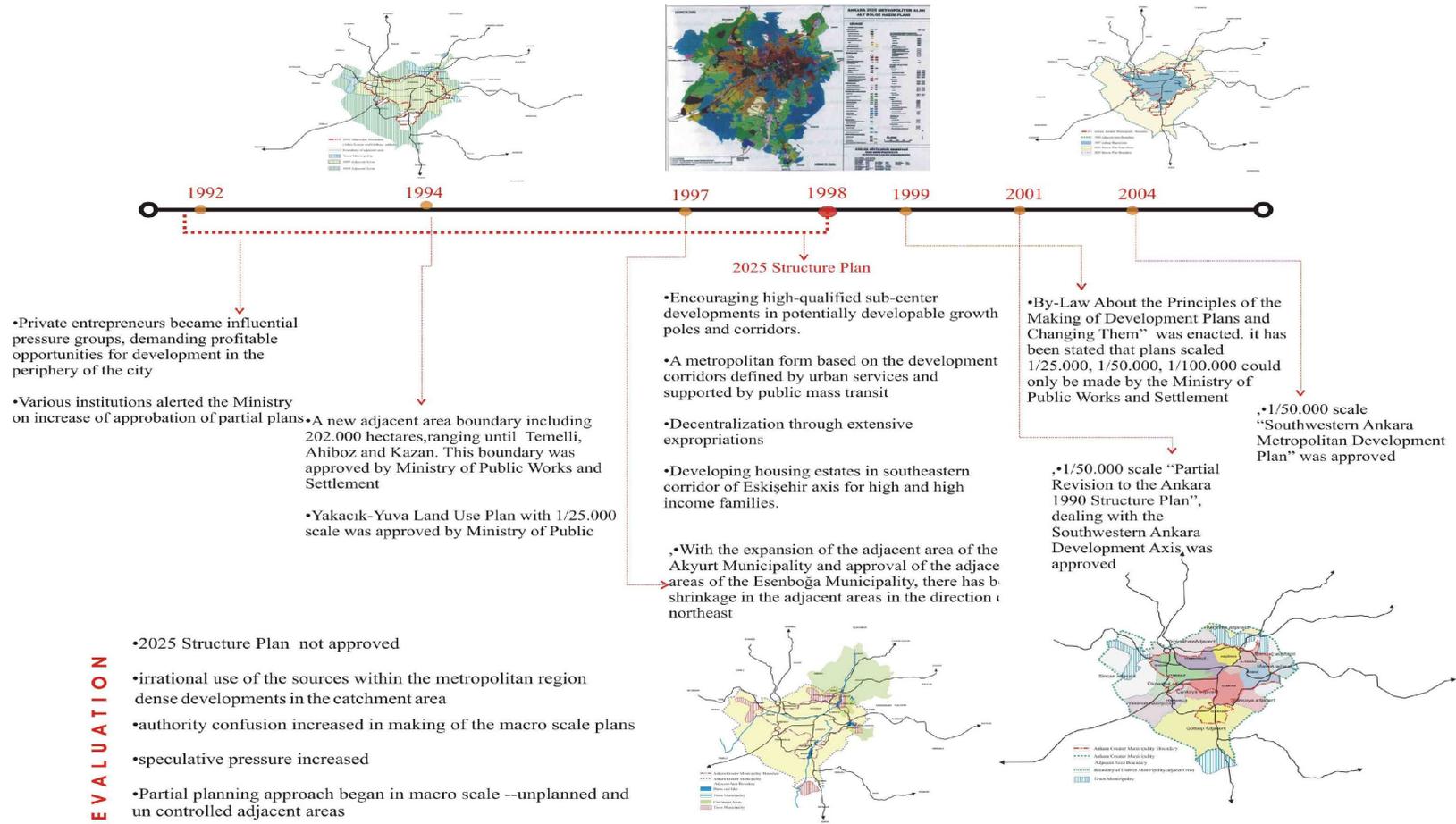


Figure 5.24. Evaluation of Period 1992-2004

Table 5.14. Evaluation of 2025 Structure Plan Period

Aim of the plan	To direct urban development and to control rapid urbanization in southeast axis
Characteristic of Urbanization period	Speculative and partial urbanization demands
Main Development Strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -encouraging high-qualified sub-center -decentralization of population - to create high qualified growth polls - to support peripheral expansion -to support public mass transit
Macroform Strategy	-dispersed
Urban Form Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -fragmented -scattered
Urbanization Problems in Plan Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - difficulty of management of boundaries - uncontrolled partial planning -disagreement between local and central authority -automobile dominance growth - discussions about possession of adjacent areas between greater municipalities and district municipalities - independent town municipalities
Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -plan not approved - irrational use of the sources within the metropolitan region - dense developments in the catchment area -authority confusion increased in making of the macro scale plans -speculative pressure increased -partial planning approach began in macro scale - -unplanned and un controlled adjacent areas

Prepared by: Thesis Writer

5.6. Ankara Adjacent Areas with Legal Arrangement to Control Growth Management 2004s beyond: 2023 Structure Plan Period

In accordance with the clauses of Law no 5216, which came into force 23.07.2004, the borders of Ankara Greater Municipality with the headquarters of the Governorate of Ankara to be defined as its center have been extended to encompass an area with a radius of 50 km as of 16.09.2005. Accordingly, the area under the jurisdiction of Ankara Greater Municipality has been increased from 200 ha to 850 ha. Thus, the following have 7 district municipalities have been added to the 8 present district municipalities: Elmadağ to the east, Kazan to the north, the entirety of Çubuk and Akyurt to the northeast, and portions of Kalecik to the east, Ayas to the west, and Bala to the southeast.

As the above-mentioned law states that all town municipalities and sub-districts in a 50 km area to be defined as “first degree municipality” of the Ankara Greater Municipality. Therefore, 21 first-degree municipalities have joined the area of the Ankara Greater Municipality.

To summarize, the borders of Ankara Greater Municipality encompass 15 districts to include 21 first-degree municipalities and 740 neighborhoods of which; 401 were part of Ankara Greater Municipality prior to Law no 5216. 59 of these were attached to 8 district municipalities which were part of the Ankara Greater Municipality prior to the coming into force of Law no 5216. 220 of these neighborhoods attained this status due to law 5216. The remaining 60 neighborhoods are located within the borders of district municipalities and first-degree municipalities newly added to the Ankara Greater Municipality.

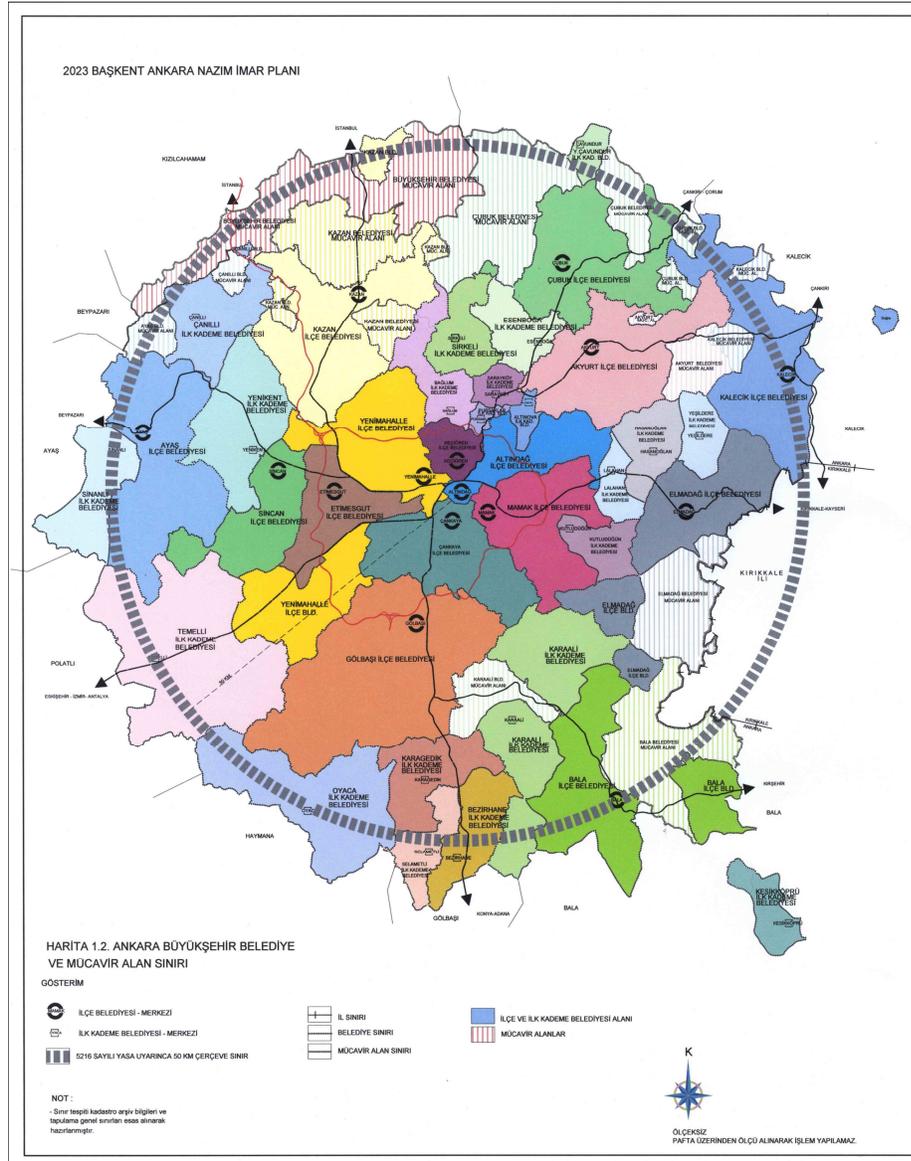


Figure 5.25. Adjacent Areas of Ankara Greater Municipality in 2004

Source :ABŞBİDB, 2006.

With the entering into force of Law 5216, the borders of Greater Municipality have been extended in proportion to their populations including all villages in these areas, which are now defined as neighborhoods of Ankara Greater Municipality. However, villages within this 50 km radius that carry the status of forest villages have maintained their community status within the Greater Municipality as adjacent areas.

86 such forest villages encompassing an area of 159.620 hectares inside this radius make up adjacent areas. 66 of these are designated as adjacent areas of the district municipalities (Akyurt, Ayas, Bala, Çubuk, Elmadağ, Kalecik, Kazan) and first degree municipalities (Çamlı, and Karaali). 20 forest villages are designated as being adjacent areas of Ankara Greater Municipality despite being administratively under the jurisdiction of Kızılcahamam district municipality as they are outside the 50 km radius. 20.992 are resident in the above-mentioned areas.

Table 5.15. Administrative Structure and New Adjacent Areas of Ankara Greater Municipality after 2004

Adjacent Area	Forest Village (Number)	86
	Population (2000)	20.992
	Area (ha)	159.614
Greater Municipality Boundary	District Municipality	15
	First Degree Municipality (Number)	21
	Neighborhood (Number)	220
	Population (Center+ Neighborhood)	3.572.481
	Area (ha)	692.467
Total Greater Municipality Area and Adjacent Area	Population (2000)	3.593.473
	Area (ha)	852.082

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

Following of the introduction of the concept of adjacent areas to planning legislation, decisions to construct adjacent areas have increased in Ankara, especially with the coming into force of Law 3194, which allowed municipal councils to make and approve development plans in the 1980's. A significant and faced pace increase in the number of town municipalities may also be observed within the same period. However, the establishment of town municipalities has resulted in discontinuity and poor coordination within the greater metropolitan area, the reason for this being that town municipalities are outside the legal scrutiny of the Greater Municipality, which in turn leads to unsustainable and unrestricted planning with adverse effects on natural resources.

According to Dođru (2002:38), town municipalities formed within adjacent areas are outside the scope of metropolitan planning while being inside the scope of services provided by the metropolitan area. The inability to oversee the actions of town municipalities may be defined as the anomalies within metropolitan planning. Places of residence on the fringes of cities where such swift and unplanned extensions were first observed are in fact those under the jurisdiction of town municipalities. The envelopment of these town municipalities under the umbrella of the Greater Municipality with the introduction of Law 5216 is an important tool in the thwarting of such poorly planned and uncontrolled development. This is especially the case in preventing the uncontrolled construction conducted by town municipalities that are located on key water reserves from contravening macro scale plan.

The Structure Plan scaled 1/25000 which has been approved by the Greater Ankara 2023 Municipality of Ankara on February 16th, 2007 has been enclosing an area of 850 thousand hectares including 15 provinces, 21 first-grade municipalities, 740 neighborhoods and 86 forest villages in total whereas it was 200 thousand hectares in the previous plan. Thus the area that the greater municipality of Ankara is responsible for and has authority over has quadrupled. And it has been planned that a population of 7.568.500 people may live within the greater municipal boundaries of Ankara by 2023.

According to the plan report prepared by the Department of City Planning in the Greater Municipality of Ankara (2006), the plan is aiming to control the macroform of the city which has been suffering from the tendencies towards expansion around its surrounding areas and decisions giving rise to the density due to partial macro-scale and disconnected approvals of plans. To this end, the targets of the plan are as follows:

- The city should be protected from the approvals of the partial plans, which tend to resemble the form of an oil drop in terms of their expansion around the city; to this aim, the framework drawn by the macro-scale plan should be attentively protected.

solutions of the problems arising from the fabric created by the improvement plans, the new transformation models should be used and principles of constituting green wedge, green belt and macroform should be looked after.

- It will be provided to intervene more rapidly to the real urban problems within the core and the decisions will be taken according to the analyses taking their effects on the urban macroform into consideration (such as housing development areas, malls and university campuses where the large and important constructions will be placed).
- The analyses done on a sectoral and holistic basis in the scope of the 2023 Structure Plan of Ankara are studied in terms of 6 planning regions (Center, West, Southwest, South, East And North). Studies based on planning regions and the results of these studies are gathered to make inferences about the whole of the city and prospective studies.

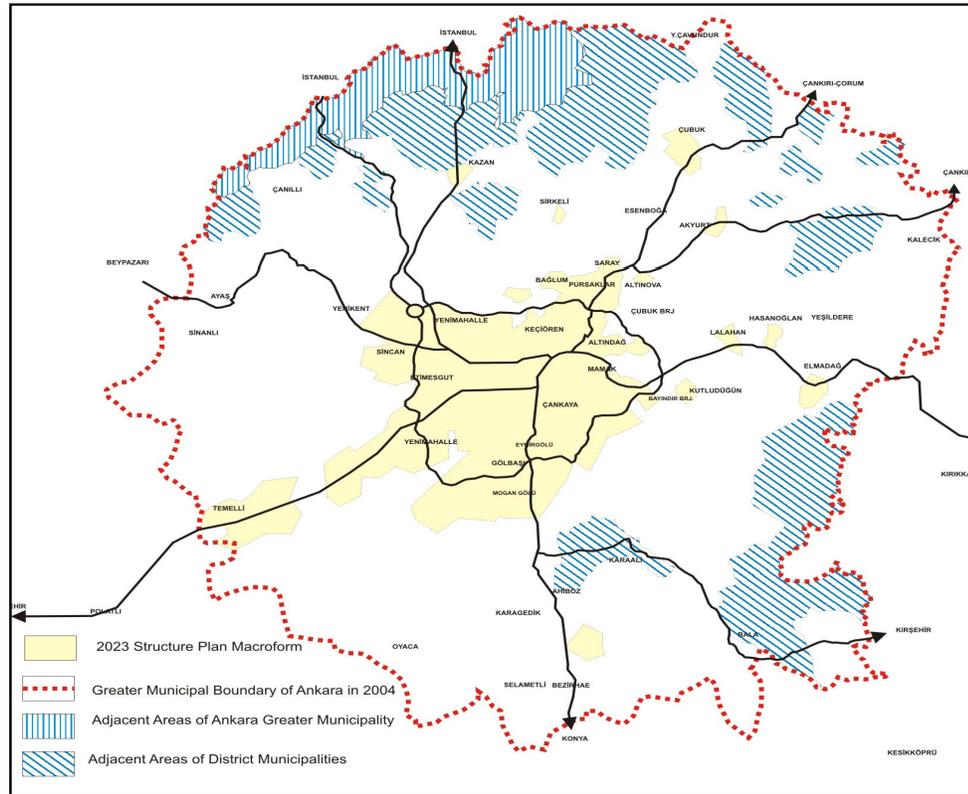


Figure 5.27. Ankara 2023 Structure Plan Macroform and Adjacent Areas
Source: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

The boundary of Ankara 2023 Structure Plan this plan is the same as Ankara Greater Municipal Boundary. The macroform proposed in plan are four times less than the plan boundary and whole areas within the municipal boundary have been planned. Therefore, Ankara Greater Municipality has to provide municipal services for such a vast area and control it. On the other hand, areas with rural characteristics in terms of economical and social relations have integrated within the boundaries of metropolitan area and the services to these areas have to be provided by Greater municipality. This might cause dispersion of the urban area and increase urban infrastructure costs.

Table 5.16. 2023 Structure Plan Foresights

Name of Plan	2023 Structure Plan
Year of Preparation	2004-2006
Characteristic of Urbanization period	dispersion and expansion of the city
Current Population	3.528.000
Approval Year	2007
Settled Area (ha)	~52.272
Adjacent Area Approval Year	2004
Adjacent Area (ha)	159.614
Projection Year	2023
Projected Population	7,5 million
Plan Area (ha)	850.000

Settled Area/Plan Area	0,06 (52.272/850.000)
Settled Area/Adjacent Area	0,32 (52.272/159.614)
Plan Area/Adjacent Area	5,3 (850.000/159.614)
Current Population/Settled area	67 (3.5 million/52.272)
Projected Population/Plan Area	9 (7.5 million/850.000)

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

Until this part, adjacent areas concept has been evaluated according to Ankara Plans and it was determined that changing economic, social, and administrative structure effected the diffusion of Ankara especially after 1980. In addition, legal arrangement increased the authority confusion to manage urban growth.

Table 5.17. The Comparison of Plans

Name of Plan	Yücel-Uybadin Plan	1990 Metropolitan Planning Office Structure Plan	2015 Structure Plan	2025 Structure Plan	2023 Structure Plan
Year of Preparation	1955	1970-75	1985-1990	1992-1998	2004-2006
Current Population	455.000	1.200.000	2.300.000	2.800.000	3.528.000
Plan Approval Year	1957	1982	Not approved	Not approved	2007
Adjacent Area Approval Year	1958	1973	1986	1994	2004
Settled Area (ha)	~5.720	~22.500	~31.000	~45.000	52.272
Adjacent Area (ha)	71.000	74.500	72.945	201.878	159.614
Plan Area(ha)	12.000	43.250	210.000	200.000	850.000
Projection Year	1987	1990	2015	2025	2023
Projected Population	750.000	2,8-3,6 million	4,5 million-5,5 million	6,5 milion-8,5 million	7,5 million
Settled Area/ Plan Area	0,47	0,52	0,14	0,22	0,06
Settled Area/ Adjacent Area	0,08	0,31	0,42	0,22	0,32
Plan Area/ Adjacent Area	0,16	0,60	2,87	1	5,3
Current Population/ Settled area	80	53	74	62	67
Projected Population/ Plan Area	200	64- 83	21 -26	32-42	9

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

The table 5.17 shows adjacent areas of plan periods. When we compare planned areas with adjacent areas (planned areas/adjacent areas), it is seen that all adjacent areas of 1990 plan and 2025 plan are developed. It shows that for these periods, development rights were given and all adjacent areas are opened to development. On the other hand, in 2015 period this proportion more than 1 that means the planned areas are more than adjacent areas.

If plan densities of each plan are compared, the densities of Yücel-Uybadin Plan and 1990 Structure are higher than the other plans. In 2015, 2025 and 2023 plan period these values are less. This shows that these plans projected more dispersed macroform. Although 2015 and 2025 plans were not approved, these plans effected to the macroforms of Ankara. Defined corridors of these plans developed with partial plans in the course of time after plan rejection. Especially south-west corridor has been exposed to speculative movements. Rejections of these plans after the Law no 3030 and 3194 enabled the integrity between planning area and administrative boundary is not provided.

Table 5.18 shows changes the amount of adjacent areas and the process of adjacent areas operations in Ankara. According to this figure, adjacent areas operation increased between 1988 and 1994 and adjacent area boundaries were expanded. Especially in 1994, adjacent areas of Ankara doubled to execute 2025 structure plan. In 1990 and 1992 operation about adjacent area can be characterized as partial projects such as Çayyolu Mass Housing Area and Ivedik Small Industry Site project. However, after 1992 establishment of town municipalities and separation of them within adjacent area boundaries increased and adjacent areas of Ankara shrunk. Consequently, although after 1992 there were some adjacent areas shrinkages (see figure 5.25), 1958-1998 (in 40 year), adjacent areas of Ankara nearly tripled. After 2004, the adjacent areas of Ankara were changed completely. Therefore, this process must be evaluated independently previous “adjacent areas” operations of Ankara. This new adjacent areas of Ankara have been used only for preserving the legal personality of forest villages.

Table 5.18. Defining the Process of Adjacent Areas Operation in Ankara.

Adjacent Areas' Approval Date		Defining of Operation Concerning Adjacent Area		Adjacent Area (HA)
Including	Excluding	Including area	Excluding area	
1958		Firt adjacent area approval		71.000
1973		Etimesgut's surrounding and Lodumlu Village Surrounding		74.500
	1982		Gölbaşı Municipality Border excluded (Decrease in South Side)
	1986		decrease after enlargement adjacent area of Akyurt Municipality	72.985
1988		Enlargement of adjacent area after Sincan Municipality Adjacent Area's annexation		≈88.000
1990		Additional Adjacent Areas with Çayyolu Mass Housing Area and Ivedik Small Industry Site	
1992		Enlargement of Adjacent Areas with Doğukent Project and Susuzköy	Sarayköy and Esenboğa villages gained the Municipality status	96.180
1994		to execute 2025 structure plan		201.878
	1995		The establishment of Altınova Municipality with combining Gıcık and Peçenek villages
	1997		Decrease at northeast after the approval of Akyurt and Esenboğa adjacent areas
1998		Cancellation of Esenboğa Municipality's adjacent area border		193.262
2004		86 forest villages have legal personality, and remains as adjacent area.		159.614

Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2006.

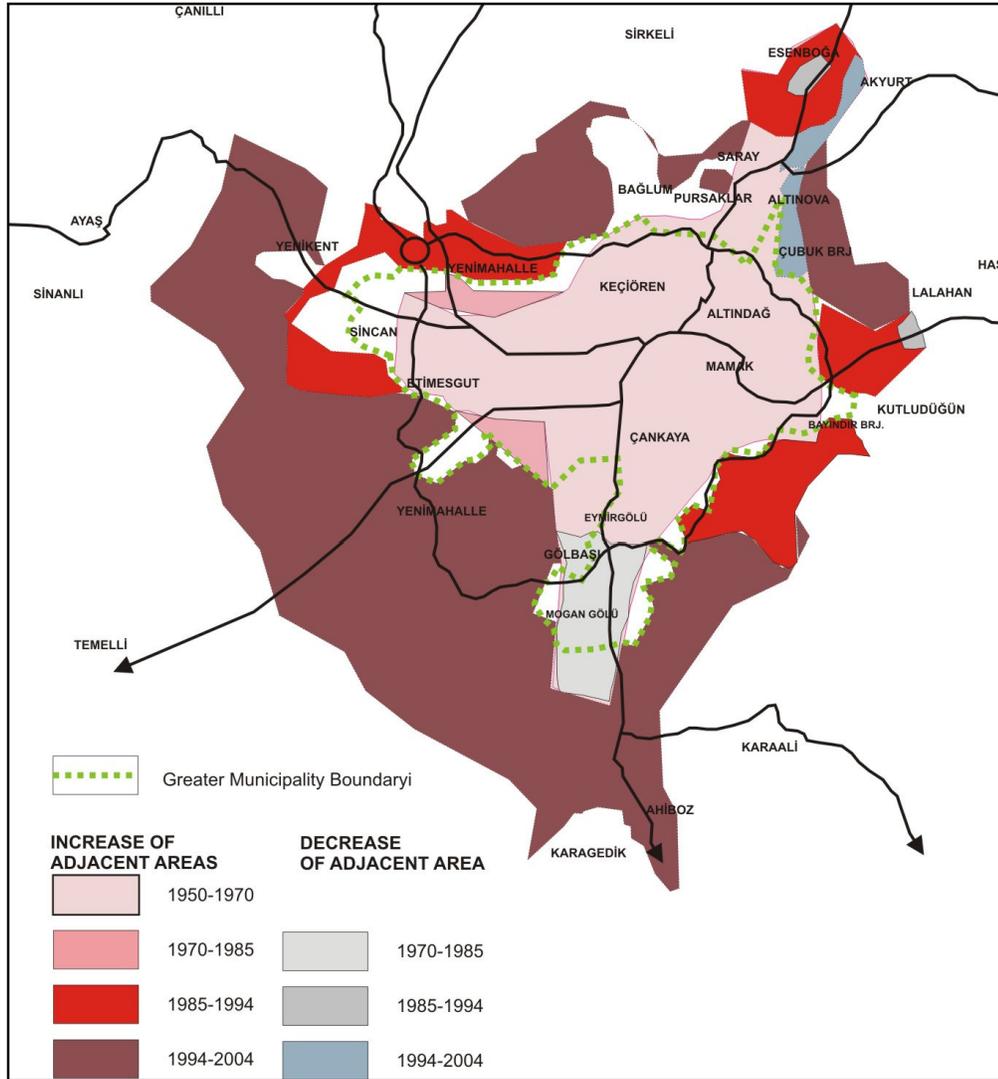


Figure 5.28. Changes of Adjacent Areas in Ankara
 Adapted from: ABŞBİDB, 2007 (Un-published Map of Ankara Adjacent Area Boundaries).

CHAPTER 6

EVALUATION OF URBAN CONTAINMENT TOOLS

Four types of urban containment techniques have been examined in this thesis: greenbelt, urban growth boundary, urban service area and adjacent area. Main and common aim of these techniques is to control urban sprawl according to fundamental purposes of “where to grow” and “where not to grow”. Urban containment strategies historically, have been developed and administered at the national, regional and local levels. National urban containment policies have been in place for many decades in a few countries, including the United Kingdom, Japan and the Republic of Korea where there is severe land pressure. In other countries, including the United States, local urban containment programs have been created by individual municipalities and agencies without direction or assistance from national governments. Regarding Turkey, urban containment policies have been created and administrated by national government but implemented by local municipalities.

Greenbelt is the most restrictive technique among these containment tools because strict development rights are defined for greenbelt. It was introduced firstly in London of United Kingdom in the late 1930s. After implementation of greenbelt, development rights have been nationalized, and all development has been by permit. Settlement expansion in the open countryside is prohibited for preventing to create ribbon development or a fragmented pattern of development. Thanks to greenbelt policy the strict separation of countryside and urban areas, achieved largely. The green belt has been effective at limiting development in the urban fringe at the local level in London, but at the regional scale it caused leapfrogs type of sprawl into deeper rural areas by enforcing growth within surrounding settlements.

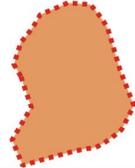
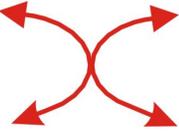
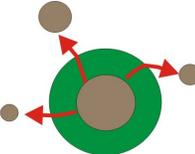
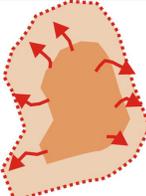
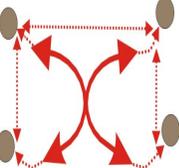
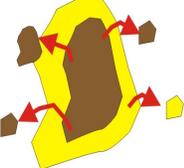
The second technique to prevent sprawl is UGB, which defines the limits of urban growth and a type of growth-phased program. Land within the UGB is made

available for urban development while land outside the UGB remains primarily rural for farming, forestry, or low-density residential development. While greenbelts are intended to be permanent, UGB can be temporary and expanded as needed. Therefore, it is more flexible in expansion because it is drawn mostly consistent with economics of plans public facilities.

Oregon is the best known example of UGB in USA. It has been determined on the basis of 20 years projections of population and urban land uses, and then adjusted every 5 years and with UGBs more restricted development rights are defined for urban reserve areas. This flexibility and logical revision have facilitated to reach forecasted aims. The establishment and the change of a UGB have been a cooperative process between a city and the county or counties that surround it. UGB's success can be attributed to: the local government's cooperation, the regional government's power and influence, and the state legislation requiring and building the capacity of regional and local governments to cooperate. But, urban growth boundaries have caused unintended, negative side effects for reducing the supply of land for housing. For example, it has reduced the amount of housing developed to meet market demand, increasing prices and reducing housing affordability.

Urban service area is more flexible technique than UGB, Greenbelt and Adjacent Areas. It delineates the area with artificial boundaries beyond which certain urban services such as sewer and water will not be provided. Any land outside of this USA will not receive public financed infrastructure; rather the developer must pay for it. USA provides developers with perfect information about where the infrastructure will be put in meaning they can more easily plan urban projects. Minneapolis-St Paul (The Twin Cities) has been best known case of USA. USA has been implemented at the municipal or county in this region. In general, urban service boundaries have had limited success in containing sprawl, because they tend to be easily and frequently amended in the face of political pressure to accommodate growth because they tended to not be accompanied by regulations, aimed at limiting development beyond the urban service boundary. Much of the motivations for adopting these policy tools are not geographical but financial.

Table 6.1. Evaluation of Urban Containment Tools

Name of Urban Containment Tool	GREENBELT	URBAN GROWTH BOUNDARY	URBAN SERVICE AREA	ADJACENT AREAS
Form of Control				
Definition of Tool	a physical area of open space that surrounds a city	a dividing line drawn around an urban area to separate it from surrounding rural areas.	a limit where infrastructure services will be extended.	required areas for the prospective expansion of the municipality
Stability	Restrictive	Flexible	Most Flexible	Flexible
Authority Structure	National level policies, local level implementation	Regional level urban policies, Local governments' cooperation, local level implementation	Regional level policies, municipal or county level implementation	National level policies, municipal level implementation
Planning Issues	Restricted development right for greenbelt	Restricted development right for urban reserve area	Restricted urban services for unplanned development areas	Planning responsibilities of defining development rights and controlling are transferred to the municipalities.
Problems	At the regional scale, leapfrogs type of sprawl	Increasing prices and reducing housing affordability	Easily and frequently amended in the face of political pressure	Authority confusion, partial planning approach, land speculation, profit intended approach
Success of Tool	Effective at limiting development in the urban fringe at the local level	The local government's cooperation	Geographical sequencing of growth rather than its constraint	Controlling and servicing faraway points
Following Urban Growth Tendency				

Prepared by: Thesis Writer

The last technique to prevent sprawl is Adjacent Areas, which defines the required areas for the prospective expansion of the municipality and areas under the control and responsibility of municipalities. Its legal regulation in Turkey came into force with Development Law no 6785 in 1956 and it was a “precaution” for the problems of urbanization which were illegal construction and disordered building. These areas do not have to adjoin with municipal boundary and may also comprise villages. Adjacent areas can be temporary as well as UGB and be expanded as needed after the proposal of municipality, decision of Provincial Board of Directors and approval of Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing.

Adjacent areas are completely under the authority of municipalities regarding development legislation. The authority given to municipalities especially about development and for special occasions have displayed great variability as time goes by and included the financial activities. Adjacent areas are not restrictive technique to prevent illegal construction. In practice, because of authority confusion among ministry, governorship, greater, town and district municipalities, and partial planning approach, it can be claimed that this tool was not able to prevent sprawl.

Ankara is the best known example of implementation of adjacent areas in Turkey. Adjacent areas problems especially emerging among Ankara Greater Municipality district and town municipalities became subject of litigation. Authority confusion caused the fragmentation of adjacent areas with partial planning approach and expansion of Ankara increased. As macro scale plan directing of controlling adjacent areas was not approved the city dynamics moulded mostly within the marketing conditions and accordingly the patch worked applications resulted in expansion of the city more than necessary. Independent town municipalities displayed examples of partial and disconnected practices. Moreover, applications carried out within the borders of the district municipalities in the fringe and neighborhood of the Greater City Municipality gave birth to new problems and imbalance of the population-labor force and transportation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In the 21st century, the fast growth of cities in order to provide the requirements of increasing population and the effects of expansion of cities on the fringe area are still the common problems of several countries as well as Turkey. So, the causes, negative results of this rapid growth and solutions to control it were examined in this thesis. The main problem stemming from rapid urban growth was described as urban sprawl that has been used as waste of land, time, and natural resources. Later, growth management policies to provide a responsible balance between development and the infrastructure needed to manage the impacts of development and to control urban sprawl were depicted. Moreover, it was concluded that successful urban containment techniques must include greater predictability of the development process, encouragement of infill and redevelopment of existing urban areas, reduction of urban sprawl, and protection of agricultural land and environmental resources.

From this perspective, urbanization process of Turkey has been evaluated to understand urban containment policy in Turkey. It can be told that Turkey witnessed very rapid urbanization process different from European countries. The urban space in Turkey has been shaped by different waves of urbanization but the real boom in terms of urban growth took place after the Second World War. In regard to urbanization process, cities became the attraction points for migrants due to the increasing economic and social utilities especially in three big cities, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. As a result of this massive migration, Turkey has faced the formation of squatter settlements in the fringes of cities due to the accommodation problems. Migrants' housing needs could not be satisfied from the urban housing market. This was the first period in which uncontrolled growth in Turkey in general and in Ankara in particular has emerged. And the emergence of adjacent area concept stemming from this rapid urbanization wave, its application as an urban

containment tool in Ankara case was examined with the change of its meaning as a reflection of economic and social transformation which has been affected from both national and international liberal trend.

In the end of 1950s, cities' uncontrolled growth problems continued to increase. First attempt to solve this problem was appeared in these years. In 1956, since Buildings and Streets Law was no more capable of solving urban growth problems, Law no 6875: Development Law was brought into force founding the institutional base for transferring the rights of municipalities on planning to the central government units. The central government became the major factor in the planning practice. With this law, the concept of 'adjacent areas' emerged first time and the development problems of the big cities were tried to be solved by extending the boundaries of the plans from the municipal boundaries to the 'adjacent areas' boundaries that include the surrounding area as well. The main aim behind this notion was the prevention of land speculation, illegal construction and disordered building in the zones of possible development.

47th Article of Law no 6785 defined adjacent areas as an area adjoining municipal boundary by focusing the importance of spatial relationship, which required for the prospective expansion of the city. When Turkey Grand National Assembly official reports were carefully studied, the discussions about adjacent areas would prove the reason why adjacent areas needed. According to the representative of Kocaeli of that time, Sadettin Yalım, 47th article would lead to hinder construction of illegal buildings and of course "Gecekonu"s.

Before adjacent area concept entered Turkish agenda as a tool of containment, two plans (Jansen and Yücel-Uybadin Plans) were implemented to direct Ankara's urban development. The first one was prepared by Jansen. But this plan failed to meet the need of increasing population. Together with development pressure in outer parts of the plan boundary, planned area had to be expanded to municipality boundary firstly. Although solutions such as enlargement of municipal boundaries two times and increases of the responsibility area of municipality were preferred to prevent

unintended development, they were not enough to solve the problems because Ankara's population doubled between 1935 and 1945.

Yücel-Uybadin plan prepared in 1955 was limited the urban development through to western corridor within the municipal boundaries. As its operational area was limited to the municipal boundary, this increased the demand for buildings within the planned area and the tendency towards construction of illegal buildings out of the municipal boundary. After 4 months that the term of "adjacent areas" was showed off in the Law no 6785, the adjacent areas operations had started in Ankara and the first adjacent area of Ankara (75.000 ha) was approved in 1958. The development permits in adjacent areas under the control of the municipality could not solve the housing problem in Ankara, and during this period, policies to increase density of existing texture had been adopted with the Regional Flat Order Plan and Yücel-Uybadin Plan loosed its effectiveness on macro scale due to flat order plans.

In the 1969 year, the problems of the big cities were tried to be solved by founding the 'Metropolitan Planning Offices'. Ankara Metropolitan Planning Office as a department of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing which had only the responsibility of preparing the plan having no rights of approving or implementation. In 1972, Law no 6785: Development Law obtained new definitions and rules with the amendments enacted with the Law no 1605. Therefore development activities outside municipal boundary and adjacent areas were given to Governorships and again Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing. This law states that in determining adjacent areas, there is no need to adjoin municipal boundary and adjacent areas can also include villages. This was a great chance for the municipalities to determine and control the metropolitan influence areas.

Between 1970 and 1975, Ankara Metropolitan Office prepared a plan named Ankara 1990 Structure Plan. In this period, it was necessary to control growth under central authority direction, because the Law no 6785: Development Law was not granting the right of approval of plans to the municipalities. With 1990 Structure Plan, adjacent areas were firstly tried to be used as a tool. Before approval of this plan, the

adjacent areas were enlarged related to the general macroform decisions aiming control the illegal constructions outside the municipal boundary. The 42 percentage of adjacent areas was planned. The synchronization was provided between targeted population and development areas. It can be asserted that this plan became successful to direct the development outside of municipality boundaries because metropolitan planning office and ministry provided harmonization between planned area and administrative boundaries. This harmonization could prove that controlling and directing of urban growth depended on effective management.

Together with 1980s, liberalization policies were adopted in Turkey and allowed the development of urban areas which were attractive for capital. Sprawl process of cities has been accelerated with automobilization and the high and middle-income groups moved to the fringes of cities. The effects of liberalization policies were also to be observed in adjacent area concept. Especially with Law no 2464 Municipal Income Law and Law no 1319: Property Taxes Law, adjacent areas have been converted to sources of income for municipalities. Behind these multi-dimensional changes, new legal and institutional organizations played an important role, too. Metropolitan Planning Offices were abrogated and Greater Municipality was founded with the Law no 3030 in 1984 and transferred the planning authorities from central government to local governments with the new Law no 3194: Development Law in 1985. Planning authorities were diversified and metropolitan areas were fragmented within boundaries of the greater municipalities. The metropolitan areas were divided into three portions by the authorities of different municipalities, which are the greater municipality, the district municipalities, and the town municipalities. And partial planning approach legalized with Law no 3194: Development Law. With partial plans, particularly in fringe areas of metropolitan cities, a leapfrog and dispersed urban fabric were formed and land use decisions were not adapted and integrated through these scattered urban areas. Meanwhile the concept of adjacent areas changed with the articles of this law. While “adjacent areas” were defined as required areas for the prospective expansion of the municipality formerly, they were changed as areas under the control and responsibility of municipalities later. This

transformation has proved that these areas started to lose their importance in the control of urban growth.

Although Ankara 1990 Structure Plan did not reach its projection year and planned area was sufficient for the existing population in 1985, new administrative structure forced to make new plan. After 1985 two kinds of plans were prepared for Ankara (2015 structure plan and 2025 structure plan) but they were not approved. These plans prepared after 1985, proposed diffused macro form with low density. Although these two plans were not approved because of authority confusion among greater municipalities, ministry, district municipalities and town municipalities and increasing partial plan depending on legal arrangements, they have affected macroforms of Ankara and increased speculative movements. The town municipalities are one of the main reasons for urban sprawl of Ankara. This shows that legal arrangement about urban planning in Turkey after 1980s created authority problems and caused deadlock for adjacent areas which were perceived as tool to control growth in contrast to solve problems. It is obvious that urban growth tools need an effective government.

After 2000 neo-liberal trends to create “World City” increased. The main purpose of these policies is to abolish all the restriction, mainly nation-state, which prevents free movement of capital. These policies caused unlimited growth of cities and changed urban spatial pattern and urban planning in Turkey. The law concerning this trend is With Law no 5216: Greater Municipality Law accepted in 2004. With this law, the responsibility of the adjacent areas under the greater municipality boundary was given to greater municipalities. According to this new law in force, boundaries of the Greater municipalities have been determined to a radius scale according to its population and have been enlarged. Greater Municipality boundary has included whole adjacent areas and changed the meaning of it. With this law, town municipalities have become first-degree municipalities and villages lying within these borders have been turned to neighborhoods. Town municipality problems have been tried to be solved by connecting them to the greater municipalities as first degree municipality. But boundaries of Ankara enlarged without taking its impact zone into consideration.

Although the legal personality of forest villages continues, it has been stated that these villages are considered as adjacent areas of the greater municipality. Inclusion of these new areas by Ankara Greater Municipalities has some benefits in terms of controlling metropolitan wholeness, on the other hand, areas with rural characteristics in terms of economical and social relations have integrated within the boundaries of metropolitan area and the services to these areas have to be provided by Greater municipality. This might cause dispersion of the urban area and increase urban infrastructure costs. After this law, Ankara 2023 Structure Plan was approved and the boundary of this plan is the same as Ankara Greater Municipal Boundary. The macroform proposed in plan are four times less than the plan boundary. At this point, it can be asserted that adjacent area could be used as urban reserve areas without opening entire municipal authority areas to development and more restricted development rights could be determined for these areas as seen in urban growth boundary and greenbelt case. Therefore, measures to prevent sprawling of Ankara could be taken and the Ankara Greater Municipality would not be obliged to provide municipal services for such a vast area.

As understood from Ankara case, adjacent areas are not planning tool but authority tool because concerning articles about adjacent areas of development law have not defined any development rights within adjacent areas boundary. This tool has given the municipalities to responsibilities of making plan within adjacent areas boundary to determine development rights and control developments in these areas. Between 1970 and 1980, use of adjacent areas to direct development of Ankara was partially successful. This achievement was provided thanks to planning, approval of plan and adjacent areas being made by the same authority. In addition, after 1980, the plans opening urban land more than required were influenced by external forces such big construction firms and international capital holders. These plans increased the dispersion of urban areas. In this period, efforts of enlargement of adjacent areas for the plan were failed, because plan approval authority and adjacent areas approval authority were different. Therefore, it is difficult to claim that adjacent areas could be an effective tool for containment of Ankara after 1980. After 2004, with the law no 5216: Greater Municipalities Law, adjacent areas became partially inutile for

metropolitan municipalities. Together with the enlargement of Ankara municipal boundary, adjacent areas of Ankara have been remained within Ankara municipal boundary and it was used only for preserving the legal personality of forest villages. In the next step, adjacent areas of Ankara may be beyond municipal boundary. It may cause more sprawling of Ankara.

In conclusion, the most significant factor affecting urban containment policy and preventing the sprawl is how to manage it. Therefore, practicability of urban containment decisions taken both urban and regional level is possible with coordination among national, regional and local actors. If urban growth means increasing of population in the general term, population projection must be updated in short periods, and urban reserved areas must be opened for these short periods. Otherwise, speculative movements would increase in the urban development areas and natural and cultural resources would not be used in an effective way. Providing integrity between urban development boundary and administrative boundary has a vital importance at this point.

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APPENDIX A

ENGLISH-TURKISH GLOSSARY

-A-

Abolished : Mülga

Adjacent Area: Mücavir Alan

Adjacent Area Plan: Mücavir Saha Planı

Ankara Directorate of Development: Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü

-B-

By-Law About the Principles of the Making of Development Plans and Changing

Them: İmar Planı Yapılması ve Değişikliklerine Ait Esaslara Dair Yönetmelik

By-Law on the Principles of Planning: Plan Yapımına Ait Esaslara Dair Yönetmelik

By-Law about the Principals of the Making of Land Use Plan: Çevre Düzeni

Planlarının Yapılması Esaslarına Dair Yönetmelik

By-law About the Application of Law no 3030 on the Administration of Greater

Municipalities: 3030 Sayılı Kanunun Uygulanması ile İlgili Yönetmelik

Building and Streets Law: Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu

Build-and-Sell Housing: Yap-Satıcı Konut

-C-

Circular: Genelge

Condominium Law: Kat Mülkiyeti Yasası

Conservation Area: Sit Alanı

Communiqué: Tebliğ

Council of State: Danıştay

-D-

Decree Law: Kanun hükmünde Kararname

Development and Sewerage Plan: İmar ve Kanalizasyon Planı

Directorate of Public Work and Settlement: Bayındırlık ve İskan Müdürlüğü

District Municipality: İlçe Belediyesi

-E-

Building Law: Ebniye Yasası

Ex-officio: Re'sen

Ex-Officio Competence of Plan Preparation and Approval: Res'en Plan Yapma ve Onama Yetkisi

-F-

Flat Order Plans: Kat Nizam Planı

Forest Village: Orman Köyü

-G-

General Directorate of Land Office: Arsa Ofisi Genel Müdürlüğü

Grand National Assembly of Turkey: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi

General Health Act: Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu

Greater Municipality: Büyükşehir Belediyesi

-I-

Implementation Plan : Uygulama İmar Planı

Improvement Plan: Islah İmar Planı

-L-

Land Arrangement: Arazi düzenlenmesi

Legislation : Mevzuat

Law no 417-Ankara Municipality Law: Kanun no 417-Ankara Şehremaneti Yasası

Law no 583-Expropriation of Swamp and Meadow Land in Yenimahalle of Which Construction:Ankara'da İnşası Mukarrer Yenimahalle İçin Merkezî Yerler ile Bataklık ve Mergazi Arazinin Şehremanetince İstimlâki Hakkında Kanun

Law no 5218 -Law Enabling the Ankara Municipality to Allocate and Transfer Part of Its Land Under Special Circumstances and Without Having to Comply with The Provision of Law no 2490: Kanun no 5218-Ankara Belediyesine, Arsa ve Arazisinden Belli Bir Kısmını Mesken Yapacaklara 2490 Sayılı Kanun Hükümlerine Bağlı Olmaksızın ve Muayyen Şartlara Tahsis ve Temlik Yetkisi Verilmesi Hakkında Kanun.

Law no 5228-Law Encouraging House Construction: Kanun no 5228-Bina Yapımını Teşvik Kanunu.

Law no 6875-Development Law: Kanun no 6875-İmar Kanunu

Law no 775-The Gecekondu Law: Kanun no 775-Gecekondu Kanunu

Law no 3194-Development Law: Kanun no 3194-İmar Kanunu

Law No 2464-Municipal Income Law: Kanun no 2464-Belediye Gelirleri Kanunu

Law no 2805-Law Regarding The Operations to be Applied On the Buildings that Were Constructed against The Urban Development And Gecekondu Regulations, and The Change of The Articles of The Development Law Counted 6785: Kanun no 2805-İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Olarak Yapılan Yapılara Uygulanacak İşlemler ve 6785 Sayılı İmar Kanununun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun.

Law no 2634- Encouragement of Tourism: Kanun no 2634-Turizmi Tesvik Kanunu

Law no 4046-Concerning Arrangements for The Implementation of Privatization and Amending Certain Laws and Decrees with The Force of Law: Kanun no 4046-Özelleştirme Uygulamalarının Düzenlenmesine ve Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükümünde Kararnelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanunun

Law no 5273 -Amending Land Office and Mass Housing Law and Abolishing of The General Directorate of Land Office: Kanun no 5273- Arsa Ofisi Kanunu ve Toplu Konut Kanununda Değişiklik Yapılması ile Arsa Ofisi Genel Müdürlüğünün Kaldırılması Hakkında Kanun

Law no 4856- Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry: Çevre ve Orman Bakanlığı Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkındaki 4856 sayılı Kanun

Law no 5216-Greater Municipality Law: Kanun no 5216-Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu

Law no 5302-Provincial Local Administration Law: Kanun no 5302- İl Özel İdaresi Kanunu

Law no 5393-Municipality Law: Kanun no 5393-Belediye Kanunu

-M-

Mass Housing Administration: Toplu Konut İdaresi

Mass Housing Law: Toplu Konut Yasası

Master Plan: Nazım İmar planı

Metropolitan Planning Office: Metropolitan Planlama Ofisi

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs: Tarım ve Köy İşleri Bakanlığı

The Ministry of Environment and Forestry: Çevre ve Orman Bakanlığı

Ministry of Interior: İçişleri Bakanlığı

Ministry of Reconstruction and Housing: İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı

Ministry of Public Works and Settlements: Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı

Municipal Committee: Belediye Encümeni

Municipal Construction and Roads Law: Belediye Yapı Yollar Yasası

Municipal Council: Belediye Meclisi

Municipalities Bank: İller Bankası

-P-

Parcellation: Parselasyon

Partial Revision to the Ankara 1990 Structure Plan: Ankara 1990 Nazım Planı Kısmi Revizyonu

Plan Modification/Amendment : Plan Değişikliği

Privatization Administration: Özelleştirme İdaresi

Proposal : Tasarı

Province : İl

Provincial Board of Directors: İl İdare Kurulu

Provincial Directorate of Public Works and Settlement: Bayındırlık İl Müdürlüğü

Provincial Local Administration: İl Özel İdaresi

-R-

Regional Order Flat Plan: Bölge Nizamı Kat Planı

-S-

Southwestern Ankara Metropolitan Development Plan: Güneybatı Ankara
Metropoliten İmar Planı

Squatter : Gecekondu

State Planning Organization: Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı

Sub-district: Bucak

-T-

Town Municipality: Belde Belediyesi

-U-

Undersecretary of Treasure: Hazine Müsteşarı

Urban Transformation: Kentsel Dönüşüm

-V-

Village Electoral College: Köy Derneği

Village Law: Köy Kanun