

POLITICS OF URBAN SPRAWL:  
THE CASE OF ANKARA

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## ABSTRACT

### POLITICS OF URBAN SPRAWL: THE CASE OF ANKARA

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The main hypothesis of this thesis is that the problem of urban sprawl, as a disorder in the growth of the cities, is not a natural result of the growth of the capitalist city but a phenomenon manipulated politically. Consequently, generally a geographically problematized phenomenon; the urban sprawl is, within this work, problematized with reference to urban politics.

In the searching of the politics of urban sprawl, one of the political interventions into the urban space; the master plans has utmost importance in this work. The impact of the master plans on the sprawl of the city will be analyzed.

A categorization of urban sprawl is proposed in the work, on the urban geography with reference to politics of urban sprawl. After illustrating the types of urban sprawl, the politics of urban sprawl is modeled. The political interventions of State, Metropolitan Municipality, District Municipalities, Housing Development Administration, Real Estate Agents and Rural Landowners located on the periphery is included in the model and their impact on the urban geography is evaluated.

Ankara will be examined as a case in the politics of urban sprawl; her unique characteristics like being the 'planned' capital city controlled by master plans

make her indispensable to study. The political interventions of the actors to the urban space of Ankara is highly visible especially considering urban sprawl in the geography of the city, yet another reason to work on.

Keywords: Politics of Urban Sprawl, Typology of Urban Sprawl, Urban Growth, Urban Politics, Ankara.

## ÖZ

### KENTSEL SAÇILMANIN POLİTİKASI: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

Yaşar, Ceren Gamze

Yüksek Lisans; Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

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Bu tezin temel savı; bir kentsel büyüme bozukluğu olarak kentsel saçılmanın, kapitalist kentin büyümesinin doğal ve kaçınılmaz bir sonucu olduğu değil, politik olarak yönlendirilen bir olgu olduğudur. Buradan hareketle, çoklukla coğrafi olarak sorunsallaştırılan kentsel saçılma olgusu, bu çalışma kapsamında kentsel politikalara referansla tartışılmıştır.

Bu çalışma kapsamında, kentsel saçılmanın politikalarının araştırılmasında, kentsel mekana yapılan politik müdahalelerin en önemlilerinden olan master planlar önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Master planların kentin saçılması üzerindeki etkisi incelenecek konular arasındadır.

Çalışma kapsamında, kentsel saçılmanın politikalarına referansla, kentsel saçılma alanlarına ilişkin bir kategorizasyon önerilmiştir. Kentsel saçılma tipleri ayrıştırılıp Ankara coğrafyasında gösterildikten sonra, kentsel saçılma politikalarına ilişkin bir model üretilmiştir. Üretilen kentsel politika modelinde Devletin, Büyükşehir Belediyesinin, İlçe Belediyelerinin, Toplu Konut İdaresinin, Emlak sektörünün ve kent çeperindeki tarımsal arazi sahiplerinin kentsel mekana politik müdahaleleri ve kentsel coğrafya üzerindeki etkilerinin değerlendirilmesi yer almaktadır.

Kentsel saçılma politikaları Ankara örneğinde ele alınacaktır; üst ölçek

planlarla kontrol edilen 'planlı' bir başkent oluşu, özgün koşulları, aktörlerin kent mekanına politik müdahalelerinin kent coğrafyasında ve özellikle kentsel saçılma sorununda kolaylıkla gözlenebilmesi, bu şehri, üzerinde çalışılmaya değer kılan sebeplerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Saçılma Politikaları, Kentsel Saçılma Tipolojisi, Kentsel Büyüme, Kentsel Politikalar, Ankara.

To Ankara.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Aim of the study

The major concern of this thesis study is the political analysis of urban sprawl. In the literature, the problem of urban sprawl is generally examined within “politically neutralized” urban geographical frameworks. However, the main argument of this thesis is that urban sprawl is not a politically neutralized urban geographical issue. In contrast, it is a process in which certain political factors interfere urban development and growth. Urban sprawl is the form of the growth of the contemporary city, and an ubiquitous phenomenon encountered anywhere. Whether it be developed or underdeveloped, cities all around the world are suffering the same issue: sprawl.<sup>1</sup> Urban sprawl in the planning literature has considered as a self-regulative process in urban growth. On the contrary, the hypothesis of this thesis is that urban sprawl is something produced, with political aims and mediations. Thus the object of this thesis is to put forward the political processes and political actors mediating in the process of urban sprawl.

Urban sprawl, in its essence, refers to the uncontrolled growth of urban areas on rural land. From one perspective, urban sprawl can be considered as a stage in the growth of urban areas<sup>2</sup> which makes it natural and inevitable. The sprawl and concentration of urban areas are considered processes like ebb and flow in the process of urban growth. Within this perspective; urban sprawl can be seen as both a positive or negative 'stage'.

Another point of view considers urban sprawl as not a stage but a problematic mode of urban growth. The author of this thesis also falls into

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1 The problem of urban sprawl was argued previously in a group where the author was also taking part. The Urban Researches Center (Kent Arařtırmaları Merkezi, KAM, coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Őengöl ) was conducting a workshop on Ankara, focusing on the dissolution of the city center and as a second step conducting an analysis over the periphery of Ankara with reference to urban sprawl was debated.

2 Klaassen, 1981 and Champion, 2001 in Yıldırım, 2008 (unpublished thesis)

this category and names it as **urban growth disorder**. However, the very approach of this thesis is to put forward this so called disorder is not produced and reproduced naturally and automatically by urban growth itself. With the term urban growth disorder, the concern is to emphasize on urban growth as the part that is inevitable and natural to some degree, but not sprawl. Urban sprawl as a problematic way of growth can be analyzed under two different perspectives; first one considering it as a natural and inevitable process again, while the latter takes it as not a natural process but a result of a complex pattern of reasons including the structural and contextual ones as well as the decisions given by actors holding power in effective authorities.

The majority of the works produced on urban sprawl focus on the problems originating from urban sprawl and anti-sprawl measures taken in terms of planning, like laws and regulations to prevent cities from sprawling. The concern of this thesis is neither to detect the problems caused by sprawl nor defining policies to prevent it. The **aim of this thesis** is to define the pattern/typology of the sprawl of urban areas with reference to the master plans in the case of Ankara and to model the politics of urban sprawl. Hence, urban sprawl will be discussed within the context of the urban geography of Ankara, while categorizing it. In other words; our way to model the politics of sprawl in Ankara passes through a geographical analysis of urban sprawl in Ankara. Both direct and indirect political interventions into the urban geography of Ankara; provoking or preventing urban sprawl are what we are searching for, and we will first deal with the geography of urban sprawl with a strong reference to the roles and positions of actors. master plans are of the utmost importance. One of the most visible political interventions into urban geography directly impacting the city and illustrating the approaches of the actors producing it within the capitalist society frame is the master plans.

master plans are significant tools of political intervention into urban space, however they are not the only ones. Still, they can be considered as the bridge between the political and the geographical analysis of urban sprawl; turning political interventions into geographical phenomena. master plans have a special significance in the case of Ankara. Ankara, one of the five planned capital cities on earth, has been under the control of master plans since the early years of the Republic. Some questions should arise; how can

it be possible for a city to suffer from sprawl at this scale, which is under the control of master plans? What is the impact of master plans on the sprawling form of the growth of the city? These question requires some presuppositions mentioned before: urban sprawl is not a natural form or an inevitable stage of growth, rather, it is politically produced to some degree and it is one of the most fundamental problems of contemporary cities. We can assume that the master plans designating the general frame of growth are whether not capable of controlling and preventing sprawl or they are encouraging it intentionally, and for some cases it can be both.

In order to build a theoretical model of the politics of urban sprawl, we need to presuppose that the problem of urban sprawl is a result of a mixture of the indirect and direct impacts of the structural conditions and decisions given by agents within this context. At this point a question arises: Are the policies proposed and applied by each agent, intentional in provoking the sprawl of Ankara? So the intentionality will also be included in the model in politics of urban sprawl for Ankara. With the term **politics of urban sprawl**; the agents effective over the process are emphasized, in a frame drawn by general structure and context.

## **1.2. Methodology**

The structure of the thesis is twofold; in the first stage, how master plans approached to the problem of urban sprawl and the attitude of plans towards sprawl is exemplified and analyzed in the case of Ankara and in the second stage, politics of urban sprawl will be questioned. The relationship between the master plans and urban sprawl is an important one. Plan, the document reflecting<sup>3</sup> both the structure and context as well as the choices of the effective actors, has a significant role in the analysis of urban sprawl within this work. Political interventions of the actors have some solid results in the urban geography of Ankara leading the problem of urban sprawl becoming deeper. At this point, it is crucial to remind that our main hypothesis is that

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<sup>3</sup> The word 'reflect' is a problematic one, especially in social sciences due to its one-way deterministic characteristic. But in this case, the word is specifically chosen in order to emphasize the illustrative characteristic of the plan, we are not arguing that it is a double sided process and plan is also effective over the other side.

urban sprawl is a politically manipulated process; via master plans, plans, rules, regulations, and other political interventions. In other words, we are asking the question: Is urban sprawl a politically manipulated fact or a direct consequence of urban growth, inevitable and natural? And throughout the thesis we stand closer to the former one, we are assuming that it is politically manipulated and this enables us to test the policies applied by each agent.

The questions asked along the thesis are:

- What is urban sprawl? What makes it a disorder in the urban growth process?
- What are the general indicators of sprawl in Ankara? What is the impact of the different components in the context of Turkey?
- What is the relationship between the master plans and urban sprawl in the case of Ankara? Can the forms of sprawl be categorized?
- What are the impacts of the decisions made on urban growth by agents? Is the way of urban growth open to political manipulation? How political processes and the state intervene into the production of urban sprawl? What is the model explaining the bundle of politics resulting with the sprawl of Ankara?

The first question leads us to the definition of the term urban sprawl with its characteristics and indicators with reference to the western literature on the issue. The tension between the urban and the rural areas, the problems of the core of the city and fragmentation are the key concepts in this part.

The second question points out the economic, social and spatial components of the reasons surrounding the problem and gives a general sense about the context. In other words, by answering the second question, the general and structural frame of the problem can be drawn.

The third question is on measuring the impacts of the master plans and the aim here is to understand the problem of urban sprawl that Ankara has been suffering with reference to the master plans. The path to urban sprawl as a disorder in growth While answering this question; a typology of sprawl will be proposed with reference to the master plans. Pairing up urban sprawl with

master plans within this work does not imply that master plans are the most effective components over the problem of sprawl, instead the aim here is only to measure the impacts of master plans which has an intrinsic nature of controlling the growth, over the problem urban sprawl which is intrinsically lacking control. Although the relationship between master plans and urban sprawl is important, at the end, master plans or plans in general are mere tools, tools of illustrating and forming the policies of agents in charge.

This brings us to the main question; the question on the politics of urban sprawl. Answering the second and the third questions is giving us a basis for an analysis and some hints of politics of urban sprawl via building a typology directly related with political interventions of the actors and the analysis of the master plans which are a direct form of political intervention into urban geography. Yet this is not enough to explain and problematize the problem of urban sprawl in terms of urban politics, to understand whether urban sprawl is consciously produced or appear as unintended forms of urban development in market driven economies the roles of the state and actors have to be cleared. The last question is the most complicated and the most comprehensive one which is the hardest to problematize, model and answer.

The specific questions are: Are there any politics of sprawl in Ankara? What is the role of the municipality in the growth of the city? What is the role of the state and its institutions in the process? Are there any policy produced by the state, and/or local authorities based on the rent expectancies? What is the role of the urban real estate market in the urban sprawl problem? What is the position taken by the landowners of the surrounding rural lands under transformation? What is the positions taken by the citizens? Is urban sprawl a desired goal or a problem that have to be prevented according to each agent? What is the motive beyond the municipality in production of excess developed land, which has a direct impact on the degree of urban sprawl?

In order not to be lost in these questions, we will propose a model/ a scheme of impact including each agent with reference to the policies proposed, original intentions and the impacts.<sup>4</sup> Model will include the political intervention of the agent, the tool used, indicators, whether intended or not

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<sup>4</sup> Blaikie, 2007. The structure of the thesis was constructed with the help of the book mentioned.

and the result. The intentions and the impacts of the agents can not be observed by the same methods, hence, different methods of analysis were applied for different agents; for instance in the case of municipalities the urban transformation projects proposed are of importance, while in the case of real estate market the annual numbers of flats and other related statistics are important. Another significance of the last question is; one of the actors due to the scale, mostly remains invisible in researches on the problem of urban sprawl: the landlords, owners of the surrounding rural land. They are the main (in terms of not the most effective but the most effected) actors in the tension between the urban and rural on the periphery of the city and the one that is the most disregarded. The other actors are all looking from the 'urban' side, the side of the invader, the rural landowners are the invaded ones. In order to understand the stances of rural landowners in-depth interviews have been conducted with two villages; Mühye and Yapraklık lying on the outskirts of the city.

The answers of the previous questions will form the basis for the last one, the politics of urban sprawl. The politics of urban sprawl can be summarized as the inconsistent nexus between different policies applied by different actors on the issue. In other words it is a composition of decisions made over urban space, leading to a sprawled form of growth. Some decisions lead to sprawl and some prevent it but they all are included in the great picture of the politics of urban sprawl.

In this respect, the thesis is divided into six chapters starting with the introduction part. In the following chapter, under the theoretical framework, the problem of urban sprawl is discussed with reference to spatial, economic and political components of it. First of all the key concepts; suburbanization, urban form, urban growth and urban fragmentation will be discussed and then the urban sprawl, which can be considered as an adjective for urban form and urban growth; defining in what shape the city grows. Urban sprawl is a problematic form of urban growth and it is “a matter of degree”<sup>5</sup>. Until when it is called sprawl, or what is the limits of healthy growth is important. The characteristics and the indicators of sprawl enables us to make the distinction between urban growth and sprawl. The path from urban growth to

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5 Chin, 2002. p.3

urban sprawl is discussed with reference to plans and a flowchart of those possible paths is drawn in this part.

The second focus of this chapter is the role of rent and property relationships which has a significant role on the path to sprawl. This chapter ends with the analysis of urban sprawl with three different perspectives on structure and agent, which are circuits of capital, managerialist approach and patterns of determination.<sup>6</sup> The selection among the paths to sprawl is determined within the boundaries of contextual limitations driven by the choices of the agents.

In the third chapter, after defining urban sprawl and identifying the indicators and characteristics of sprawl, the city-scale indicators are listed for the case of Ankara. The urban geography of Ankara shows signs of the urban sprawl problem not only partially but also in the whole city. Hence, before categorizing the forms of sprawl, we find it crucial to identify the general indicators which are population and overall density, distribution of density, the condition of the macroform, the level and form of housing problem, the planned and unplanned growth, the level of fragmentation and the problems in accessibility. In this part, the indicators are discussed with a strong reference to the agents and their role in the emergence of these indicators. This part has a strong contribution to the fifth chapter, modeling the politics of urban sprawl.

In the fourth chapter, the urban sprawl problem is evaluated in detail within the urban geography of Ankara from the impacts of the previous master plans, in order to track the change, to the qualitative and quantitative comparisons of the plans with reference to the problem of urban sprawl, the path to sprawl in the case of Ankara was illustrated. After drawing the path to sprawl, four categories of urban sprawl is defined with reference to Ankara: recoverable urban sprawl, chronic urban sprawl, pervasive urban sprawl and haphazard urban sprawl. Each form of sprawl was exemplified within the geography of Ankara.

In the fifth chapter, the politics of urban sprawl is discussed. With all the spatial analyses done with a strong reference to politics behind urban sprawl

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<sup>6</sup> Approaches by Harvey, Pahl and Wright.

are used for developing a model of politics of urban sprawl which is a complicated and hard task. As a matter of fact the subject is limited with the main agents in the issue and their most effective policies. In the last chapter the evaluation of the study and further debates to be discussed take place. The major findings and the answers given to the questions will be summarized, consequently leading us to further questions.

Throughout this study, the problem of urban sprawl will be defined and discussed with reference to master plans in the case of Ankara and the politics behind will be modeled. The model will include state policies in macro and local scale, policies of local governments, the role of the real estate market and the positions taken by rural landowners surrounding the city. Preliminary to the study, it is crucial to remind that the author of this thesis considers urban sprawl as a problem instead of a natural stage in the development and the growth of the cities. Our main assumption at this point is that, it is not immune to political interventions. Another point that have to be emphasized is eventhough the impacts of the master plans is discussed and the paths from growth to sprawl is drawn with reference to plans, we are not implying that plans are the sole or most effective reasons behind the sprawl problem. We are only trying to define the effects of master plans on urban sprawl be it insignificant or significant; and negative or positive. In addition, before starting the work, we assume urban sprawl as a complicated problem with a complex pattern of reasons behind, including the structural components and decisions of agents within the frame of the structure.

Working on the case of Ankara while searching for politics of urban sprawl has some advantages. First of all, Ankara has seen numerous master plans, which enable a comparison in between. Secondly, being the capital city, state interventions to urban space is more visible in Ankara. In other words, we are implying that the urbanization of Ankara is to some degree, sponsored by state. Also, turning back to plans, the given development rights, by the last master plan, the 2023 plan, is more than needed with an estimated population of 7,5 million people for the macroform, for the year 2023.<sup>7</sup> Lastly, the problem of urban sprawl is highly visible in the urban geography of Ankara. These aspects of Ankara brings us to some questions

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<sup>7</sup> 2023 Plan Report, 2006.

of importance: what is the relationship between the master plans produced and urban sprawl problem Ankara is facing? What is the role of actors in this process? Can politics of urban sprawl in Ankara be modeled by identifying the roles of the actors?

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

Within the scope of this thesis, which focuses on urban sprawl and its politics there are two mainstream theoretical discussions; the first is on urbanization, urban sprawl and rent; and the second is the debate on structure-agent dichotomy. Before starting, it is crucial to state that, within the frame of this thesis, the problem of sprawl will be analyzed in terms of urban politics and urban geography. The geographical part of the analysis can be considered as an attempt to build up a basis for the analysis of politics of urban sprawl. The critical debate here is that, we are considering urban sprawl as a result of structural components of the capitalist society with the political interventions of the actors. Political interventions of the actors are what we will mainly be focusing on throughout the work.

Urbanization has a variety of meanings indicating different components of the term urban. In order to understand the problem of urban sprawl, as a prelude it is meaningful to start from where the story begins. Urban growth is the second step on the way of understanding the urban sprawl. As claimed in the previous part, we presupposed urban sprawl is a problem instead of a natural and inevitable step in the process of urban growth and named it as urban growth disorder. Urbanization implicitly includes the growth of urban areas, which is our focus of interest in with reference to the sprawling of the cities. After the prelude, the literature on sprawl will be discussed. The literature on urban sprawl is, as the name indicates, a dispersed one. Even the definitions of the term urban sprawl are problematic: “The term has become so abused that it lacks precise meaning, and defining urban sprawl has become a methodological quagmire (Audirac, Shermeyen, & Smith, 1990).”<sup>8</sup> So the first part of the theoretical framework will be on understanding, defining and conceptualizing the term urban sprawl. Urbanization and urban sprawl are directly related with urban and rural land rent, as a matter of fact rent is an important component of the framework.

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<sup>8</sup> Chin, 2002.

Urban sprawl is indeed a problem and not a natural or inevitable one. This statement brings the question of the logic behind. To understand the patterns leading to the sprawl of the cities, position taken against structure-agent dichotomy have to be clarified. **Is it the structure or the agent that brings the change or a specific combination of both?** Within structure-agent debate, the stances taken against the genesis and the process of urban sprawl differs between different perspectives.

## 2.1. Urbanization and Urban Sprawl

Urbanization can be basically defined as “the condition of being urbanized”<sup>9</sup>. The world is getting urbanized and after the industrial revolution, the pace of urbanization was dramatically increased. Urbanization and development are strongly related issues but this does not mean that they have to occur hand in hand. The economic development inevitably leads to urbanization but the reverse is not the case every time; countries can urbanize regardless of development<sup>10</sup>. Urbanization as “the growth of cities and the transformation of society from agrarian to urban”<sup>11</sup> and “the process of a society changing from rural to urban and economic activities concentrating in cities”<sup>12</sup> refers to economic, spatial and social changes in time. Urbanization, with or without development, creates a need for further urban services and more importantly an increase in the demand for land which eventually leads to pressure for opening up new lands in the surroundings of the city.<sup>13</sup> The two different leads, urban on one side and rural on the other, creates a tension on the periphery of the city.

The spatial component of urbanization, namely urban growth is the middle step on the way from urbanization to urban sprawl, for understanding the problem. Urban growth is inevitable in the process of urbanization so the

9 [Http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn](http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn) , accessed on April, 2010.

10 Mimarlar Odası, 1973 p.15

11 [Http://doe.sd.gov/contentstandards/social/docs/SS\\_Glossery05-15-06.rtf](http://doe.sd.gov/contentstandards/social/docs/SS_Glossery05-15-06.rtf), accessed on April, 2010.

12 [www.uncc.edu/hscampbe/landuse/e-support/Glossary.html](http://www.uncc.edu/hscampbe/landuse/e-support/Glossary.html), accessed on April, 2010.

13 Mimarlar Odası, 1973 p.15

demand for land in city increases in time as well as the pressure over the surrounding rural land. Enlarging the quantity of urban land to meet the demand created by the urbanizing population is not as easy as it thought; the land is limited, opening up new lands requires a high level of capital invested and the social cost is high.<sup>14</sup>

Urban growth can be possible by two ways, first one is opening up new lands via plans whether it be partial plans or master plans or with invasion of unplanned housing areas. In other words we can divide the urban growth into two forms with reference to plans, first one is the planned growth and the second one is the unplanned growth. Urban growth under control of plans (mostly upper scale) or supported with plans (mostly partial) is planned urban growth. Urban growth without any control of or support from plans, in other words the growth of gecekondu areas is the second form of urban growth which is named unplanned. This division will later on will be used for categorizing the different kinds of sprawl which we have previously named as urban growth disorder. Whether it be a planned or unplanned form of growth, cities sprawl. Under the impact of urbanization growth is inevitable while sprawl is not. Sprawl as a problematic way of growth, a disorder, is not a natural step in the growth of the city as we stated before. Then what it is? What is the difference between sprawling city and a healthily growing city? What makes us to consider it as a problem, instead an ordinary way of growth? This questions are of importance for our agenda and we first have to understand what sprawl is and then we can be able to categorize it and search for a pattern in its politics.

### 2.1.1 Preliminary Concepts

*"These are the stories that the Dogs tell when the fires burn high and the wind is from the north. Then each family circle gathers at the hearthstone and the pups sit silently and listen and when the story's done they ask many questions: "What is Man?" they'll ask. Or perhaps: "What is a city?""*<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p.16

<sup>15</sup> Simak, Clifford, (1952), *City*, Prelude.

Urban sprawl is one of the major problems faced in the contemporary city. The consumption of excess rural land by urban landscape is the basic definition of urban sprawl. But like other terms related with 'urban', it is a multifaceted and complicated problem. With the pace of the deformation faced by the city: sprawling over endless rural lands, the dissolution and decomposition of the society fragmenting over space, increasing social and spatial gaps within the city; the times when it will be asked “what is a city?” is near.

### **2.1.1.1 Suburbanization Versus Urban Sprawl**

Urban sprawl and the term suburbanization can sometimes be used in exchange. Suburban areas refers to urban sprawl, although suburbanization and urban sprawl are not exact synonyms. Suburbanization mostly refers to the growth of the urban areas with residential districts having a boringly uninterrupted order while urban sprawl indicates the process of spreading of urban areas (including centers, subcenters, suburbs) over countryside<sup>16</sup>. Sprawl is “a matter of degree” as Chin states<sup>17</sup>, a disorder in urban growth while suburbanization is a form of urbanization. Suburbanization is more clearly defined and understood, but urban sprawl somehow remains unclear, and undefined. In addition, unlike suburbanization, urban sprawl contains an intrinsic negative meaning, pointing out the problems associated and giving the sense of something wrong, passing the borders without limit.

Urban sprawl encompasses suburbanization but somehow more than that. Not only the residential areas but also offices, industry, small-scale production, service sector, leisure activities, public facilities, in short nearly each and every function related to city is decentralizing, sprawling out. Cities sprawl; the agglomeration of functions gone under an irreversible transformation, that resulted a dramatical change in urban geography. Fortified cities were fragmented (and this is also an ongoing process) and the walls once used for protection from spatially outsiders, are now used for protection from socially outsiders within the same city, with gated

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<sup>16</sup> Gillham, Oliver. p.3

<sup>17</sup> Chin, 2002. p.3

communities. The economic gap between the classes is deepening while the space between them are increasing. The city as a node is dissolved and sprawling.

Defining urban sprawl has two main components the first one is the urban growth indicating the variable side and requires following up the changes and the second one is the urban form which points out more static sides of sprawl, based on definitions. It will be easier to start from the more static one: urban form.

### **2.1.1.2 Urban Form**

Urban form is the starting point to define the problem of urban sprawl or as we named it urban growth disorder. In order to understand sprawl, a normal state of urban form has to be defined. The anomalies in the urban form illustrates the spatial characteristics of urban sprawl. Chin's explanation on urban sprawl with reference to urban form and compactness is noteworthy:

“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, but what is considered to be sprawl ranges along a continuum of more compact to completely dispersed development. Sprawl is a matter of degree, not an absolute form.”<sup>18</sup>

As Chin states, sprawl is a term referring to the degree, the limit that has been passed, not a solid and well defined form. This makes it an open ended term with loose boundaries; different types of urban growth can be classified under urban sprawl. In the earlier times of the debate (1950s and 1960s) even the compact form of suburbanization was considered as sprawl eventhough it is not so now.<sup>19</sup> Continuing with Chin, there are three forms of urban sprawl with reference to urban form: scattered, leapfrog and ribbon development, implying different forms of cities: multi-centric, mono-centric and linear.

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<sup>18</sup> Chin, 2002. p.3

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p.3

The shape of cities are closely associated with outer defense and inner accessibility concerns from the beginning. Compact, high-density and fortified cities within walking distance were widespread all over the world in ancient times, middle ages and new ages. With these features the characteristics of city life were drastically different from the characteristics of rural life. As Robert Bruegmann<sup>20</sup> says;

“One of the most important facts about cities from the beginning of recorded history until the fairly recent past was the sharp distinction between urban and rural ways of life. Within the city walls of most early cities, a visitor would see dense mass of buildings, congested streets, and a rich and highly dynamic urban life offering many choices, at least for those able to afford them. A few miles outside the walls, however, the same visitor might see nothing but croplands and rural villages.”

Just between those two areas like black and white, there lies a gray one; “a region just outside the city that housed activities and individuals that were still intimately connected with the social and the economic life of the city”<sup>21</sup> which resembles our focus of interest: sprawl. Urban sprawl stands for the existence of the areas which are a part of the urban, yet not totally transformed into it. Especially in terms of density, distance from the core of the city and the dispersal of urban pattern into rural with an irregular and diluted fashion. By saying distance, it can be concluded that sprawl is a problem of the times after the invention and becoming widespread of public and private means of transportation but sprawl of cities is as old as cities itself; sprawl as a region related to city functionally but left out of city. According to Bruegmann, in ancient cities, the functions and groups left out or intentionally choose to sprawl;

“burial grounds, pottery works, or other industries that were either too space consuming or too noxious to be tolerated,...marginal social and political groups and families too poor to afford dwelling inside the walls,...affluent and powerful families who had the means to build and maintain the working farms or villas or second houses where they could escape the congestion, noise...”<sup>22</sup>

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20 Bruegmann, Robert. (2005) *Sprawl: A Compact History*. p.21

21 Ibid. p.21

22 Ibid. p.21

In these functions and groups all dependent on cities and lying out of city; especially latter ones are interesting. The extreme poor and the extreme rich; one can not be able to dwell within walls and the other does not want to. We are surprisingly familiar to it, with our cities and the unchanging hegemonic relations within society and the conflicts. Babylon, Ur and many other ancient cities with high population, sprawl was a common issue; as Lewis Mumford states: "the suburb becomes visible almost as early as the city itself".<sup>23, 24</sup> For instance, in the case of ancient Rome with a population of 1 million, there was an area surrounding the city which was called 'suburbium' literally meaning below or outside of the walls<sup>25</sup>. It historically reveals the relationship between sprawl and suburban areas.

The form of the cities is related with defense and accessibility (alongside other reasons) and the problem of urban sprawl exists before the industrial revolution which is the turning point that urbanization is paired with. The policies proposed by local authorities and general/national stance in urban politics have a strong impact on the shaping process of urban form. Some impacts are more direct, some are not, and it is hard to measure the degree, but this does not change the fact that form of cities, urban growth and urbanization are under a semi-control of politics. For instance the plans prepared and applied by municipalities are directly effective over the determination of urban form. For instance the areas that has lost their forest characteristics (2B), or so they say, were under discussion and a law that enables further development in those areas was accepted. The lands that have lost its forest characteristic are positioned on the periphery and this makes it a direct impact over the urban form. As it can easily be understood, it will also lead to further sprawl of the urban areas. The examples can be multiplied but we have to continue with defining urban sprawl with clearing out each component.

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23 Mumford, Lewis. (1961), *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, Its Prospects*, New York.

24 Bruegmann, Robert. (2005) *Sprawl: A Compact History*.

25 Ibid. p.21

### **2.1.1.3 Urban Growth**

#### **2.1.1.3.1 Industrial Revolution: The Breakpoint**

Urbanization, development and industrialization are all interrelated. Industrialization triggers urbanization and urban growth. Obviously, industrial revolution is an important turning point for the cities so for the problem of urban sprawl. Urbanization, as it was mentioned before, is generally related with industrialization and assimilated into it. According to Lefebvre this stems from conceptualizing the urban space-time on industry which is homogeneous, rational and planned, or positioning it to the other side; agrarian which is cyclic and juxtapositional.<sup>26</sup> Lefebvre conceptualizes the urban space-time on a different level where “each place and each moment existing only within a whole, through contrasts and oppositions that connect it to, and distinguish it from, other places and moments”<sup>27</sup>. In sum it will be distracting to identify urbanization with solely industrialization while analyzing urban sprawl; where urban sprawl is also not solely related with industrialization. At this point it is crucial to point out that the process of urbanization is also a political process. Urban growth is politicized so urban sprawl. To put bluntly, cities grow, which is a relatively natural and inevitable process; industrialization also triggers urban growth but this process can not be considered as solely economic, there is a strong political side attached to it.

Fortification and the challenge of transportation, more specifically lack of transportation giving birth to compact and high density cities is a widespread issue until chain of reactions triggered by industrial revolution. At first glance, it can be said that industrial revolution caused an drastic increase in density and population of cities, which eventually ended with a dramatic decrease in conditions of the working class, captive dwellers of cities. But the same industrial revolution, with its all side effects and positive impacts on the development of civilization, in the form of technology for instance, or “separation of a place of work and a place of residence”<sup>28</sup>, to some degree

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26 Lefebvre, 2003 in Ruppert, 2003

27 Lefebvre, 2003 in Ruppert, 2003

28 Harvey, David. (1978) The Urban Process Under Capitalism, International Journal of Urban

allowed and caused cities to sprawl. In sum industrial revolution is triggering urbanization and urban growth but it has to be expressed that, industrialization can not be shown as the sole reason beyond urban growth, more importantly urban sprawl problem. Alongside other dramatic impacts of cities, industrialization also has changed the urban politics and the political process taking place in the production of urban space.



Figure 1: Jacob Riis, “How the other half lives” 1890s, Manhattan

The conditions of the working class living in cities and the situation that the central cities were in can clearly be seen in these photographs taken in 1890s. It is no different from “bekar evleri” in İstanbul, or gecekondu in Ege mahallesi in İzmir today.

Transportation technologies, both the public forms and private forms of transportation allowed us to live further from city center. The unbearable conditions of high-density pioneer industrial cities accelerated the process of sprawl of the cities.<sup>29</sup> The uninterrupted story of sprawl, beginning from the earliest cities, continues with an unbridled fashion. But this time it is a different story; the sprawl before industrial revolution was drastically different from the one after industrial revolution, in spatial, economic and social terms.

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and Regional Research. p.101-131

29 Bruegmann, Robert. *Sprawl: A Compact History*. The Chicago University Press.

Urban Sprawl “had become a mass movement” after the industrial revolution<sup>30</sup> due to the mass migration into cities. With industrial revolution, the housing problem of the poor increased dramatically; the rapidly industrializing cities had undergone a transformation in built environment (opening up new roads, enlarging existing ones and building railway systems in the city) to meet the needs of industry and this led to a demolition process in the city, especially in the parts where poor lives.<sup>31</sup> This transformation taking place exactly the same time with the mass migration from rural to urban, the migration for work, had deepened the housing problem of the poor.<sup>32</sup> Engels, in his book on housing problem, gives the example of Kansas City, a small land with a shanty on costs 1200 dollars and it is 1 hour far from the city. This can illustrate the extend of sprawl right after the industrial revolution.<sup>33</sup> The population sprawling out of the cities were the extreme rich and the extreme poor in ancient cities<sup>34</sup> which are relatively small proportion of the society, while after industrial revolution the population sprawling out of cities was dramatically increased. The increase in the number of people belonging to the labor class in cities, stemming from industrial revolution had expanded urban sprawl in scale and amount. The sprawling minority of preindustrial cities turned into majority in other words. This expression at first sight seems as a solely economic one, but it has a strong political side to it. Labor class as the new real owner of the cities and the majority, do not have chance to dwell in desirable conditions, more than that sometimes could not dwell in the central city due to the high rents and this situation is directly related with urban politics and politics of urbanization.

The mass movement to cities and the unhealthy conditions stemming from the factories; high density residential areas and lack of needed social and technical infrastructure including public spaces, open-green areas, in sum the spatial problems that cities are facing because of industrialization lead to

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30 Ibid. p.33

31 Engels, Friedrich, (1873/1977) *The Housing Question*. p.10

32 Ibid. p.10

33 Ibid. p.34

34 Bruegmann, Robert. *Sprawl: A Compact History*. The Chicago University Press.

a forceful transformation in urban politics and politics of urbanization.

Another result of industrial revolution transforming the form of urban sprawl is the technological improvements in transportation technologies. Sprawl after industrial revolution has a bilateral structure, first stage is the sprawl caused by the invention of train as a cheap public transport system, second stage is the invention of automobile allowing individual trip whenever and wherever we want. This bilateral structure, the difference of sprawl with public transportation and sprawl with cars as a individual way of transportation, created an illusion that the form of the sprawl that we are experiencing is post-industrial. Sprawl as we experience is not post-industrial, it is the real kid of industrial revolution; the second generation kid. In other words its not post-industrial sprawl that we face, its just a new form of sprawl caused by the new stage of industrialization and urbanization under the impact of car alongside other developments in communication technologies<sup>35,36</sup>. The scale of sprawl dramatically increased in time, parallel to the scale of cities and vast increase in urban population. The form of urban sprawl under capitalism leads us to the question about the form of urban sprawl in underdeveloped countries. The experiences in cities belonging to underdeveloped countries will be discussed in the case of Ankara.

*"It's pretty hard to fight a war," said Gramp, "when there's  
nothing you can aim at."  
"You mean the cities," said Adams."<sup>37</sup>*

In our age, after irreversible effects of industrial revolution on us and as a historical breakpoint World War II, the shape of cities are again claimed to be

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35 Parallel to changes in industry itself; the city as space of production seems to lose its productive function and replacing it with consumption. But is it really true that production is becoming extinct especially in cities? The author of this thesis do not think so. As in the case of housing, industrial areas also sprawled over the countryside, creating city-regions. The locational change in industrial sector is also visible in global scale. The industry abandoned the developed west, and preferred to locate in east with low price in labor power. Even this may be called sprawl, this time in a large scale. A sprawl of industry over the world is followed by an agglomeration, agglomeration in new areas, previously unexplored. The countries like ours, never fully industrialized and underdeveloped, is a different story.

36 Gillham, Oliver. (2002) *The Limitless City*, p.46.

37 Simak, Clifford. (1952), *City*.

a matter of defense and accessibility, however in a different sense.<sup>38</sup> The threat that we are defending ourselves from wars taking place on ground, transformed into the nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction which can remotely be controlled. With this change, some strategists claimed that the process of decrease in density of cities and sprawl have to be encouraged.<sup>39</sup>

Defense and accessibility can be good examples for the reasons shaping the form of the city, but both of the terms are double-edged swords causing different results in time, as shown above. Industrial revolution indeed changed the city and the pace of urbanization.

#### **2.1.1.3.2 Urban Versus Rural**

The growth of the city gives rise to the tension between urban and rural on the periphery of the city. On one side the urban areas tend to grow on the other side the rural areas as the medium of agricultural production gains importance as the time passes<sup>40</sup>. The conflict between urban and rural can be understood in different ways in different scales, in national scale for instance it can be the conflict over being the ruling power of the country in politics, in city scale it can be the difference in forms of life or spatial differences as well. It can more widely be the overall balance between urbanized population and rural population or more correctly the imbalance between those two with high rates of migration from rural to urban areas.

All meanings are integral to one another but there is one that we want to emphasize most: the spatial surface of contact between urban and rural. The battlefield of the tension/war between the urban and the rural is the periphery of the city, where shows the characteristics of both ends with varying levels. This is the exact place where the problem of urban sprawl takes place.

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38 Gillham, Oliver. (2002) *The Limitless City*.

39 Gillham, Oliver. (2002) *The Limitless City*.

40 Not in the eyes of state or market but for the society.

With well defined form of cities -walls play a major role in this-, it was easy to define where is urban and where is suburban and rural. But in our era we do not have the luxury of walls dividing cities into well-defined areas, namely urban, suburban and rural. We are all alone with our observation skills to categorize areas in a spectrum between urban and rural, and in addition we can not even divide land into two homogeneous parts; namely urban and rural. Let alone defining new categories between urban and rural, even our definition of urban and rural must be revised. Turkey Statistics Institution (TSI, TÜİK) states urban areas are areas having population over 20.001, while rural areas are areas having population under 20.000, which means population is the sole indicator in deciding whether the area is urban or rural. It is oversimplification, if it is not ignorance. To crystallize the borderline between the urban and the rural; density can be a useful guide. Without density the population become meaningless. But even the density is not enough and it is also deceiving, because as Wirth<sup>41</sup> says, the density in the core of the city, where basic activities of the city lies has a low level of population, as a result density. So we can also add the density of buildings into our aspects of distinction. Where and how we work is as important as where and how we live, while determining whether we belong to urban or rural. In other words, if we work in a factory near a city and we are living in a village where even agricultural production continues, then we are part of the urban population. To put bluntly; “wherever they may be, who have come under the spell of the influences which the city exerts by virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transportation” can be called urban according to Wirth<sup>42</sup>.

To understand the areas lying in between the urban and rural, we can start with shortly defining what is urban and what is rural. Urban and rural are usually defined with help of each other in a dialectical way, so we can lose ourselves within the vicious cycle of defining them. We will use the weapon of simplification in order not to fall into that cycle. Urban refers to city while rural refers to country.

Eventhough, urbanization is directly related with industrialization, cities exist

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41 Wirth, Louis. (1938), *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, American Journal of Sociology.

42 Wirth Louis. (1938), *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, American Journal of Sociology, p.48

even before the industrial revolution. Ancient Ur, Babylon, Rome are all cities, which even can compete with the contemporary cities in size, population and density.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore as Engels puts clearly in his work on housing problem, *The Housing Question*, the German working class did not fully lose its rural form of life because of the small scale production taking place in countryside, at homes.<sup>44</sup> So what are the similarities between all the cities in history and today? What makes them 'urban'? We clarified that its not industrialization; more correctly, not industrialization before capitalism, and not only industrialization after capitalism. With these questions we are willing to understand the extension of urban sprawl. Where can be considered as urban, where can be considered as rural? The extensions of urban areas are not only physical but also social and economic. The example given by Engels is meaningful in this case, urban conquered rural with industry, and on that time and now it is conquering rural with real estate market. The economic relations between the urban and surrounding rural are becoming stronger and stronger due to sprawl and also it is resulting with further sprawl.

Harvey (1978), in his work on *Urban Process Under Capitalism*,<sup>45</sup> says “‘urban’ has a specific meaning under the capitalist mode of production” and he relates it with the twin themes 'class struggle' and 'accumulation'. Cities are the stage of class struggle, with its highly dense nature and division of society into strict and lucid classes, namely labor -selling their labor power- and capital owner -owner of means of production; machines-. The production of urban space can be considered as the settling of the accumulated capital and the main role of capital accumulation in the production of urban space reminds us the other term: class struggle.<sup>46,47</sup> The

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43 Bruegman, Robert. (2005), *Sprawl: A Compact History*.

44 Engels, Frederich. (1873/1977) *The Housing Question*.

45 Harvey David. (1978) *The Urban Process Under Capitalism*, in PACCIONE,M. (2002) *The City: Land use, structure and change in the Western city*, Routledge Press.

46 Şengül, Tanık. (2001) *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*. p.9

47 Harvey, David. (1978)*The Urban Process Under Capitalism*, in PACCIONE,M. (2002) *The City: Land use, structure and change in the Western city*, Routledge Press.

commodification of urban space made it object to class related politics<sup>48</sup> and consequently class struggle. The distribution of ownership of land and housing creates another basis and focus for class struggle. We said that urban is the sphere where class struggle takes place, but rural areas are also related with class struggle. Market and state structure is focusing on urban and disregarding rural areas, and rural is considered as the hinterland of the city without having its own needs and characteristics. The invasion of urban over rural alongside the changes in agricultural sector is rapidly transforming the rural areas. The labor force in agricultural sector is under oppression of large scale landlords, and more than that the international corporations investing in new forms of agriculture including methods like taking patents for seeds and genetic modification; creating fruitless seeds. Exploitation also takes place in agriculture sector. Rural areas are also place for class struggle which is directly connected with the class struggle in urban areas. It is like the two different sides of the same coin.

To go back to our subject; urban has a sense of complexity in social and economic terms. Rural is simple, small, loose, understandable, homogeneous, recessive and slow, while urban is complicated, big, dense, enigmatic, heterogeneous, dominant and fast. The city in history and today has always had the upper-hand. Its not the industrialization but accumulation of power that makes city superior to country. Political and administrative power, military power, economic power and in general hegemony dwells in city, as an urban entity.

Merriam-webster dictionary defines city as “an inhabited place of greater size, population, or importance than a town or village”, and the same dictionary defines country, from latin *contra* meaning against, on the opposite site, as “an indefinite usually extended expanse of land”, a state of not being urban. If we think in photographic terms if light drops on a photosensitive surface it becomes black and if not, it remains white. It is exactly the same between urban and rural, if light exists, in our case urban areas, then its urban, if not then its rural, the contrast between those two is high. Within those two, there is no clear boundary, instead there is a transition zone called suburban, on the fringes of urban area, sprawled from city.

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48 Şengül, Tarık. (2001) Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset. p.10

Economically dependent on cities, spatially closer and sometimes similar to rural areas, those suburban areas are a third form of settlement different from both urban and rural. Continuing from the photograph allegory, they are like the shady parts of a black and white photograph with a rich palette of gray caused by different amounts of light affecting the surface. Also, it is crucial to remind that in the contrast of the photograph, the photo-paper matters. We can conclude from our observations that the contrast of the fictional photograph of urban, rural and sprawled areas are low indeed.

#### **2.1.1.4 Urban Fragmentation**

Unlike urban form and urban growth, fragmentation of the city, similar to urban sprawl, is itself a negative term. Urban sprawl and fragmentation are close concepts highly related to each other but not the same. Fragmentation is the dissolution of the city while urban sprawl is the dispersal of the city; they are like two different qualifications of one phenomenon. In fragmentation, existing city is disintegrated and sprawled over rural areas but in urban sprawl, the city does not necessarily have to be fragmented, even the new comer population or newly developing areas can result with sprawl. In other words fragmentation can be one of the reasons beyond sprawl while sprawl has more reasons than that. It is not necessarily have to be fragmented to be sprawled but yet this does not mean that it is not. Fragmentation and urban sprawl are nearly twin themes accompanying each other. In other words, if the condition of urban areas is to be analyzed, it is highly possible to see that cities are both fragmented and sprawled. At this point we can increase the extend of the term urban growth disorder implying both urban sprawl and urban fragmentation.

Under the conditions of contemporary society with its class based divisions and the increasing gap between different classes the city has a strong tendency for fragmentation. Speaking with other words; the social and economic distances turns into spatial distance observable with bare eyes. Fragmentation has a multiplier effect on urban growth disorder: already growing urban areas with the help of fragmentation, consume far more rural land. Policies provoking fragmentation of the city is also provoking the sprawl of the city whether it be directly or indirectly.

The increasing entropy in the city, as in thermodynamics, creates a time-asymmetry<sup>49</sup> under current conditions: cities under control of market forces, governments provoking this and increasing social and spatial problems. In other words, defragmentation of the city is becoming more and more closer to the impossible with time. Urban fragmentation, like urbanization, urban growth and consequently urban sprawl, is a political process. Alongside social and economic reasons, the politics over urban space is effecting the fragmentation of the city.

Functions making the city a *city* are leaving it behind, moved to the periphery of the city. Housing is packaged with walls creating a 'secure' environment and took its place on the periphery of the city, in the form of suburbanization. But housing is not the only function leaving the city, commercial areas, service sector in general, are transforming into shopping centers and malls outside the central city, again packaged and wrapped with private property. Especially with the decline of the city centers, public space is in agony, this time its not only leaving the city but also we are loosing it completely. Eventhough some claims that shopping centers can be used as public space and can be considered as a new form of it, its ultimately private with its controlled, 'sterile' nature and consumption focus.

Another decentralizing feature of city is the 'state'. Not only in the form of delegation of authority, but also in the form of a spatial decentralization. The public institutions are building their new buildings on the periphery of the city.  
<sup>50</sup> The most proper example is Ankara, the capital. Dating back to early years of Turkish Republic, the development of city and city center is highly related with public buildings in Ankara. In an audacious fashion, we can say that, its not the commercial activities, but the public uses that made the city center as it is, in Ankara. So the decentralization of the public buildings has a great impact on both the form of the city and the condition of center. The

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49 Being irreversible with reference to time. <http://www.entropy.law.com>, accessed on August, 2010.

50 As it was mentioned before The Urban Researches Center (Kent Arařtırmaları Merkezi, KAM, coordinated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Őengöl) was conducting a workshop on Ankara, focusing on the dissolution of the city center. Within the frame of this workshop a sub-group, in which author was also included, produced an analysis on the locational choices of public buildings.

decentralization of power in central state lead to a chaos in planning authority in Ankara, and specifically for this issue, the decentralization of public buildings, the authority was dispersed among different actors including the municipalities and public institutions. The location of public buildings were determined by plans in the early years of the republic<sup>51</sup>, but today this issue is not regulated with plans. For instance HDA (Housing Development Administration-TOKİ) is located in Bilkent where also ÖSYM is located. This problem can also be related to the stance of the state. State is taking the capitals' side and becoming further and further from poor. "Rich" Bilkent is much more preferable than "Poor" Ulus for public buildings. Another aspect of the decentralization of the public sector is the ratio of workers in that sector in Ankara. The percentage of public service workers is very high in Ankara, due to being capital functions, and we know that there is a high relation between where we live and where we work. This creates a need for subcenters, new residential areas near etc. In other words, this is also an element/form of sprawl and a cause of further sprawl.

Even open-green areas are packaged and left the central city. The inner ones are under pressure of development as in the case of Atatürk Orman Çiftliği in Ankara, and new ones are built and/or proposed on the periphery. This indicates a decentralization even in open-green areas alongside residential, public, and commercial functions. The last but not the least, production is also leaving the city, which has a strong bond with city naturally. Eventhough the relationship between production and urban areas continue, it now is spatially being separated from the city as far and fast as possible. New forms of production, division of production processes, and spatial division of production (with the help of communication and transportation technologies) lead to a radical change in urban geography. Production both in small-scale and large-scale are widely considered as negative functions dirtying cities and decreasing the 'quality of life' drastically. We despise production and we exalt consumption instead. As an unwanted function, production is also moving to the periphery, or forced to locate on the periphery creating so called city-regions. The organization of life is transforming, the city is loosing its essence. It is not an extinction but the impact is deep.

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51 Altaban, Özcan. (1985) Ankara 1985'ten 2015'e.

This is what makes it different from suburbanization. Suburbanization has an underlying meaning of control and a residential emphasis, while sprawl is a much broader term including all functions of city and pointing out a deeper transformation of city itself. In other words suburbanization mostly understood and related with only the periphery, and to some degree it gives a sense of a control while urban sprawl gives a general sense and idea of the form of the process that cities are facing. By saying suburbanization, it is not taking a conflicting position against urban, it is 'sub', ulterior to urban, while urban sprawl intrinsically includes a conflicting position to urban. Urban sprawl is not a form or stage of urbanization, it is a problem.

### **2.1.2 Urban Growth Disorder: Urban Sprawl**

There are three different basic forms of urban growth which are: expansional growth surrounding a center, multi-centered leapfrog growth and vertical growth.<sup>52</sup> Each of them produces different urban forms, and more importantly creates different positions against urban sprawl.

We have previously defined urban sprawl shortly as urban growth disorder, emphasizing its anomaly. We have also clarified that it is not a natural or inevitable stage of growth instead, it is politically manipulated problem. It is not a well-defined form either, it is a “matter of degree”<sup>53</sup> instead. Fragmentation is an important component of urban sprawl, alongside urban form and urban growth. These are not the sole qualifications but most fundamental ones. Urban sprawl can be defined on two different levels and a path can be proposed, which are not conflicting with each other, instead integral to each other. Before defining it, in all three levels, it will be helpful to collect previous definitions.

The archaic definition of sprawl is noteworthy, “to lie thrashing or tossing about, to creep or clamber awkwardly”<sup>54</sup>. Modern meaning of sprawl is “to

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52 Mimarlar Odası, 1973.

53 Chin, 2002. p.3

54 Sprawl. (2010). In Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sprawl>, accessed on April, 2010.

spread or develop irregularly or without restraint”<sup>55</sup>; knowing this, now we can define urban sprawl. There is no consensus over the term urban sprawl, its helpful to compile different definitions starting from the least to most complicated;

- “The unplanned, uncontrolled growth of urban areas into the surrounding countryside”<sup>56</sup>
- “Transitional period between rural and urban land use (Reason Public Policy Institution”<sup>57</sup>)
- “A pattern of growth that has largely occurred in an unplanned, ad hoc fashion (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency)”<sup>58</sup>
- “The low-density, residential development beyond a city's limits (The Heritage Foundation)”<sup>59</sup>

At this point it is getting complicated;

- “A low-density, scattered urban development without systematic large-scale or regional public landuse planning.”(Bruegmann, 2005)
- “The expansion of urban areas across the landscape, and the conversion of forested areas wetlands and agriculture areas to urban areas. Urban sprawl includes the expansion of major roadways, not just housing and commercial sites.”<sup>60</sup>
- “The decentralization of the urban core through the unlimited outward extension of dispersed development beyond the urban fringe where low density residential and commercial development exacerbates fragmentation of powers over land use; also, the consumption of resources and land in excess of what is necessary where development is costly and underutilizes existing infrastructure.”<sup>61</sup>
- “Whether characterized as urban or suburban, sprawl is a form of urbanization distinguished by leapfrog patterns of development, commercial strips, low density, separated land uses, automobile

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55 Ibid.

56 [http://geographyfieldwork.com/urban\\_geography\\_glossary.htm](http://geographyfieldwork.com/urban_geography_glossary.htm), accessed on April, 2010.

57 In Gillham, Oliver. (2009), p.4

58 In Gillham, Oliver. (2009), p.4

59 Ibid. p.4

60 <http://www.hamiltonnature.org/habitats/glossary.htm>, accessed on April, 2010.

61 <http://www.smarte.org/smarte/resource/sn-glossary.xml;jsessionid=2abfbdm4dphe>, accessed on April, 2010.

dominance, and a minimum of public open space.”<sup>62</sup>

- “A pattern of land use in an urbanised area that exhibits low levels of some combination of eight distinct dimensions: density, continuity, concentration, clustering, centrality, nuclearity, mixed uses and proximity”<sup>63</sup>

To summarize the whole definitions above: Urban sprawl as a transition zone from urban to rural; shows a leapfrog pattern of development, low density residential areas with a commercial strip, and large expanses of single-use development with lack of public/open space and poor accessibility referring back the scattered form, with an unplanned, uncontrolled fashion. We can add that urban sprawl also includes consuming rural land for the sake of urban and making it semi-urban. Urban sprawl is related with **density, continuity, concentration, clustering, centrality, nuclearity, mixed uses** and **proximity**, more correctly related with the lack of them as the last definition by Galster says.

Actually the composite definition above includes nearly only the spatial characteristics of the term. **What really urban sprawl is?** With the help of preliminary concepts and previous definitions the problem of urban sprawl can be defined in **two different levels** and a third form complementing-covering first two and based on a different point of reference. The all three forms of urban sprawl have similar patterns and characteristics, as a matter of fact, the discussion of characteristics of sprawl is excluded from the definition of sprawl, and will be discussed after defining it.

First of all, urban sprawl is the imbalance between total population, total number of housing and the ground covered by the city: causing a consumption of excess area. Using an allegory parallel to disorder, it is the growth of city on the periphery bigger than it have to be like a cancer cell, spreading over the 'rural' body. Sprawl is a term that has to be defined and redefined in different scales but defining it on urban scale has utmost

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62 Ewing, Reid., (1994), *Characteristics, Causes and Effects of Sprawl*, Environmental an Urban Issues, vol.21, no.2, 1994.

63 Galster, G. , Hanson, R. , Ratcliffe, M. R. , Wolman, H. , Coleman, S. andFreihage, J. ((2001)) Wrestling sprawl to the ground: Defining and Measuring an elusive concept. Housing Policy Debate 12:4 , p. 681.

importance in understanding the problem that we are facing. The city scale sprawl can not be measured that easily but the difference between number of housing units produced and the real need for the given population can give an idea about the degree of sprawl. It is not only the difference between produced housing and the need, but also dispersion of a population on an area more than needed. The loose pattern of settlements on the periphery, low density population are some other qualifications of urban sprawl on this level. The first level indicates the overall sprawl of the city, so urban form is of importance for this kind of sprawl.

The second level is the partial one. On the periphery, some areas are more dispersed and lower in density than others, some other characteristics of urban sprawl also may show itself in those areas. This is also, in our terms, called sprawl. In other words, even though the overall growth of a city does not show symptoms of sprawl, the city can partially be suffering from sprawl on some parts of the periphery. What have to be emphasized here is the balance between population and the coverage area does not have to be imbalanced for this level of sprawl, it is enough to show symptoms partially. The question here is why some parts of the city is sprawling when the other parts are not? The politics is effective over the process can be the answer of the question, as well as market choices.

The third form of sprawl is the most tricky one, including both of the previous forms. Actually it is rather a way of explaining the path from urban growth to urban sprawl. Whether it be upper scale or partial, plans are effective over the form, growth and fragmentation of cities; consequently urban sprawl. As planners, we canonize urban planning and plans, especially the upper scale-comprehensive ones. But is it totally good for the future of the city? What if some decisions made by plans result with bigger problems? This question might seem luxury for Turkey, where urban planning is already weak and hardly ever applied but it is crucial to ask. As in the case of Ankara, to some degree growth is controlled and manipulated with master plans since the early years of republic, yet city is suffering from urban growth disorder. It is essential to clarify that plans can not be seen accused for the problems that city of Ankara facing, it is not even the major force behind the form of urban growth in Ankara but the impact of it can not be denied: the impact on urban

form, urban growth, urban fragmentation and last but not the least urban sprawl. In sum the last form of sprawl is defined with reference to plans. Both the partial sprawl and general sprawl of the city can fall under the heading of this form. The paths to sprawl; interrelating urban sprawl with plans, points out the political characteristics of the problem. Urban sprawl is politically produced and the flowchart of the paths to sprawl (see Figure.2) can only be complete by modeling the politics of urban sprawl.

All the three forms includes the characteristics mentioned above; the lack of density, continuity, concentration, clustering, centrality, nuclearity, mixed uses and proximity. All the qualifications do not have to be existent at the same time. Some of them, sometimes even one of them is enough to be called as urban sprawl. To simplify the term in order to make it more clear, we can say that; urban sprawl is the uncontrolled consumption of rural land more than needed and turning it into urban and semi-urban. The growth of the city in the form of sprawl has to be analyzed with reference to the plans too.

Plans are prepared with a presupposition of estimated population for a specific year in future. The proposed development areas and further housing have to be consistent with the number of population estimated. But in practice, the production of developed land generally exceeds the need for various reasons. The urban sprawl problem on the periphery of the city can be categorized with reference to plans. Some developed areas lying within the borders of the plans are underdeveloped and not likely to be developed soon, which creates a low-density dispersed environment. Some areas are out of the planned area (sometimes controlled with adjacent area plans) showing characteristics of leapfrog development with poor accessibility. Sometimes, plans producing insufficient developed land for the estimated population creates a pressure over the prices of land, increasing the rents, ends with also sprawl, due to lack of cheap land required to meet the need of citizens. In other words plans either producing excess urban land or insufficient urban land can end with urban sprawl. The possible paths to sprawl can be deterministically summarized with this figure.

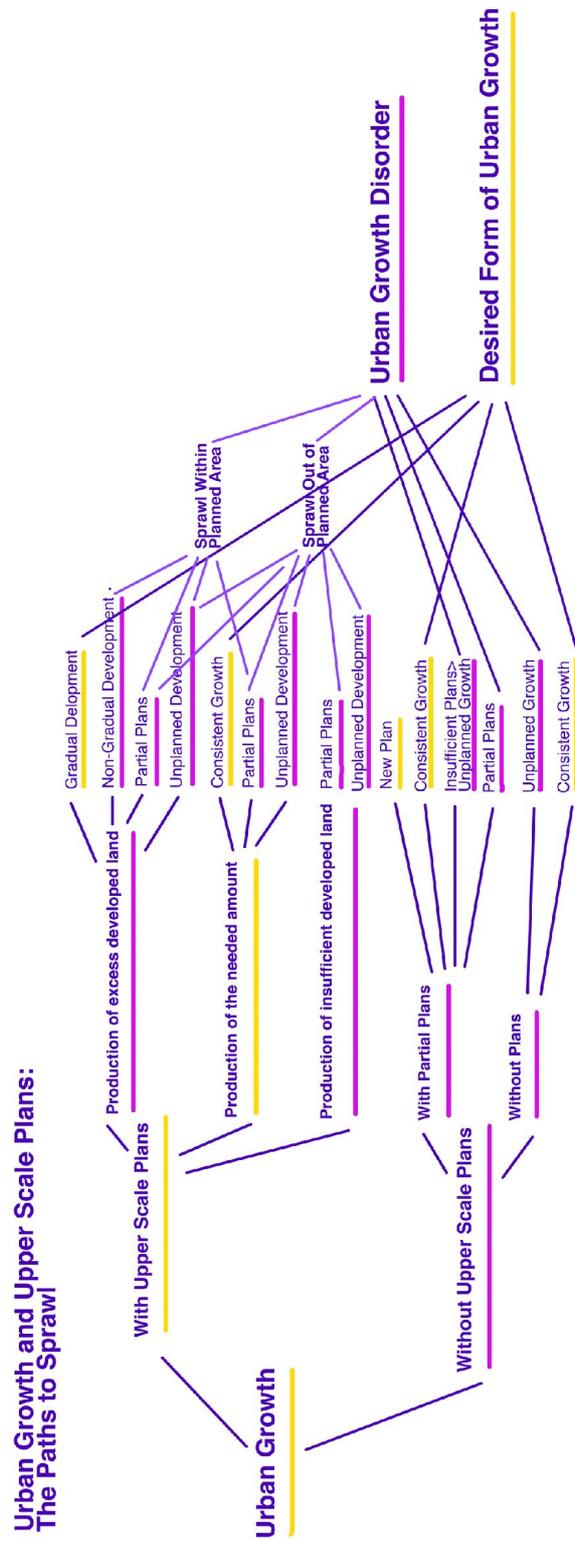


Figure 2: The Path from Urban Growth to Urban Sprawl with Reference to Plans

Urban sprawl can be categorized with reference to master plans, we can formalize it with the chart above. The yellow ones are representing the steps to a desired form of sprawl. As it can be seen from the table, some steps which are likely to create problems in urban growth, has also a possibility of ending with positive results depending on the context. To put bluntly, all the possibilities in all the possible contexts are included in the table. For instance, thinking fictionally, in a society where private ownership does not exist, a city can grow orderly with partial plans or even without plan with other regulations. So a negative situation can cause a positive one depending on the context. Similarly, a positive step can end with a negative one. A city with master plan and precisely estimated population, due to problems of rent increase can end with unplanned urban growth and sprawl. In sum, this table is freed from context and should be read accordingly, also can be applicable to all contexts with adding the components like the structural limitations, the roles of the agents -which will be evaluated in politics of sprawl part of this thesis-. At this point it is crucial to note that, if the paradigm shifts in urban planning praxis is considered, even the master plans could be partial and problematic. The planning experience in Turkey is under a continuous transformation and in time planning becomes more bounded to capital, which requires being partial in plans. In other words the urban planning itself can be partial and out of order, which will provoke the sprawl of the city.

The flow in the table should not be read as the choices of growth. For some cases more than one paths can coexist in undesired forms of growth leading the city to sprawl; after all, if the city growth is unproblematic, then it is unproblematic whatever the case is, so coexistence is not applicable for desired forms -in other words yellow ones on the last column-. For instance, a city with an master plan that has an overestimated population can suffer from non-gradual development, partial interventions with plans and unplanned growth at the same time. Ankara can be a good example, with suffering from all three.

Eventhough there is not a solid formula that some of them definitely end with sprawl, it can be said that some of them are more prone to cause sprawl. Moreover some paths are more likely to be realized. Economic conditions

and bundle of policies other than plans are the ones determining the effect of plans. To exemplify; the price of the urban land produced according to exact need, under market conditions, will inevitably increase, this will create a pressure over the plan and eventually city will pass the boundaries of plan most probably with a sprawling fashion. Even if the amount of produced land exactly meets the need; sprawl become inevitable. First key point here is the existence of private property and ruling market mechanisms, and the second key point is the non-existence of a policy preventing the price increase in land, like state controls, fixed prices, etc. Another example can be the choice of producing excess land, far excess land, and sufficient land. Along the whole process, in table from left to right, there are some points that actors have to do some decisions leading to a compact form of urbanization or sprawl. Also some predefined conditions like urban land being subjected to market economy, existence of private property, uneven development within the city or economic differences between the conditions of different classes. The list can be extended but the important point here is the modifiable and transformable structure of the flow open to the impacts of politics -decisions made in the process-. Rent is also an important matter on the path to urban sprawl. Considering this, after the characteristics of sprawl part, rent theories will be analyzed. These are the paths to sprawl within the frame of reference of planning, after this point it is meaningful to point out the basic characteristics of sprawl. This flowchart is not finished on its own, and the way to complete it is to draw the model of politics of sprawl. The possible paths to urban sprawl leads us to the question of politics of urban sprawl in order to understand the reasons of the selection of specific paths.

### **2.1.3 The Symptoms: Characteristics of Urban Sprawl**

Hasse and Lathrop expresses the indicators of sprawl with reference to consumption of rural land as “density of new urbanization; loss of prime farmland; loss of natural wetlands; loss of core forest habitat; and increase of impervious surface”.<sup>64</sup> This indicators are focusing on the environmental impacts and illustrative for the problem of urban sprawl, especially the density of new urbanization is an important indicator together with the overall density changes. Adding some city scale spatial components related with the

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<sup>64</sup> Hasse,J.E., Lathrop R.G. 2003. p.159

form and pattern; macroform and fragmentation, the city-scale indicators of sprawl can be defined.

The symptoms indicating urban sprawl are, primarily, the inconsistency between population and housing: the excess number of housing units in the city with reference to the population and/or an excess consumption of rural areas for producing urban land. Decreasing density for whole city, loose and illegible macroform and fragmentation.

The secondary characteristics are (which are more partial and based on western literature): low density, discontinuous/leapfrog/ribbon development, single-use development, commercial strip development, repetition, poor accessibility and lack of open-public space.<sup>65</sup> All or some of them can be existent in sprawled areas. Spatial and observable characteristics can be collected under some indicators in urban pattern and urban form, which are; density, continuity, concentration, clustering, centrality, nuclearity, mixed uses and proximity.<sup>66</sup> More correctly anomalies in these aspects.

An urban form/pattern will fall under sprawl heading if some or all of the following indicators are existent:

- low density settlement both in terms of buildings and population,
- lack of continuity from center to periphery and within periphery
- lack of concentration both in terms of buildings and population
- lack of clustering in spatial and social terms: lack of a sense of being community
- lack of centrality in whole city and partially on the periphery
- lack of nuclearity
- lack of mixed uses: relatively less from the core of the city
- lack of proximity between the settlements, blocks and units

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65 Gilham, 2005. p.4

66 Galster, 2001. p.681



Figure 3: Sample development pattern from the periphery of Ankara, Google Earth April 2010.



Figure 4: General view of Ankara Periphery: Yenimahalle, April 2010.



Figure 5: General view of Ankara from Yapracık, April 2010

Nearly all of the characteristics mentioned above are observable in visuals above and so in Ankara. These characteristics of urban sprawl settlement pattern creates further problems in cities and on the periphery. To exemplify, accessibility problems, which mostly new development areas and periphery are suffering, is caused by lack of continuity, proximity, concentration and density. Dissolution of bonds within society, alienation and individualization tendencies also are related with these indicators especially lack of clustering, continuity and low density, the ones that are increasing spatial distance within society. Urban sprawl is associated with democratization by some authors<sup>67</sup> due to finding a 'space' to realize self and lack of hierarchy; and for others it is weakening the ties within society and as a result decreases politicization and class consciousness via dispersing the population all over the space.

## **2.2. Rent, Property and Urban Growth**

### **2.2.1 Rent as a Social Production and Urban Growth Disorder**

We have drawn the path to sprawl with reference to plans before, and stated that some conditions and some specific decisions will trigger urban sprawl. In other words the catalyzers in the process are both economic and political. Rent is one of the main economic components provoking sprawl. Rent<sup>68</sup> theories are mainly based on rural land. To some degree they are applicable to urban land but in order to get further explanations, it is needed to develop rent theories for specifically urban areas. The theory developed by Von Thunen on urban land use and land rent is the basis of further urban land rent theories.<sup>69</sup> According to Von Thunen's theory, the main component in differentiation of urban land rent is the price of transportation increasing with the distance from the city center.<sup>70</sup> Developing this, Haig claimed that the sum of rent and transportation costs are a friction of space and the urban

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67 Bruegmann, 2005.

68 See Appendix 1 for different form of rents.

69 Mimarlar Odası, 1973. p.13

70 Ibid. p.13

form will be shaped with a concern of minimizing this friction; Alonso and Wingo adds the total amount of land consumed by the city in order to explain suburbanization, in sum determination of urban land use has two main components which are the location of city center and the size of the city.<sup>71</sup> Both the size of the city and location of city center are socially produced.<sup>72</sup> In other words the changes in the price of the land in city, for our case on the periphery is not under control of the landowner.

The demand on urban land increases in time with the pressure of the increasing population. The urban land can be expanded but it also has a social cost which is not low; like the price for developing urban infrastructure.<sup>73</sup> This population creates an overall increase in the value of urban land which is 'floating' over the space, these floating increase will be settled via plans or decisions and property rights are the key to the precipitation of those floating rights.<sup>74</sup> It is the private ownership of land that makes it possible for urban form and sprawl to be subject to the decisions made. Decisions are political but because of private ownership of land, it has a very strong economic side too. The distribution of development rights via plans is an appropriate example for this; by giving higher development rights to a specific part of the city, the plan will change the value of the land there. It is the private property that creates the tension and that creates the differences in values; the relativity. "Ownership over the land inevitably becomes monopolistic and this is where urban land rents arise"<sup>75</sup>.

There is a tension between rural areas and urban land use on the periphery of the city. The tension stems from the growth of the city in time and the increasing value of land depending on growth. The value of the land on the periphery of a growing city will definitely increase; the faster the growth, the bigger the increase.<sup>76</sup> Under these circumstances, landowners reserves their

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71 Ibid. p.13

72 Ibid. p.13

73 Ibid. p.16

74 Ibid. p.16

75 Ibid. p.17

76 Ibid. p.17-18

land on the periphery without developing it and uses land as a medium of investment; a very profitable and safe way of investment. This is the trigger behind the commodification and consumption of land on the periphery. Plan is the document working for the precipitation the floating value created by the increase in population of the city, but together with private property and insufficient control over land speculation by state, it leads to further problems instead of solving them and generally plans are not be able to fully applied because of land speculation.

The increase of the value of land with the growth of the city and land speculation are one of the main reasons beyond the sprawl. The value of land increases gradually; first step is the growth of the city, second step is the development rights given by plans, third step is the provision of infrastructure, fourth step is the increase in the number of constructions in the area and the last step is the increase in the given development rights.<sup>77</sup> At this point it is crucial to note that this can be considered as a mechanic abstraction of the process, these are the possible steps yet the roles of the agents has utmost importance in the determination of the sorting of these steps.

Extracting from the process of realization of development rights and the steps in the increase of rent; if a landowner waits all along the process the profit will be maximum, so the landowner, if not controlled, will reserve the land. This creates a partially developed environment, with low density and discontinuity. There are two possibilities here, one is the produced urban land is more than enough for the time being and it will remain vacant until the need exceeds the supply. The second one is opening up new areas more than needed for settlement in order to cope with the problem of high rents in urban lands which are not capable of solving the problem of population with their high prices. The second one definitely leads to further sprawl, the effect is doubled at least (sprawl both within the planned area and out of the planned area).

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid. p.23 Table: The stages of transformation of rural land to urban and the change in value in time.

## 2.2.2 Property Ownership and Urban Growth Disorder

The existence of property ownership results with land speculation and land speculation consequently leads to deviations from plans, effects the direction and magnitude of urban growth.<sup>78</sup> In other words property enables land speculation, land speculation causes disorders in urban growth. The question why property ownership causes speculation can be explained by the special characteristics of land as a commodity in urban land market and the production of rent. Firstly, Rent is socially produced, dependent on the size of the city and location of center, enhanced by plans and urban infrastructure provisions. Landowners do not have any effort in this. The infrastructure provided in cities, the capital embedded in land by the hands of the state, alongside the growth of the city leads to a creation of a social surplus which eventually ends in the pockets of the landowners, who do not have any role in producing this social surplus.<sup>79</sup> Secondly, land is a spatially fixed commodity, it can not be reproduced, replaced or moved. This characteristic causes differences in levels of rent. If the whole city was under one ownership such as state, than the difference would become insignificant, but it is not; the pattern of property ownership is fragmented, and land is privately owned. This results with a competition between landowners to gain more from the land where they have no role in the increase of the value. They become manipulators, manipulators of the planning and decision-making processes for personal gain; private property give them power to impact the growth of the city.<sup>80</sup> In other words, private property makes the landowners powerful but not united actors of the direction and magnitude of the growth of the city. The landowners are not directly united, but they act with the cohesive impact of rent expectancy and under market mechanisms which creates a indirect unity in policy decision. At this point we agree with Gillham; “as long as land remains privately owned – and its rights remain unencumbered – it is susceptible to being subdivided and built upon.”<sup>81</sup> So the planning process and the growth of the city becomes subject to politics.

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78 Ibid. p.21

79 Altaban, Ö..1980. p.39-40 and Harvey, D., 1985.

80 Mimarlar Odası, 1973. p.21

81 Gillham, Oliver, (2002) *The Limitless City*.

The private property leads to speculation of land, and this exact problem makes the planning process, the control over the growth of the city and plans subject to politics in local level, for some cases even in national level. In sum the political pressure over the plans and the growth of the city increases because of land speculation.<sup>82</sup> This is one another reason that why we are not explaining urban sprawl problem in solely economic terms.

Previously, within this thesis, a figure on the path to urban sprawl with reference to plans was drawn (see Figure.2.2). Rent and property are important components on the path to urban sprawl. Some choices on the flow become more likely than others because of private property and land speculation. As we said before, the reasons beyond urban sprawl are not only economic but also political.

Cities grow in time; at least in this time on this geography. As we said before the form of the city (so the form of growth) is integral to the location of center and the size of the city. But seeing those two as the sole determiners will be ignorance, ignorance of the impacts of actors, state's position on the issue for instance. Moreover it will make it seem like a natural result of these two variables, one and only possible form under specific circumstances. The political side of the patterns are disregarded.

### **2.3. Explaining Sprawl with Three Perspectives on Structure and Agent**

The debate on structure-agent dichotomy is crucial for explaining the political side of the issue; the roles of the agents over the process. The flow chart on the paths to sprawl (see Figure.1) with reference to master plans can only correctly be read via positioning the agents and defining the structures effective over the process. Urban sprawl, as a way of producing urban space at the expense of rural land, is not an autonomous process. In order to understand urban sprawl, we can look at the explanations of the production of urban space. Our emphasis here is the role of the agents on the disorder of urban growth. The shift of focus from structure to agent and the dialectical relationship between those two is what we are searching for, on the way of

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid. p.21

understanding the path to urban sprawl.

There are three perspectives representing three different camps on the dichotomy. The production of urban space is explained differently in each.<sup>83</sup> First one is the circuits of capital by Harvey.

### **2.3.1 Explaining Sprawl with Circuits of Capital**

Harvey explains production of urban land and housing on the periphery, suburbanization in other words, with the excess accumulation on the primary circuit of capital where production takes place. According to him the excess part of the capital will and have to be transferred to the secondary circuit in order capitalism to survive. The secondary circuit is where the production of urban space takes place. This flow of capital to some degree explains suburbanization and urban sprawl, yet sprawl being a “matter of degree”<sup>84</sup> makes it complicated. With this kind of formulation, strict and square, it is impossible to understand what determines the degree of dispersion of urban form when the city is growing. Harvey's explanation on production of urban space (for our case in a sprawling fashion) is pure but not totally working in explaining sprawl. It also nullifies the impact of the politics over the process.

Harvey gives the lion's share to structures in the production of urban space. According to him, it is for solving the problem of the overaccumulation of capital. The capital embedded in land has a high correlation with capitalist mode of production. The most significant and related example given by Harvey<sup>85</sup> is the housing boom in the form of suburbanization absorbing the overaccumulated capital. The flow of capital from production sphere to the built environment that solved the crisis stemming from overaccumulation in 1970s. This can be considered as a new form of sprawl in the capitalist form of the city<sup>86</sup>; the sprawl of housing areas all over the rural land surrounding

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83 For further information on each, see Appendix 2 at the end of the thesis.

84 Chin, 2002. p.3

85 Harvey, David. (2003) *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press. p.113

86 See “The impact of the Industrial Revolution” part in the chapter on urban sprawl.

cities. Harvey considers the capital accumulation as the main mechanism beyond urbanization and with this he emphasizes the importance and effectiveness economic structure against the actors.<sup>87</sup> As Şengül states, his work is not constructed with a structural approach and there is room for actors to act but it remains blind against the capitalistic relations determining economic structure.<sup>88</sup>

Harvey's three circuits of capital is working in explaining the situation in advanced capitalist countries to some degree. But, a work done by Osman Balaban<sup>89</sup> illustrated that it is not the case in Turkey. In his work, he divides the urbanization of Turkish cities into periods and especially after 1980s the relationship between primary and secondary capital is far from being cyclical and according to him, the “secondary circuit contains some specific features and dynamics in terms of social and property relations which, in some cases, make it independent or autonomous from the primary circuit.”<sup>90</sup> This independency of secondary circuit of capital form the primary circuit in the case of Turkey makes this approach insufficient to explain our problem, the urban sprawl problem in Ankara.

### **2.3.2 Explaining Sprawl with Managerialist Approach**

Second approach is a Weberian one, the urban managerialist approach. We have previously mentioned the importance of decisions made by actors. According to Pahl, every aspect of the process of urbanization and urban areas are directly dependent on the decisions of the agents.<sup>91</sup> The driving forces in the decision making processes of the actors are own stances, ideas and beliefs of the actors namely urban managers. By saying urban

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87 Şengül, Tarık. (2001) *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*, Demokrasi Kitaplığı, Ankara. p. 16

88 Ibid. p.16

89 Balaban, Osman. (2008) *Capital Accumulation, The State and The Production of Built Environment: The Case Of Turkey*, Unpublished Phd Thesis submitted to City and Regional Planning Doctorate Program, Middle East Technical University.

90 Ibid. p.35

91 Pahl, Ray.E. 1975.

managers, not only the local authorities but also other agents like real estate agents, landowners, etc. are also included. Looking through the glasses of managerialist perspective, the reason beyond urban sprawl is the decisions made by actors. In other words urban sprawl as the disorder in urban growth has intentionally or unintentionally been chosen by agents, it is the collaboration of different actors with different choices having different impacts on the problem. The path to urban sprawl is intertwined from the decisions of the related actors.

Pahl, in his book defines the city as “a given context or configuration of reward-distributing systems which have space as a significant component”<sup>92</sup>. Distributive systems are what this approach focuses on. Urban managerialism fundamentally deals with the actors beyond the decision making processes effective over urban space; related with the distribution, access and allocation of the resources<sup>93</sup>. Access and allocation are important in the case of housing and urban resources which are controlled and decided by the “urban gatekeepers”, in other words “urban managers”. To put bluntly, allocation is determined by the urban managers deciding the housing areas and location of urban resources which determines the accessibility of citizens. Therefore the inequalities in distributing the housing and urban resources over the city and different groups can be understood if and only if the activities, policies and ideologies of the urban managers are understood.<sup>94</sup>

These urban managers generally try to change the situations in favor of the most disadvantaged according to Pahl.<sup>95</sup> This claim is related with the time period that the first edition of the book was written; with welfare state. It sometimes can be just the opposite; the urban managers decisions on resource allocation sometimes can result in disadvantage of the poor, not because of their intentions, but lack of information about the issue and/or mistaken beliefs or a lack of awareness of the inevitable consequences of

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92 Pahl, Ray.E. 1975. p.10

93 Pahl, Ray.E. 1975. p.185

94 Ersoy Melih,Şengül, Tark. 1997. p.53

95 Warde, A.Savage, M.(1993): p.152–154

their actions<sup>96</sup>.

Pahl's approach emphasizing the role of the urban managers over the allocation and distribution of urban resources and the level of accessibility among different classes in the society, is making urban managers like semi-gods freed from the structural conjuncture and the society. Also this approach claims that the negative, unwanted results of the urban managers' actions are not stemming from the intentions of them, but more likely to be the result of the misunderstandings or lack of information, in other words to some degree unconscious actions of the urban managers. And most important of all, with his approach, he claims that the uneven distribution of resources and provision of services over the urban areas are inevitable.

The weak point of the perspective is seeing the actors as nearly the gods of the urban areas nearly capable of doing anything on urban areas with an isolated fashion from the context. The emergence of the problem of urban sprawl is not solely because of the decisions of the actors effective over the process. For instance rent, as we mentioned in the previous part, is an important component on the path to urban sprawl.

### **2.3.3 Explaining Sprawl with Patterns of Determination**

The third perspective searches for a balance between the roles of structure and agent. Wright<sup>97</sup> builds a complicated and abstract model for structure-agent dichotomy. Eventhough it is not suitable for applying directly to the cases and too abstract for our problem, it is helpful to draw the general frame for our stance. As Keskinok states; “*Space-as-a locus of affairs* and the *focus* of agents” are what produces urban space socially in a dialectically related fashion.<sup>98</sup> Neither the production of urban space, in our case urban sprawl, can be seen in a direct cause-and-effect relationship nor the relationship between structure and agent, the positions taken over the

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96 Pahl, Ray.E. (1975): p.266

97 Wright, Erik Olin. (1996). *Class, crisis and the state*. London: Verso Books.

98 Keskinok,Çağatay. (1997), *State And The (Re)Production Of Urban Space*, METU Press. p.1

production of urban space, can be considered as directly dependent/independent variables. It is a mixture of the structural elements and, conscious and unconscious decisions of actors continuously defining and redefining each other interactively; “urban space is produced and reproduced through complex relations of determination”<sup>99</sup>. To sum up, in this perspective structure draws the frame and gives the choices while agents are 'making' the choice. Modes and models of determination provides us a more dynamic and flexible frame of reference; which is more appropriate for countries like ours, underdeveloped ones, experiencing a different process in capitalism.

We have previously drawn a figure on urban sprawl and master plans (see Figure.1). That figure only illustrates the path from urban growth to urban growth disorder with reference to plans. The flow in the figure, in other words the way to sprawl is bounded by structural limitations such as market rules, rent, private property and the direction of the flow within this structural limitations is determined by agents. The context draws the frame of reference with its social, spatial and economic components while the choices within the frame is determined politically by agents, pointing out “the politics of urban sprawl”. As indicated before, urban sprawl is a “matter of degree” and this degree is determined by pattern of determinations including both impacts of structure and agents.

The patterns of determination can be considered as the operating system of our figure. To understand how it operates and why do cities sprawl, the patterns of determinations have to be extracted. But there is an important problem in defining the patterns; not all the components of the pattern can easily be defined. Especially structural limitations are hard to define, as hard as building a 1/1 model of an entire city. The structural components are complicated, multifaceted and grift and eventhough it seems so, the structure is not static. So the boundaries drawn by the structure is blur; we sense it but we are not able to completely see. As a matter of fact, the solution for us is to work on agents which are solid, visible and whose effects are more measurable and observable. We are searching for a “politics of sprawl” so working on agents makes sense. Moreover, the *selections* of

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid. p.1-2

agents will enhance our perception of the structure and structural limitations; after all, their selections give hints of structural limitations.

In search of politics of urban sprawl, we will work on the agents effective over the problem with a strong but invisible reference to structural limitations. Each agent has different tools for political interventions, different intentions and motives behind. These interventions have different indicators and results. The agents that are seen as effective on the path to urban sprawl are: State, Housing Development Administration, Metropolitan Municipality, District Municipalities, Real Estate Agents -including land developers, speculators, investors-, Rural Landowners -on the periphery- and Spatial Planners. Each of them has its unique role in the process and shaping the city interactively within the limits of the structure, generally reproducing the problem of sprawl over and over again, with some minor transformations.

We will propose a typology of sprawl and model the politics of sprawl for the case of Ankara with a stance considering both structures and agents effective over the problem. The case of Ankara has some specialties by being the planned-to-be capital city, so analyzing the problem in the case of Ankara will bring us some interesting pattern of determinations. In order to extract a typology of sprawl and a model of politics of sprawl, we will start with the general indicators of the overall sprawl of the Ankara and then continue with the master plans and their impacts on the problem.

## CHAPTER 3

### GENERAL INDICATORS OF SPRAWL IN ANKARA

With the debate on structure and agent, our theoretical frame is drawn. Now it is time to explore the case of Ankara for picturing the urban sprawl problem and to identify the politics of it. In order to picture the problem of urban sprawl, we will first deal with the general indicators of urban sprawl before analyzing the impacts of the master plans. As we told before, the urban sprawl can be defined in both city scale and partially. The city scale indicators of urban sprawl will give us a general idea of the problem that the city of Ankara has been facing. Some policies of some agents can only become visible if the indicators of the city-scale sprawl are identified. The impact of the rural politics of state on the cities for instance, is directly related with the growth of the cities and consequently related with the problem of urban sprawl as a disorder in urban growth. So, via analyzing the general indicators of urban sprawl, we will increase our range of politics of sprawl and the problem of urban sprawl will not be bounded to master plans solely.

The city-scale indicators of urban sprawl are: firstly the increase in population and the relativistic changes in overall density; secondly the distribution of density on urban space and following this; thirdly the condition of the macroform; fourthly the housing need/provision balance in the city, fifth one is the fragmentation of the city and the last one is the decrease in accessibility.

#### **3.1. Population and Density**

The population of Ankara is increasing in time. The balance between urban and rural areas has been destroyed for a long time. With the help of mechanization in agricultural production, the rate of employment in rural areas had fallen and consequently this has impacted the rate of migration to cities and created a pressure over the urban areas. The increase in population has created a further need of housing and provision of other

urban services, so to some degree new development areas; a further need for land. But as it was mentioned before, the growth of the does not takes place in one form; instead there are three defined forms of growth which were: expansional growth surrounding a center, multi-centered leapfrog growth and vertical growth.<sup>100</sup> So, eventhough population increase makes urban growth inevitable, the form of it is open to impacts.

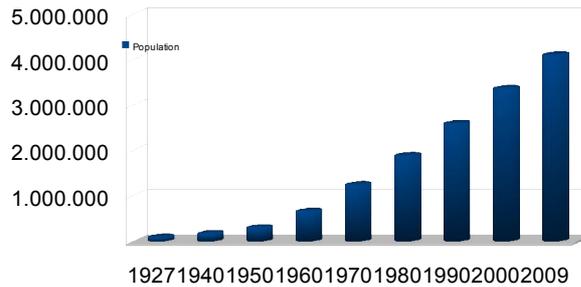


Figure 6: Ankara Metropolitan Area, Population Change in Time

**Source of Data:** TÜİK population statistics, and 2023 Ankara Metropolitan Plan, socio-demography report. (2006, ABB), prepared by the author (2010).

The population change graph of Ankara is illustrating the 'growing Ankara' but if we look the changes of growth rates in time, (see below) we can say that Ankara is indeed gaining population but the rate of increase is falling.

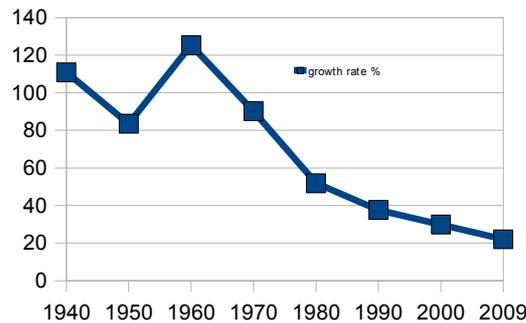


Figure 7: Population Growth Rate Change in Time

**Source of data:** TÜİK, population statistics, and 2023 Ankara Metropolitan Plan, Socio-demography report. (2006, ABB); prepared by the author (2010).

<sup>100</sup> Mimarlar Odası, 1973.

Ankara experienced the peak between 1950s and 1960s which are the years that the upsurge period of migration from rural areas to cities. Eventhough it is falling, the growth rate until 1980s keep the pace, but as a breakpoint in the history of Turkey, after 1980s, which are the years that the rural and urban population in Turkey is nearly balanced and after the urban population passed the rural population, the speed of the migration rate and urbanization rate is decreased. But this decrease in rate of growth does not mean that the population added to Ankara is low. To put more bluntly, the population added to the total population of Ankara between 1950 and 1960 is 361.531 with a growth percentage of 125%; while the population added to Ankara between 2000 and 2009 is 740.174 with a percentage of 22%. The population is indeed increasing and it will be logical to expect that the overall density of the city, the macroform, is also increasing. But as we see in the graph below, the rate of increase in the ground area that covered by city is increasing faster than the increase in population. Although the level seems to be stable after 1955 the small changes can also be interpreted. Periodically it decreases slightly and then increases again, it seems like supporting the theories considering sprawl as a natural stage in urban growth.

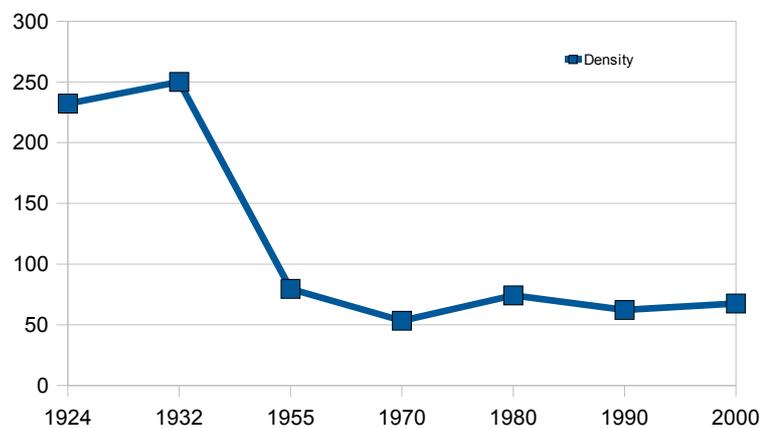


Figure 8: Population and Macroform in Ankara: Population Density

**Source of Data:** 2023 Plan Report and Unpublished Thesis. Yıldırım,S. 2007. Prepared by author.

Eventhough the vast areas of Atatürk Orman Çiftliği and Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi were added to macroform between 1955 and 1970s, the density of Ankara did not fall as drastic as it had fallen between 1932 and 1955. The density of Ankara after 1970s up to year 2000 was relatively stable; in 1980s a small increase in density occurred and then had fallen again in 1990s. In the year 2000 the density of Ankara was 67,5 person per hectares, with a population of 3.580.000<sup>101</sup>. Is it a natural stage of growth? To clarify we will look at the distribution of those density.

### **3.2. Distribution of Density**

The star shape of Ankara macroform is the first feature that the eye catches. Eventhough not as strong as proposed<sup>102</sup>, it has remained to some degree in the macroform of Ankara. Another feature of the form of the Ankara is the patchwork like pattern, the vast scale public areas, open green areas, are dividing Ankara into multiple parts, which makes it hard to control the growth and to limit the macroform.

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101 Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, (2006) 2023 plan report.

102 By master plans, the issue will be discussed in the following part.

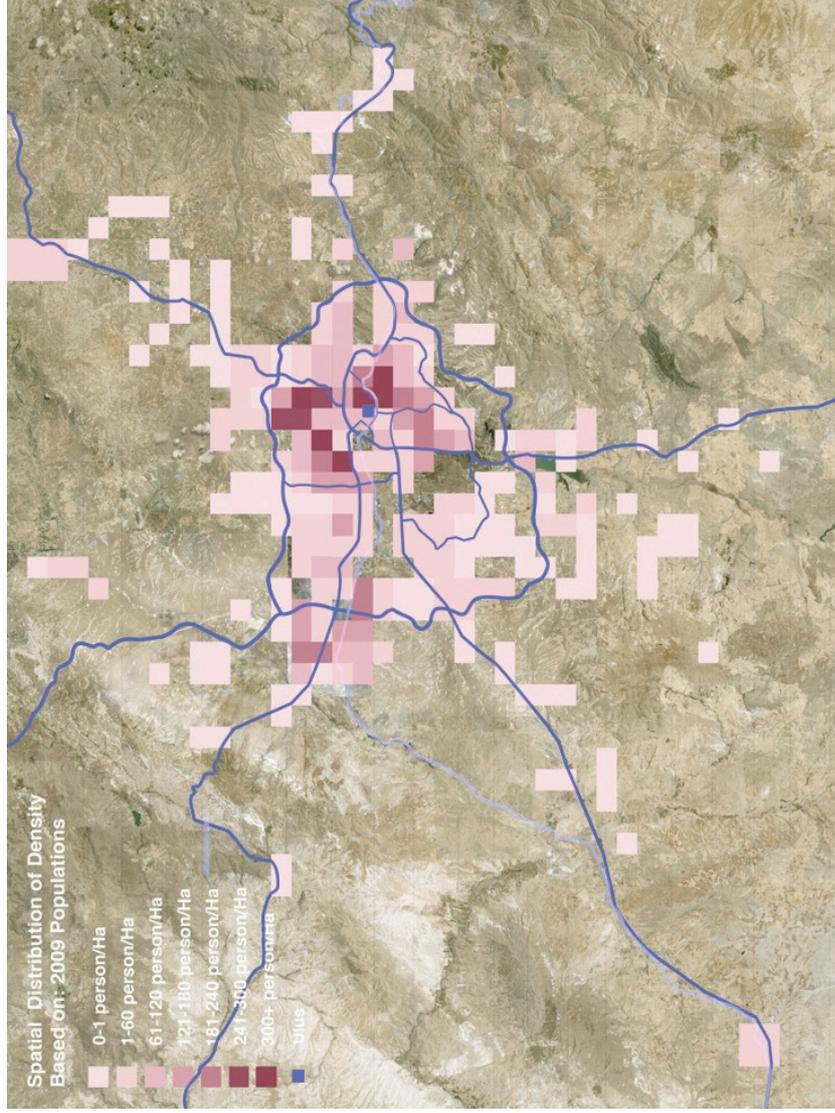


Figure 9 : Distribution of Density over the Urban Geography of Ankara Source: TÜİK 2009 Neighborhood Populations of Ankara, 2023 plan, planning sub-zones, plan report 2006, produced by author, via reorganizing the population data form TÜİK with regard to the 2023 plan sub-zones, and processing the statistical data on the spatial data (high resolution google earth image with neighborhood locations)

By looking the distribution of the density, we can conclude that the core of Ankara is like a half-torus, with dominance of commercial and administrative functions at the heart of the city, and a low density of population dwelling, while right out the city center, a belt of high density housing encircling the center with gecekondu areas generally<sup>103</sup>. Sincan, Etimesgut and Batıkent are also visible in the map, planned subcenters on metro and railway nodes<sup>104</sup>. By looking at this, it can be concluded that the decentralization of Ankara via proposing subcenters while preserving the compactness is possible, if the public transportation opportunities would be planned accordingly and provided, and more importantly the land speculation would to some degree be prevented. Sincan was proposed as gecekondu prevention zone, for blue-collar workers<sup>105</sup> and Batıkent was proposed as social housing area at first. Especially Batıkent was a good model for producing house for the future need of the city via expropriating the land, but in process it has changed. Eventhough the urban environment produced in these two areas were not as good as expected, they worked for solving the housing problem of the middle classes, and provision of cheaper developed lands in order to prevent gecekondu areas.

New additions to population should be located, but this can not be an excuse for sprawl. Because even new development areas are needed, they are consuming land further than needed. The distribution of the surrounding density map is summarizing what we were trying to say; the dispersal of the urban texture to rural areas is definitely a symptom. In addition sprawl includes not only opening up land for new comers, but also opening up land for the relocation of existing population living in relatively older parts and/or central city, so urban sprawl can not be justified solely by population increase or explained by it. In sum growth of Ankara is inevitable with an increasing population but it is not enough to explain the buildings under construction or constructed 40 kilometers far away from Ankara on rural land for instance.

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103 Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, (2006) Existing planned and unplanned housing stock map

104 Proposed by both 1990 Plan and 2015 Structural Plan.

105 Alatan, Haluk, (1999), 1923'ten 2025'e Başkent, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi

### **3.3. Macroform**

The macroform of Ankara, as it is today, is far from being compact. Whether it be dense or not, there are no well defined and legible border for the city. The map illustrates that the brachiation of the urban texture on the periphery is increasing in time, the boundaries of the city were much lucid in 1955s or even in 1970s, but after 1985 the city has totally lost a sense of limit.

This actually is the most visible symptom of urban growth disorder. The entropy in the form has irreversibly increased in time. So eventhough from the previous part it seems like a natural step in growth, we can say that the form of Ankara is distorted in time and the process continues. In each step the form of Ankara had become more illegible. The degree of sprawl in residential areas within the macroform is far worse than the macroform. The pattern is dispersed, fragmented and discontinuous showing nearly all symptoms of sprawl in every direction on the periphery.

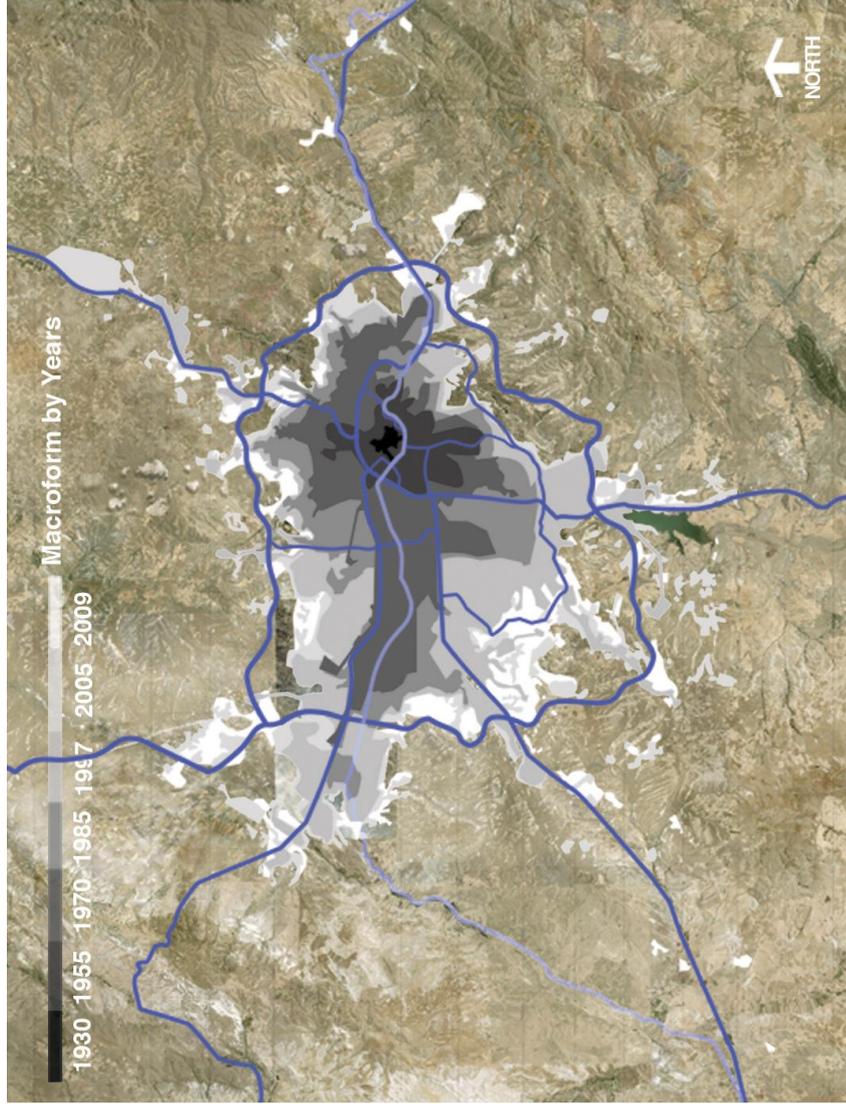


Figure 10: Ankara Macroform Change by Years Adapted from 2023 plan report (2006) and High Resolution Google Earth Image accessed on April 2010.



By looking at this map, it can be concluded that Ankara is suffering a city-scale sprawl. Partially different parts of the periphery is also under impact of sprawl such as the south-west side (Çayyolu-Ümitköy), but the whole city form is also under the impact of this disorder. Lack of continuity, nuclearity, concentration, clustering, proximity are the spatial characteristics of urban sprawl; and they are all existent here. The planned-existing housing areas as well as gecekondus and planned-proposed areas are all fragmented and dispersed. The amount of non saturated housing areas and new development areas is also interesting; the sum of the two is equal to if not over the amount of existing planned and unplanned housing areas. This indicates the excess consumption of land with development rights.

### 3.4. Housing

Housing as an investment and commodity, is popular as both middle and long term investment. Seeing housing as investment causes a rise in production of housing which needs further land; speaking within the frame of work, the problem of urban sprawl is inevitable and widespread in economies focusing on housing and land as an investment. Commodification of housing inevitably brings the problem of the focus on the demand instead of need in provision of housing. For instance in the year 2000 the number of flats in Ankara was 1.128.625<sup>106</sup> while the calculated need was 937.139<sup>107</sup>. The housing need of Ankara in 2010 will be 1.138.901 according to the report<sup>108</sup> prepared by Chamber of Civil Engineers, while up to now, including 2009 the number of flats entered to the housing market, had taken utilization permission, is 413.670<sup>109</sup> if we add it to the existing stock, the number will be 1.542.295, pointing out an excess of 403.394 flats, and it has to be noted that, the number of flats added to the stock are the only authorized ones with full permissions, number of gecekondus and buildings without construction

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106 TÜİK, 2000 Bina sayımı. Ankara.

107 İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası, *Türkiye'de Konut Sorunu ve Konut İhtiyacı Raporu*, : population/household number\*1.04 (formula used in the article)

108 Ibid.

109 TÜİK 1992-2009 Building Construction and Utilization Permissions for Ankara.

permission or utilization permission are not counted in yet (not known). Another unknown aspect is the number of flats leaving the housing stock due to degradation or demolition but even with the Europe's greatest urban transformation project, the transformation being conducted in Mamak district, the number of gecekondus that will be demolished is 50.000, and most of them are not yet demolished. Shortly we can say that there is an excess housing stock in Ankara. According to Erdal Eren, the head of Building Contractors Union, oversupplied housing in Turkey, and the excess stock could not be reduced until 2012 even no new buildings are constructed.<sup>110</sup> Even this symptom is visible in the urban geography of Ankara. While going out of the city (every direction will work), there are a significant amount of vacant housing units.

The spatial distribution of the excess housing stock, which is directly related with the politics of housing, is significant for our research on the question of politics of urban sprawl. Providing housing which have to be one of the main problems that state and local governments have to deal with, the tendency is just the opposite. The politics of housing of state and local authorities is basically to provide each and every means of housing as the market wants. The distribution of excess housing stock will give us a clue on the urban sprawl of Ankara by districts. The existing buildings, housing need and the difference between these two are illustrated in the following graph.

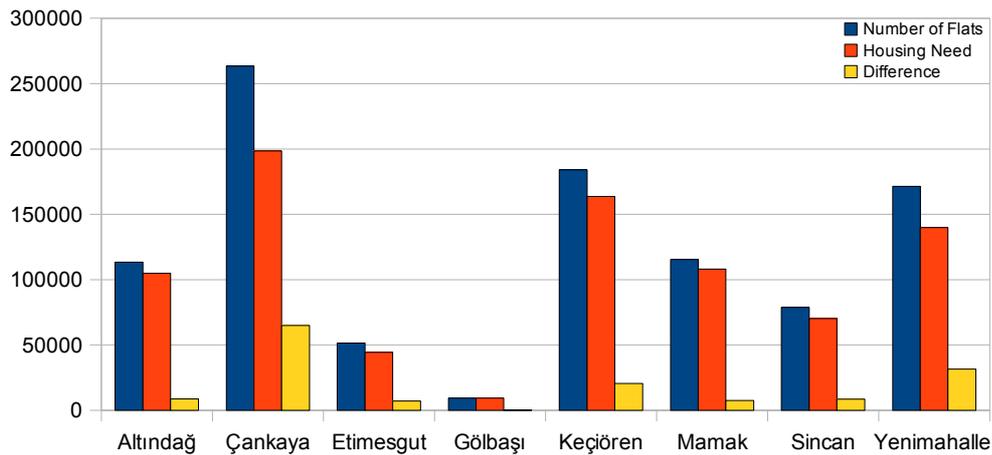


Figure 12: Existing housing stock and housing need for 2000 by districts

110 Olay, 16.03.2009 *Konutta arz fazlası oluřtu 2012`den řnce eritilemez*, from gazeteparc.com

Source: Building Census 2000, TÜİK, Ankara., Population Census 2000, TÜİK, Ankara. See appendix.

The difference between existing housing stock and the need is highest in Çankaya, then comes Yenimahalle. It is crucial to remind that these statistics belongs to the year 2000, as we previously said, the provision of housing continued after 2000 and 413.670 new flats were entered into housing market in Ankara while population increase<sup>111</sup> is 506.061 creating a need of 132.476<sup>112</sup> houses which is far lower than the produced. So we can say that the problem of excess housing continues. The distribution of these excess stock is visible in the graph. Especially Çankaya and Yenimahalle are important. These two districts are the south and south-west development zones, that 2023 plan has given further development rights in 2007.

Another series of questions arises if we consider the income dependent characteristic os housing. In other words housing is a special commodity that the price of it changes accessibility of it; the houses accessible by poor and houses accessible by only middle class or upper class divides the housing stock into parts having a wall between them. To put bluntly, poor can not be able to buy a house produced for the rich, having a market price that can only be paid by the rich. As a matter of fact, if we reconsider the results derived from the graph, the excess amount of housing can not be a remedy for the housing need of the poor. The decrease in the housing stock for poor with degradation or demolition (for instance with urban transformation projects) of houses is not met with the excess housing stock in the south and south west parts of Ankara. The ignorance of the poor in provision of housing by the hands of market, state and the local governments consequently end with new gecekondü areas, which we called unplanned growth and for some cases even unplanned sprawl previously. This is definitely falling under politics of urban sprawl in Ankara.

In sum, the urban sprawl problem in Ankara not only includes excess consumption of surrounding lands due to dispersal but also production of excess housing because of the pressure of the real estate market and the profit oriented view in local authorities as the producers and coordinators of

<sup>111</sup> 2009 population of Ankara: 4.513.921, 2000 Population of Ankara: 4.007.860, TÜİK.

<sup>112</sup> Household value is 3,82. TÜİK 2009.

the application of the plans alongside other reasons.

### **3.5. Planned and Unplanned Growth**

With the coming population, the rents became higher in the center where poor live and the real estate market, using the local authority and central government make them leave to outer regions. The relocation of the poor, under the pressure of the land market and due to having problems with articulating both to labor market and the housing market is creating new problematic areas for cities. The characteristics of the immigrating population and the characteristics of the developed lands especially the price of them in the land market are two interrelated variables in this issue. Newly migrated citizens are mostly coming from rural areas or smaller cities with no decent job, and they could not be able to articulate to the labor market, they need a shelter, cheap and close to work, where *gecekondus* come to scene. The unplanned growth is also inevitable under these circumstances and with an increase in the population.

As we previously stated, the distinction between different categories of sprawl is determined according to plans. Hence, being planned or unplanned has importance in the issue. If we look at the map below, it can be seen that the major growth is planned urban growth with its scale and level of dispersal. But this does not change the fact that the unplanned growth of the city is also worth for consideration. The east, south-east and to some degree the north of the macroform is defined by *gecekondu* areas and even south is encircled with *gecekondus*.

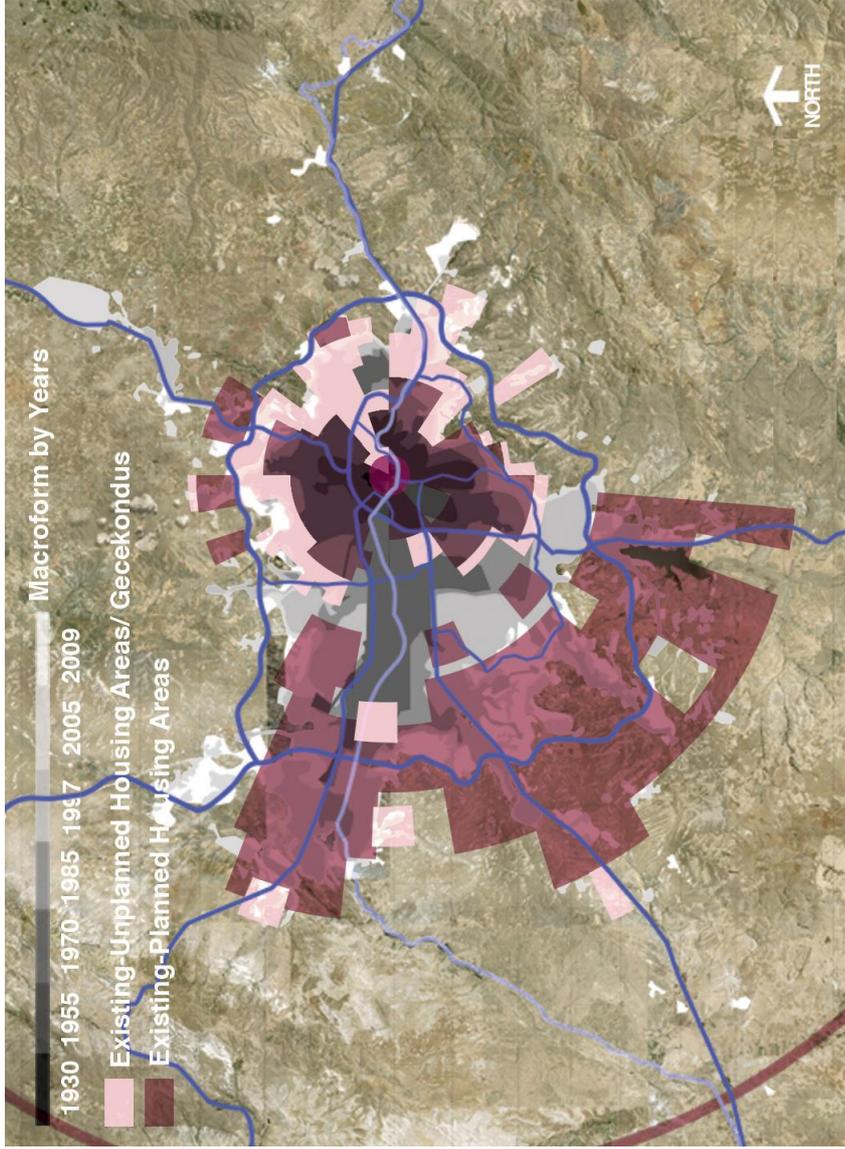


Figure 13: Distribution of Planned and Unplanned Urban Growth. Source: 2023 plan report (2006) Distribution of existing planned and unplanned areas for the year 2005. produced by author.

The level of abstraction in demonstration makes it easier to understand the spatial distribution of gecekondu areas over Ankara. Gecekondu areas are generally located in areas left out of the land market, due to being under property of public, or disqualifying qualifications such as slope. In other words they are natural or artificial thresholds drawing the border of growth. So the gecekondu areas whatever the scale is, can be considered as sprawl. Be it high density or close to city center, with reference to our definition, by being out of the planned area, more than that by being not convenient for a settlement makes gecekondu areas a part of urban sprawl problem. But, it is crucial to remind that, even if at the starting point gecekondu areas were developed on the lands excluded from the urban land market, once developed, they become right the center of the land market with land speculation and political interventions of the actors, such as urban transformation projects. After development, these areas are added to the defined housing areas proposed by the plans.

With the pressure of rent, the problem deepens as we can extract from the history of Ankara. One of the measure to prevent unplanned growth was to propose more developed land than needed in plans, by planners. This makes it far more significant for the problem of urban sprawl and this stance of planners are falling under the politics of sprawl.

### **3.6. Fragmentation**

Some authors in America claim that one of the most important reason beyond sprawl is the cultural polarization, and cultural segregation of society on color skin or language basis, but Bruegmann states that the most effective feature over the spatial segregation is the distribution of income in cities all over the world<sup>113</sup>. For Turkish cities, and for Ankara the level of income can also be considered as the most significant input determining the locational choices of citizens for residing. Since the dwellers of the gecekondu areas have no other choice, we can not talk about a choosing process for them practically; they are captive dwellers of the gecekondu

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113 Bruegmann, Robert. (2005) *Sprawl: A Compact History*. p.98

areas, so in this argument, the main focus of debate will be the middle and upper middle classes, who 'chooses' where to dwell among a variety of alternatives. As Akpınar states;

“The more a person climbs up the social ladders, the more s/he wants to have a new and bigger home. The demand for bigger house is increasing especially for the middle class group, who care more for their social standing. New suburban districts far from the city centre are the residents of newly emergent middle classes. In these districts the community ties and solidarity relationships have been weakening and the privacy of family has been gaining more importance (Ayata and Ayata, 2000, 154). Among the middle class families the preferences of living with “his/her own type” is becoming noticeable.”<sup>114</sup>

There are also another inputs determining the class pattern and the differences among different classes; It is not only income, but also education, occupation, patterns of consumption, choice of used spaces in the city, and the environment of living are what emphasize the difference among classes.<sup>115</sup> The importance of the dwellers of an area for middle and upper classes was clearly illustrated in the work produced by Korkmaz<sup>116</sup>; 71,5% of the respondents showed the “decent atmosphere” and the “decent people” residing in the area, as the reason for choosing Çayyolu to dwell. Continuing with the cultural differences: a work on Ankara, examining Çayyolu and Keçiören, states that within the middle class, the locational choices can also differ and exclusionist, depending on cultural and social differences, for instance the “level of conservativeness” is a significant indicator between Çayyolu and Keçiören dwellers.<sup>117</sup> The socially homogeneous structures of those two settlements are creating a center of attraction for the upper class and middle class dwellers of the core of the city.<sup>118</sup> The more the attraction gets with the increasing -environmental,

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114 Akpınar, Figen., 2005. p.1-47

115 Şanlı, Tuğçe., 2008. p.3

116 Korkmaz Tirkeş, Güliz., 2007. p.135

117 Ibid. p.162

118 Ibid. p.70

security based, etc.- problems in city center, the more the demand increases; creating an additional pressure over the outer periphery of the city.

With time, the unbalanced distribution of income over the city is deepening and the gap between classes is increasing; with the tendency of sprawl in the urban form, the spatial gap is also increasing. The provoked fear between classes, especially the fears of middle and upper classes from the poor is increasing with the increase in the economic gap between, and eventually this leads to an increase in the spatial gap between classes in the city.<sup>119</sup> This fear also leads to the emergence of gated communities.

The quality of environment in inner cities are also triggering the movement out of cities. To some degree spatial aesthetics are also effective; a landscape view is preferred by some. The problems that the inner cities are experiencing, like air pollution, noise, traffic jam, car park deficiency, inadequate green areas, gardens make us desire/dream of the countryside. When we have the means, we move out of cities; well, most of us, not all. The fresh air, a small garden, sufficient area provided for a car park is what makes suburban areas desirable. This desire increases the level of fragmentation, so urban sprawl.

Each and every day we are seeing an advertisement of a new housing site, gated, secure, and including every need and luxury in. Most of the city want to dwell in them and ones who can afford, are buying houses from them. The advertisements, as usual, creating an illusion and make us believe that is what we need. Far from noise, pollution (which is very significant in the case of Ankara) and the 'stress' of the city, mostly referring to traffic jam, the suburban areas, and the newly emerging gated communities and their imitations for middle class are marketed like the keys to heaven, but a heaven in this world.

The spatial segregation within classes and the fragmentation of city is fastening with gated communities, shopping centers; new and private forms of public spaces; more correctly pseudo public spaces. Moreover each

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<sup>119</sup> Şanlı, Tuğçe., 2008. p.48

fragment is becoming more and more homogeneous. City center is socially and economically mixed and every class is existent and visible, while outskirts of the city cloaks different classes from each other.

The relationship between fragmentation and sprawl is not a linear or cyclical, or direct one; the two problems work for the reproduction of each other. The tendency to fragmentation creates a pressure over the land on the periphery due to the increasing demands of middle and upper classes, while sprawl deepens spatial segregation of different classes among urban space.

With increasing spatial distance among society brings problems in social movements and urban social movements. The transformative power of class struggle comes from the social movements, and urban areas were always important for social movements. With urban sprawl, and fragmentation of city the level of interaction among the citizens dramatically decreases which in turn will lead to a fall in the scale of the social movements. In other words suburbanization and the sprawl of cities are facts emphasizing the individuality by creating high gaps between us, with low density settlements, and making our life similar to a unbreakable cycle, revolving between work, home and shopping center.

### **3.7. Accessibility**

Another indicator of urban sprawl in Ankara is the decline in accessibility and increase in private means of transportation. The number of cars is rapidly increasing in time and the number of cars per person is highest in Ankara with reference to Turkish cities. In 2008 number of cars per a thousand person is 188 while, in Turkey it is 95, in İstanbul 139. By the year 2009 the number is 200.<sup>120</sup> The increase in this ratio can be seen from the graph below.

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<sup>120</sup> TÜİK, (2009), Bölgesel Göstergeler, TR51-Ankara 2008, Ankara.

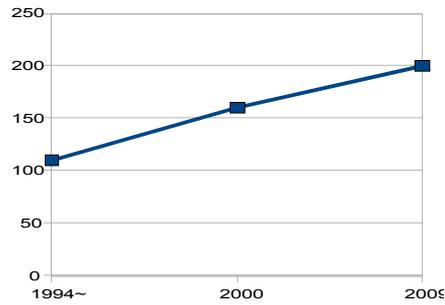


Figure 14: Number of Cars per 1000 persons, the change in time

Source: TÜİK, 2009. Graph is produced by the author.

From 1994 to 2009 the number of cars per a thousand persons is nearly doubled. This is also the same period when the sprawl of the Ankara city was accelerated. It is also interesting that within this period the mayor of the metropolitan municipality was same person, who was elected in 1994. Not only the plans produce by the municipality are effective, but also regulations and some implementations are significant such as transport policies.

Another important data on transportation opportunities of Ankara is the change of the number of vehicles in time depending on their types.

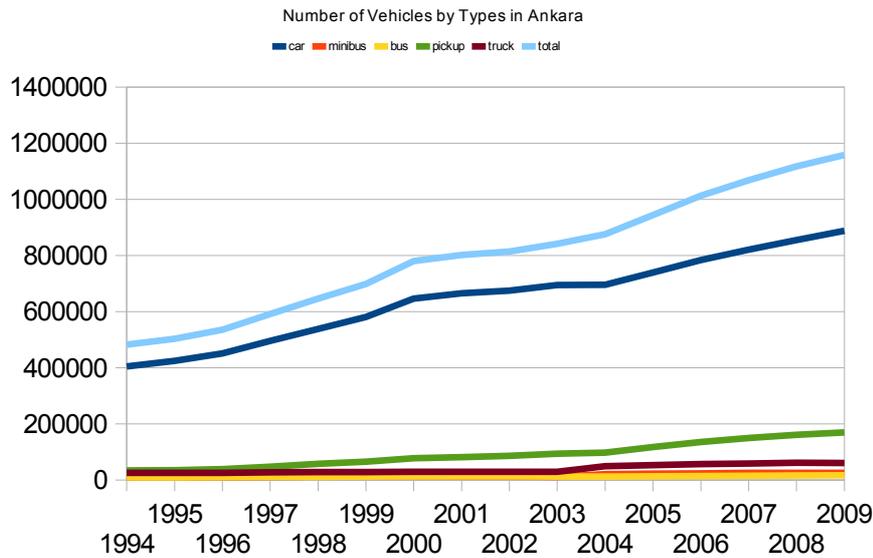


Figure 15: Number of Vehicles by Types in Ankara: The change in time

Source: TÜİK, 2009. Graph is produced by the author.

The difference between number of cars and busses and the difference between the pace of increase is dramatic. This indicates us the dominant form of transportation is the private cars in Ankara. Lack of public transportation and widespread usage of cars, encourages cities to sprawl. Cars make the inaccessible accessible and creates a need for car parks which consume a vast amount of land, and which can not be met in the core of the cities.

If those improvements are not existent, so will the sprawl, in a scale we experience. But this does not mean that sprawl is caused by technological improvements. To put bluntly; the cars are nothing without the roads built by local and central authorities.<sup>121</sup> One of the most important actor of politics of sprawl, local governments are both directly and indirectly intervening the form of growth.

<sup>121</sup> Gillham, Oliver, (2002), The Limitless City, Washington. p.13

### **3.8. Conclusion**

The growth of Ankara shows the symptoms of urban growth disorder in city scale. Decreasing density while the population is increasing, implying the excess usage of the land, illegible macroform, spatially and socially fragmented city, excess provision of housing and decreasing level of accessibility are all the signs of urban sprawl problem. These indicators also points out one more direction; the politics of urban sprawl in Ankara. These indicators definitely not emerged on their own, or naturally. Reasons beyond the indicators is a mixture of structural components and decisions of agents on the issue. The emphasis is on the decisions of agents here. In order to build a model of politics of urban sprawl in Ankara, we have to count in those general indicators and the politics behind them. Demographic policies, rural policies, transportation policies of related agents have utmost importance in politics of sprawl, and will be evaluated in the model of politics of urban sprawl. General indicators of sprawl are providing us a two-sided information; spatial and political. The spatial information giving hints of the urban geography of Ankara will be used for categorizing the urban sprawl and the political one, implying the actors behind the urban sprawl process and their roles, will provide further insight in politics of urban sprawl.

This is the contemporary picture of sprawl in the case of Ankara and this picture will be used for the categorization of urban sprawl in the geography of Ankara. But before categorizing the forms of sprawl via extracting from the case of Ankara, it is crucial to look at the impacts of the master plans, which are the most significant form of political interventions of municipalities into the urban geography of Ankara.

## CHAPTER 4

### MASTER PLANS AND URBAN SPRAWL IN ANKARA

#### 4.1. Historical Background: Evaluating previous plans with reference to urban sprawl

*It is not knowing the truth that counts, but tracking the change.*<sup>122</sup>

Ankara, with a relatively long history of urban planning, is the most appropriate city for searching a relationship between master plans and urban sprawl. The aim here is to see the roots via evaluating previous plans, but illustrating the contemporary problem of urban sprawl with reference to 2023 Regulatory Development Plan.

Housing and real estate market has a significant role in the urban economy of the city of Ankara from the earlier periods of the Republic. As one of the five planned capital cities in the world, Ankara has a relatively longer and sophisticated planning history. The historical analysis of the urbanization of Ankara and the plans is divided into three periods, which are; “the urbanization of nation state” taking place between 1923-1945, “the urbanization of labor” taking place between 1945-1980, and lastly “the urbanization of capital” dating back to 1980s and continuing today.<sup>123</sup>

#### 4.1.1 The Urbanization of Nation State: Lörcher and Jansen Plans

##### 4.1.1.1 Lörcher Plan: Macroform

The first plan of Ankara was the Lörcher plan produced in 1924, eight years

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122 Anday, Melih Cevdet, (1970), Gizli Emir. “gerçeği bilmek değildir önemli olan, değişikliği izlemektir.” tr. C.G.Yaşar.

123 Şengül, Tarık. (2008) *Cumhuriyetin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Ankara'nın Gelişiminde Farklı Aşamalar*, in TMMOB Ankara Kent Sorunları Sempozyumu, TMMOB, Ankara. p.17

after the great fire which burned down nearly half of the built environment in Ankara. Alongside rehabilitating the existing city which is nearly totally burned down, the plan was proposed the development of a new area; housing supported with administrative functions; Yenişehir. In order to solve the problem of the increasing need of the population, Lörcher proposed the development in a new area, instead of the old quarters of Ankara.



Figure 16: Lörcher Plan and Macroform in 1924

Source: Günay, B. 2005

The macroform proposed by the plan was definitely compact.<sup>124</sup> The area marked with red was the existing settlement pattern, and the plan proposed the main development axis from north to south. The form and direction of growth is well-defined and explicit. The existing population was 65000 while the estimated population of the plan was 150000 without specifying a target year. At this point, it is crucial to say that, according to Günay, one of the

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<sup>124</sup> Günay, B. 2005 in Altaban, Ö. 2005 p. 67

main problems of the plan was the lack of proposals or at least signs of where to the city will grow in the future.<sup>125</sup> Moreover, eventhough the plan is compact, the proposed density of for the newly developing Yenisehir was low and this increased the pressure over the plan.<sup>126</sup>

As mentioned before; the Yenisehir development is the main proposal of the Lörcher plan,<sup>127</sup> but with the plan, the prices of the land has risen and the expropriation of the land by state became a problem hard to cope with. The development rights were given to land but the right to use that land and the created rent by the hands of public sector was under the possession of the landowners.<sup>128</sup> As a matter of fact, the newly-came poor left with no choice but to solve the housing problem of themselves on their own,<sup>129</sup> via building gecekondu, on unpossessed lands near the center, which did not have the qualifications to be in the land market. This can be considered as the first sprawl in the capital city in terms of being out of the planned area. The problems of the capital city is deepening, because of this situation and the partial implications conflicting with the plan; the plan became insufficient so in the year 1932 a new plan for Ankara was accepted; Jansen plan.

#### **4.1.1.2 Jansen Plan: Rapid Growth**

The production of housing, and keeping up with the pace of urbanization was one of the most important problem in Ankara, from the beginning. The gecekondu problem, according to Türel, is dating back to early 1930s due to the failure of state in providing the houses needed by the newcomers.<sup>130</sup> Those were the great depression days and the population of Ankara was rapidly increasing with a pace never experienced before. Right after the

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125 Ibid. p.68

126 Cengizkan, A. 2004

127 Ibid. p.67

128 Akın, E. 2007. p.157

129 Şengül, Tarık. (2008) *Cumhuriyetin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Ankara'nın Gelişiminde Farklı Aşamalar*, in TMMOB *Ankara Kent Sorunları Sempozyumu*, TMMOB, Ankara. p.18

130 Türel, Ali, 1985. p.5

Jansen plan was accepted, the land prices were boomed and with additional impact of rapid increase in population, the boundaries of developed land is extended.<sup>131</sup>

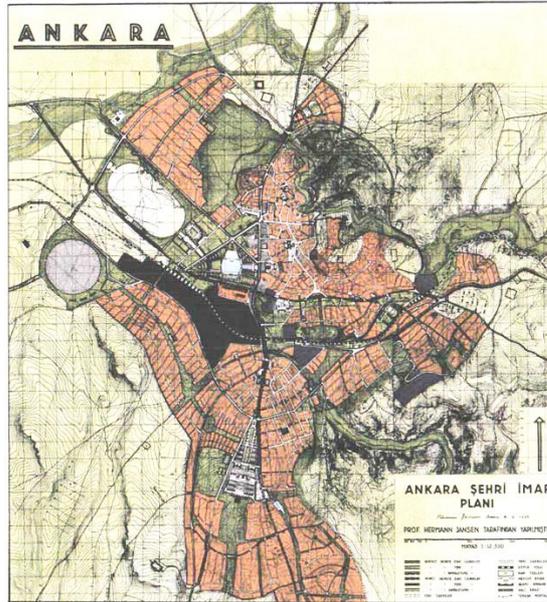


Figure 17: Jansen Plan

Source: Baykan Günay Arşivi.

In Ankara, by being the capital, the state becomes spatially visible. The administrative functions need to much land and from the beginning the land belonging to state is high in amount. If we look at the plan produced by Jansen, we can see that how the public facilities and buildings are both uniting and dividing the city. Ankara, surrounded with natural thresholds (the mountains and valleys) and public functions has no way but to leap to the outer parts of the terrain. The plan is indeed compact as the previous one. But the unexpected and unforeseen growth in the population lead to the development getting out of the borders of plan. The population proposed in the Jansen plan; 300.000 (2023 Plan Report, 2006) for the year 1978 was passed in the year 1955 with a population of 451.241 (TÜİK, 2010). It is important to note that, this is not an estimation but a political decision of the plan, considering the natural restrictions for the city. The excess population

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131 Ibid.

mostly solved their problem of housing with either cooperatives or gecekondu. Cooperatives -authorized housing- are mostly concentrated in the north-west and the west side of the Ankara, Yenimahalle and Bahçelievler; while gecekondu -unauthorized housing- are mostly located in east and north-east side, Mamak and Altındağ. Yenimahalle district is 5-6 kilometers far away from Ulus, the center, located in the north-west of Ankara,(Yavuz, 1952) which is out of the boundaries of Jansen plan. Within these years, the form of growth of Ankara was the sprawl of gecekondu areas to the north, north-east and east of the city. On the other side, the cooperatives demanding larger parcels which can be provided only in the periphery of the city, were leaping out of the city because the cheaper parcels could only be provided out of the Jansen plan. The case of Yenimahalle can be a good example for this, whose name was 'ucuz arsalar'<sup>132</sup> at the beginning<sup>133</sup>.



Figure 18: A view from Yenimahalle, Baykan Günay Arşivi

According to Günay, (2005) one of the most important problem of Jansen plan was the axis of the proposed development, which limits the city within natural thresholds, and consequently caused problems in urban growth. The underestimated population, high rents within the planned area and

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132 Cheap lands.

133 Yavuz, Fehmi., (1952) *Cumhuriyet Devri Ankara'sının İmarında Birinci Merhale 1923 - 1938 ve Arsa Meselesi*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi Cilt: 5 Sayı: 1

increasing need of housing ended with leapfrog development which falls under a characteristic form of urban sprawl.

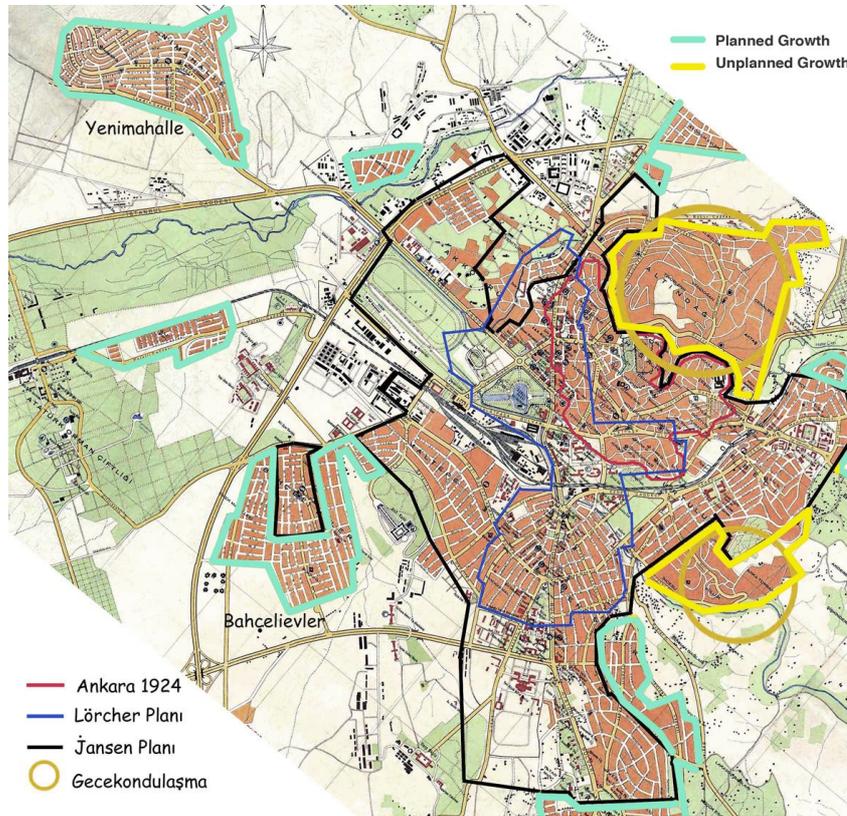


Figure 19: *Jansen Plan and Development out of the planned area in 1960*

source: Günay, B. 2005. p.79 the areas out of the planned area (Jansen Plan) were drawn by author.

After 30 years from the acceptance of the plan, the plan already had reached repletion and could not keep up with the pace of growth. The areas colored with green are growth with plans, yellow ones are growth without plan. In these years, a sprawled pattern in the inner city was definitely not possible, and if we consider density as the main indicator of sprawl, these areas are not sprawl either. But, while determining what is sprawl what is not, it is important to consider the conditions at that time. At that years car is not as widespread as today and public transportation was relatively dominant. As a

matter of fact even the densities are high, the distance from the central city and leapfrog development makes them be classified as urban sprawl.

#### **4.1.2 The Urbanization of Labor: Yücel-Uybadin and 1990 Plans**

##### **4.1.2.1 Yücel-Uybadin Plan: Oil-stain Growth**

By the second half of the 1940s, the mass migration movement from rural areas to urban areas had been accelerated. Previously mentioned problem of housing of the poor, labor class, new comers was rapidly increasing and becoming structural. The rural labor power was transforming into urban labor power and Ankara was at the focus of this raid.<sup>134</sup> In the year 1957, right after the property ownership law, the third plan of Ankara, The Yücel-Uybadin Plan was accepted. The plan, differently from the previous two, had not proposed a legible form for the city, and the plan was also lacking of a scenario. According to Tankut(1993), the plan is excluding urbanization and preserving the nucleus of the Jansen plan, without new ideas. The existing population for the year 1955 was 455.000 and the city form was covering 5720 hectares. The overall density of the city was 79,55.<sup>135</sup> The population estimated for the target year 1987 for the planned 12.000 hectares<sup>136</sup> was 750.000 while the realized population in 1980 was 1.877.755 for the macroform of the city.<sup>137</sup>

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134 Şengül, Tarık. (2008) *Cumhuriyetin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Ankara'nın Gelişiminde Farklı Aşamalar*, in TMMOB Ankara Kent Sorunları Sempozyumu, TMMOB, Ankara. p.18

135 See table: The Comparison of Plans, at the end of this chapter.

136 Ibid.

137 See plan evaluation and comparison chart of plans at the end of the chapter.

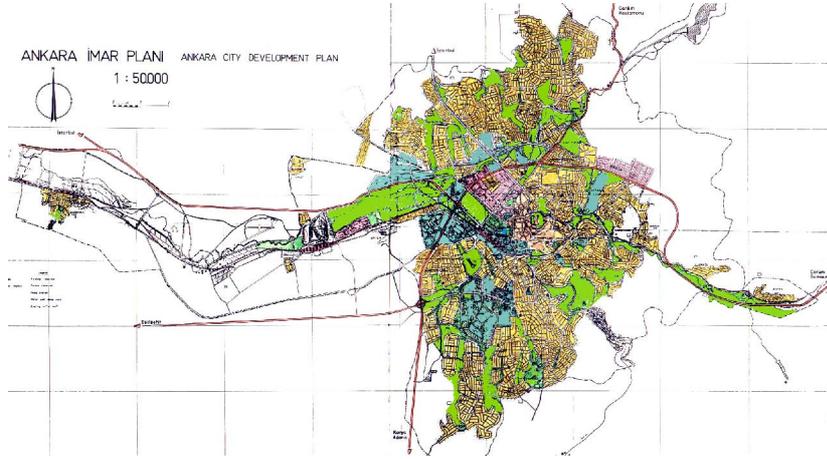


Figure 20: *Yücel-Uybadin Plan*

Source: Günay, B. 2005

As it can be observed from the map above, the Yücel-Uybadin plan had not proposed a legible form. It is more like a oil-stain development, uncontrolled and lack of structure. With Yücel-Uybadin plan, 11.000 hectares were added to the previous plan area of Jansen plan but most of the newly added areas were existing housing areas, in the form of gecekondu or cooperatives. Right after the plan, in 1960, Zone Flat regulation Plan<sup>138</sup> was accepted which was attributing higher density to the core/existing settlement, due to the density-population inconsistency problems of Yücel-Uybadin plan.<sup>139</sup> To some degree this can be considered as a compact form of urbanization, but without executing the needed infrastructure investments in the core of the city and without taking the needed measures, the problems of the core of Ankara has been uninterruptedly increasing since that times.

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138 Bölge Kat Nizamı Planı

139 Günay, Baykan., (2006) *Çekirdek alanın oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı hakkında bir değerlendirme.* in Şenyapılı, Tansı.,(2006). *Özcan Altaban'a armağan: Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı.* Ankara: ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı. p.80-81

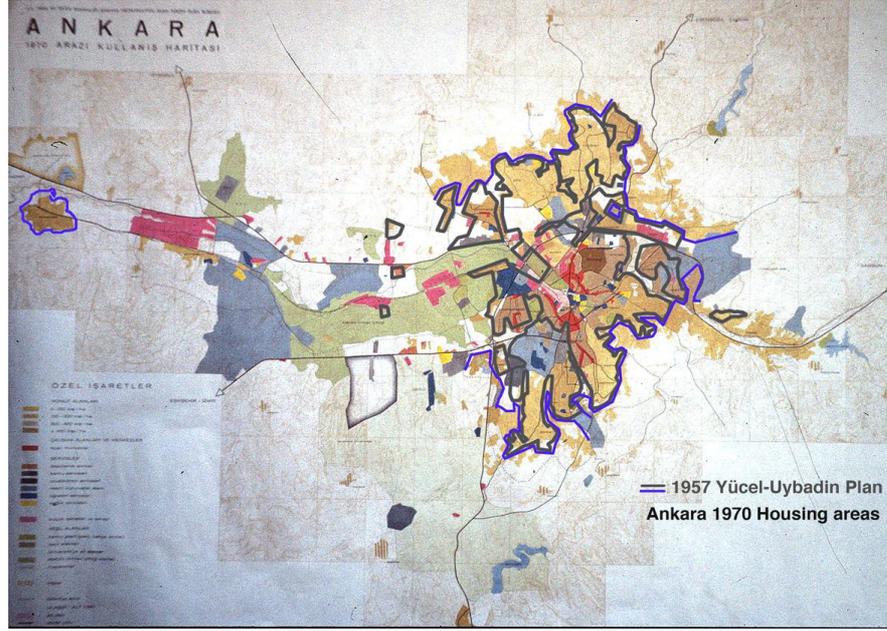


Figure 21: *Yücel-Uybadin Plan in 1970*

Source: 1990 plan report and Günay, B. 2005. prepared by the author.

The figure above is illustrative. In 13 years the limits of the plan were already passed and a significant amount of land was developed out of the planned area. Nearly all the development out of the plan were gecekondu areas. The form of the plan was already illegible but with these developments the form of Ankara became unrecognizable and sprawled. The form of sprawl in this period is still the sprawl taking place out of the planned areas. The population was underestimated and the plan was reached its limits.

#### 4.1.2.2 1990 Regulation Plan: Decentralization

The approach of the 1990 Regulation Plan was both comprehensive and structural.<sup>140</sup> The city was under the impact of flat regulation plans and the increasing development rights given on the settled parts of the city. The development took place vertically within this time period, so the density of

<sup>140</sup> Günay, Baykan., (2006) *Çekirdek alanın oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı hakkında bir değerlendirme.* in Şenyapılı, Tansı.,(2006). Özcan Altaban'a armağan: Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı. Ankara: ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı. p.90

the core was increasing.<sup>141</sup> At the same time the horizontal development of the city was also continuing. Unplanned growth out of the planned area was high (which can be seen from the figure illustrating the situation of Uybadin plan in 1970s). Unplanned growth especially took place in Balgat, Dikmen, Etlik and Keçiören.<sup>142</sup>

Until 1990 plan, the estimated population of the plans for target year were under the realized population. With this plan, for the first time the estimated population exceeded the real population of the target year. 3,6 million was the estimated, while 2.584.594 was the real population of the year 1990. In the period starting with 1970s and the 1990 Regulation Plan, the sprawl of Ankara entered in a new phase.

The deepening problems of city center, the changing trends in the planning approach and the rapidly increasing population of Ankara which nearly reached its limits regarding the thresholds, were altogether pointing out the decentralization of Ankara. Eventhough the control of macroform could not be realized, it was an important cornerstone for the planning history of Turkish cities. In order to control the macroform via conscious control over the decisions made on the periphery, some macroform models were chosen and tested by the bureau. The corridor plan was chosen as the best way for the development of Ankara, and the plan was produced accordingly. The new development areas were chosen parallel to the main principle of the plan: decentralization of Ankara. The population estimations for the target year exceeding the realized population created developed land more than needed, some of the proposals of the plan such as Çayyolu, has not reached repletion even today.

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141 Ibid. p.87

142 Ibid. p.87

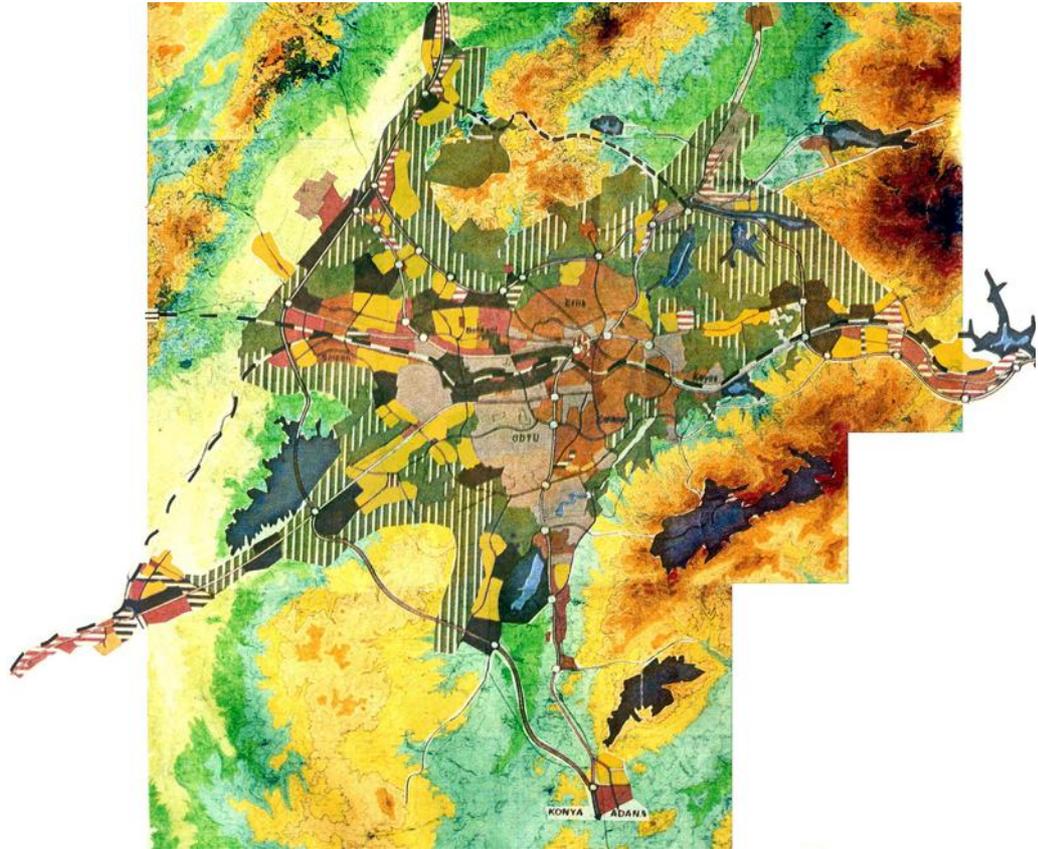


Figure 22: 1990 Regulatory Development Plan

Source: Günay, B. 2005.

The most important features of the plan was the proposed measures for the macroform control. A green-belt were encircling the city to control the growth of the city. Moreover, as it was mentioned before, the plan proposed a corridor-type development on the railroad axis. The plan sets it's goal as the direction/managing of the “floating” development decisions with a plan only illustrating the general structure and main development decisions, with details remain uncertain.<sup>143</sup> One of the economic goals of the plan was to determine the macroform with minimizing costs (infrastructure) and maximizing the public interest.<sup>144</sup> This economic goal was expressed in the

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143 Ibid. p.2

144 Ibid. p.12

search of a macroform, that is most appropriate for the growth of Ankara. Another goal, which is under psychological goals is also interesting; “the legibility of the city form” that is readable for citizens have to be provided.<sup>145</sup> So we can say that, the starting point and the perspective of the plan was promising, it could really be a solution for the urban sprawl problem.

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid. p.12

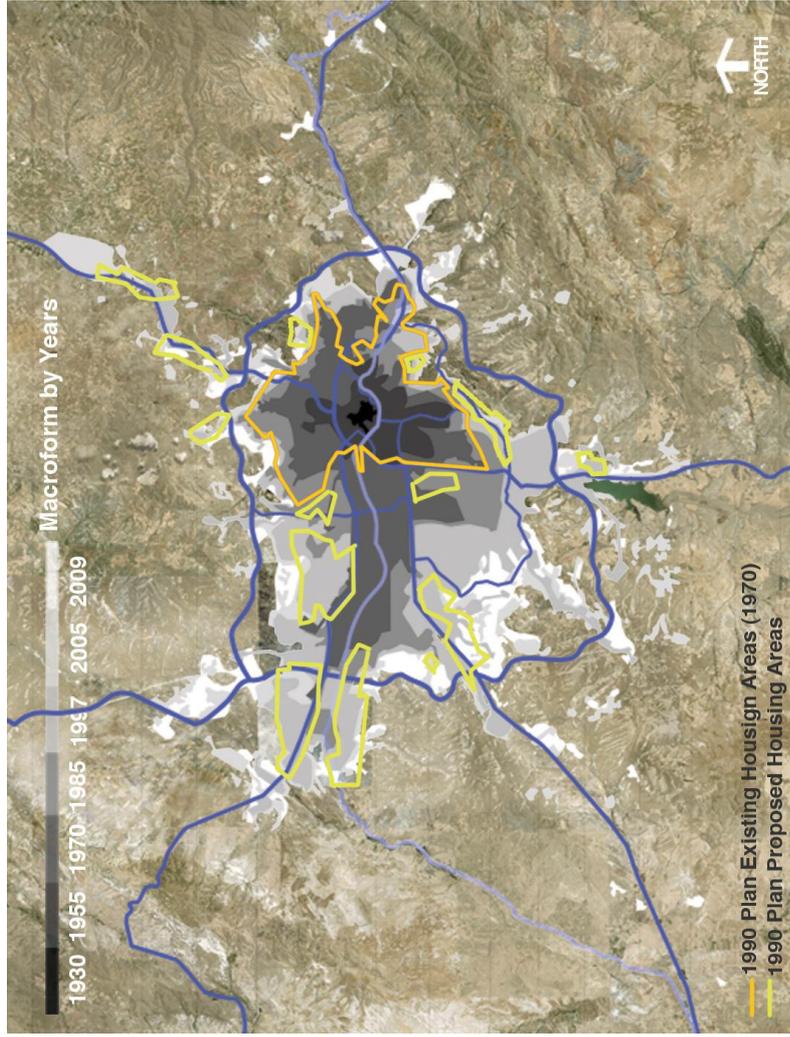


Figure 23: 1990 Plan and Macroform Changes Source: Macroform changes by author, 1990 plan, Günay, 2005.

The population, as it was mentioned before, is overestimated. As a matter of fact, the proposed development rights were more than needed. As it can be seen from the figure, some areas are even now has not reached repletion, such as the north side. The main development in the form of suburbanization was proposed in Sincan village and Batıkent. These two development areas are on the railway system and Batıkent is later on the metro axis. The transportation decisions made at that time period and the development decisions of the plan are overlapping. This is the strength of the 1990 plan. Hence these areas were already developed totally.

By enlarging the area covered by plan, the unplanned growth out of planned areas was prevented. But this does not change the fact that, the problems in urban growth still continues. 1990 Plan can be considered as a breakpoint. The previous plans' estimations falling under the realized population are causing different problems. In 1990 plan, the decentralization approach and producing more urban land than needed were positive attempts of planners (first one for solving problems of inner city and second one for decreasing the pressure of rent over urban land). But these policies ended with encouraging the sprawl of the city. Another negative aspect of the plan was the decentralization of public sector from city center to the periphery. By being the capital, main activity in central city is public uses, and in Ankara, it is the public sector that makes the center, center. With decentralizing them, the fragmentation and dispersal problem of the city deepened.

The first signs of the leaping of the Ankara city to south-west and south was seen in the 1990 plan a new housing development in Çayyolu village and Gölbaşı was the starting point of a series of event that eventually lead to the sprawl of the Ankara city to these two sides. Quoting from Günay; 1990 plan was produced as a structural plan more than a comprehensive one with a completed form, the plan developed policies to open up the city to periphery.<sup>146</sup> the population of Ankara is rising and the need for new developed land is increasing, so the “opening up to periphery” is needed in other words, but the result is not occurred as desired.

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146 Günay, Baykan., (2006) *Çekirdek alanın oluşumu ve 1990 Nazım Planı hakkında bir değerlendirme*. in Şenyapılı, Tansı.,(2006). Özcan Altaban'a armağan: Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı. Ankara: ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı. p.94

### 4.1.3 The Urbanization Of Capital: 2015 Structure Plan and 2023 Regulatory Development Plan

The shift of capital investment from production to finance sector and speculative investments caused great impact over the cities.<sup>147</sup> The dominant force of the urbanization in cities is the capital; as a matter of fact, the land, the housing and the city became commodified as high as never before. The city of Ankara, once the pioneer of the planned growth and expropriation of land for producing housing (despite the fact that the level of the realization of plans/expropriations were low and the holes created in the plans were high) in the earlier periods of the republic, has got out of control in time, and lost its pioneer position. Especially after 1980s, the city of Ankara is struggling with the problems rising due to the loss of this very control.<sup>148</sup>

#### 4.1.3.1 2015 Structure Plan: Decentralization

2015 Structure plan is more likely a bundle of policies instead of a regulatory development plan.<sup>149</sup> The main argument of the 2015 plan was the decentralization of the city in order to solve the rising problems of core and unbearable air pollution as well as of increasing population and needed development<sup>150</sup>. The decentralization of Ankara is inevitable, so it is the matter of controlling this process. This time the emphasis on the decentralization is much strong than the 1990 plan. Ankara is encircled by topographical thresholds and this geographical constraints forced Ankara to be naturally compact and high density. As a result of the problems stemming from this high density and compact form of development, the 2015 was proposed decentralization as a solution.

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147 Şengül, Tarık. (2008)TMMOB *Ankara Kent Sorunları Sempozyumu*, p.20

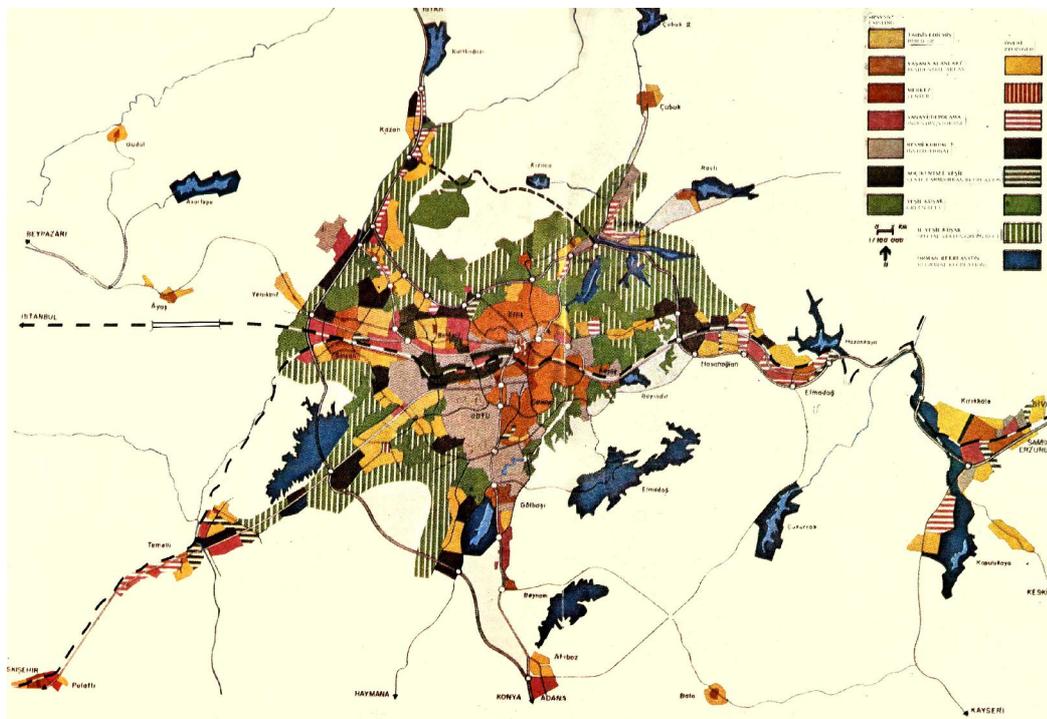
148 Keleş, Ruşen., Duru, Bülent.,(2008) *Ankara'nın Ülke Kentleşmesinde Etkilerine Tarihsel Bir Bakış*, Mülkiye Cilt: XXXII Sayı:261, p.42

149 Altaban, Ö., Bademli, R., Günay, B., Güvenç, M., Tekeli, I., Türel, A. (1985), *2015 Ankara'sı için makroform önerisi*, 1985'ten 2015'e Ankara, 2015 Ankara Structure Plan report, METU City and Planning Department Workgroup. Ankara. p.182

150 Ibid.

The reasons beyond the main/leading decision of the plan, the decentralization of Ankara, are firstly; the level of the air pollution that became unbearable in the core of the city, secondly; lack of infrastructure and urban services due to the demolition-construction processes taking place in city (under the impact of Zone Flat Regulation Plan), and thirdly; the basin like geography of the city, increasing the price of infrastructure for water-sewage system for instance, at the same time making transportation easier.<sup>151</sup> The plan was supported these decentralization policy with decentralizing of different urban sectors; public sector and industry mainly.

Figure 24: 2015 Structural Plan



Günay, B. (2005).

The plan was proposed decentralization of Ankara in the form of compact sub-centers. The expected radius of development was 35-40 kilometers. The principles of decentralization within this boundaries were as follows; the

<sup>151</sup> Ibid. p.182

population of the proposed settlements would be under 300.000, the existing settlements would be strengthened or the previously proposed areas would be supported to be the sub-settlements, and the decentralization would take place with mixed uses, in other words distribution of employment opportunities would be used as a tool of decentralization.<sup>152</sup> This was a balanced form of decentralization, and if it were applied, it would to some degree lessen the problem of sprawl.

As it was mentioned before, according to plan the decentralization of Ankara is inevitable, so the plan was designed to meet the tendencies and controlling them. The estimated population for the target year 2015 was 4.987.000.<sup>153</sup> We are now in 2010 and the 2009 population of the metropolitan area is 4 million. It can be concluded that the population estimation of the plan is realistic, yet most probably it will be again over the realized population. One of the most important proposal of the plan was the greenbelt as a preventive measure for sprawl. In order to prevent development in 'unwanted' areas, greenbelt is crucial for the city of Ankara.

2015 plan was a structural plan as a course of action drawing the general framework of development, instead of being a precise regulatory development plan. But the plan was not approved. 1990 plan was leading the growth of the city even after 1990, up to 2003. The city continued to grow without an up-to-date plan controlling those growth. As a matter of fact, within this period the macroform of Ankara became totally illegible.

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152 Altaban, Ö., Bademli, R., Günay, B., Güvenç, M., Tekeli, I., Türel, A. (1985), *2015 Ankara'sı için makroform önerisi*, 1985'ten 2015'e Ankara, 2015 Ankara Structure Plan report, METU City and Planning Department Workgroup. Ankara. p.184

153 Ibid. p.188

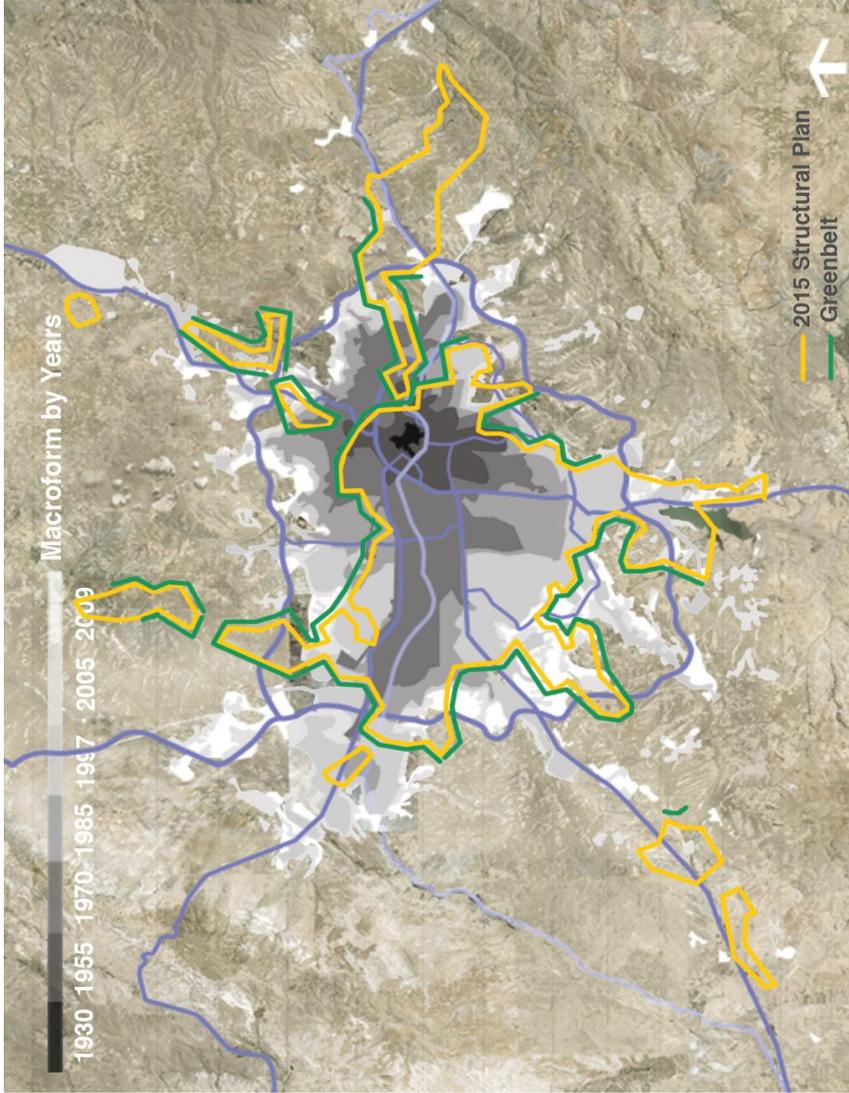


Figure 25: 2015 Structure Plan and the Macroform Source: 2015 plan, Günay, 2005. Macroform, prepared by author.

As it can be seen from the figure above, if 2015 plan was approved and applied as it was, the sprawl problem of Ankara would be far lower. The proposal of greenbelt would prevent city from growing in an uncontrolled and dispersed fashion. The population estimation of this plan was the best of all master plans in the history of Ankara. It is not under the realized population and not too much over. Even if decentralization of Ankara was proposed, the control of macroform with greenbelt and compact form of subcenters are positive sides of the plan. The difference between the form that 2015 plan proposed and the actual form of the city is very good at visualizing the urban sprawl in Ankara. Both partially and in overall Ankara is suffering from urban sprawl problem.

#### **4.1.3.2 2023 Regulatory Development Plan**

2023 plan, which was approved in 2007, is the valid plan of Ankara today. Unlike the previous two plans, the plan is more precise in development decisions. For the further development of the city, the plan, similar to the previous two was proposed a decentralized form of growth. The population proposed for the metropolitan area of Ankara by the 2023 plan is 7,5 million for the year 2023. The 2009 population of the macroform is 4 million and in 13 years the plan expects an increase of 87,5% in population which seems nearly impossible with the rates of increase in population<sup>154</sup>. The population solely attributed to the some parts of the outer periphery<sup>155</sup> for the city of Ankara in 2023 plan is 1,5 million. If we consider the given rights in non saturated parts of the inner periphery and the core with urban transformation projects, it can give an idea of the scale of possible urban sprawl triggered by the master plan.

2023 plan report stated that, for the year 2006, the population attributed to the unrealized development rights by the previous plan -1990 plan- was 771.000 in the metropolitan area of the city. The only areas where excess vacant developed lands do not exist is the central and east planning zones.

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154 See table.. at the end of the chapter.

155 For outer periphery, inner periphery and core; see the following part; typology of sprawl.

The eastern part of Ankara is suffering from lack of authorized housing and developed land; while in the west and south west parts of Ankara; there are excess housing. This points out the income dependent characteristic of housing, and the economic side of the urban sprawl problem. The overall housing need of the population seems to be met by the provision and as in the case of Ankara, provision can be far over the need, but with the economic characteristic of housing, the housing problem of the poor is likely to increase while the excess provision of housing for middle and upper classes is also increasing. This is one of the basic reason of urban sprawl. The 2023 plan is also encouraging the difference between the provision of housing for different classes. With giving further development rights on the south-west side of Ankara, where the development rights are already excess and where the rents are high, meaning the houses produced in the area are not available for the poor. We have not yet seen the whole effects of the plan but the indicators are pointing out a darker future for the city of Ankara.

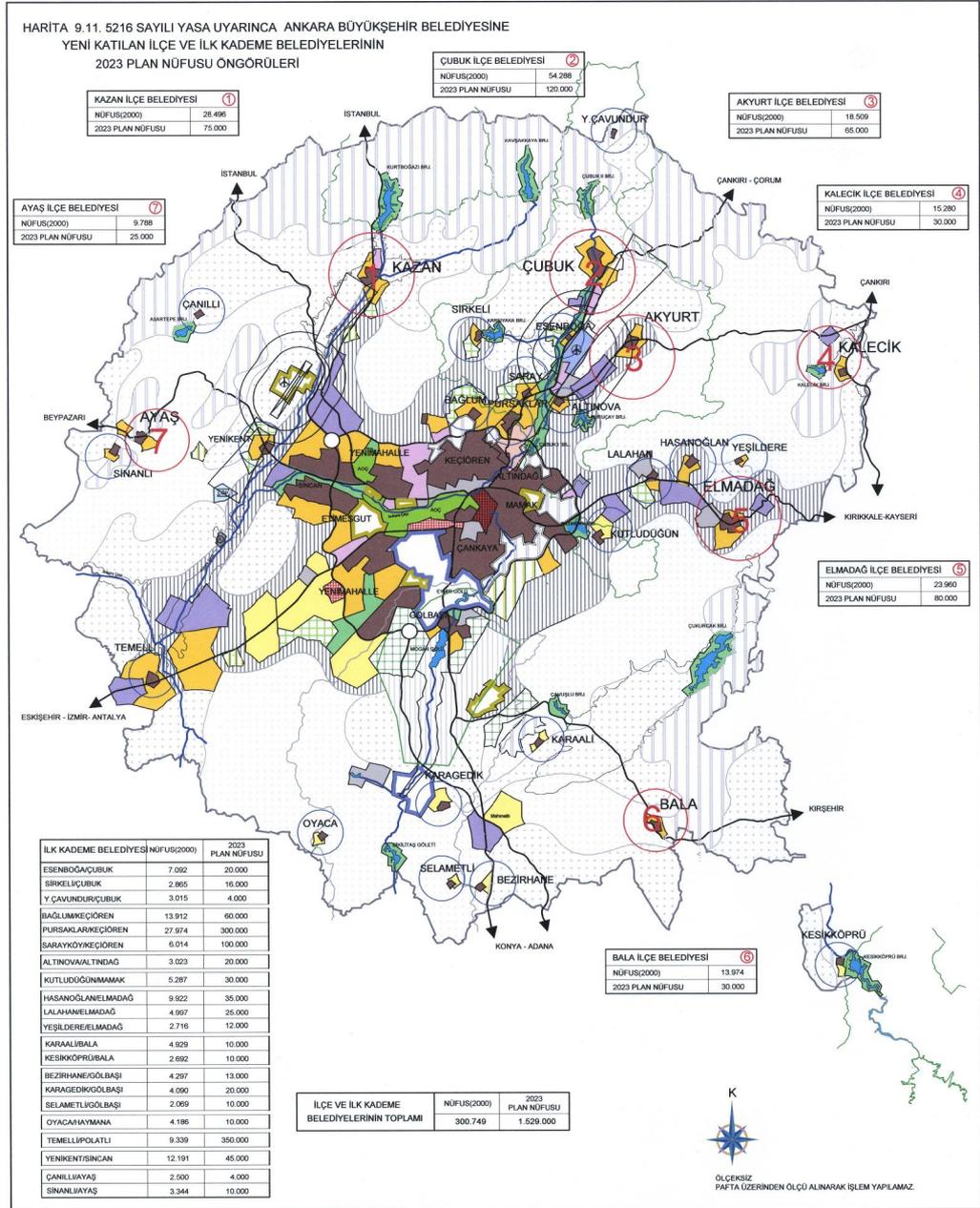


Figure 26: 2023 Regulatory Development Plan

Source: Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, (2006) 2023 plan report. In order to be more legible, the residential areas with population distributions map was used.

This is the second master plan after the Yücel-Uybadin plan that does not have a legible urban form proposal; it is rather dispersed. The imbalanced development is highly visible in the plan. The south-west side is overloaded with development rights which is also where the most deep the urban sprawl problem is. (see. Macroform Changes by Year Figure)

This will provoke the fragmentation of city among social classes which is already a problem in the urban geography of Ankara. The city is divided into fragments where rich south-west and the poor north-east are the most observable ones. This imbalance, encouraged by the plan via directing all development to the south-west side with an exaggerated population estimation, seems to get bigger in time so the urban sprawl problem on the south-west, as well as the gecekondu problem on the north-east.

The decentralization policy continues in this plan, but this time in a larger scale. The impact of changes in laws is important in the increase in the radius of growth of the city. After the Metropolitan municipality law, 5216, the control over the areas within 50 kilometers radius transferred to metropolitan municipality, with an area of 855.000 hectares which is the largest in Turkey.<sup>156</sup> Extracting from these, another problem that is womb to problems of urban growth disorder, namely sprawl, is the high level of decentralization. As it was mentioned before, the population attributed to the surrounding areas (the areas even out of the urban periphery) is 1,5 million and with an area in a radius of 50 kilometers. The city is already suffering from urban growth disorder, and with this, the scale of the problem will definitely increase.

Urban sprawl was even pointed out as a problem of Ankara in 2023 plan report. Especially the south and south-west planning zones are suffering from sprawl, causing “in efficient usage of public resources and creating a burden on public transportation systems”<sup>157</sup>. According to 2023 plan, the tendency to sprawl have to be taken under control, and a “relatively compact macroform” have to be proposed for Ankara with a mixture of housing and

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<sup>156</sup> Metropolitan Municipality of Ankarai (2006), 2023 Plan report, p.72

<sup>157</sup> Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, (2006), 2023 Plan Report. p.693

working areas.<sup>158</sup> The diagnosis is right but there is no sign of the compactness in produced policies for the zones. Furthermore, proposing a “relatively compact” macroform is far from being a solution for urban sprawl if your population estimation is higher than it would be, and if the prices of land in the area is high for the majority of the population living in that city.<sup>159</sup> The sprawl problem of Ankara in south and south-west is not stemming from the unclear boundaries or a lack of a compactness in the proposed plan, it is stemming from the unrealized development rights given in those compact borders.

The operational provisions<sup>160</sup> of the plan states that the development in new residential areas will take place in stages. The development is not allowed in a stage before the 50% of the developed land is given construction permission and 25% of the developed land (buildings on them) is given dwelling permission in the previous stage. This can be considered as a measure for prevention of the urban sprawl problem. But on the same page, following this sentences, report states that; the areas developed by Municipalities and Housing Development Administration are excluded from this staged development. If the number of the projects conducted and will be conducted by the municipalities and HDA is considered, than we can say that this staged development is not valid. Nearly in each and every zone either HDA, or metropolitan municipality conducting projects on the periphery of Ankara.

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158 Ibid. p.693

159 The question on preventing urban sprawl is a complicated and vast subject which requires further research.

160 1/25.000 Hükümler, 2023 plan, (2006) Metropolitan Municipalty of Ankara.

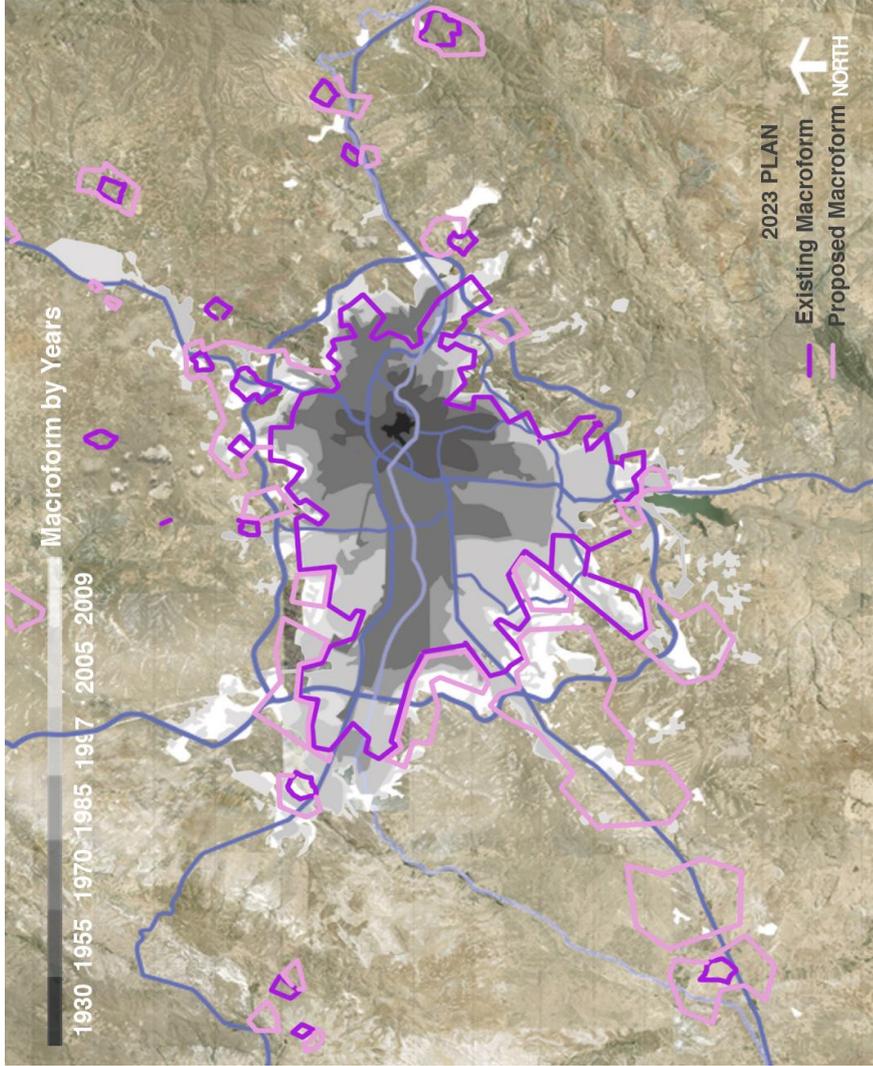


Figure 27: 2023 Regulatory Development Plan and Macroform Changes Sources: 2023 plan report, macroform changes prepared by the author.

With looking the figure, it can be said that the 2023 plan was followed the tendencies of growth without limiting, In some parts the growth is especially provoked, such as south-west. Master plans have to have some controlling measures for growth of the city such as greenbelt or large scale public uses and more importantly usage of these measures to control the growth. In the case of 2023 plan, any sign of this is not existent. Without directing and controlling urban growth, an master plan will not function correctly. Further impacts are yet unseen, but by looking solely the macroform proposed by the plan and the overestimated population, it seems inevitable to cause further sprawl.

#### **4.1.4 Qualitative and Quantitative Comparisons of Plans and Urban Sprawl**

There are seven<sup>161</sup> master plans proposed and 5 master plans approved throughout the planning history of Ankara. Six of them was analyzed above and their impact on the form of the city with reference to urban sprawl problem was questioned. The analysis is summarized in the table below.

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<sup>161</sup> In 1998 2025 Structure Plan was proposed but not accepted.

*Table 1: The Qualitative Comparison of Master Plans*

Plan	Form/Approach	Population	Main Problem Related with Urban Sprawl	Afterwards...
Lörcher Plan	compact	underestimated	lack of new development areas	unplanned and planned growth out of the planned area
Jansen Plan	compact	underestimated	proposing development only in north-south axis; limiting the growth of the city	unplanned and planned growth – leapfrog development
Yücel-Uybadin Plan	oil-stain	underestimated	lack of legible form and structure	unplanned urban growth out of the planned area
1990 Plan	corridor development – decentralized	overestimated	Over-developing the south-west corridor, decentralization of public sector	unplanned urban growth and sprawl in planned areas and out of the planned area
2015 Plan	decentralized	overestimated	continuing the problematic parts of 1990 plan	not accepted
2023 Plan	Oil-stain and decentralized	overestimated	developing far more urban land than needed, exaggerated development on the south-west	Sprawl within planned area and unplanned growth in the planned area.

Macroform has become a concern for planning with 1990 plan, 2015 plan continued this trend but in 2023 plan it is observed that this concern has been lost again. The compact form of Lörcher and Jansen plans -exactly reflecting modernist perspective in planning-, with problem of rapid urbanization and increasing population, left its place to leapfrog development on one side and oil-stain development on the other. Planned development out of the planned areas were developing in leapfrog form, on the other side the gecekondu areas out of the planned area were growing in oil-stain form. Uybadin-Yücel Plan continued the tendency and legalized the Oil-stain form of growth, which is actually far from being a form. 1990 Plan, which is the first plan having an estimated population over the realized, proposed a corridor development with a concern for controlling the macroform. Another important point of the plan were decentralizing the city, due to the problems of the core. 2015 plan was parallel to 1990 plan, can be considered as an upgraded version. The scale of decentralization is a bit more in 2015 plan, but the population estimation is more close to the realized; but the plan was not approved so the results of it can not be measured. The last plan of Ankara, which is also valid today is the 2023 plan. The concern for

controlling the macroform is not observed. The decentralization policy left its place to directly sprawling the city which is inevitable with the population estimated, and the form proposed.

Each plan have a negativity and a side effect, like contributing to some specific problems in the city. We are not accusing plans for those results generally, but their contribution to that problem is non-negligible. Lörcher plan, the very first plan of Ankara for instance, had not proposed further development areas for the rapidly growing Ankara, while Jansen plan had constrained the development of Ankara within topographical thresholds by proposing a development solely on north-south axis. Both of them resulted with planned and unplanned growth of the city out of the planned area. These areas can be considered as sprawl due to being uncontrolled and showing leapfrog characteristic of development. Yücel-Uybadin plan was problematic with nearly all of its sides but the main ones are the lack of a legible form and a structure for the city. After this plan, with its underestimated population, city ended with planned and unplanned growth out of the planned area, in which the scale of the sprawl of the city became larger. 1990 plan's main powerful policy decentralization was also the weakest part of the plan, which is hard to control once started, especially the decentralization of central functions such as public sector which was triggered the fragmentation of city. Another negativity of the plan was overloaded development proposal for the south-west of the city, which was inevitable due to being the most appropriate place for the growth of the city. But the case is; with giving development rights to an area where land prices are already high, will to some degree decrease the prices, but overall position of the area in the market will not change. To put bluntly, the houses produced in the south-west of Ankara are for middle and upper-middle classes, and the housing problem of the poor is not solved in this area. Afterwards the 1990 plan, the result was the same, sprawl of the city out of the planned area in unplanned fashion. But this time sprawl emerged right in the planned area too. The overestimated population showed its impact and especially south-west area in the plan, and some areas are even now suffering from sprawl after 40 years. This is like an evidence against considering sprawl as a stage in the development. 2015 plan had followed the trails of the 1990 plan, so the policies and problems were similar, but this

plan is more accurate in the estimation of population. The plan is not approved so the afterwards is not known. The last plan, 2023 has continued the imbalanced growth trend, and has given further development rights on the south-west corridor of the city. The estimated population is so high that nearly twice the existing. Consequently, the amount of developed land is dramatically increased, and the sprawl problem within the planned area reached its peak. The scale of development is so large that unplanned or planned growth out of the planned area is impossible.

The excess development rights given by the plans, for the case of Ankara, especially the last master plan, the 2023 plan, can be considered as the main motive behind the form of urban sprawl in Ankara. State passed the authority of producing the master plans to the metropolitan municipality. As a result, these excess development rights are directly related with the metropolitan municipality and the decision making process of municipality is political.

After comparing the plans quantitatively, it will be helpful to do a quantitative comparison.

*Table 2: The Quantitative comparison of Master Plans*

The Comparison of Plans	Lörcher Plan	Jansen Plan	Yücel-Uybadin Plan	1990 Metropolitan Planning Office Structure Plan	2015 Structure Plan	2023 Structure Plan
Year of Production	1924	1932	1955	1970-75	1985-1990	2004-2006
Year of Approval	1925	1932	1957	1982	Not Approved	2007
Existing Population	65000	75000	455000	1200000	2300000	3528000
Proposed Population	150000	300000	750000	3,6 Million	4987000	7,5 Million
Settled Area (Ha)	280	300	5720	22500	31000	52272
Planned Area (Ha)	700	1500	12000	43250	210000	850000
Projection Year	None	1978	1987	1990	2015	2023
Existing Density	232.14	250	79.55	53.33	74.19	67.49
Proposed Density	214.29	200	62.5	83.24	23.75	8.82
Time Interval	not available	For 46 years	For 30 years	For 20 years	For 30 years	For 20 years
Population in Estimated Year	not available	1877755*	2584594**	2,584,594	4097051***	not available
Estimated population/real Population ratio	not available	0.16	0.29	1.39	1.22	not available
* 1980 population	**1980 population	***2009 population				

Source: Yıldırım, S. 2007. and 2023 Plan report,2006.

The plans until 1990 plan were underestimated the population of target year. The 2023 plan has the lowest density, showing the scale of the possible sprawl of Ankara, whether the population is realized or not. The 2015 plan was the most precise one in estimating the population. Although 2023 plan has a long and detailed plan report, the analyses done for 1990 plan and 2015 plan were much comprehensive, 'spatial' and to the point; the statistical data used in 2023 plan was not spatialized at the same level with 1990 plan and 2015 plans. Concern of decreasing the difference between the poor north and rich south of Ankara, is not observed in 2023 plan. Quoting from a

report prepared for the real estate sector<sup>162</sup>; “The 2023 Development Plan envisages that the West and South- West regions will remain as key areas of the city.” which consequently will deepen the problem of uneven development between the north and south.

The problem of rapidly increasing population and consequently the inevitable growth of the Ankara city was tried to be solved via decentralizing the city but in 1980s with the acceptance of laws 2805, 2981 and 3290<sup>163</sup>; the existing gecekondü areas were undergone a transformation resulting with an increase in the population. In other words improvement plans attributed population, exceeding the proposals of the two plans for the core of the city<sup>164</sup>, while the development rights given on the periphery were also remained valid. With these two different policies overlapped at the same time period, the population distribution and development of Ankara became a bilateral process. On one side the city is decentralizing on the other side the core is becoming more and more denser.

1990 plan and 2015 plan were relatively freed from market and interests of local actors, by being conducted by relatively autonomous planning bodies, taking their power directly from state. On the other side, 2023 plan was done directly by the metropolitan municipality, which is at the heart of the local interests. For instance, a significant number of members of the municipal council are constructors, contractors, and real estate entrepreneurs<sup>165</sup>. The municipal council is the decision maker body of the local government, which makes it effective over the plans.

The difference of the approach of the 2023 plan from the previous two mainly stems from the shift of the perspective and also a change in planning institutions. Previous two plans was done by relatively autonomous planning

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162 Jones Lang Laselle, (2009) *Ankara Real Estate Market Report for November 2009*. İstanbul. [www.joneslanglaselle.com](http://www.joneslanglaselle.com), accessed on April, 2010.

163 All three laws are on development and gecekondü areas.

164 Çamur, Kübra Cihangir., (1996), *İmar Islah Planlarının Ankara Kent Makroformu Üzerindeki Yoğunluk Etkileri*, Planlama Dergisi, TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası

165 [http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/kurumsal/belediye\\_meclisi/meclis\\_uyeleri/belediye\\_meclis\\_uyeleri.aspx](http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/kurumsal/belediye_meclisi/meclis_uyeleri/belediye_meclis_uyeleri.aspx), accessed on April, 2010.

bodies as we said before, and this had given a relative independency from market, and immunity to the interests of local actors, but the 2023 plan was produced by the metropolitan municipality. Marketing the city, marketing the neighborhoods and marketing the land and housing is what is in the focus of the metropolitan municipality due to the transformations of politics in Turkey, the tendencies of governance. As a matter of fact, the 2023 plan is more dependent to market mechanisms and the impact of the local actors and interests. The scale of the local governments important in this case, state is a nationwide actor, more immune to local pressures, while local governments are on the same level with the urban pressure groups.

By saying this, we are not trying to inflame the anti-localization tendencies, but the localization in the form of devolution of power, when mixed with a supply-side politics of state, governance, and strong clientelistic local relations between the actors, it becomes dangerous for the distribution of resources in cities and production of urban space. This dangerous mixture is effective also in urban sprawl problem of the city of Ankara. In other words, master plans and development rights, under the authority metropolitan municipality as a local actor, becomes much more dependent on politics and as a result, the urban sprawl problem of Ankara becomes more political. This leads us to analyze the problem in urban politics universe, what we will be doing for the following chapter. Metropolitan municipalities are not the sole actors having impact over urban sprawl and master plans are not the only tools of political intervention into urban geography. Other actors such as State or Housing Development Administration are also politically involved in production of urban sprawl problem, both directly and indirectly. These direct and indirect impacts alongside other reasons, creates a differentiation in the forms of urban sprawl, which we will categorize in the following part.

## **4.2. Urban Sprawl Typology in Ankara**

### **4.2.1 The Path to Urban Sprawl in Ankara and a Typology Proposal**

#### **4.2.1.1 The Path to Sprawl in Ankara**

We have drawn the possible paths to sprawl with reference to plans previously. In addition the master plans throughout the urbanization history of Ankara were analyzed with their impacts on the growth and sprawl of the city. Under the light of analysis we have conducted over the 2023 Regulatory Development Plan, we now can draw the path to urban sprawl in Ankara with reference to the last and valid plan of Ankara. The paths are time dependent. To put bluntly, the path to sprawl in Ankara in 1970s or in 1950s are different from the path to sprawl today. The following graphics highlights the path to urban sprawl today with the 2023 plan.

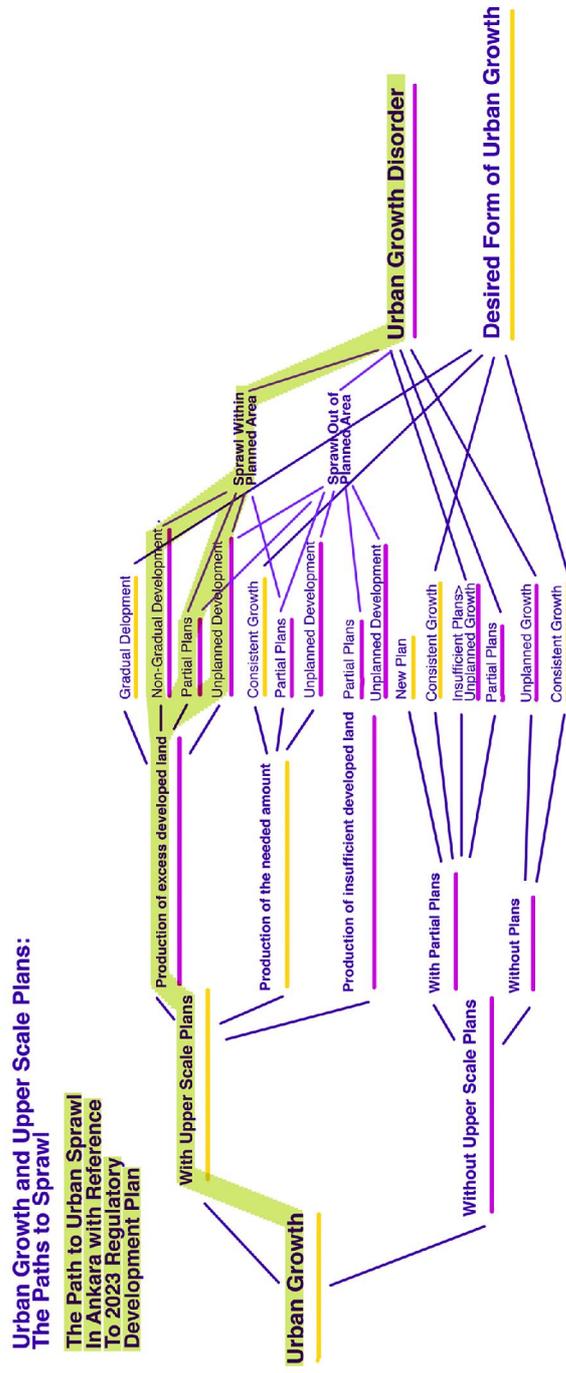


Figure 27: The Path to Urban Sprawl in Ankara with Reference to 2023 Plan

To sum up, the 2023 plan has proposed more development rights than needed and the city of Ankara has ended up with urban growth disorder within the planned area. Non-gradual development, unplanned development and partial interventions including partial plans, urban transformation projects, plan modifications are the contributors of the overall sprawl of Ankara. It is important to remind that it is to explain the urban sprawl in the geography of Ankara right after the approval of the 2023 plan.

#### **4.2.1.2 Categories of Urban Sprawl and Typology in Ankara**

To understand urban sprawl, classification has utmost importance in such a dispersed issue. For classification, selected criteria is important, so we first argued on the selection of the criteria that will be used as a base for our classification.

There are two main groups of criteria in typology of urban sprawl; first, spatial characteristics, second, political interventions into the specified areas by related actors. “Density, continuity, concentration, clustering, centrality, nuclearity, mixed uses and proximity”<sup>166</sup> are the spatial characteristics used in defining urban sprawl areas in a city, while political interventions of the actors is also effective in determining the type of sprawl. The proposed types are transitive; some areas transform from one form to another.

With a estimated population of 7,5 billion, the 2023 plan covers a vast area. This makes the urban sprawl in the planned area and out of the planned area distinction meaningless. In other words, the area that the plan covers is so large that it seems to be impossible to sprawl out of it. Moreover the gecekondu areas which were classified as unplanned growth are also included in the plan as residential zones to be intervened.

Another problem making this distinction problematic is the year of the plan, the plan is newly approved in 2007, so it is hard to observe a growth out of the planned area. In sum, the whole types of sprawl are under the heading of

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<sup>166</sup> Galster, G. , Hanson, R. , Ratcliffe, M. R. , Wolman, H. , Coleman, S. and Freihage, J. ((2001)) Wrestling sprawl to the ground: Defining and Measuring an elusive concept. Housing Policy Debate 12:4 , p. 681.

'urban sprawl within the planned area'. The term 'planned' stands for controlled by the master plan. Planned and unplanned sprawl distinction also is not working due to being more vague. In order to solve the problem of categorization, we have used the proposed residential areas map of the 2023 plan (see Figure 3.6 Existing and Proposed Residential Areas) as a base. The distribution of population density map produced by the author with neighborhood populations for the year 2009, existing housing areas; planned and unplanned areas, proposed housing areas and decisions made in 2023 Plan, 2015 Plan and 1990 Plan, macroform changes map and transportation infrastructure were also used as additional component to develop a categorization. The main distinctive component was the proposals of 2023 plan.

The typology of urban sprawl with reference to master plans is only possible with analyzing the macroform and comparing it with the decisions made in the plan, but analysis of macroform changes and impact of plans has a time delay. What we try to explain is the last plan which is valid and newly accepted is newly affecting the macroform so the impacts can not be observed easily. As we have done in the previous part<sup>167</sup>, if we are focusing on the impacts of the plans then we have to evaluate plans with reference to following years' macroforms. This opportunity is not available for the 2023 plan; at this point, instead of giving up the 2023 plan, we added more components in classification which are specified above. But the most important component is the political interventions of the agents in each type. The typology is based on differentiating political interventions of the agents and the decisions made by plans.

Cities grow, macroforms change so the form and degree of urban sprawl changes. It is a process instead of an instant; but the categories that we propose have to remain more or less same. They have to be applicable to yesterday, today and tomorrow and as timeless as possible. With these concerns in mind we proposed four categories of urban sprawl.

We first divide the parts of an urban area into two main groups, the ones suffering from sprawl problem and the others, relatively compact and

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<sup>167</sup> In evaluation of previous master plans.

unproblematic ones<sup>168</sup>. Core of the city and high density, developed sub-settlements are included in these 'others' and they are omitted from the analysis. The ones suffering from urban sprawl problem were divided into four categories. In other words we have defined four different categories of urban sprawl. These categories are: recoverable urban sprawl, chronic urban sprawl, pervasive urban sprawl and haphazard urban sprawl.

#### **4.2.1.2.1 Type 1 - Recoverable Urban Sprawl**

As the name indicates, the areas under recoverable urban sprawl have a possibility of recover. With time these areas have the potential to turn into healthy urban patterns whether it be self-sufficient subcenters on a main public transportation route or a part of macroform. This type is the only one where sprawl can be considered as a stage in development. Still, being a stage does not consequentially brings the expected result; the desired result is only possible if the conditions are appropriate and needed policies and needed measures taken. It is a process intolerable to mistakes and structures and agents are both important. The political interventions of actors are what makes it recoverable.

#### **4.2.1.2.2 Type 2 - Chronic Urban Sprawl**

These areas are the non-saturated areas where development have already started and suffering from sprawl for a time and/or would likely continue to suffer. Generally surrounding the core of the city, these areas are under pressure of rent. Development rights has already been given in those areas and with the pressure of rent, developed land is more than needed<sup>169</sup>. The development in the area is not taking place in stages and development takes place nearly randomly within the area. The realization of given development rights, due to being excess, have some time delay. The non-staged and random development on a vast developed land causes problems in

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<sup>168</sup> Unproblematic only in terms of sprawl, these areas can have other problems.

<sup>169</sup> For the case of Ankara; because of numerous reasons that are subject to analysis in the following part: politics of urban sprawl.

centrality, nuclearity and concentration. In other words, these areas do not have a self sufficient center and a hierarchical development supporting this center. In addition to these, dispersed development with excess rights causes discontinuities in pattern and form. These characteristics make these areas chronic sufferers of urban sprawl and even if the area is saturated, all the given developments are realized, the area will not become a healthy urban pattern<sup>170</sup>. In other words, these areas have tendency to become a part of the core in time, but this does not imply that the problems in these areas will be solved without the needed policies taken.

Chronic urban sprawl mostly stems from excess development rights given and non-gradual development. These two reasons are pointing out the political intervention of the related actors such as metropolitan municipalities responsible for giving excess development rights because of various reasons, or a shift in the expropriation policies of the state making the realization of the plan impossible with increasing rents for instance.

#### **4.2.1.2.3 Type 3 - Pervasive Urban Sprawl**

There are two sub-forms under this category.

#### **3.a Pushed Pervasive Urban Sprawl**

These areas are neither surrounding the core, nor on an appropriate position to be a self-sufficient subcenter in the near future. Unlike the previous type, there is nearly no rent pressure over these areas and the trigger behind the development is plans or decisions of agents. The sprawl in these areas is related with leapfrog development without staging, and partial interventions. The lack of rent pressure near enough to trigger development and more importantly lack of a developed infrastructure makes it impossible for small scale investors to produce housing in the area unlike the previous type. As a matter of fact the housing areas are more likely to be produced in mass scale and for the case of our country, by public sector. The political interventions of the public sector agents into urban space is what, to some

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<sup>170</sup> Which reminds us the core of Ankara.

degree, is creating this form of pervasive sprawl.

The percentage of housing produced but not used, is high for this zone due to lack of infrastructure and loose connections with the core. The level of juxtaposition of urban and rural patterns is high in this form of sprawl; totally urban and totally rural can be placed right next to each other.

### **3.b Demanded Pervasive Urban Sprawl**

The second sub-form of pervasive sprawl is a special type of urban sprawl; it is the areas that mansions, secondary housing and weekend houses take place. These are generally distant from the core like the areas under the first form of pervasive sprawl but unlike them, there is a pressure of rent over these areas; a different kind of rent. Because of their natural and other assets and features, these areas are subject to rent pressure and used for secondary housing (summer houses, winter houses, hillside houses, etc.) and/or mansions. These areas are definitely related with the city although at first sight they are not likely to be. These areas are like backyards of cities used by citizens.<sup>171</sup> These form of sprawl with secondary housing and mansions can be observed under different categories too. For instance depending on the closure to the core it can be classified under chronic sprawl, or with other qualities under haphazard sprawl.

The positions taken by the agents against this form of sprawl is important in the determination of the scale of the problem. If agents take preventive measures against secondary housing for instance, the problem will diminish in scale. However, if the agents are also provoking this type of development with their interventions politically, with plans for instance, then the problem will likely to become more deeper.

#### **4.2.1.2.4 Type 4 - Haphazard Urban Sprawl**

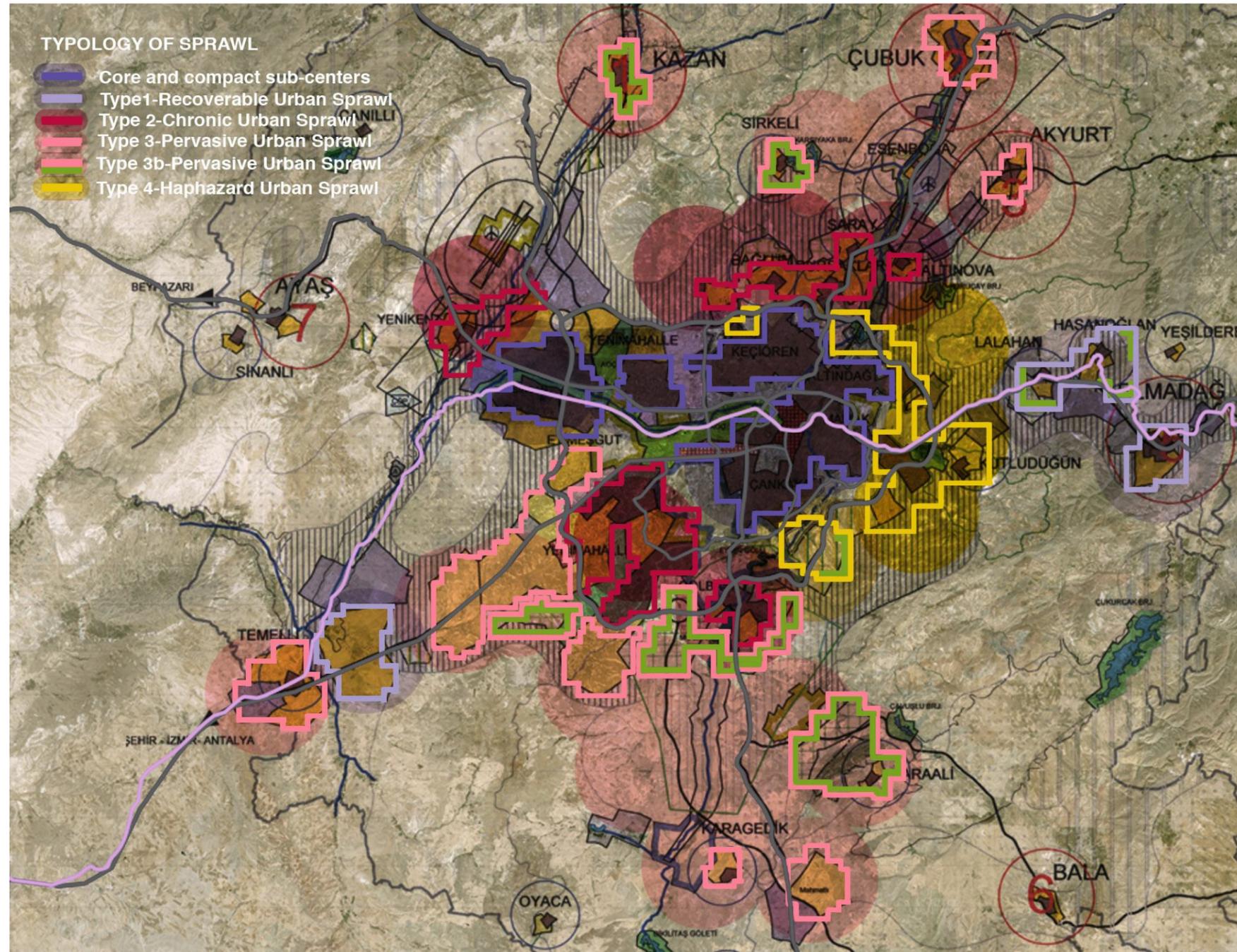
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<sup>171</sup> A dramatic example can be Bodrum, full of summer houses and these houses are occupied by outsiders from İstanbul, Ankara, etc. This is also a sprawl, but a sprawl in nation-scale (sometimes even in international scale as in the case of Marmaris and English homeowners). But this form of sprawl is for now excluded from our analysis. So in the case of Ankara we will only search for this form of sprawl in the surroundings of Ankara.

These type covers the areas with unplanned, unexpected, unwanted and/or undesirable growth. These areas are either omitted from the developable lands or womb to further problems when developed. These areas, similar to chronic growth, are generally located on the surroundings of the core. The high level of rent pressure both in the core and in these areas triggers the development here and the pressure is so high that growth into these areas has become inevitable pointing out the unplanned characteristics. Gecekondu areas as well as development on protected zones surrounding the city can be collected under this form of sprawl. The sprawl of the gecekondu areas can be considered as first and less problematic stage, the negative impact of those areas on cities become deeper with urban transformation projects taking place in those areas. In other words with the agents stepping in the issue, local governments proposing urban transformation projects or Housing development Administration producing mass scale housing areas on the gecekondu areas are deepening the scale of the problem In these areas. With increasing development rights given with the transformation projects, the problem of these areas is likely to grow bigger.

Unlike the previous one, the propulsive force is directly the outwards pressure of rent from the core of the city and at first the development takes place with small scale investment at first, and then with the increasing rent pressure over the area in time, investors become higher in scale. Most of the cases in Turkey, even public sector becomes an investor in the area and this is an important component of the politics of urban sprawl. The results of the political interventions of actors becomes spatially visible in these areas. The approach of the actors changes the future of these areas that is suffering from haphazard urban sprawl. Demolishing, rehabilitating, protecting or invading can all be possible steps taken by the actors; local governments and the state and depending on each step, the urban sprawl problem in these areas changes in scale.

With reference to these four categories that we have proposed above, we divided the urban area of Ankara into zones showing characteristics of these types. To make it more understandable we have used a simple visualization.



**Figure 29:** *Urban Sprawl Typology of Ankara*

Sources: Proposed Residential Areas Map, 2023 Plan, 2006; Macroform Changes Map, prepared by author; Distribution of Density Map, prepared by author.

The four types are illustrated above in the urban geography of Ankara. The ones with sharper boundaries and solid colors are the main areas that is suffering from that type of sprawl. The areas shaded with colors are the areas where the sprawl types with matching colors can be observed dispersedly. It is crucial to add that some forms of urban sprawl have tendency to transform into another one. Pervasive urban sprawl for instance, with the growth of the city and infrastructure investments can turn into chronic sprawl areas in time, while haphazard sprawl areas can also turn into chronic urban sprawl or become a part of the core with its problems. Chronic urban sprawl areas can become a part of the core in time. Even the recoverable urban sprawl zones can turn into chronic sprawl areas. So the categories remains same in time but the examples can change in the same city with time.

After defining these four forms of sprawl, we can now exemplify each of them; as it was stated before, the core and the unproblematic subcenters are omitted from the work.

## **4.2.2 Urban Sprawl Zones**

### **4.2.2.1 Type 1 – Recoverable Urban Sprawl**

As the name indicates, this type of sprawl has a potential to become compact in future if supported by needed policies and regulations. For the case of Ankara, they are the areas on the suburban rail network. There are two examples of these areas in the urban geography of Ankara; Hasanođlan-Lalahan-Elmadađ and partially Temelli.

#### **4.2.2.1.1 *Hasanođlan-Lalahan-Elmadađ***

The settlements on the way to Elmadađ and in Elmadađ are densely located on railway stations. Even though development rights were given by the last three master plans, this area is neither popular or promoted. It is located in the outer periphery of the area but railway system makes it closer, although it

is not used efficiently for city transportation. The area is highly related with the central city and so urban, due to the large publicly owned facilities where a significant sum of employees are working. If we compare this area with the promoted and marketed south-west the contrast is eye-catching. A transport oriented high density development (although the size and the population is small) is on one side and on the other the endlessly dispersed low density housing areas with no decent way of transport; let alone metro, even bus is unable to solve the problem. If the railway was used more actively and developed technologically, going from Elmadağ to the center would be much more easier compared to Çayyolu, and it is far easier than going from Yaşamkent, even in current conditions. Even though we said that the area is more compact, sprawl takes place on this corridor too, but the degree is far less than the other parts. Also the area has a potential of a compact growth in time, if correct policies applied.

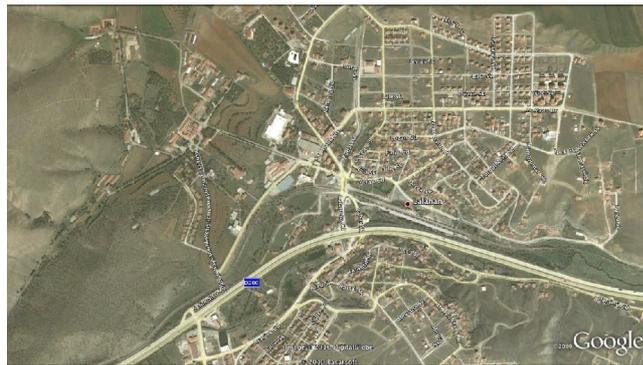


Figure 30: Elmadağ Google Earth Image, April 2010.



Figure 31: Elmadağ, panoramio, google earth, August, 2010.

After 2004 with compasses law; 5216, the area became under control of metropolitan municipality. The area was proposed as a new residential development zone by all of the last three plans; and remained non saturated, although the development rights were given. The corridor form of development in 1990 plan was provided by proposing development in this area and the following plans (although the overall structure varies) continued this fashion. The reasons beyond the underdevelopment of the area can be the inefficient usage of the railway due to the old technology and the gecekondu belt alongside the topographic threshold separating the area from the core. This kind of development, on main public transportation axes, can be a solution for the problem of sprawl under ideal conditions, but as we see, it is not under the conditions that we are experiencing.

#### **4.2.2.1.2 Temelli**

The area was first proposed by the 1990 plan as a development zone for heavy industries. The proposed population of the area was 192000,<sup>172</sup> and the plan proposed a subcenter for the area. Parallel to this 2015 structure plan proposed the area as a subcenter with industrial functions and to solve the housing problem of the workers, proposed housing areas. The idea to bring urban development to Temelli which is located 55 kilometers far away from the center is turned into building a dormitory town with a population of 400.000 in 2023 plan. If the population estimation was not that high, and the industrial development was supported, while the rail network was upgraded, the area have had been a compact and functioning sub-center. Similar to the previous area, if those policies are applied, it is possible to solve the sprawl problem in these area. But the given development rights covers an area far more than needed for the further development.

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172 Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu, (1977), *Ankara Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu*, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Ankara.



Figure 32: Temelli Google Earth Image, April 2010

As a matter of fact; today, the area is non saturated and suffering from urban growth disorder. Housing Development Administration is conducting multiple number of projects in the area. This area, by the decisions of the master plan, and with lack of supportive policies is womb to an unprecedented scale of urban sprawl. This makes it categorized under the pervasive form of sprawl at the same time.

#### 4.2.2.2 Type 2 – Chronic Urban Sprawl

The zones in this type are highly suffering from sprawl. Development has already begun and reached to a certain level, but sprawl problem is chronic and likely to remain as it is, due to the excess development rights given in overall. Most significant cases of this type is Çayyolu and Gölbaşı, and the other cases are Pursaklar and Yenikent.

It is crucial to remind that, especially the development on the south-west corridor of Ankara is proposed by the last three master plans; the 1990 plan, 2015 plan and the 2023 plan. However, non-gradual development took place in the area and the area is suffering from urban sprawl for a relatively long time, which makes it chronic.

#### 4.2.2.2.1 Çayyolu – Yaşamkent

This area is the best example of planned sprawl, housing for investment and development rights given much more than needed. The area consists of Çayyolu, Bilkent and Yaşamkent. The density of the whole area is extremely low. There are nearly no gecekondu areas and the area has the lowest rate of unemployment with 3,8%<sup>173</sup> and the highest participation rate to the labor force. It can be said that the area is the most prosperous part of the city. The development of the area is triggered by the plans following tendencies. As we know, Ankara is confided with the wall-like mountains on three sides, and the only open side is the west. As a matter of fact the development in the west is supported and proposed by nearly all parties in power in the municipality and each and every plan. According to the real estate report for Ankara<sup>174</sup> these areas are popular in the real estate market for middle and upper classes who have been moving out of the central city.

The area has a primitive form of center, directly transformed from housing and similar to strip malls on road with parking places in front. This area, once a village amid fertile rural lands, is also a good example of consumption of the rural land for the sake of urban areas and high rents. The overall density of the area is low but the development rights (especially in the form of story) given are high, the difference stems from the leapfrog development of the area. This part of the city shows typical characteristics of urban sprawl; lack of accessibility, low density settlement, commercial strip development and leapfrog development. The repetition characteristic is also existent but in a different sense, not the scale of the buildings are similar and repetitive over the area but locally (within sites) the buildings are same while there are drastic differences between different sites.

This area, Çayyolu, was first proposed by the 1990 regulation plan; as a residential area for the white-collar workers,<sup>175</sup> working in public sector; the

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173 Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, (2006), *2023 Structure Plan Report*, Ankara.

174 Jones Lang Laselle, *Real Estate Market Report*, 2009 Ankara.

175 TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, (1999), *1923'den 2025'e Başkent*, Published Conference. Haluk Alatan. p.49

middle and upper classes, and also the labor class working for house works.<sup>176</sup> Proposed density of the area was 150 person per hectare. It was proposed as an area semi-self-sufficient with a subcenter and in a compact fashion, with 2015 plan the development area was enlarged, but the 2023 plan was the last and most effective step over the sprawl problem in this part. Area is mostly developed and continuing to be developed.



Figure 33: *Çayyolu Google Earth Image, April 2010*

Yaşamkent is the answer of the question; how could the upper-scale plans produced for an overall control on the development of a city, lead to urban sprawl. The north part of the area was proposed by the 1990 plan as a part of the Çayyolu development area. In 2015 plan a subcenter was proposed in the area and the form of the area remained compact. But at the year 2007, 2023 plan has given development rights to the whole area without a well-defined border, ending with sprawl. The pressure of the land market was effective over this decision; this area is popular for investment in housing and land.

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176 Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu, (1977), *Ankara Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu*, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Ankara. p.360



Figure 34: *Yaşamkent Google Earth Image, April 2010*



Figure 35: *Yaşamkent, April 2010.*

As it can be seen from the google earth image, the area is underdeveloped and housing areas are dispersed over the rural land. It is hard to provide public transportation service to the area due to the sprawled development so the accessibility of the area is also low. Another problem of the area is the lack of infrastructure which is unseen for the American and European counterparts of this kind of suburban areas. Another difference that can be seen from the Yaşamkent case is the high-rise apartments. Eventhough the area is mostly preferred by upper-middle and middle classes, the general pattern of the settlement is high-rises and from the looks we can understand that the given development rights are high.

#### **4.2.2.2 Gölbaşı – İncek**

The development in the Gölbaşı residential development area was first

proposed by 1990 plan with 43.000 population<sup>177</sup>, 2015 structure plan also proposed development for the area. 2023 plan proposed a population of 84.000. It is not the amount of the population but this time the form of housing, that is problematic. The area is a mixture of proposed low density development, future development areas and gardening, in other words garden houses.<sup>178</sup> This area is mostly used as secondary housing area.



*Figure 36: Gölbaşı Google Earth Image, April 2010*



*Figure 37: İncek Google Earth Image, April 2010*

As it can be seen from the google earth image, the area is non saturated and the development proposed by previous plans and 2023 plan is taking place partially. This creates a leapfrog pattern of development with large gaps. The problem of sprawl is easily seen from this part of the Ankara.

İncek is another part of this area, the proposed population for the area was 65.000 (alongside the existing population of 7987) in the 2023 plan. The

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<sup>177</sup> Ankara Metropolitan Alan Nazım Plan Bürosu, (1977), *Ankara Nazım Plan Şeması Raporu*, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Ankara.

<sup>178</sup> 2023 Structure Plan Report, 2006, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi

area is on the green belt proposed by the 2015 structure plan. The measures taken for the control of the macroform, like compact settlements; semi-self-sufficient with subcenters and green belt proposal is destroyed by 2023 plan, which nearly opens up every-possible-where to development. With mansions and proposed secondary housing the outer periphery of the area, the form of urban sprawl also can be categorized as the second form of pervasive urban sprawl.

#### **4.2.2.2.3 Yakacık – Bağlum – Pursaklar – Saray – Altınova**

The area is a mixture of existing planned-unplanned areas and rural areas lying on the north development zone of the city. In 1990 plan; south of the area was proposed as green belt, and the north part was proposed as new residential development area, in 2015 plan, working areas in the northern sides of the area were proposed, this time encircled with green belt. Nearly whole area was opened up to development in 2023 plan. 590.000 is the proposed population for the area.<sup>179</sup> The developments in the area is already started with the construction activities of HDA, like Karacaören Mass Housing area which is developed for the relocation of the population displaced and will be displaced due to the accelerated urban transformation projects taking place in Mamak and the north of the Ankara. OSTİM-İvedik Organized Industrial zone is near the area and it is highly possible that the dwellers of the gecekondü areas are working in these industrial zones.



**Figure 38: Pursaklar Google Earth Image, April 2010**

<sup>179</sup> Sum of the first-rank municipalities and neighborhoods in the area, in 2023 plan.

The settlement shows signs of leapfrog development, and further consumption of rural land. The north-Ankara city gate urban transformation plans covers the area, giving metropolitan municipality ultimate authority over the area<sup>180</sup>, and the construction continues. With this, we can say that nearly each and every development zone of Ankara is either under total control of Metropolitan Municipality or partially controlled by it.

#### **4.2.2.2.4 Yenikent**

The area was proposed as a new residential development area with an industrial zone (Sincan OSB<sup>181</sup>) in 1970s by the 1990 plan, 2015 plan traced the 1990 plan and proposed same usages for the area. 2023 plan proposes new residential development in the area alongside special project zones which are like black boxes. The coverage of the area proposed in 2023 plan is far more than the ones proposed in previous master plans.



Figure 39: *Yenikent Google Earth Image, April 2010*

Housing Development Administration is conducting multiple number of projects in the area and as it can be seen from the google earth image; the transformation from rural to urban already started. The population attributed to the area is 450.000. This size of population and the development rights given in this scale will definitely change the geography of Ankara.

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180 A law was accepted specifically for this area.

181 Organized Industrial Zone.

#### **4.2.2.3 Type 3a – Pushed Pervasive Urban Sprawl**

These areas are under the impact of partial development. Housing Development Administration and/or Metropolitan Municipality is conducting mass housing projects or urban transformation projects in the area. These areas were mostly illustrated as future development areas, but the development has already begun partially. Unlike the previous form of sprawl, these areas are far from being saturated. The scale and the extensions of urban sprawl problem is the highest of all; the ultimate form of planned sprawl. The sprawl of the legal housing areas, can only be possible if the development rights were given. In other words, whatever the reason behind is, without development plans and for Ankara, upper-scale plans, the sprawl of the legal housing is impossible. The agents are effective here; politics of urban sprawl becomes visible especially in these areas. Yaprıcık, Esenboğa, Çubuk and Akyurt are the zones that shows characteristics of this type.

##### **4.2.2.3.1 Yaprıcık – Yurtçu - Ballıkuyumcu**

Yaprıcık, Aşağıyurtçu-Yukarıyurtçu and Ballıkuyumcu were villages before 2004 and with the law on metropolitan municipalities (5216), these three villages turned into neighborhoods. The area lies out of the proposed development areas of 1990 Regulation Plan and 2015 Structure Plan. Furthermore the area was proposed as a green belt, by 2015 Structure Plan, defining the south-west and west edge of Ankara. Some parts of it also was illustrated as rural area under protection. But with 2023 plan the area was totally opened up to development. The rent pressure over the area and development expectancies are high. The rural characteristic of the area remained unchanged, but the change is close.

Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara is conducting an urban transformation project in the area, which is totally covered with agricultural lands. HDA is also conducting multiple large scale housing projects in the area;<sup>182</sup> Turkuaz

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<sup>182</sup> [http://www.toki.gov.tr/programlar/uygulamatakip/c\\_illist.asp?x\\_ilkodu=6](http://www.toki.gov.tr/programlar/uygulamatakip/c_illist.asp?x_ilkodu=6) accessed on May 2010.

project is in its final stage, and the construction process of the some parts of the Yapracık process has begun. The proposed population of the area is 545.000,<sup>183</sup> and there is no proposal for a subcenter development due to the housing projects by HDA and metropolitan municipality proposed and executed before the production of implementation plans by district municipalities (Etimsgut and Yenimahalle). So the project can be considered as a form of dormitory town. If the total population of Ankara Metropolitan area will not reach the estimated 7,5 million, then the area will likely to suffer vacancy for a long time due to the accessibility problems of the area, which is nearly 30 kilometers far away from the center. And more than that whatever the case is, the area will suffer the side effects of urban sprawl; poor accessibility, single-use development, repetition and the leapfrog development, sprawling all over the rural land.



Figure 40: Yurtçu – Turkuaz Google Earth Image, April 2010

The case of Yapracık is illustrating how the given development rights and dispersed development areas are destroying the rural land. The development on the west/south-west corridor proposed first by 1990 plan, then 2015 structure plan and now by 2023 structure plan is now in this situation.

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183 Sum of Yurtçu, Bağlıca, Yapracık and Ballıkuyumcu.

#### 4.2.2.3.2 *Esenboğa – Akyurt – Çubuk*

The area was proposed as a subcenter with industrial zone and housing areas in 1990 plan and 2015 plan traced this decision. 215.000 is the proposed population of the area by 2023 plan<sup>184</sup>. The area became part of the macroform in 1990s due to the development of the city to the north.



Figure 41: *Esenboğa Google Earth Image, April 2010*

The population density is extremely low in general (1 to 60), in the area, but some parts are over 60 person per hectares. As it can be seen from the google earth image; the area shows rural characteristic in general. The previously proposed development of industrial zone was realized to some degree with large scale factories located in Akyurt. Another input in the development of the area is the Esenboğa Airport that was established in 1955<sup>185</sup>. the impact of this development on this area is wide, for instance the reason behind the north Ankara city gate urban transformation project is stated as the need to 'beautify' the environs on the way to the airport used by diplomatic visitors and statesmen. The level of sprawl in this area is also deep. From the 40 kilometers from the city center, apartments can be seen here and there, in a dispersed fashion.

There are also gecekondu areas, especially in the north side, Çubuk, but

<sup>184</sup> Sum of Esenboğa, Çubuk, Akyurt

<sup>185</sup> <http://www.dhmi.gov.tr/havaalanlari.aspx?hv=2>, accessed on April, 2010.

there are no urban transformation projects taking place in the area by the hands of Metropolitan Municipality. Housing Development Administration is conducting multiple number of projects in the area.

#### **4.2.2.4 Type 3b – Demanded Pervasive Urban Sprawl**

These areas can be divided into roughly two parts which are; Karagedik and Kazan. In this type, the locations of those areas are similar to the first form of pervasive sprawl but the dynamics behind this type is different from the other forms. The secondary housing, in the form of weekend houses, summer or winter houses and mansions are widespread in these areas and in the case of Ankara, they more likely to be located near lakes and dams. We have to add that they are the ultimate form of sprawl. In this kind of areas, the densities are low, most of the units are single or double story, detached houses with gardens.

The 2023 plan proposed secondary housing for these areas itself. Proposing secondary housing which will be used only in a specific time of the year, with master plan is far from being rational. As we have previously mentioned, one of the basic indicators of city-scale urban sprawl was excess housing provision; via proposing secondary housing in the plan, this excess amount will be multiplied. This type of urban sprawl, with secondary housing usage, can be seen in other forms of sprawl too, as in the case of Lalahan, İmrahor Valley or Gölbaşı. The areas showing exact signs of this kind of urban sprawl are Karagedik and Kazan.

##### **4.2.2.4.1 Karagedik**

The area lies in the outer periphery of the city with a distance of 30 to 50 kilometers. The main economic activity in the area is agriculture<sup>186</sup>. The area shows complete rural characteristic, after the year 2004 with law 5216, Karagedik became a first-rank municipality, which is under control of metropolitan municipality. 73.000<sup>187</sup> is the population proposed for the area,

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<sup>186</sup> 2023 Structure Plan Report, 2006, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi

<sup>187</sup> Karaali, Karagedik, Beynam, Kesikköprü, Bezirhane, Selametli

in a dispersed fashion all over the area. The density of the area is extremely low, and most of the area is agricultural land to be protected, according to 2023 plan, yet in the same plan, second housing was proposed.<sup>188</sup>

Karaali and Karagedik were determined as urban transformation zones by the metropolitan municipality, but a trial<sup>189</sup> was opened for the project proposed for Karagedik by reason of the inconsistency of the implementation plans with reference to 2023 plan. The 2023 plan was produced by metropolitan municipality, after the production of master plan, it is role of the district municipalities to complete the process and produce the implementation plan, if the area is not defined as urban transformation zone. In other words to declare an area as an urban transformation zone is a transfer of authority, a control over the distribution of development rights and consequently rents. The same metropolitan municipality, who has given development rights more than needed by 2023 plan, is now giving far more rights with sub-scale plans; this is a sign of importance of rents in the eye of the municipality and in the planning process.



Figure 42: *Karagedik Google Earth Image, April 2010*

This kind of areas according to Bruegmann<sup>190</sup> can be considered as exurban.

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188 2023 Structure Plan Report, 2006, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi

189 [http://ankara.spo.org.tr/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=905:karagedkkef&catid=82:ozet&Itemid=112](http://ankara.spo.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=905:karagedkkef&catid=82:ozet&Itemid=112) accessed on April, 2010.

190 Bruegmann, Robert. (2002), *Sprawl: A Compact History*.

Related or to-be-related to urban areas, with extremely low density,<sup>191</sup> distant from the city but somehow highly related (in economic terms) with the city.

#### **4.2.2.4.2 Kazan**

A residential development was first proposed by 2015 plan for the area. The houses in the area are planned housing areas, there are no gecekondu, and the rural characteristic is dominant in the area. 2023 plan proposes new residential development alongside secondary housing with a population of 75.000.



Figure 43: *Kazan Google Earth Image, April 2010.*

This is another example of possible sprawl area. After 2004 with metropolitan municipality law (5216) the control of the development of the area is transferred to the metropolitan municipality. There are no urban transformation projects proposed for the area, so the authority to distribute development rights within the boundaries of the 2023 plan was left to the Kazan municipality.

#### **4.2.2.5 Type 4 – Haphazard Urban Sprawl**

Unplanned urban growth has taken place on the east end of the city. A significant amount of housing unit is gecekondu in Ankara. These areas are

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<sup>191</sup> In some parts of the area the values of FAR and BCR are 0,2 and 0,1.

marked as residential areas to be intervened in the 2023 plan. The important point here is, there is no proposal in the plan for a functional change for those areas; the future usage of the areas will remain residential. As we know, gecekondular areas are the areas where the plan had chosen not to develop, generally on treasury land and/or land inappropriate for development. It is a form of unplanned and uncontrolled growth. These two criteria is enough for us to qualify those areas as urban sprawl. Some older gecekondular districts are merged with the core of the city and with their increasing density they can be excluded from the contemporary urban sprawl areas, but relatively newer areas on their outer periphery which can continue its sprawling form of growth anytime are falling under the urban sprawl heading.

Another important point of these areas are the urban transformation projects proposed by metropolitan municipality or Housing Development Administration. Via urban transformation projects, the previous sprawl of gecekondular areas are becoming the 'legal' borders of the city. According to Uzun<sup>192</sup> one of the reasons behind the proposal of urban transformation projects in western countries is to use the existing settled areas more efficiently and this projects, in some cases, can be used as a measure against the sprawl of the city. But in our case, the previously sprawled gecekondular areas has undergone urban transformation and the limits of the city is expanded legally with these steps. Urban transformation projects are proposed for even rural areas with no settlement on them.

Outer peripheries of Mamak and Altındağ, Karşıyaka and Yakupabdal-Kutludüğün are falling under this category.

The areas on the land that have to be protected are also falls under this type of sprawl. In the case of Ankara, İmrahor valley is the most proper and significant example for this type of haphazard urban sprawl. Similar to gecekondular areas, in this kind of cases it is not the level of dispersal or the distance that counts for defining these areas as haphazardly sprawled areas, but the undesired and unfavorable development on the area that is under

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192 Uzun, Nil Duruöz.,(2007) *Ankara'da Kentsel Dönüşüm*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Ankara Kent Sorunları Sempozyumu, published conference book, p.182

protection or have to be protected. We will start with the unplanned-gecekondu areas; outer peripheries of Mamak and Altındağ, and then Karşıyaka and Yakupabdal-Kutludüğün. Secondly we will exemplify the second form of haphazard urban sprawl, the unfavorable development in Mühye and İmrahor.

#### **4.2.2.5.1 Mamak**

The history of the area dates back to 1960s and the main development took place until 1990s. Now it is under the pressure of the urban transformation projects of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality which is intervening nearly the whole district.<sup>193</sup> Other actors effective in transformation of Mamak are Mamak Municipality and HDA. The transformation that Mamak has undergone is the largest in Europe; 50000 house will be demolished and 75000<sup>194</sup> will be constructed instead.



Figure 44: *Mamak Google Earth Image, April 2010*

The existing density of the area is between 60 and 120 person per hectare, and similar to the Altındağ district the unemployment rate is high, moreover the participation to the labor force rate is low similar to the north planning zone.<sup>195</sup> This area is a good example of the sprawl of gecekondu areas, and

<sup>193</sup> [Http://www.ankara.bel.tr](http://www.ankara.bel.tr), accessed on April, 2010.

<sup>194</sup> Mamak Kentsel Dönüşüm Rehberi, Mamak Barınma Hakkı Bürosu 2008

<sup>195</sup> 2023 Structure Plan Report, 2006, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi

the sprawl of gecekondu is relatively innocent, if the scale of the transformation projects proposed for the area by the municipalities is considered. In other words, with same scale of dispersion with gecekondu areas, and more development rights, the solution of the municipality to the gecekondu problem is far from being a solution, moreover creating further problems.

#### **4.2.2.5.2 Altındağ**

The area is located on the outskirts of Altındağ. The development in the gecekondu area is completed while the far east side of the area, Karapürçek is continuing the development with more rights and in a more regulated way. Karapürçek was proposed as a gecekondu prevention zone by the 1990 plan and to some degree realized. Altındağ has the highest unemployment rate<sup>196</sup> and the problems of the area are deep.

The area is not as popular as Mamak or Dikmen due to lower rents the location of the area, but this does not change the situation much. This time it is not the metropolitan municipality but the Altındağ municipality, that creates a pressure of urban transformation in the area.<sup>197</sup>

The areas like Altındağ, which needed radical interventions due to the low level of 'quality of life' are disregarded by the metropolitan municipality and only the areas that are likely to produce excess rent for the municipality are determined as transformation zones. The area would most probably be transformed parcel by parcel. The far east side of the area, Karapürçek shows the signs of it. The parcel by parcel transformation and further development in Karapürçek takes place even today. The latest google earth images are illustrating the scale of change. The overall density of the area is close to 120 person per hectare, and the neighborhoods are also similar.

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196 2023 Structure Plan Report, 2006, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi

197 <http://www.altindag-bld.gov.tr/ALTINDag.asp?Belediye=FaaliyetveProjeKategoriDetayla&ilgiNo=6> accessed in may 2010.



Figure 45: *Altındağ Google Earth Image, April 2010*



Figure 46: *Altındağ Google Earth Image, April 2010*

#### **4.2.2.5.3 Karşıyaka**

The development in this area mostly took place between late 1980s early 1990s.<sup>198</sup> Gecekondu areas are under a large scale transformation, yet this area is not on the agenda of municipality officially, and not likely to be soon. The area is secluded due to topographic edges and Karşıyaka cemetery. Although the general density of the area is between 60-120 person per hectare, the actual densities of the neighborhoods can be higher than 400 as in the case of Karşıyaka. The area is within the boundaries of the north development zone and the employment rates are low as expected.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> See macroform change map, in the following part.

<sup>199</sup> 2023 Structure Plan Report, 2006, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi



Figure 47: *Karşıyaka Google Earth Image, April 2010*

Within location and characteristics, the area is a good example for unplanned sprawl. In 2015 plan the area was proposed as green belt, but in 2023 plan no significant strategy was proposed for the area, it was shown as an area to be cleaned from gecekondu, and redeveloped. The report produced by Jones Lang Laselle, regarding the real estate market in Ankara, states that the north of Ankara is showing the “weakest socio-economic profile of the city”.

#### **4.2.2.5.4 Yakupabdal – Kutludüğün**

The density of the area is nearly 60 person per hectares in Yakupabdal, while in Kutludüğün near 120 person per hectares. In both 1990 plan and 2015 plan the area is lying out of the green belt and under absolute protection with the separation of the area from the city with the green belt. In 2023 plan the Yakupabdal and Kutludüğün settlements which are gecekondu areas, are proposed as new residential development areas, via urban transformation projects. The sprawl of the gecekondu areas on the lands that have to be strictly conserved, is continued by the hands of metropolitan municipality, via transforming and giving further development rights on the area. Alongside new development areas, secondary housing and garden houses was proposed in the 2023 plan. The execution of the transformation plan and the evacuation of the gecekondu areas are not yet started.



Figure 48: Yakupabdal Google earth image, April 2010

#### **4.2.2.5.5 Dikmen Valley**

The settlement of the area dates back to 1960s while the long running transformation of the area was started in 1980s. This was the first urban transformation project taking place in Turkey so in Ankara. The first 3 stage is already completed and the areas that we are dealing with are the fourth and the fifth stages. Nowadays the area is semi-demolished, some owners signed the agreement and left and some are resisting to the transformation and staying in the area.



Figure 49: Dikmen Google Earth Image, April 2010.

In 1957 Yücel-Uybadin plan, the area was proposed as greenbelt, in 1990 plan, with already settled gecekondu, was proposed as a residential

development area in 2015 plan, with a limiting green belt. In 2023 plan, the transformation of the area was proposed and greenbelt proposal was cancelled.

#### **4.2.2.5.6 Gecekondu Areas in North of the İmrahor**



Figure 50: North Imrahor Google Earth Image, April 2010

The development process started in 1980s. The need for housing especially for the ones working in service sector located in the city center can be considered as the reason of sprawl in this area. The area, İmrahor valley, is under the protection of laws by being a natural zone. The metropolitan municipality desires to develop this area and confined with the laws, which we can understand from the transformation projects proposed for the defined area and special project zones; while gecekondus, already being illegal, realizes the development proposal of the municipality, although not in a desirable way. Also these area gives the municipality the opportunity of defining the area as an urban transformation zone. The area must be strictly protected, yet the municipality has proposed urban transformation projects. All of the valley is under transformation.<sup>200</sup> 3560 hectares are under transformation and according to municipality; it will be executed in 7 stages. The project was cancelled due to the inconsistency with the 2023 plan.

<sup>200</sup> [http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/Projeler/emlak/kaynak\\_gelistirme\\_2/mamak\\_cankaya.aspx](http://www.ankara.bel.tr/AbbSayfalari/Projeler/emlak/kaynak_gelistirme_2/mamak_cankaya.aspx) accessed in may 2010.

#### 4.2.2.5.7 Mühye-İmrahor

The projects of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality over the Mühye-İmrahor valley is even conflicting with the 2023 Structure Plan, which vaguely defined the area as Special Project Zone<sup>201</sup>. The Güneypark project; with 32 story apartments and a total of 6000 housing units<sup>202</sup>, proposed for the area was cancelled due to this reasons. The area is totally first degree rural land and under protection, and yet the municipality proposes a project of this scale.



Figure 51: Mühye Google Earth Image, April 2010

Eventhough to some degree, housing and gecekondu areas are sprawled in this area, with the help of protective laws, the area is the most defined boundary of Ankara. The only part that the fringe is sharp cut. And due to the natural edges like the topographic features, the leapfrog development did not also take place, as much as in the south-west of Ankara. The area was proposed as green belt in 2015 plan, while in 2023 plan the area was defined as special project zone and more than that, proposed as secondary housing area. Proposing secondary housing with a plan, an master plan is the ultimate form of the planned sprawl. The plan is allowing, more than that encouraging the development of the housing areas on the valley which is both agricultural land and an important natural asset of the city.

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201 Özel Proje Alanı

202 <http://www.kentlob.net/index.php/Guney-Park-Ankarada-6000-konutluk-kentsel-donusum.kent> , accessed on April, 2010.

### 4.3. Evaluation of Typology

In this part, the urban sprawl problem of Ankara was analyzed with master plans and a categorization was proposed. There are basically four forms of sprawl in the case of Ankara with reference to 2023 plan. These are; Recoverable sprawl, chronic sprawl, pervasive sprawl (divided into two sub-parts as pushed and demanded pervasive sprawl) and haphazard sprawl. Sprawl is “a matter of degree” and these four forms are lying in different points in the spectrum of sprawl. The types have their unique characteristics but they all have one basic similarity; all the types are pointing out the decisions made by agents. The positions of the urban sprawl types in the spectrum of the degree of sprawl is determined by the political interventions of the actors within the frame of the capitalist society. Moreover, the path to sprawl summarized at the beginning of this chapter, brings us some other questions. If there are a lot of paths from urban growth to sprawl, then what caused Ankara to follow this specific path? This question points out the role of agents in the issue again; more generally the politics of urban sprawl. We know the path, we know the categories and now it is time to search the politics of it.

Before starting the politics of urban sprawl analysis; it will be helpful to summarize this part with a table. The four forms of urban sprawl are illustrated in table with colors on the first column and the last column. The violet rows are the recoverable urban sprawl, dark red rows are chronic urban sprawl, pink rows are the pervasive urban sprawl, and the yellow ones are haphazard urban sprawl. The ones highlighted with colors, the inner columns are indicating different characteristics of the areas. On the fifth column, two colors, the light blue and the light lime green symbolizes planned and unplanned areas. The following next three column are summarizing the decisions of the last three plans, 1990, 2015 and 2023 plans. The beige ones are residential use and the green ones are green belt. The last two columns are indicating the urban transformation projects conducted by Metropolitan municipality (with yellow) and mass housing projects under control of Housing Development Administration (with blue-green).

Table 3: Features of Typical Urban Sprawl Areas

Types of Urban Sprawl	RECOVERABLE URBAN SPRAWL		CHRONIC URBAN SPRAWL					
	Elmadağ	Temelli	Çayyolu – Ümitköy	Yaşamkent	Gölbasi – İncek	Yakacık – Bağlum – Pirsaklar – Saray – Altınova	YeniKent	
<b>Second Degree Sub-zone</b>								
<b>Main Characteristic</b>	on three railway nodes; Elmadağ, Lalahan and Hasanoglan		typical urban sprawl area, most similar one to its American counterparts	suffering from the problems of urban sprawl; poor accessibility,	low density, residential zone, with mostly low-rise villas, upper-middle and upper classes			
<b>Time Interval</b>	Proposed in 1970s by 1990 Plan	1970s-...	1970s-...	1970s-...	1970s -...	1970s -...	1970s -...	
<b>Population Density (person per hectare) (total area of the district was used)</b>	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 60	0 to 60	0 to 120	0 to 120	0 to 1	
<b>Built up area</b>	underdeveloped	Underdeveloped	Mostly Developed	Underdeveloped	Under Developed. Also includes Further Development Areas	underdeveloped	underdeveloped	
<b>1990 Plan</b>	proposed as the new development residential area on the railway track.	proposed as a new residential development area with industrial zone and a subcenter	proposed as a new residential development area	proposed as a new residential development area and green belt	proposed as a new residential development area with industrial zone and a subcenter	proposed as a new residential development area, industrial zone and green belt	proposed as a new residential development area, industrial zone and green belt	
<b>2015 Plan</b>	proposed as a new residential development area	proposed as a new residential development area with industrial zone and a subcenter	proposed as a new residential development area	proposed as a new residential development area and green belt	proposed as a new residential development area with industrial zone and a subcenter	proposed as a new residential development area, industrial zone and green belt	proposed as a new residential development area, industrial zone and green belt	
<b>2023 Plan</b>	proposed as a new residential development area	realization of previously proposed development	realization of previously proposed development	further development rights	realization of previously proposed development	proposed as residential development area and areas to be transformed.	proposed as residential development area and areas to be transformed.	
<b>Metropolitan Municipality - Urban Transformation Projects and Special Zones</b>	none	none	none	none	Urban Transformation Projects	none	none	
<b>Housing Development Administration – Mass Housing Projects</b>	conducting projects	conducting projects	none	none	conducting projects	conducting projects	conducting projects	
Types of Urban Sprawl								

Table 3. (continued): Features of Typical Urban Sprawl Areas

Types of Urban Sprawl	PERVASIVE URBAN SPRAWL				
<b>Second Degree Sub-zone</b>	Yapracık – Yurtçu – Ballıkuyumcu	Esenboğa – Akyurt – Çubuk – Sirkeli	Karagedik	Kazan	
<b>Main Characteristic</b>	Rural characteristic is dominant, but construction of apartments has been started.		extremely low density housing , rural, garden houses and second houses		
<b>Time Interval</b>		1970s -...	1970s-...	not available	
<b>Population Density (person per hectare) (total area of the district was used)</b>	0 to 1	0 to 60	0 to 1	0 to 60	
<b>Built up area</b>	Underdeveloped	underdeveloped	underdeveloped	underdeveloped	
<b>1990 Plan</b>	green belt	proposed as a new residential development area, industrial zone and green belt	X	X	
<b>2015 Plan</b>	green belt	proposed as a new residential development area, industrial zone and green belt	proposed as a new residential development area with industrial zone	proposed as new residential zone	
<b>2023 Plan</b>	proposed as a new residential development area	proposed as residential development area and areas to be transformed.	proposed as a new residential development area, secondary housing development area and future development area	proposed as a new residential development area	
<b>Metropolitan Municipality - Urban Transformation Projects and Special Zones</b>	Urban Transformation Projects	none	Urban Transformation Projects	none	
<b>Housing Development Administration – Mass Housing Projects</b>	conducting projects	conducting projects	none	conducting projects	
Types of Urban Sprawl					

Table 3. (continued): Features of Typical Urban Sprawl Areas

Types of Urban Sprawl	HAPHAZARD URBAN SPRAWL						
<b>Second Degree Sub-zone</b>	<b>Karşıyaka</b>	<b>Altındağ</b>	<b>Mamak</b>	<b>Yakupabdal - Kutludüğün</b>	<b>Dikmen Valley</b>	<b>North Side of Imrahor Valley</b>	<b>Mühye – Imrahor</b>
<b>Main Characteristic</b>	The only gecekondu area that is not under transformation or to-be under transformation	gecekondu areas under urban transformation projects	gecekondu areas under a vast scale of urban transformation projects	Before 2004 villages, after Gecekondu areas; under construction even now.	Historic sprawl,the area is half-transformed; 1.,2. and 3. stages are completed, 4-5 stages are cancelled; remained as gecekondu areas	juxtaposition of gecekondu and upper-middle class housign areas.	Development rights are restricted in the area, but the expectations are high, Güneypark project is proposed, under risk of sprawl.
<b>Time Interval</b>	1980s-...	1970s-1990s	1960s- late 1980s	not available	1960s- 1990s	1980s-...	not available
<b>Population Density (person per hectare) (total area of the district was used)</b>	1 to 120	1 to 120	1 to 180	1 to 120	1 to 120	1 to 180	1 to 60
<b>Built up area</b>	not available (gecekondu areas)	developed (gecekondu areas) and underdeveloping urban transformation projects	developed (gecekondu areas) and underdeveloping urban transformation projects	not available (gecekondu areas)	not available (gecekondu areas)	not available (gecekondu areas)	underdeveloped rural
<b>1990 Plan</b>		proposed gecekondu prevention zone	proposed gecekondu prevention zone	X	proposed as residential development area	X	X
<b>2015 Plan</b>	green belt	proposed as residential development area, industrial zone and green belt	proposed as residential development area and green belt	X	proposed as residential development area and green belt	green belt	green belt
<b>2023 Plan</b>	unplanned housing area to be planned	population will be decreased	population will be decreased, areas to be transformed	areas to be transformed	areas to be transformed	areas to be transformed	special project zone and secondary housing
<b>Metropolitan Municipality - Urban Transformation Projects and Special Zones</b>	none	Urban Transformation Projects by Altındağ Municipality	Urban Transformation Projects: the biggest urban transformation project area in Europe	Urban Transformation Projects	Urban Transformation Projects: cancelled by metropolitan municipality itself	Urban Transformation Projects and Special Zones	Urban Transformation Projects and Special Zones
<b>Housing Development Administration – Mass Housing Projects</b>	none	conducting projects	conducting projects	none	none	none	none
Types of Urban Sprawl							

The table is summarizing the urban sprawl typology in the urban geography of Ankara with two important actors, namely Housing Development Administration and Metropolitan Municipality. The roles of the plans and the main characteristics of the areas were also summarized in the table. If we analyze the table type by type, the differences between different categories and the role of the agents in each of these will be more clear.

The table starts with the areas with recoverable urban sprawl. The most salient feature of these areas is; these areas were proposed as residential areas to be developed in all of the last three master plans. In other words, there is a consensus over the residential development in these areas. Housing Development Administration is conducting projects in both of the areas.

The second form of sprawl is chronic urban sprawl, illustrated with dark red in the table. Some of these areas suffering from chronic sprawl are relatively old and both metropolitan municipality and HDA are not conducting projects in those areas. But in the outer parts of these, especially HDA is conducting multiple number of projects. All of the areas are planned, but proposed land uses have changed partially in time; from green belt to residential uses.

The third one is the pervasive urban sprawl. In all of these areas, either Metropolitan Municipality or Housing Development Administration is conducting projects. As we defined before, in order these areas to be developed, the large scale -for our country public sector- investment is crucial. In other words, development is pushed by the public agents in these areas. Some parts of these areas were proposed as green belt by the previous plans, but in 2023 plan, residential use was proposed in all of these kind of areas.

The fourth type was haphazard urban sprawl, illustrated with yellow in the table. Nearly outer peripheries of all zones were proposed as green belt by 2015 plan, yet 2023 plan proposed residential use in the areas via urban transformation projects and/or special zones to be intervened. The areas categorized under this form of sprawl were either unplanned gecekondur

areas or unfavorable settlements in protected zones. Eventhough these areas have to be protected, Metropolitan Municipality is conducting multiple number of projects in the area. This gives us a hint for the stance and position of Metropolitan municipality for the case of Ankara in the problem of urban sprawl. Metropolitan municipality is one of the key agents in politics of urban sprawl and the role taken by it, the impact to some degree can be extracted from thee table above.

The four types of urban sprawl is analyzed with two directly related actors, but politics of urban sprawl has more components, and now it is time to search for a model of politics of sprawl. The proposal can be considered as the answer to the question why? More specifically what is the impact of agents on the issue.

## CHAPTER 5

### POLITICS OF URBAN SPRAWL IN ANKARA

*Answered prayers cause more tears than those that remain unanswered*<sup>203</sup>

Politics of urban sprawl is a challenging issue; to picture and present it is a hard task. To cope with the vast scale of the subject and problems in making it legible, we are going to categorize each and every aspect related and also limit the subject to the most significant political interventions of each in the process. In other words, to be able to see the patterns in the big picture, we will sacrifice some details and take a lower resolution one. We have previously defined the flow from urban growth to urban sprawl. This part can be considered as a zooming out from the flowchart on paths to sprawl and observing the frame that it was bounded with. What are the causes of urban growth disorder? The answer will both include structural aspects and politics including policies of different agents. Our focus here will be on the politics part. As we have asked at the beginning of the thesis: What are the impacts of the decisions made over urban growth by agents? Is the way of urban growth open to political manipulation? How political processes and the state intervene into the production of urban sprawl? What is the model explaining the bundle of politics resulting with the sprawl of Ankara?

The components of the politics of sprawl can be categorized as; agent, political intervention, the form of impact: whether it is direct or not, the tool used, the indicators, the intention: if it is intentional or consequential and the impact on the problem of the sprawl: provoking or preventing. The agents that will be analyzed in this frame are state, metropolitan municipality, district municipalities, Housing Development Administration, real estate agents, landowners and us; the planners. The x and y axis of our table of politics of sprawl will be constructed with those variables. After doing this, how politics of sprawl effects the urban areas will be modeled with a flowchart. These three, the flowchart on the path to growth, the categorization of politics of

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<sup>203</sup> Saint Teresa of Ávila, in Capote, Truman.(2008) *Kabul Edilmiş Dualar*.

urban sprawl and the flowchart on the effects of politics of urban sprawl are complementary to each other.

The agents will be analyzed separately for extracting the pattern, but some of the policies of agents are intertwined, so it is not possible to totally isolate them from each other and it have to be kept in mind that most of the policies requires specific structural conditions to cause the sprawl of the city. Also agents are to some degree isolated from the background not because they stand alone but to understand the impact.

Before starting, it can be said that the most important actor in politics of urban sprawl is the metropolitan municipality with all its newly given authorities. As a matter of fact, in the analysis of politics of urban sprawl, metropolitan municipality is emphasized.

## **5.1. State**

Production of urban space has a strong political side and state is playing the leading role in this side. The political interventions of state on urban areas that are related with urban sprawl problem can be divided into four sub-parts which are: first of all, the politics of rural relative to the politics of urban; secondly, the decentralization process and governance; thirdly the laws and regulations and lastly state subsidies for the production of urban spaces.

### **5.1.1 Politics of Rural**

After 1980s, with the transformation of state policies focusing on urban areas and disregarding the rural, deepened the crisis of rural areas and agricultural production, which was the main economic activity of Turkey. The countries like Turkey, which has a weak industrial sector, namely underdeveloped countries, are depending on agricultural sector and the fragile characteristic of agricultural sector requires steady support of state. This has triggered the migration from rural to urban areas. Turkey was an agricultural country but in years this has changed. As it can be seen from the graph the dominant sector in Turkey is service sector, industry follows it and then comes agricultural. Agricultural sector continues to decline, as well as industry.

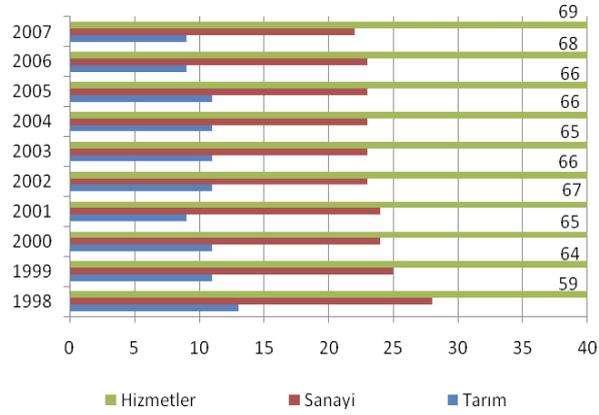


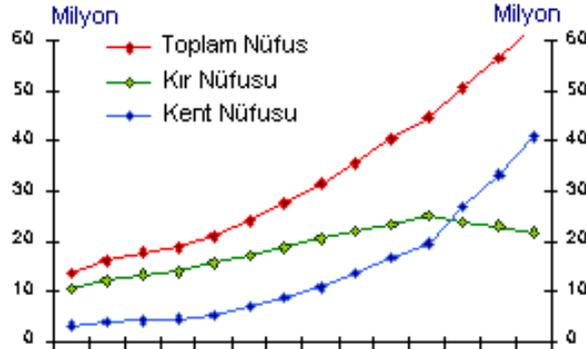
Figure 52: Gross National Product per Sector: the change in time

Source: Environmental Indicators Report, prepared by Ministry of Environment and Forest in 2008.

The dissolution of rural areas and rural labor force, actually, was a delayed process; delayed by supportive policies of state with import-substitution economy, fixed prices in materials needed in agricultural production and high base prices in agricultural productions<sup>204</sup>. The coup d'état in 1980 is one of the greatest leaps in Turkish political history; the relatively sudden change in politics of rural parallel to the transformation of state had caught both urban and rural areas off-guard. The delayed decline of the rural areas had become like a flood. This created a movement of migration into cities in a mass scale and the urbanization rate has seen its peak in 1980s<sup>205</sup>. This is also the time when for the first time in history urban population exceeded rural population.

204 Özkan, A. (2003) *Türkiye'de Köylülüğün Çözülme Süreci*, Planlama Dergisi, 2003/4 p.22

205 Ibid. p.27



**Figure 53:** The changes in urban and rural population

Source: <http://www.cografyatutkudur.com/nufus/gocler.gif> accessed on August 2010

As it can be seen from the graph, the population in rural areas was increasing nearly parallel to the increase in the population of urban areas but after 1980s, rural population has started to fall and increase in urban population is fastened. The interruption in state support has made a significant amount of rural society unemployed. Especially small scale agricultural production was affected negatively. With losing their jobs, this rural population has migrated to cities. Cities were not ready for those coming population in mass scale, as a matter of fact disorders occurred in urban growth. Unplanned growth with gecekondu areas, problems in producing sufficient and economically available urban land, problems in provision of housing can be counted as those disorders. At this point the relationship between sprawl and politics of rural is formed, eventhough its an indirect one. The uncontrolled and vast increase in population makes cities unstable and this instability set the stage for urban sprawl, as a disorder in growth.

In sum, the shift in politics of rural, transforming it from supportive to discouraging, is one of the political interventions affecting urban growth and sprawl. It is an indirect one and consequentially<sup>206</sup> result with urban sprawl.

<sup>206</sup> Not intentionally.

The indicator of this political intervention is the decrease of the rural population and at the same time the increase of the urban population. The tools used in this political intervention is setting new rules and regulations for rural areas and cutting subsidies.

### **5.1.2 Decentralization and Governance**

The tendencies to decentralization and governance are dating back to 1980s but after the elections done in third of November in 2003, Turkey was drawn into a whirlpool of rapid transformation in public administration with the help of reforms in laws. The localization movement dating back to 1980s is accelerated by the policies of the existing government and the ongoing trends in the world, especially western countries, since the 1970s. European driven policies are one by one legalized, and our legal system is bit by bit transformed, and the transformation is continuing.

The decentralization that is used in Turkish public administration system is administrative decentralization<sup>207</sup>. Decentralization can be divided into two parts which are: decentralization according to locality/spatially, and decentralization according to service provision<sup>208</sup>. The first one is the reason of emergence of local authority (elected representatives of residents of province, sub-province and village), and it provides authority to residents of specific localities, in order to meet the local and common needs of themselves<sup>209</sup> The second one (decentralization according to service provision) gives legal personality to the local sub-units of central government which are operating with subsidiarily principle.<sup>210, 211</sup>

Decentralization of authority, alongside the dissolution of the once powerful nation state, lessens the power of central government in general and against

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207 Aksoy, Şinasi., (2007) *Lecture notes*, UPL503

208 Günday, M. (1999-4.baskı) *İdare Hukuku*, p.45

209 Ibid. p.46

210 Ibid. p.47-48

211 UPL 503 take-home exam answer of the author, 2008. Lecture given by Şinasi Aksoy.

the capital. A decrease in power of central government eventually lead to a general loss of control over market and political groups, resulted in a decrease in power of local authorities against market mechanisms in urban areas and an increase in control of market mechanisms (instead of public will and interest) over urbanization processes. In other words without the protection of state, localization with decentralization brings weaknesses in urban politics against the market. So the politics of local governments are mostly focusing on the continuously changing demands of the capital instead of representation, participation and democracy.<sup>212</sup> The market friendly approach in local governments is creating the proper conditions for cities to sprawl. The reproduction of hegemony of market relations over the urban space is also ensured.

The competition within the market spread over the urban land and cities. The veil of state protecting the city and the regulative policies of state in order to cope with the uneven development between cities are on the verge of extinction, creating unbearable conditions for cities. Cities are competing with each other, for tourism, for development, for industry, for investment and more importantly, for our focus of interest, for the real estate market. Alongside other sectors, real estate market also became international, cities are competing to be the most popular investment area for real estate market<sup>213</sup>.

State and local governments are nearly the most influential actors in growth of cities, for our case growth in the form of urban sprawl. The rising tendencies to neoliberal policies in central and local governments is showing itself with 'governance' in local governments, giving more space and field of power to capital over urban space and local governments. This movement, which is highly visible in the policies of the leading party, Justice and Development Party (JDP), is increasing the level of authorities of local governments via changes in laws. On the other hand, the governance is

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212 Ataman, Ş. Emek. (2004) *Yerel Politik Süreçlerde Temsil; Belediye Meclisleri*, unpublished master's thesis, submitted to Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments Program, Institute of Social Sciences, METU. Ankara.

213 There are multiple number of international scale real estate agencies, interested in the land market of İstanbul and to some degree Ankara.

provoking competition among cities which consequently deepens the problem of uneven development and increases the gaps between cities.<sup>214</sup> Under the light of these statements, it can be said that the focus of the distribution of urban resources by the hands of state and local governments is not the citizens but the capital, in local, national and global scale.

With decentralization, the control over production of urban space was passed to metropolitan municipality which was at first a positive improvement. But with the tendencies to the governance indicating the increasing market power over the production of urban space, the issue became problematic. The decisions made by local governments are more affected by local actors and in general the local 'game'. It can be seen similar to a weakened immune system. Metropolitan municipality, with decentralization, has become responsible from the production of master plans which are the main tool for controlling the growth. Without immune system working -lack of the control of state as a relatively object agent and the shield provided by state- the growth of the city is open to negativities and effects of the market. The pressure of the market has a stimulating effect over the production of excess urban land.

In sum, the decentralization policies and the governance tendencies are also effective over the sprawl of the city. It is rather indirectly and consequentially affecting the urban growth of the cities, more specifically the control over the process. Laws and regulations are the tools for this political intervention of state. The indicators are the increasing authority of local governments over urban areas and decreasing control of public over the process.

### **5.1.3 Laws**

One of the State's most important tools, the laws and regulations are like a milestone in politics of sprawl. There are a significant amount of laws and regulations affective over urban areas, but two of them has utmost importance: Development Law 3194 and Metropolitan Municipality Law 5216. Another sub heading under this part is expropriation which is a very

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<sup>214</sup> Bakirezer, G.; Demirer, Y. *Ak Partinin Sınıf Siyaseti*, Mülkiye Dergisi, Vol:15 Nos:252

significant policy of state effective over the planning of cities.

### **5.1.3.1 Development Law 3194: Dispersed Authority of Planning**

3194 Development Law (May 1985) is the law that is most direct in affecting the production of urban space and urban growth. With 3194, local governments gained the right to produce and accept 1/5000 scale regulatory development plans and 1/1000 scale development plans within municipal borders and adjacent area borders<sup>215</sup>. The devolution of authority in planning made planning processes more sensitive to the local game within local actors. The central government is powerful and external for local politics while municipalities are internal and not as so powerful against the local game, local capital owners and local actors.

With the same law, district municipalities under control of the metropolitan governments are also utilized with authority to produce regulatory development plans and implementation plans. As a matter of fact the authority in planning process became more dispersed. But, recently, a major change in the positions of metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities were done. With the Law of Changing The Municipality Law, in June 2010<sup>216</sup>, the authority of metropolitan municipalities were dramatically increased and district municipalities became more limited and affectless in production of urban space.

Another problem depending on the authorities given by 3194 is the widespread distribution of the planning authority among multiple number of institutions. The institutions that are authorized for planning are; State Planning Organization (regional and national scale plans), Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, Commission of Environmental Protection for Special Zones, Administration of Southeastern Anatolia Project<sup>217</sup>, (Environmental Regulation Plan), Governorates, Metropolitan Municipalities, Municipalities,

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215 Kapan, G., (1998)

216 Resmi Gazete, 17.6.2010

217 In liquidation process.

(Development Plans, Regulatory Development Plans, Implementation plans)<sup>218</sup> and many other institutions like HDA, Organized Industrial Zones, Administration of Privatization, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ministry of Environment and Forestry.<sup>219</sup> This creates a chaotic environment for planning and enables uncontrolled development on the periphery of cities, on natural protection zones, agricultural land and other areas that have to remain undeveloped.

Dispersed authority in planning process directly affects urban growth and have a high potential of causing urban growth disorder namely urban sprawl. It consequentially causes sprawl with decreasing the control over the macroform of the city.

### **5.1.3.2 Metropolitan Municipality Law 5216: Compasses Law**

Another law related with our subject is number 5216, (July 2004) the Metropolitan Municipality Law also known as compasses law. With a temporary article, article number 2, the borders of Metropolitan Municipalities is determined by their population. A circle is drawn, taking governor's office as the center. The radius is 20 kilometers if the population of the metropolitan municipality is under one million, 30 kilometers if the population between one million and two millions and 50 kilometers if the population is over two millions.<sup>220</sup> The districts falling into these borders become metropolitan district municipalities, villages becomes neighborhoods (losing their legal entity), the legal entity of villages in forest areas continues but these villages become adjacent areas. To put bluntly, the areas previously under control of government's provincial organization; governorship, is now under control of metropolitan municipalities. Villages becoming neighborhoods is also meaningful. The rural areas, where main activity is

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218 Tekel, Ayşe., *İmar Mevzuatının Tanımladığı Plan Kademeleri, Yetkili Kurumlar, Yetki Uyuşmazlıkları ve Nedenleri Üzerine*, Chamber of Civil Engineers. Ankara. <http://www.e-kutuphane.imo.org.tr/pdf/11628.pdf>, accessed on April, 2010.

219 The authorities given to the last ones are based on different laws.

220 The Metropolitan Municipality Law, July 2004, [www.tbmm.gov.tr](http://www.tbmm.gov.tr), accessed on April, 2010.

agriculture or husbandry become urban areas, and urban services have to be provided which is an improvement for the area while these area become developable. In addition the villages in the forests become adjacent areas, reminding us the debates over the 2B lands, lands that have lost their forest characteristic. The amount of the 2B lands in Ankara is 31.706 hectares surpassing the amount in İstanbul with 18.233 hectares<sup>221</sup>. The national politics of urbanization propose the usage of forest areas for further development, which is most probably unnecessary looking at the housing statistics that we have previously mentioned, at least for the city of Ankara.

With the metropolitan municipality law accepted in 2004, every village became neighborhood, so they are counted in urban population, as future growth areas. The impact of 5216 is deep on the urban form. The direction of the impact is related with the decisions made over the process. To put bluntly, the law, making a large area on the periphery of the city under control of metropolitan municipality could be a good measure to control the form and growth of the city. But as we can see from the macroform of Ankara and the proposed 2023 plan, which, in our findings, is not capable of controlling it -even not trying to control it-, it worked for the opposite. The problem of Ankara is deep and getting deeper in time and master plan prepared by the municipality with the authority given by this specific law is bringing the problem one step further with its over estimated population, low density and dispersed settlements.

### **5.1.3.3 Expropriation**

Plans, as a way of distributing rents over urban land, in capitalist societies, creates an increase in the value of land that is subject to the planning activity. The implementation of plans become harder due to this rent increase. Also sometimes the decisions made by plans can not be realized by market actors, and state have to take the initiative to realize the proposed plans. In these cases and to solve similar problems, one of the most important tool that state uses is expropriation. The most important aspect in

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<sup>221</sup> CNN Türk, (01.04.2010), *2-B'lerin satışı yeniden gündemde...*, in [www.arkitera.com](http://www.arkitera.com) , accessed on April, 2010.

expropriation is the price that will be paid for the land. Fixed and controlled meter square prices are what makes expropriation applicable. As it was said before, the rent created by plans is a social production and to remain in society, not end in the landowners or speculators pocket, this created rent have to be controlled while expropriating the land. Expropriation still is an useful tool for municipalities and state institutions but the control of land prices are not as they have to be.

Expropriation was dominantly used in the production of urban space in Ankara, in the earlier periods of republic to build a capital for the newly established republic. Due to the lack of a capable market, the realization of the plan was executed by state. Even that time, the control over the price of land under expropriation was hard to control In 1932, for instance, parliament discussed the expropriation of the area needed for constructing the ministries, the ministry quarter proposed by Jansen plan. The suggestion of the plan was expropriate the land with a price of 1 TL per square meter, but parliament did not accept this, and the expropriation was executed after a few years later with a price of 2,5 million liras, which was over a hundred times of the previous value<sup>222</sup>. The capital which can easily be used for providing social housing or another infrastructure needed was transferred to the landowners. The controlling mechanisms over the cost of expropriation was a problem all along.

Today market as well as state has a significant role in production of urban space. The expropriation tool is also used by state, municipalities and state institutions. The control over the prices of the land that is under process of expropriation was always problematic, and the problem continues, even deepening. Land development by the hands of state via expropriation was a good way of controlling the growth of the city and ensuring production of needed housing. The land office was for that purpose but it was abolished and most of the authority of it was transferred to Housing Development Administration.<sup>223</sup> In the model applied by land office, the state was

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222 Altaban, Özcan; Kızılgün, Ömür; Sevinç Semahat; Tokatlı Nebahat Gök, (1980) *Arsa Pazarının Oluşmasında İmar Planının İşlevleri* in Gök, Tamer. (1980) *Türkiye'de İmar Planlaması*, METU Faculty of Architecture Press. Ankara. p.145

223 Housing Development Administration webpage, <http://www.toki.gov.tr/ptext.asp?id=16>, accessed on July, 2010.

expropriating land for further development of the city and sells this land partially to cooperatives, etc.<sup>224</sup> This makes the produced rent -by the plan- to remain in the hands of state and prevents land speculation. This department could be used for preventing commodification process of urban land and to control the growth of the city (which requires collaborative work with municipalities). But this is not the case for Ankara.

The weakened state of expropriation and lack of control over the prices of urban land decreases the level of realization of plans, especially master plans. Provision of needed housing with prices that can be paid by the needer becomes problematic, and land speculation problem is deepened. These all together are effective over urban form and causing problems for urban growth. The socially produced rent and resources of state is transferred to landowners and speculators with uncontrolled costs in expropriation. This creates a pressure of land market over the development of the city and makes the city open to sprawl.

#### **5.1.4 Supporting the capital city**

Ankara is a constructed capital city. The urbanization of Ankara was supported by state, with public funds. Previously we have divided the urbanization of Ankara into three stages<sup>225</sup>; urbanization of state, urbanization of labor and urbanization of capital. The times that we are living in can be considered under the heading of urbanization of capital. But as the capital city of Turkey, this does not change the fact that Ankara is supported by the state. Ankara was favored by the state in earlier periods of the republic, which is normal under the conditions of that time, and the favored position of Ankara in the eye of the state was preserved up to now. It is visible in the reaction of the municipality against the offer of The Undersecretariat of Treasury for a reduction in debts of municipalities in

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224 Housing Development Administration webpage. <http://www.toki.gov.tr/ptext.asp?id=16> , accessed on July, 2010.

225 With reference to Şengül, Tarık. (2008) *Cumhuriyetin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Ankara'nın Gelişiminde Farklı Aşamalar*, in TMMOB Ankara Kent Sorunları Sempozyumu, TMMOB, Ankara.

2006<sup>226</sup> and 2008<sup>227</sup>. Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, having the highest debt to the Undersecretariat of Treasury (in both 2006 and 2008) was disagreed with the conditions of treasury and requested debts to be erased as it was done three times before.<sup>228</sup> Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara has a debt of 4.061 million TL to the Undersecretariat of Treasury<sup>229</sup> in 2009. The municipality claims that the debt is stemming from the transportation investments, especially the metro system. This means an indirect investment by state into the built environment of Ankara and creates an advantage for the metropolitan municipality of Ankara in providing large scale investments on urban land, especially the infrastructure needed for development. The underlying support of state to the urbanization of Ankara is remarked even by the real estate actors; Jones Lang Laselle, a firm that produces analyses of real estate market in different cities, in a global scale, in its report done specifically for Ankara in november 2009, claims that “as being the capital city, the economy is dominated by government services and businesses with strong interaction with the government such as energy, construction, health, defense and information technologies.”<sup>230</sup> The financial support to the built environment of the city of Ankara by state, provides a relatively stable environment for the capital, which makes it less risky to invest in land in Ankara. Supporting the urbanization of the capital city is not the negativity here, in other words the problem not lies in the supporting policy of state but in the usage of these resources. With this support of state, whether it be direct or indirect, the urbanization of Ankara could be far better than it is now, and the problems in the growth of the city could be solved -more correctly not caused-. So on its own this component of the politics of urban sprawl is a positive attempt but in the end it works for the deepening of the urban sprawl

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226 Baysal, Ercan (2006), Zaman Gazetesi, <http://www.arkitera.com/h7169-hazine-ile-anlasan-belediyelerin-23-milyar-ytl-lik-borcu-silindi.html> \_ accessed on April, 2010.

227 Anka Haber Ajansı (2008) <http://www.kenthaber.com/akdeniz/mersin/Haber/Genel/Normal/borcu-silinen-belediyeler/c7067489-07f6-461a-aa29-49fc3f6e01dd> \_ accessed on April, 2010.

228 Gökçek, Melih (2008) Speech in Mahalli İdarelerin Mahalli Yönetimi Forumu, <http://web.ego.gov.tr/inc/newsread.asp?ID=771> \_ accessed on April, 2010.

229 Vatan, 21.03.2009 <http://www.aamedya.com/haberler/16049/haber---Hazineye-4-milyar-509-milyon-tl-borc/haber---Hazineye-4-milyar-509-milyon-tl-borc.html> \_ accessed on April, 2010.

230 Jones Lang Laselle, (2009) *Ankara Real Estate Market Report for November 2009*. İstanbul. [www.joneslanglaselle.com](http://www.joneslanglaselle.com) p.2 \_ accessed on April, 2010.

problem with the uncontrolled growth of the city. To understand this 'wrong' usage of this capital embedded in the urban space the policies of municipalities have to be analyzed.

## **5.2. Metropolitan Municipality**

Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara has utmost importance in the form of the growth of the city. With the authorities given by laws 5216 and 3194, and the changes in 5393 Municipality Law, authority over the production of urban space is nearly totally transferred to metropolitan municipalities. Hence, it is not exaggeration to say that the form of the growth of the city is highly affected from the decisions given by the municipality, and for the politics of sprawl, municipalities are playing the main role. The decisions of the municipality can be both provoking or preventing sprawl, but how these decisions are given? For what reasons? These two questions are not easy to answer. The motives behind the decisions of municipalities related to the growth of the city can be political support from the majority in the form of votes; political and economic support from powerful real estate agents, investors, landowners; individual economic gain of executive managers giving the decisions; or only and innocently public interest leading to unwanted results. These are all in the universe of possibilities but to prove or falsify each of them is not so possible due to different reasons. Also most possibly there is a composition instead of a selected one.

Acting totally political and aim getting votes is possible; but to measure it, is not. First of all, the reasons beyond voting are complicated analyzing it is a totally different story. Secondly, specifically for the case of Ankara, to compare and contrast different decisions and their impacts on the level of votes is problematic; because the same group has won the last four elections with similar percentages of votes. But at this point it can be said that this uninterrupted reign of this group definitely has something to do with the given development rights with every way possible. Another problem arises in the spatialization of the data. Whom they are targeting; the population residing already on the periphery of the city; the ones living in the core and want to go out of the city; or the owners of land and investors (small scale)? To discriminate the votes of those different groups is impossible with

the data in our hands.

Another possible motive is the political and economic support from the real estate agents, investors, landowners. Reversely thinking, it also can be the political pressure of the market on the production of urban space. The question important here is are they getting support from those actors for giving further development rights? This will be analyzed under the headings on real estate agents and landowners.

Third possible motive behind the acts of actors having the leading roles in the municipality, the individual gain and corruption, can not be analyzed within a framework of a thesis, it is more like an investigators task, after such an investigative study than the results can be used as a material for a thesis, so we omitted this possibility.

The last one is the pure public interest. The results can not always match the intentions. Eventhough the municipality act with purely public interest, there can be unintended and unwanted results. At this point the decentralization policies can be given as example. The previous two plans, 1990 and 2015 plans were focused on the decentralization of the city due to the problems faced in the core and high rents. But with some problems on the process, the solution to some degree created new problems, like problem of urban sprawl. Actually this is not a policy proposed by municipalities but instead planning authorities taking their powers from directly state<sup>231</sup>, but it is a good example for unintended results of positive policies.

These are all possible and it is highly possible that the motive is an amalgam of these reasons. What is important here is the dominance. The results are obvious but the reasons are hard to decipher. So we will take results as the starting point, the municipality's actions and from the ways the tools are used and the results, try to decipher the balance between those motives.

The tools used by municipality in this process are mainly planning, regulations, service provisions and urban transformation projects as special cases of planning, deserving specific analysis.

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231 As in the case of AMANPB.

### 5.2.1 Spatial Planning

Planning is a tool for controlling the growth of the city as well as pointing out problems and proposing solutions. Planning process includes giving development rights which are, in simple terms, “the right to develop a property in accordance with local land use regulations.”<sup>232</sup> It is related with land ownership/property right which is defined as the bundle of rights attributed to land.

Development rights are given by development plans. Actually development plans are the last step before the development rights. In ideal situations analyses and upper-scale plans comes first. The first part of the planning process regarding development rights is starting with the question whether development is allowed or prohibited. If it is not given then the possible rent of the land becomes zero. When it is given, which is our focus, then this time the amount matters. In other words how much right is given, determining how much the owner will get in the form of rent. Actually the debate on rent and the impacts of planning process over the changes in rent is a complicated issue, which needs further argument. The impact of the plan on the rent is not absolute but to simplify, we are thinking in terms of development plans which are the basic and legal tools for giving development rights and within this realm, if a plan gives development right then the rents will increase, if not (for instance in green areas) then the rent will likely to fall.

The more the merrier motto works here and the pressure over the development plans are accordingly. More development rights means more rent created, and this created excess rent turns to the landowner who did nothing to gain it. The more the merrier we said, this signals another important side of the development rights; they are not only rights but also constraints. It is both a right and a restriction, it gives and it takes. It gives the owner to build that much on the land, while also restricting him/her to build maximum at that rate. The pressure arises in the uneven distribution of those rights. Actually it has to be distributed unevenly due to spatial constraints, concerns of control, etc. The problem is the capitalist society

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<sup>232</sup> <http://www.wvlandtrust.org/dynamic/?q=node/16> , accessed on April, 2010.

considering the urban land as a commodity. As we stated before the land speculation over land is not controlled enough and it is an important income source for powerful actors. Together with uneven development, the pressure of those agents over the planning process will definitely rise.

The development right is firstly distributed by master plans; if an master plan, determining the distribution of population and densities, development corridors and land uses, exists. Population estimation of the plan is very important in the distribution of those rights and gives hints of the motives behind. The sensitivity to the local actors and market mechanisms increase with the decrease in the scale; this is visible in the graph below.

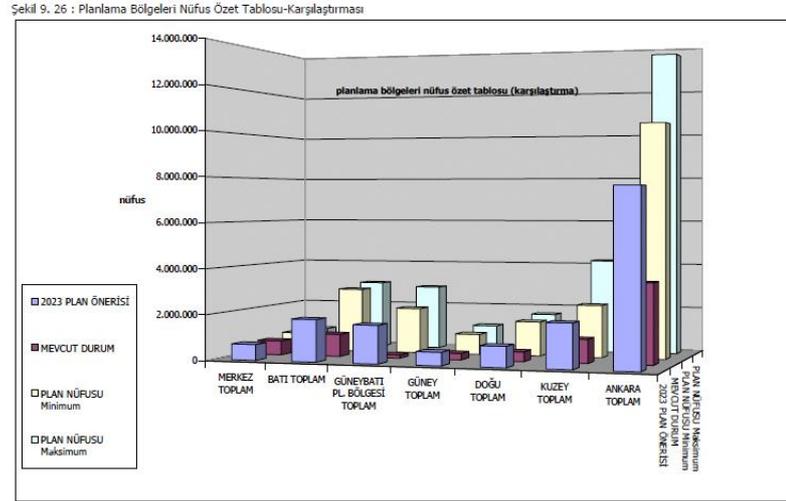


Figure 54: Population distribution among planning zones by different plans

Source: 2023 plan report, 2006.

The differences between the populations are informative. The proposed population is the double of the existing for Ankara, and with accepted regulation and implementation plans this ratio becomes even higher. The regulation and implementation plans are under authority of district municipalities. Both the populations have low probability to be realized in near future.

Actually, if there was a plan produced for the same target year by a relatively autonomous planning bureau like AMANPB, taking its power from the state, most probably the proposed population will be lower than the 2023 plan's estimation. In sum the upper the scale, the higher the autonomy is. But this is only related with the pressure of the market as the motive behind the local authorities.

Another aspect of master plans that is significant here is the amount of land proposed for development with reference to population. As it can be observed from the graph below, eventhough the estimated populations in master plans increased in time, the areas covered by plans are faster in increase. As a matter of fact, the proposed overall density decreased, pointing out one of the main indicators of the sprawl problem in city scale.

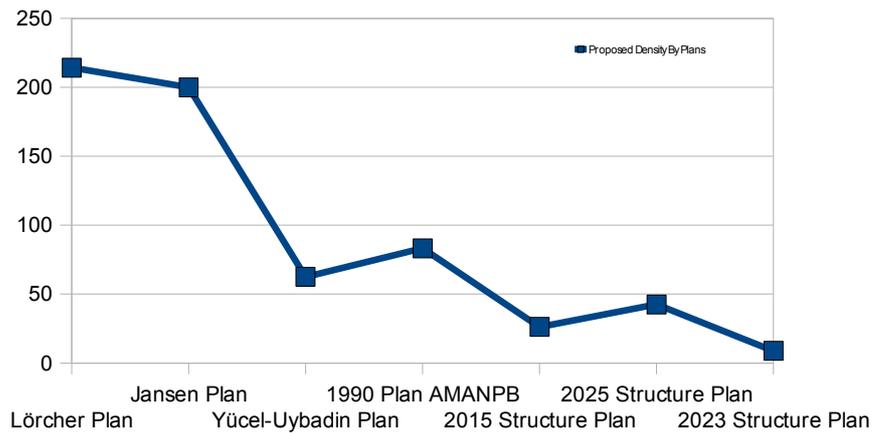


Figure 55: Population Density by Master Plans

Source: ABB, 2006 and Yıldırım, S. 2007 .

Extracting from the previous part; the decentralization tendency has become dominant with the 1990 plan, and this tendency continued in 2015 plan and lastly the 2023 plan. At this point we can say that the planners as actors and the general shifts in the approaches to planning and the changing role of the state in planning processes as a selective mechanism are important for the direction of the growth of the city; be it compact or sprawled. By saying this, we are not accusing decentralization policies for sprawl, it would be unjust to claim that, but it is the unwanted result of the interaction of decentralization

policies with other economic, social and spatial inputs, and with the impact of capital and changing state. In other words the decentralization policies proposed as the solution of the problems of the highly dense confined core of the city suffering from problems like unbearable air pollution, reacted differently with the transforming state and the increasing level of commodification of land and housing; seeing them as a tool for investment.

Partial interventions to the plans and to urban space are another important part of planning. The inconsistencies between master plans and development plans are increasing with partial interventions. The level of the problem shows itself in the number of modifications done to plans. In the annual report of Directorate of Construction Affairs from the year 2006<sup>233</sup>, the number of modifications are 47 where the number of total planning activities are 137. Plans are tools for controlling the development in every scale but with this amount of changes, it is hard to control it. Of course needed changes can be done and planning is not a static process but the ratio is too high.

To sum up, planning is one of the most important tool that implies the stance of the municipality in the control of the urban growth. It is directly affecting the form of the growth, more correctly it is the determiner of the form of urban growth with master plans, development plans, and modifications in plans. This can be categorized as a first level determiner. If we go deeper, in other levels there will be the motives of metropolitan municipalities, role of state and capitalist society.

### **5.2.2 Services and Regulations**

Regulations and provision of services are supplementary to the planning activities in the growth of a city. Metropolitan municipality is the main actor providing urban services in Ankara. Mentioned services include social and technical infrastructures. The one that has more direct effect on the form of the urban growth is the provision of technical infrastructure. Especially the transportation infrastructure is important in the process. To exemplify: the most *public* way of transport; the rail system is 23 kilometers long, which is

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<sup>233</sup> [www.ankara.bel.tr](http://www.ankara.bel.tr), accessed on April, 2010.

very short for a city in the scale of Ankara<sup>234</sup>. Cities developing with public transportation systems like rail system, tend to be more compact due to the less usage of cars as private/individual forms of transportation. But in Ankara the resources for providing transportation infrastructure of the municipality are mostly used for building multi-level junctions<sup>235</sup> that fasten the traffic in the inner city and alongside other problems, provoking usage of private cars instead of public forms of transportation. The decision made over the limited resources, where to spend them, is the point that changes the form of growth. Preferring cars to public transportation can not have a *pure public interest* kind of reason. Provoking usage of car is a never ending problem demanding more roads, junctions, multi-level junctions, and further the provision of those means further increase in the number of cars.<sup>236</sup> The increase in number of cars is both one of the main indicators of urban sprawl and an enabling feature of urban sprawl. This is one of the most affective policy of the municipality provoking sprawl. The motives can be all other three other than public interest. Another service can also be analyzed but the case of transportation is illustrating the importance of service provision most clearly.

Regulations, as supplementaries to plans, are also effective on the form of the urban growth. Regulations such as giving the priority to the vehicle traffic at the center of the city and directing pedestrian flow to underground or overpass are accelerating the traffic which encourages car usage, and the rest was explained above. Provoking the usage of car has another side effect on the growth of the city, the increase in the number of cars causes an increase in carbon emissions, and with a topography surrounded with mountains, this causes air pollution, which in return provokes citizens to migrate from center to periphery. Another regulation is the shopping center permissions given all around the city and more than enough. Location of shopping centers are very important for the direction of growth in cities and with their disintegrative impact over the city center, they work for the fragmentation of city. This is a vast subject but for sum up for this thesis; the

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234 Şehir Plancıları Odası, Ankara Şubesi, May 2008, Press Release.

235 Ibid. [www.spo.org.tr](http://www.spo.org.tr), accessed on April, 2010.

236 CRP 351, Transport Planning, Lecture notes, Babalık, E. 2005.



There are a significant amount of urban transformation project taking place on the periphery of the city and these are directly effective over the form of the city. In most of the projects, the proposed development rights are higher than the previous ones, in order to make the projects executable. The distribution of density in city will eventually change, so the balance of the growth. The projects are also affecting the direction of growth as in the case of Housing Development Administration's projects. District municipalities are even conducting urban transformation projects in smaller scales, like Altındağ. The impacts of urban transformation projects over the city, over density, over sprawl and over housing sector was argued previously so we can conclude with the impacts of urban transformation projects on urban sprawl. The areas under urban transformation projects are either gecekondu areas or rural areas surrounding the city. With transformation of gecekondu areas, the housing stock for the poor decreases which is likely to trigger new gecekondu areas in the form of unplanned urban growth. Transformation taking place on the surrounding rural areas are on the other side, directly related with the planned sprawl of middle and upper classes, such as urban transformation projects in Yapracık or Mühye (Güneykent).

The transformation projects transforming rural areas into urban are of importance. Being freed from the stages of development proposed by the master plan, makes the situation far more problematic. This projects are directly changing the urban form of Ankara and even conflicting with the master plan proposed by the municipality. Güneykent Urban Transformation Project can be a good example to these inconsistencies.<sup>238</sup> The rights proposed in the transformation project is higher than the proposal of the master plan and the project area lies on the zone that has to be strictly conserved, the İmrahor Valley. The locational selections of the projects indicating the motives behind. A significant amount of them are on the periphery of the city in rural areas and the number of housing units proposed are high. In previous parts we have said that Ankara has an excess housing problem, yet municipality is producing more and more on the periphery. The ones taking place on existing gecekondu areas are also problematic. In order to smoothen the process more development rights are given, this could be

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238 Şehir Plancıları Odası, Ankara Şubesi, Trials., <http://ankara.spo.org.tr>, accessed on April, 2010.

acceptable, if the housing problems of all the dwellers were solved in the area including tenants. The location, the scale and the number of units produced are making urban transformation projects problematic for urban growth and urban sprawl is nearly inevitable with these projects.

### **5.3. District Municipalities**

The district municipalities were, without a master plan, nearly free to give development rights wherever and whatever amount they wanted. But with the change in the Municipality Law<sup>239</sup> mentioned before, district municipalities turned into powerless institutions under nearly the ultimate control of the metropolitan municipality.<sup>240</sup> Hence, the role of district municipalities in forming the urban growth and causing urban sprawl is drastically diminished. But this does not change the fact that district municipalities were affective over urban form and sprawl. Before the acceptance of the 2023 plan, the total population of given development rights for Ankara by partial plans of districts were in total 13 million<sup>241</sup>. The estimated population of the year 2023 was 7,5 million according to 2023 plan report. The difference is illustrating previous side effects of the given authority to the district municipalities without provisioning an upper scale strategy of development. Even the acceptance of the master plan could not be able to solve the problem, some of the implementation plans produced by some districts like Etimesgut (Yapracık-Yurtçu) has given further rights than the ones given in the 2023 plan.<sup>242</sup>

### **5.4. Housing Development Administration**

Housing Development Administration(HDA) was established in 1984 in order to keep up with the rapid urbanization in terms of housing. 2985 is the law

239 Resmi Gazete, 17.06.2010

240 Hürriyet Ankara, 14.06.2010, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/15016817.asp> , accessed on August, 2010.

241 Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, (2006), *2023 plan report*. Ankara.

242 As mentioned before, this plan was cancelled with a trial opened up by Chamber of City Planners (Ankara Branch) in 2008.

regulating the duties of the Administration.<sup>243</sup> Up to 2003 the Housing Development Administration was a relatively small administration with insignificant field of authority, in the year 2003 with the law 4966, the law 2985 was modified and HDA was equipped with new authorities in the housing sector. After this point the role of HDA has continuously gained importance. The number of flats produced by HDA between the years 2003-2010 was 424.603 in total, and 114.140 was produced for the poor according to HDA<sup>244</sup> but just to get an idea, we have looked at the prices of the houses produced in Ankara-Altındağ-Gültepe which are said to be for the poor; where the lowest monthly payment was 720 TL<sup>245</sup>, which is over the official minimum wage at the year of 2010; that is 576,57 TL. So we can say that the production of housing via HDA is not solving the housing problem of the poor. The biggest investor in the real estate market is the state with HDA, producing and selling houses, as well as developing and selling land to other actors in the real estate sector.<sup>246</sup> The structural change in the state, acting like a mediator between the civil society and capital and working like a private company is highly visible in the activities of state in the real estate market. HDA is conducting 155 projects producing 62,969<sup>247</sup> number of flats in Ankara, at the time of this thesis being written.

HDA is producing houses in Temelli, Yapracık, Yurtçu, Ballıkuyumcu, Yenikent which are located on the outer periphery of the city of Ankara.<sup>248</sup> As we said before, with 2023 plan, the projects proposed by HDA and municipalities are freed from the staged development rule. Moreover the changes in legal system empowers Housing Development Administration (by giving further authority in urban housing provision and transfer of the authority remained from Land Office which was closed by present government<sup>249</sup>), while HDA

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243 Toplu Konut ve Kamu Ortaklığı İdaresi Başkanlığı

244 TOKİ Faaliyet Raporu, 2010, [www.toki.gov.tr](http://www.toki.gov.tr) , accessed on August, 2010.

245 <http://www.toki.gov.tr/html/satis/ankara/gultepe2-as/index.htm> , accessed on August, 2010.

246 [Www.toki.gov.tr](http://www.toki.gov.tr), accessed on May 2010

247 In may 2010.

248 [Www.toki.gov.tr](http://www.toki.gov.tr) accessed on May 2010

249 Gülen, F. *AKP'nin İktidar Olduğu Dönemde Kabul Edilen Yasalar Hakkında Değerlendirme*, Mülkiye dergisi Vol:XXX, Nö:252, p.160

decreases the amount of housing provision for poor, in other words the mass housing lost its role of providing housing for mainly poor and then middle class.

Municipalities as the main authorities in urban areas are not capable of controlling Housing Development Administration due to the superior authorities given to the Administration, and this creates an uncontrolled environment in urban growth.

## 5.5. Real Estate Agents

As a planned capital city, the history of urbanization in Ankara is a story of land speculation and partial interventions to the plans in order to meet the pressure of urban land market and housing need and demand. Urban land is widely considered as a highly valuable commodity by the real estate market and investors and citizens mostly consider it as an investment good.

In Ankara, housing is widely seen as a good way, nearly the best way, for investment. In his research, "Defining the Middle Class in Turkey", Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hakan Yılmaz asks applicants what will they do if they have an extra 100 thousand TL, the answers are interesting; 51,5% says that they will invest it in real estate<sup>250</sup>. This shows the tendency of us to see housing as a most profitable and more than that secure form of investment. As Karayağın quotes from a head of one of the biggest real estate developers "The world exchange market is supersaturated and the exchange market in Turkey became pricy. Because of this, the direction of investments will change and turn to real estate. And consequently the real estate market will be directed by the financiers and investment bankers."<sup>251</sup>

The level of the uncontrolled land speculation and the profitability of

250 25.03.08, Hürriyet Ankara in Karayağın, M. (2010), *Konut Bunalımı, Kent Rantları ve Proje Muhafızları*, İmge Kitabevi. p.67

251 Fidelity Real Estate Development (07.10.07, Hürriyet), in Karayağın, M. (2010) *Konut Bunalımı, Kent Rantları ve Proje Muhafızları*, İmge Kitabevi. p.11

investment in housing in Ankara is so high that, the real estate reports claim that investing in built environment in Ankara, whether it be construction, house or plain land, is highly profitable. The local real estate actors as well as national and global ones are participating in the investment activities on the urban geography of Ankara. A real estate report summarizes the significance of Ankara for the real estate market with “the strong middle class with guaranteed jobs due from the dominance of the public sector in the economy”<sup>252</sup>. The statistics on the distribution of income of people among sectors is illustrating the importance of public sector in Ankara; the percentage of salary paid workers are 38% for Turkey while 48% for Ankara, in addition, people getting paid by state unilateral transfers are 23% of Ankara while in Turkey 17%.

Another bundle of statistics that are meaningful for our subject is the distribution of income among sectors. 3,6% is the percentage of people gathering income from real estate in Turkey, while in Ankara this percentage is 4,6%<sup>253</sup>, continuing with these statistics; the percentage of manufacturing is 4% for Turkey while 2,2% for Ankara, for construction sector; percentages are 1,3% for Turkey and 1,8% for Ankara. By looking these statistics, with reference to Turkey, we can say that there are a significant number of people in Ankara making their life with real estate whether it be as business or as landowners.

In the period of Özal, the investment of the large scale capitalists, who had lost the privileges provided by state with import substitution industrialization politics, in real estate market has been increased.<sup>254</sup> Inflation is also a mechanism working like a trigger for the flow of capital into the real estate market and land.<sup>255</sup> Yavuz explains this tendency with the incomplete

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252 Jones Lang Laselle, (2009) *Ankara Real Estate Market Report for November 2009*. İstanbul. [www.joneslanglaselle.com](http://www.joneslanglaselle.com) , accessed on April, 2010.

253 For the year 2003 in TÜİK, (2009) *Bölgesel Göstergeler Tr51 Ankara 2008*. Ankara.

254 Tekeli, İlhan., (1991) *Kent Planlaması Konuşmaları*, Mimarlar Odası Yayını, Ankara. p.175

255 Yavuz, Fehmi. (1974) Köyden Şehre Göç ve Şehirleşme (Çevre Sorunları, Özellikle Toprak Açısından) Türkiye'nin Gelişme Eğilimleri Konferansı, 10-15 Haziran 1974 Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Ankara. [http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/eski/dergi/pdf/33/3/1\\_fehmi\\_yavuz.pdf](http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/eski/dergi/pdf/33/3/1_fehmi_yavuz.pdf), accessed on August, 2010.

industrialization of our country.<sup>256</sup> The enterprise statistics are good for illustrating these inferences.<sup>257</sup> The total number of the enterprises in 2006 was 2.473.841, 309.841 of them were manufacturing enterprises(12,5%), while 94.138 were working in construction sector(3,8%). The number of enterprises in real estate sector (renting and business) were 137.529; with a percentage of 5,5%. In the same year, the endorsed turnover in manufacturing was ~398 billion TLs, while in construction sector ~62 billions, ~34 billion in real estate sector. Comparing Turkey with Ankara will clarify the issue at hand. In Turkey, in 2007, manufacturing enterprises were the 13%, of all, while construction was 5% and real estate was 6%. In Ankara manufacturing had a percentage of 12%, construction 10% and real estate 11%. If expressed in words; the ratio of the percentage of the manufacturing is doubled both construction and real estate percentages, while in Ankara the percentages were close to each other, indicating the significance of construction and real estate sectors in the economy of Ankara. Another eye-catching statistic on enterprises is the share of Ankara in different sectors. 7% of the manufacturing enterprises were located in Ankara in 2007, while 6% of construction sector enterprises and 14% of the real estate enterprises have chosen to locate in Ankara.<sup>258</sup> This illustrates the nationwide importance of Ankara in real estate sector as well as the significance of real estate sector in Ankara.

Ankara is also significant in global real estate market. We have already mentioned the report of Jones Lang Laselle on Ankara. There are other international agents that are conducting researches on real estate market in Ankara. A report prepared by Research and Markets specifically on Ankara was, for instance, claiming that investing in office spaces in Ankara will definitely will be profitable for the following four years and also the base prices will increase in real estate market.<sup>259</sup> Another report prepared by

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256 Ibid.

257 See appendix enterprise statistics for 2003-2006. TÜİK.

258 TÜİK, (2009) *Bölgesel Göstergeler Tr51 Ankara 2008*. Ankara.

259 Research and Markets, 2010. [http://www.researchandmarkets.com/reportinfo.asp?report\\_id=1246599](http://www.researchandmarkets.com/reportinfo.asp?report_id=1246599) accessed on August, 2010.

Forbes is more interesting; it is showing even the changes in meter square prices in different neighborhoods.<sup>260</sup> The report evaluates 2023 plan and points out the profitable places for investment. The examples can be multiplied but what is important here is the national and international characteristic of real estate market in cities. Abstracting the issue from the case of Ankara, real estate sector gained a national and more importantly international characteristic, which is making it object to a global scale land market. Urban land and uses on it are tools for investment. Highly commodified urban land is used for investment in national and global scale markets. The decisions made by the agents belonging to this sector are the ones most bounded to market economy and the motives behind is purely capitalistic. The more the interest of the real market is, the more the urban development. So even by being interested in the city, the rents will rise accordingly and so the pressure over the municipalities and their plans.

## **5.6. Landowners**

The growth of the city creates a tension on the periphery, a tension between the urban and the rural. We have previously analyzed one side of this tension: the real estate agents, the other side is the rural landowners. The struggle to overcome each other on the land is also a struggle between real estate actors and the landowner farmers. In other words, originally rural landowners and the real estate market are not on the same side. As Brueckner says;

“Competition for land between real estate developers and non-urban users (mainly farmers and other agricultural users) helps to determine the spatial sizes of cities. For a city to grow spatially, developers must be able to bid away additional land from agricultural users. A successful bid by developers means the land is worth more in urban use than in agriculture, reflecting a greater economic contribution in its developed state. In this sense, land conversion is guided by the economist’s “invisible hand,” which directs resources to their highest and best use.”<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Forbes, 2010. <http://www.qurbaa.com/emlak-guncel/2010-ankara-emlak-raporu/20963/html>, accessed on August, 2010.

<sup>261</sup> Brueckner, J.K., Urban Sprawl: Diagnosis and Remedies, in International Regional Science

Brueckner claims that it is the invisible hand of the economy that decides whether the land will be urbanized or remain rural, depending on the highest and best use. We have critiqued this kind of approach before and stated that the actors in the process also have a role.

The actors previously mentioned or analyzed are looking from the urban side; the municipalities, real estate agencies, even state are 'urban' actors, in other words it is the point of view of the invaders but what about the invaded? Rural population on the surroundings of the city? What do they want? The villages very close to city of Ankara, what are the residents experiencing? This invasion has a different interesting side; the migration from rural areas to urban areas is high, and continuing, and the invasion of rural land by urban areas are also continuing at the same time.

The villages chosen as a basis for analysis are Yapraklık (Etimesgut) and Mühye-Yeşilkent (Çankaya). The first one is on the western development corridor of Ankara, where high development rights are given, and the second one is in the İmrahor valley, which is under strict protection of laws, and for nearly 20 years<sup>262</sup> waiting development rights to come.

The agent developing the areas are: in the case of Yapraklık is Housing Development Administration; while of Mühye, it is the metropolitan municipality. The development rights in both were given by the municipality but the historical background of the rights given in the west corridor dates back to 1970, and 1985 (1990 plan by AMANPB and 2015 structural plan) while the other village is problematic; the area is in the protected zone, so the development rights even in the village was and is facing legal problems.

It can be considered as a micro analysis of a macro event; we will put the problem from the eyes of most 'insignificant' actors and the smallest groups, villagers living on the development zone, or the protection zone, where further development is prohibited by extensive laws. On one side we have a

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Review 2000;23;160, Sage Publications,  
<http://irx.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/23/2/160> , accessed on April, 2010.

262 According to landowners, and real estate agencies interviewed.

village who gets the development rights as high as can be, and on the other side we have villagers who are long waiting for development rights to come.

### **5.6.1 Waiting For The Development Rights to Come: Mühye<sup>263</sup>**

Mühye is a village which is 2 kilometers far away from the administrative heart of Turkey, Presidential Çankaya Mansion, without a decent road and low accessibility to the city, but having fresh weather, situated between valleys: green and rural. Let alone constructing new residential areas on the rural land in İmrahor, due to being under protection, construction activities are forbidden even in the village. The eyes of the metropolitan municipality, constructors, investors and contractors are on Mühye-İmrahor. 2023 plan determined the area as a special project zone without clarifying the features of the project. The main project related to the area is Güneykent urban transformation project; proposing to transform rural land under protection into high-rise residences.

According to a real estate agent working in Mühye and other landowner interviewees, the peak of the land exchanges was experienced in late 1990s early 2000s, a period under control of the same group and mayor leading the city, an uninterrupted reign of the same point of view. These years can also be considered as the peak period of urbanization of capital up to now. It is inevitable for the surrounding rural areas for not to be effected by the mass force applied by capital over the urban space.

The main economic activities in the village about 20-30 years ago was agriculture, husbandry and more importantly production of brick kilns. But in late 1980s the agricultural activities were started to decline mainly due to the politics of state discouraging the agricultural production. The fall of the brick production also dates back to the same time period. According to an interviewee, in 1988-1989, there was a speculation that development rights for new residential areas was coming, and brick kilns were considered as problematic functions for proposed residential areas with their production processes. Interviewee adds; as a matter of fact, the licenses of most of the

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<sup>263</sup> Extracted from the In-depth interviews done in Mühye (also known as Yeşilkent) by author in April 2010 .

brick kilns were abolished and production activities were lessened in the area. According to village headman, the 22 out of 25 brick kilns was closed up until today. The decline of the production and replacing it with consumption is effective over both urban areas and rural areas surrounding the cities.

Eventhough it is impossible to quantitatively prove a direct correlation between the given or promised development rights and political support in the form of votes; the development rights are definitely used as a tool for political campaigns in the elections. Before the local election in 2009, the nominees competing for being the mayor of the metropolitan municipality, came to Mühye and as expected have promised development rights. The all three nominees; belonging to different parties; Justice and Development Party, Republican People's Party and Nationalist Movement Party, promised the same thing according to multiple number of interviewees: solving the development problems and giving further development rights alongside provision of other urban services. This is another obstacle before analyzing the correlation between votes and development rights given; if all the mainstream parties (that has a chance to be elected) give same promises, it is hard to detect the impact of promises in elections. The previous actions of the leading party in previous term is also hard to track due to the special condition of Ankara. The Mayor remained unchanged for the last four elections, overlapping the time when the distribution of development rights has dramatically increased.

We have previously said that, one of the actors in urban sprawl is state. State has a more indirect role than municipalities but in the case of Mühye the promises have even given by central government; according to village headman, prime minister has given the instructions to solve the development problem of Mühye until 2013. So even state is directly intervening to space.

The development rights are not only promises of nominees in the local elections but also the wish of the most of the villagers and more significantly the large scale landowners. A quote from an interviewee summarizes the relationship between local politics and development rights; as an answer to

our question about his ideas on the metropolitan municipality, he said that he does not like the mayor because “he left us to the last, Mühye is like that for 30 years, and in 17-18 years he has given development rights even on Eskişehir road, but he did not intervene here, therefore I can not say that, I like him”<sup>264</sup>. Some of the interviewees, supporting AKP, complained when we asked whether the promises given before elections were realized or not; but when we asked whether they were satisfied or not with the services provided by the metropolitan municipality, they said they find the acts of the municipality satisfactory. The two answers are pointing out the same direction yet the votes given are just the opposite.

Right before the elections held in 2009, the construction process of the Güneypark project, the most important project proposed by the Metropolitan Municipality lying on the “special project zone” started, and due to the 'stay of execution' decision given by the court, the construction was stopped. Actually the area that the project is located was expropriated by municipality, so the execution of the project seems to be not directly related with the local landowners. But the situation is different, the importance of the Güneypark project lies in the conditional promise given by the mayor of the metropolitan municipality; that the development activities can only start if the Güneypark project is completed. The provision of urban infrastructure needed in the area can only be provided by the acquisitions earned from the project. According to an interviewee, mayor of the metropolitan municipality said that Mühye- İmrahor will become “golden city” with residences, touristic activities, hotels and leisure activities (which we can not be able to confirm from formal sources, yet very likely to be).

As we said before, the area is under protection, but the pressure over the area is unbearably high. Because of this pressure, the area can be considered as urbanized in economic terms, although it remained rural spatially. Most of the interviewees has given up agricultural production and husbandry-dairying, and working in the city, with a wide range and variety of occupations. There are three main groups in the area; first group is the landowners with some remaining lands, and mostly dwelling in Yıldız or GOP, in other words in the core city. Second group is the small scale land

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264 In-depth interview, Mühye, Ankara, April 2010.

owners and home owners in the area continuing to dwell in the village, gave up agricultural production and mostly working in service sector in the city. Quoting from an interviewee; the rich resides in upper side/in city, while poor resides in down side/in village. The last group is the tenants in the area; these are at the bottom of the social structure in the city. According to village headman, the rents are between 200-300 TL in the village, and considering the close location of the village to the central city where service sector and marginal sector reside, the area is a good choice for the poor. Moreover, until three months ago, the water provided by ASKİ was free, due to the land of ASKİ was belonging to the village and there is some kind of deal between ASKİ and village, bargaining the water with the land. As a matter of fact the life in Mühye is far cheaper than city. Most probably due to the prohibition of construction and an expectancy of development rights, there is nearly no urban service provided in village. Conditions of the built environment and the infrastructure is unexpectedly bad. The rich left the city in sum and the remainders are the ones with relatively smaller lands and the houses was rented by poor tenants working in city, or gardens and facilities (paintball) in the area most probably with a wage close to the minimum. In sum we can say that only the spatial component of urbanization is lacking.

The first group is the most benefitted group from these speculations; on the rural land that once belonged to them, lies the Yıldız district. The development rights given there was high, so the ones waited for the right time to sell their land, with bargaining them with flats became richer indeed. Others with smaller lands, or the ones with bad timing remained as the way they are, and still dwelling in village, which are the second group.

The scale of the land is important in this kind of areas. A modification was made in Soil protection and Land use law in 2007, the lands marked as agricultural land in title deed registry record can not be partially sold, and if the size of the land is smaller than a limit<sup>265</sup> then it can not be sold again.<sup>266</sup> Chamber of Real Estate Agencies<sup>267</sup> was opened up a case against this

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265 This limit is 20 decares.

266 Tüm Emlakçılar Meslek Esnaf Odası, Ankara. <http://www.atem.org.tr/index.asp?mg=33&subg=117&varSiraNo=277&varLang=T>, accessed on April, 2010.

267 Tüm Emlakçılar Meslek Esnaf Odası, Ankara.

modification, for that it will create problems for housing sector and newly developing areas. Actually the modification is a positive step in preventing urban sprawl, due to focusing on the protection of the rural land surrounding the cities. The act of The Chamber of Real Estate Agencies is illustrating the role of real estate agencies in urban sprawl.

We said that construction activities are prohibited in the area and the land is under protection. But these measures could not be able to prevent the usage of the area as secondary housing (curtilage) with gardens. Eventhough these are constructed without bases, this creates a risk of further development. Horticulture is widespread in the area, and the curtilages are used as weekend houses. So to some degree it can be said that urban areas were already sprawled into the area in the form of garden houses.

As we said before, the agricultural production is nearly extinct in the area, so the area is open to changes, in other words, there is no resistance to the development of the area, or a tension, and this is stemming from the lack of agricultural production. **The weaker the agricultural sector gets, the easier the sprawl of the cities gets.** Controversially thinking, one preventive measure against urban sprawl can be the support to the agricultural sector; if the agricultural production becomes profitable, (assuming that the land rents are also controlled) then the rural areas surrounding the city can resist the sprawl of the urban areas.

In conclusion, it can be said that, landowners are waiting for development rights instead of resisting them, an interviewee summarizes the perspective of landowners; “there is no villager that became rich by producing, they all gained money via selling lands”. The landowners on the outer periphery of the city are mostly prefers more development rights to agricultural production. Mühye is a special case for this, right next to city center, with a history of waiting for development rights for 20 years and a high level of expectancy for the realization of the development rights. A quote from an interviewee briefly illustrates the situation of Mühye; “neither we can be able to be urbanized, nor can be able to remain rural”<sup>268</sup>.

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268 “Ne şehir olduk, ne köy kaldık”

## 5.6.2 On The Eve Of Development: Yaprak<sup>269</sup>

Different from Mühye, the development rights were actually given to Yaprak, which is nearly 25 kilometers far away from the city center; and similar to Mühye, the level of urban service provision is extremely low. The agricultural activities are dominant even today and the whole land is utilized for agriculture. But this agricultural activity does not seem as an obstacle for the lands to enter the urban land market, the exchange of the lands are fast and there are a significant amount of land for sale in the urban land market.<sup>270</sup> According to an interviewee<sup>271</sup>, this is the situation for the whole villages located on Eskişehir road down to Temelli. Agricultural production continues but the lands have changed hands mostly. It is not the new buyer of the land that maintains agricultural production but the former owner of the land, under land tenure. There are also villagers working in the city, and the younger generations prefer to reside in the central city. Also there is a population living both in the core and village seasonally.

The area lies on the main development zone proposed by 2023 plan. With the approval of the plan, the process of production of implementation plans has been started, but the implementation plans were not compatible with the 2023 plan, determining the frame of development generally for the city, so, by Chamber of City Planners, a case was opened up against the plans and the implementation plans were cancelled.<sup>272</sup>

The exchange activities of lands is dating back to the early 2000s, according to multiple number of interviewees, most of the land was sold by villagers but the agricultural activities on the land are continuing as we said before. Development activities are started in the village, with some problems and interruptions, and according to villagers this is because of the conflict between Metropolitan municipality, and Etimesgut municipality belonging to

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269 Extracted from the In-depth interviews done in Yaprak by the author in April 2010 .

270The online sites on real estate markets can be visited to see examples.

271Yaprak, Ankara, April, 2010.

272 Trial was opened by Chamber of City Planners, Ankara Branch, 2008. [www.spo.org.tr](http://www.spo.org.tr) , accessed on April, 2010.

different parties. The projects conducted by Housing Development Administration were also started, which are privileged in the so called staged development of 2023 plan and do not have to wait for the production of the implementation plans. The implementation plans are under the authority of Etimesgut Municipality, but there are also urban transformation projects under control of the metropolitan municipality. In other words, the area is popular among all actors in the field.

According to an interviewee, the reason beyond the given relatively low development rights (with reference to Ballıkuyumcu for instance) is stemming from the votes given to Nationalist Movement Party's nominee for the metropolitan municipality and for Etimesgut Municipality, as well as mayor of the Etimesgut Municipality belonging to that party.<sup>273</sup> A villager complains about the netter square prices which are 100 TL in Ballıkuyumcu and 40-50 TL in Yaprıcık, because of the lower development rights given to Yaprıcık. The proposed form of housing in this area is villas, two-story low density form of housing while some other villages has got more development rights. We have asked the peak of the prices and an interviewee's answer was interesting; “the most profitable period for selling our lands was (and is) last eight years, overlapping the period of the prime minister, Tayyip Erdoğan”.<sup>274</sup>

When we asked cross-questions to the interviewees, we have seen that some of the answers were conflicting with each other. Eventhough the landowners are waiting for development rights to be realized, when we asked that whether they want to live in the apartments or not, most of them answered as no. Also, the main economic activity in the area is agriculture, and they are making their livings on it and they said that they will continue in the future too, what is impossible with the given development rights. Some of them are also dealing with real estate locally, so they may be relying on this.

Lands in Yaprıcık is popular among the middle class investors because of

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273 In the form of speculations, there are also rumours about the mayor of the metropolitan municipality, owning lands on the other villages, but not in Yaprıcık.

274 The interviewee emphasized the period of Tayyip Erdoğan.

the meter square prices, which is to some degree payable for middle class<sup>275</sup>. Also large scale investors are investing in this part of the city.<sup>276</sup> As we said before, most of the land was sold.

With its distance and scale, this area will suffer from the problem of urban sprawl, within a short period of time. In the future, the area will be like Çayyolu, Ümitköy according to an interviewee, which is more similar to a wish than prediction. Eventhough the villagers are making a living out of agricultural production, and some of them do not want to dwell in apartments, in order to profit, they want Yaprıcık to be similar to Çayyolu. The area will likely to suffer from the problem of accessibility considering the location and the deficient transportation service provided by the metropolitan municipality. We can end with a quote from one of the interviewee's words, "the only way left for the villagers is to invest, may be the villagers can not even dwell in the village, the poor will leave, and the ones with larger lands will off chance remain and the agricultural production will probably end in 10-15 years".

### **5.6.3 Rural Landowners and Urban Sprawl**

The motives behind the decisions of landowners, supporting urban growth and 'urbanization' of their village are invisibly but strongly related to the regress of agricultural production. In other words, state's politics on the rural land is both increasing the population in the cities and weakening the resistance of surrounding rural areas. The pressure of rent is so high that even if agricultural production is still existent as in the case of Yaprıcık, or under protection as in Mühye case , the exchange of land has long been started. Landowners position remains relatively passive but they are definitely creating political pressure over the municipalities. Extracting from the two cases, the reason beyond the votes given in municipal elections are more complicated but one motive behind the actions of the municipality is getting votes. It is not important whether they can get them or not but the

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275 There are considerable number of forums on land market of Ankara and on those forums there

are sellers and investors in every scale: [www.emlakkulisi.com](http://www.emlakkulisi.com) ; [www.emlak.net](http://www.emlak.net) ; [www.emlakhaberleri.com](http://www.emlakhaberleri.com) ; [www.hisse.net](http://www.hisse.net)

276 Ibid.

development rights given on the periphery are political and subject to elections, at least on the side of the municipalities.

## 5.7. Spatial Planners

Plan as a juridical and official document, has a significant impact over the process of urban sprawl. Planning powers to some degree have had some autonomy from the market forces especially before 1980s.<sup>277</sup> Even though none of the plans (even the master plans) are realized as produced, even before 1980s, the planning activities were much more public interest oriented. Moreover, while the decentralization strategies of 1990 plan and 2015 plan created problems over the city, especially in the form of urban sprawl, due to the lack of control and partial implication of the plans, the overall strategies produced for the city of Ankara was relatively good.

1980 is one of the most significant breakpoints of Turkish political history, with the Coup D'e'tat. After these years, the state completely left welfare state approach and recapitalization of state economic enterprises has taken place. Privatization process has been accelerated and the backdrop for the shift from urbanization of labor to urbanization of capital provided by state, with these structural transformations. Before 1980s, especially in 1970s; the development of Ankara was coordinated by a group of planners working like a pendulum between central state and local authorities (ALATAN, 1999<sup>278</sup>). The right to critique is reserved about the results, but the planners of that age strived to intervene the cities, especially the capital city with a more socialist eyes, regarding the social justice. The impact of the renunciation from comprehensive planning and the shift to the participatory planning was deep over the local governments in Turkey.<sup>279</sup> With saying participatory, it is not the participation of the public dominantly but the dominant participation of

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277 Alongside other control mechanisms of state, this can be considered as one of the reasons beyond.

278 Alatan, Haluk. (1999) 1923'den 2025'e Başkent, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayını. Ankara.

279 Şengül, Tarık. (2002), *Planlama Paradigmalarının Dönüşümü Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme*, Planlama Dergisi, 2002/2-3

local actors, and representatives of public authorities, creating a pressure over the plans.

After that breaking point we have experienced, planning lost its relative autonomy against the market forces, and the plans of Capital Ankara became much more oriented to the trends triggered by market mechanisms. Parallel to the paradigm shift in the policies of the state. As Balaban (2007) states in his thesis;

“Especially in countries like Turkey where rapid urbanization has taken place with limited resources devoted to urban domain development of built environment has been rarely shaped by planning powers or programs. In such cases it is mostly the market forces that determine and frame the production of urban built environment. It is a fact that market forces as well as planning powers are the two basic factors concerning the production of urban built environment.”

The impact of the actors and the role of planner, the individual reasons on surface and the societal ones in deep are also significant in the process of urbanization and suburbanization. Planner's rush to level up in the rank of planning authority classes can be showed as another reason, although it is not as significant as the other reasons. The way to climb up is to produce plans covering bigger areas as much as possible, and also planning for a population as much as possible. As a matter of fact, the planner sometimes misuses his/her authority, and gives rights more than needed, opens up areas more than needed. This is not an issue in Ankara scale planning processes and master plans, but it can be said that it is valid for the local development plans, additional development plans, 1/5000 regulatory development plans and ordinary development plans,<sup>280</sup> which are tools for the realization of the master plans, and the ones determining the real population inhabited.

The population whether exaggerated by municipality or by the planner, creates a developed land further than the needed and if we add this into the

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280 From the interview done with an experienced planner, Serdar Nizamoğlu, in 2008 by Kentsiz.

speculative nature of planning in Turkey, where authorities nearly never try to prevent speculation, the conditions get worse. Plan as a document related to future more than now, if the measures needed are not taken, naturally creates a speculation balloon over the urban and possible urban lands. It becomes a tool for investment rather than public interest.

Extracting from the previous part; the decentralization tendency has become dominant with the 1990 plan, and this tendency continued in 2015 plan and lastly the 2023 plan. At this point we can say that the planners as actors and the general shifts in the approaches to planning and the changing role of the state in planning processes as a selective mechanism are important for the direction of the growth of the city; be it compact or sprawled. By saying this, we are not accusing decentralization policies for sprawl, it would be unjust to claim that, but it is the unwanted result of the interaction of decentralization policies with other economic, social and spatial inputs, and with the impact of capital and changing state. In other words the decentralization policies proposed as the solution of the problems of the highly dense confined core of the city suffering from problems like unbearable air pollution, reacted differently with the transforming state and the increasing level of commodification of land and housing; seeing them as a tool for investment.

## **5.8. A Model for Politics of Urban Sprawl**

Before building a model, the patterns will become much clearer if the analysis of agents conducted above is summarized in a table form. Political interventions of each agent were analyzed with the tools they use, the indicators of the intervention and, whether directly or indirectly they affect the process. The results of the above mentioned interventions do not have to provoke urban sprawl in each and every case. But considering all, urban sprawl becomes inevitable in a capitalist society.

**Table 4: Politics of Urban Sprawl: Actors, Indicators, Interventions**

Agent	Political Intervention	Tool	Indicators	Affects...	Aims or results with
State	Shift in Politics of rural	laws and regulations	mass migration, urban population increase	Indirectly	other
State	Decentralization	laws and regulations	municipalities taking control in urban areas	Indirectly	other
State	dispersal of authority in planning	Laws: 3194	chaos in authority	Directly	lessening control over urban areas
State	enlarging the area of authority of the metropolitan municipalities	Laws:5216	increased metropolitan municipality area and adjacent areas	Directly	Controlling & enabling further growth of the city
State	Uncontrolled prices in Expropriation	laws and regulations	transferring state resources to private actors, land speculation	Indirectly	other
State	Supporting capital city	state subsidies, debts.	cancelled debts of municipality	Indirectly	other
Metropolitan Municipality	Planning	Upper scale plans, regulation plans, development plans and modifications in plans	production of excess urban land	Directly	Controlling & encouraging further growth of city
Metropolitan Municipality	Services and Regulations	service provision	investments provoking automobile usage	Directly	Controlling & encouraging further growth of city
Metropolitan Municipality	urban transformation	urban transformation projects	conducting large scale projects on the periphery	Directly	encouraging partial growth of city
District Municipalities	partial interventions	development plans and modifications	population attributions far higher than needed without an upper scale vision	Directly	encouraging partial growth of city
Housing Development Administration	partial interventions to production of urban space	mass scale housing projects	mass scale housing areas produced without an upper scale vision	Directly	encouraging partial growth of city
Real Estate Agents	pressure over production of urban land, commodification of land in national and global scale	land speculation	increasing real estate prices, global scale investors in urban land	Directly	encouraging further growth of city
Landowners	political pressure over the local governments for more development rights, supporting urban growth	Political support, land speculation	decreasing agricultural production on the periphery of the city, increasing land speculation	Directly	enabling further growth of the city without resistance
Spatial Planners	Decentralization approach, giving more development rights than needed to diminish the rent pressure	upper scale plans	overestimated populations, decentralizing Ankara	Directly	encouraging further growth of city

To start with, the two political interventions of state were the shifts in rural politics and decentralization, which are indirectly affecting the form of the growth of the city. The first causes a rapid and uncontrolled increase in urban population and a negative input whatever the case is. With the amount and pace of growth, it is impossible for the state or municipalities to keep up with the population increase via provision of urban services or regulations or plans. The second one, decentralization which, in its essence is a positive input, to decentralize the control over the cities to local governments that are more easily oriented to producing city and problem-specific plans but the decentralization politics are consequentially causing urban sprawl, with local governments being less independent to the market economy. With recent changes in laws, the authority of planning was distributed to multiple number of institutions, which increases the problems in controlling the urban growth. But, on the other hand, metropolitan municipalities are equipped with powerful authorities which, in fact, could be a good step for controlling urban growth, but the partial approaches to planning and controlling the city leads to just the opposite.

The areas under control of the metropolitan municipalities were also enlarged, in the case of Ankara, within a radius of 50 kilometers all the land is counted in the urban area under control. Actually metropolitan cities have to be controlled with their surroundings, so to some degree this can be considered as a positive attempt. The plans prepared by district municipalities were attributed higher populations and proposed more land for development than the proposal of metropolitan municipality in 2023 plan. But the Metropolitan Municipality is also provoking sprawl in this area with 2023 plan, urban transformation projects and partial plans. Two other political interventions of the state are the changes in expropriation policies which are related to the realization of plans and supportive policies of state for the capital city. The last one is endemic to the capital city: Ankara, and is effective on the production of urban space, which is a positive input, but together with other components of politics of sprawl, this also contributes to the sprawl of Ankara city.

Metropolitan municipality is intervening urban growth with planning, service

provision, regulation and urban transformations. These are all directly effective over the production of urban space and the growth of the city. Looking to the urban geography of Ankara today, it can be said that these three forms of interventions were used to provoke urban sprawl; proposing more developed land than needed, encouraging car usage, and transforming the rural areas into urban. District municipalities, with their partial interventions, are counted in; Housing Development Administration is with its mass housing projects. Real estate market is making pressure over the growth of the city and with international and national agents, the land market is getting dominant over the growth decisions for the city. Landowners on the periphery are headed towards land speculation instead of agricultural production and they are demanding more development rights from the municipality. Last but not the least, us, planners, in order to decrease the pressure of rent on urban land, or for practical reasons related with our profession, are giving development rights more than needed. Spatial decentralization was also proposed by planners for solving the problems of the inner city in Ankara. But these two, together with overestimated populations, are likely to create further problems in the form of urban growth.

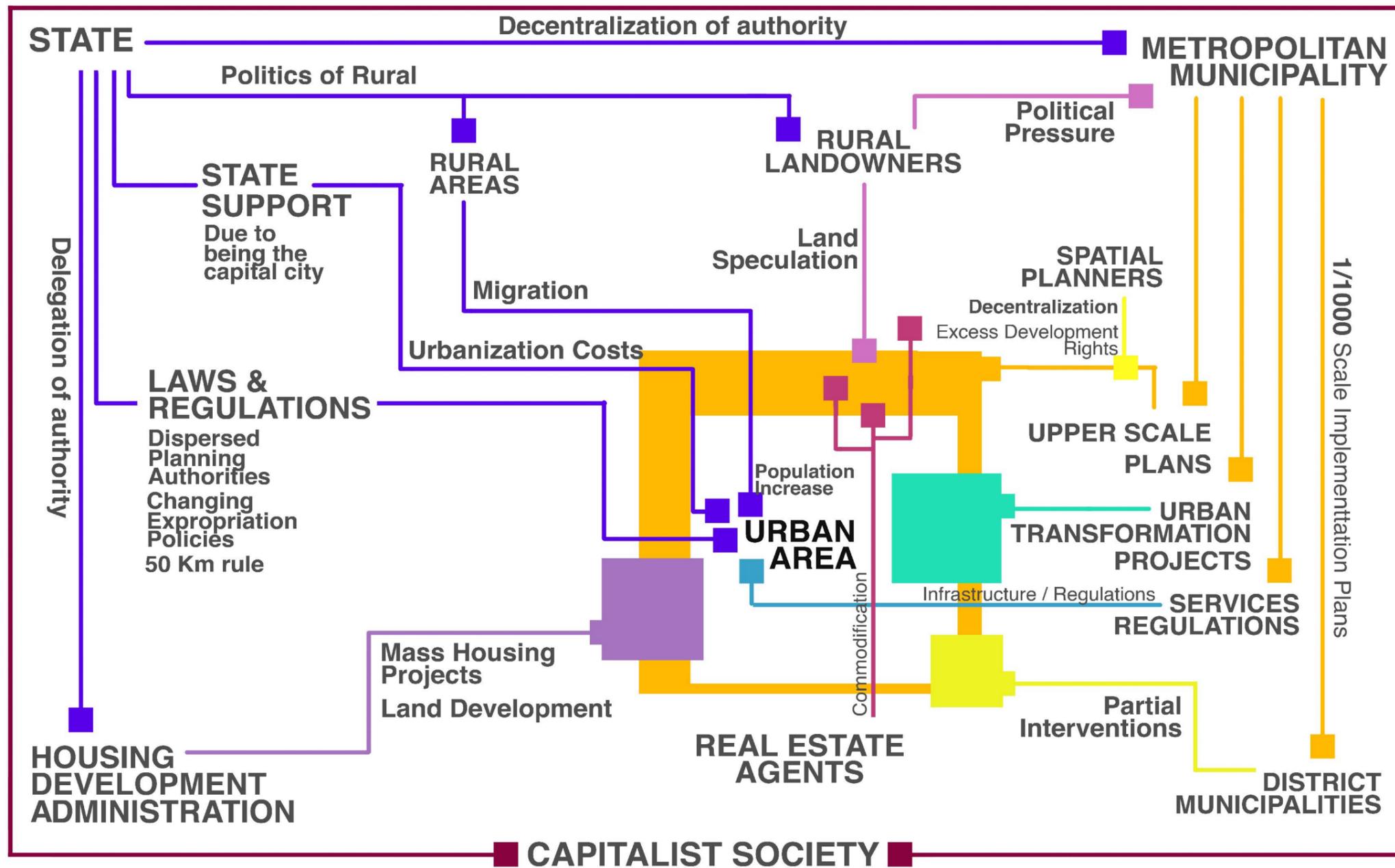


Figure 57: Model for Politics of Urban Sprawl

This model can be considered as the visual summary of this chapter and can be read both politically and spatially. In other words, the city and the impacts of the agents over the growth of it are symbolized both politically and spatially.

The model can be read as the guide to the path from unproblematic growth to urban sprawl. The flowchart that we have drawn in the second part to conceptualize the relation between urban growth, urban sprawl and master plans, was only illustrating the possibilities of forms of sprawl, in other words a typology of sprawl in city scale with reference to plans. But in here, this model, the aim is to illustrate the positions of each agent with reference to each other and their possible impact on the city. It is not implying that the result is inevitably sprawl. Most of the interventions ends with growth of the city, which, if not controlled, can turn into urban sprawl. For instance the rural politics of state causes an increase in urban population with migration, so city grows, but this does not have to be in form of sprawl. Or the state support to Ankara, due to being the capital city, is hardly a negative political intervention that will create problems for the city of Ankara. But together with other components, it becomes dangerous, due to providing the metropolitan municipality enough means for production of further urban space.

On the other hand, some political interventions shown in the model are more likely to create disorder in urban growth; such as the mass housing projects executed by Housing Development Administration, the urban transformation projects on the periphery of the city or partial interventions of district municipalities. These are shown as subareas conflicting with the master plan, more importantly decreasing the legibility of the urban form and expanding the settled areas. Another example of interventions that has negative effect on the form and growth of the city are the interventions of real estate agents, with the increase in rents, the pressure of the market on further urban development increases which definitely causes sprawl of the city, because demand does not mean that it is needed. Land speculation is another component that will definitely increase the instability of growth and tendency to sprawl.

Capitalist society structurally limits the agents and the possible patterns. It

provides a ground, gives the agents choices and with each agent's decision, there emerges a pattern; a pattern of determination leading to urban sprawl. State can be considered as a secondary frame under the capitalist society. To some degree it has direct impacts on production of urban land but in most cases this impact remain indirect, drawing a frame for development. To express with an allegory if capitalist society is the producer of the film, state is the director and municipality is the headliner actor with Housing Development Administration, real estate market and landowners co-starring.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

With this thesis, the urban sprawl problem of Ankara was analyzed and categorized in the city scale, the impacts of master plans on the problem were illustrated and a model for politics of urban sprawl was constructed. The political side of the production of urban space and specifically the problem of urban sprawl is was the focus of interest in this thesis study. The political interventions of the agents were analyzed and a model built up on this. At this point it is crucial to remind the debate on structure and agent. The positions taken by actors and their roles is inter-relational with the structure but the results of the political interventions of the agents into urban space can not be totally understood with solely focusing on the structure. The decisions made and the positions taken by actors have to be understood to clarify the issue at hand. In other words sprawl is the form of the growth of the capitalist city but we can not explain it fully with solely looking at the capitalistic relations and the structure of the capitalist society producing and reproducing the urban space.

The production of urban space is political as well. This assumption can be considered as the main underlying argument of this thesis. By saying political, we are not excluding other elements of the production of space, and we are not strictly dividing the reasons behind urban sprawl into solid classes, such as social reasons or economic reasons, these are all transitive. What we are implying with the term political is the political interventions of actors on the production and reproduction of urban space, to put more specifically on the problem of urban sprawl. Focusing of the role of the agents, at first sight can be understood as a Weberian approach, but we are not giving the actors an immunity from the structural limitations, context and in general the capitalistic relations within the society, so this parts us from the Weberian approach, to speak more specifically Urban Managerialist Approach<sup>281</sup>. What we are trying to imply is that the political interventions of the actors also should be analyzed to enlighten the background of the

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281 By Ray Pahl.

problem of urban sprawl. The roles taken by actors is eminently related with the capitalist societal structure, yet to disregard the political interventions of actors will be reductionist.

Urban sprawl is widely problematized with a politically neutralized approach disregarding the political elements effective over the process. Moreover, urban sprawl is considered as a natural stage of the urban growth in capitalist city, instead of a problematic form of growth, in some perspectives. We are here considering it as a disorder in the urban growth process and a problem that most of the cities on earth are experiencing. The main reason behind considering it as a problem is the

Urban sprawl as a disorder of urban growth is not a well-defined concept. Hence, we have started with the definition of the term; within this thesis urban sprawl is perceived as a disorder in urban growth, and just like an adjective, it is referring to the form of growth. It has some city-scale and partial indicators; where city-scale ones are hard to observe but definitely pointing out the sprawl of the city. City-scale urban sprawl is indicated with the changes and distribution of density, macroform and excess housing in the city. Partial urban sprawl (which is also pointing out to a city scale urban sprawl) is indicated with the lack of continuity, concentration, clustering, nuclearity, centrality, mixed uses and low density.<sup>282</sup>

After defining the term urban sprawl, before analyzing the impacts of master plans on the urban geography of Ankara and the urban sprawl problem itself, as an intermediary step we have drawn a flowchart illustrating paths from growth to sprawl with reference to plans. (see Figure.2) The figure draws the possible paths with and without master plans. The chart aims to demonstrate the position of plans and urban sprawl relatively to each other and summarizing the possible ways of sprawl in a city. The table lacks reasons, mechanisms beyond, which was completed with the model for politics of urban sprawl flowchart.

In the case of Ankara; the general indicators of city-scale sprawl were illustrated firstly and then a categorization for the urban sprawl forms was extracted from the geography of Ankara. The general indicators of urban

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<sup>282</sup> Galster, 2001.

sprawl in Ankara can be summarized as the relation between population increase and the change in and the heterogeneous and irregular distribution of density; the deformations in the macroform; the difference between housing supply and housing need; the forms and scale of planned and unplanned growth; fragmented urban pattern; decreasing accessibility and increasing car-dependency depending on the decrease in accessibility. These are all together indicating that the city of Ankara is suffering from urban sprawl problem. All of the indicators to some degree are intervened politically by the related actors, such as state, municipalities and metropolitan municipality.

With these general indicators at hand and the analysis of master plans, four different types of urban sprawl is proposed: chronic, recoverable, pervasive (divided into two as pushed and demanded) and haphazard urban sprawl. Each has its own locational and spatial characteristics as well as varying political interventions of the actors. The political interventions of the agents were included in the categorization of the areas suffering from urban sprawl. After this categorization, each type was exemplified in the case of Ankara, in detail. (see Figure 29) The general indicators and the categories of sprawl provided us a spatial basis for a model of politics of urban sprawl. We have constructed a model for the politics of urban sprawl, depending on the extractions from these spatial analyses adding further political components. In order to limit the vast subject, the politics of sprawl, the subject is divided into subparts represented by agents. The agents effective over the process are state, metropolitan municipality, district municipalities, Housing Development Administration, real estate agents, rural landowners on the periphery and the spatial planners. The political interventions of those actors were analyzed with reference to their impact on the problem of urban sprawl and a model was generated.

There are three key findings in the work, first one is the paths to sprawl table, defining the possible ways that the growth of the city will follow and end up with urban sprawl. This table brings the problem of urban sprawl, master plans and plans together. Second one is the definition of the four types of sprawl which are recoverable urban sprawl, chronic urban sprawl, pervasive urban sprawl and haphazard urban sprawl. The typology is

extracted from the urban geography of Ankara with reference to politics of urban sprawl and retested/exemplified in Ankara again. The last one is the model for the politics of urban sprawl. The model is constructed over the basis consisting of the previous analyses on general indicators, urban sprawl categories and their spatial representers in the geography of Ankara and the political interventions of each agent to the city of Ankara.

Defining four types of sprawl on the one hand and proposing a model for politics of urban sprawl on the other, creates a tension that we are aware of. Even though they are both dealing with urban sprawl the first one contains spatial overtones, and the second one contains political overtones, that are in different realms of science. The first one, categorization of urban sprawl, is directly related with space, spatial interventions and spatial planning are more close to natural and applied sciences and implies the urban geography side of the work while the latter, modeling the politics of urban sprawl requires a political analysis of the issue with agents in effect, that is in the social sciences universe and implies the urban politics side of the work. The approaches and methods are drastically different between those two branches of science, and this inevitability creates a tension within the thesis, which we are aware of but did not avoid.

Urban sprawl is mostly problematized spatially within natural and applied sciences and its political side is generally ignored. The roles of the actors, impacts of the decisions made by actors, namely politics of urban sprawl is not regarded in urban sprawl literature that much. As a result, the aim of this thesis was to analyze the problem of urban sprawl with reference to political interventions of the related agents, and master plans as one of the most significant tools of political intervention. While analyzing it politically, we did not ignore the geographical side of the problem and to some degree we have brought the two sides together via building a typology including both. We have used the geographical inputs to extract the political interventions of the agents and we have built a model of politics of urban sprawl depending on these extractions.

To sum up, the problem of urban sprawl was analyzed in two different realms, urban geography and urban politics. The tension within the thesis

due to the different approaches in these realms to some degree has been challenging but the problem itself lies in between, which means that our task is to deal with both of them, if we are working on a problem like urban sprawl.

The further steps of this research can be testing the developed categories of sprawl and model of politics of sprawl. The typology of sprawl, developed throughout this thesis has a potential of generalization. So it has to be applied to other cities in order to test their adaptability and universality. Especially the underdeveloped cities have to be analyzed in order to find the similarities with our categories. If the results are positive, and the categories fit other cities' sprawls, then this thesis will reach its aim; to explain a phenomenon and make it more understandable via a universal categorization. Similarly, the model of politics of urban sprawl can also be simplified and universalized, to test the applicability of it to different cities in different countries. These two, if generalized and become applicable to different cities, will make the problem of urban sprawl more understandable. Then comes the search for solutions, both in spatial and political realms, but firstly and more importantly in the political realm. The plans negatively or positively affect sprawl but we have to admit that; it is impossible to solve the problem of sprawl totally with or without plans in this kind of economic and social relationships deifying private property and commodification housing, land and even city; to put bluntly, in a capitalist society.

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## APPENDICES

### A. FORMS OF RENT

Rent can occur in four forms; monopoly rent, absolute rent, and two types of differential rent.<sup>283</sup> Monopoly rent is realized when the “competitive conditions do not prevail”, to put clearly, if a land has some specific features that makes it peerless, than the rent created is not related with other rents mostly related with competition and advantageous characteristics. Harvey exemplifies this with the vineyard example producing a unique kind of grape in agricultural land rent but it also has a significance over the urban land rents. Quoting from Harvey; “In densely populated areas house and land rents may be explicable in these terms”.<sup>284</sup> Second form of land is the absolute rent, which takes its basis from the private property that shows monopolistic tendencies due to the scarcity and limited resources of land.<sup>285</sup> “The power of landlords to create a barrier to the equalization of the rate of profit and the persistence of a low value composition of capital within agriculture” is another feature of the absolute rent according to Harvey.<sup>286</sup> The last two forms of the rent are the differential rent 1 (DR-1) and differential rent 2 (Dr-2) which “serve simultaneously as limits for one another”.<sup>287</sup> DR-1 is determined by the production costs in the worst land (least fertile and most distant). The market value of an agricultural product is determined by the worst land and the products produced on more fertile lands are also sold with the same price. The difference between the differences of cost and price creates the DR-1. Producers with more fertile lands gain excess profit, which is called DR-1. This form of rent is similar to the one defined by Ricardo. DR-2 is directly related with DR-1 and affective over it.<sup>288</sup> DR-2 stems from not the natural qualities of land but the investments embedded into land and the labor power used to develop the land in terms of productivity.<sup>289</sup>

### B. STRUCTURE - AGENT DEBATES

*The Circuits of Capital* by David Harvey, *The Urban Managerialist Approach* by Ray Pahl and *The Models of Determination* by Erik Olin Wright.

#### B.1 The Circuits of Capital by David Harvey

The process of urbanization of capital, as Harvey puts it, is accompanied by the “urbanization of social relations”, namely fragmentation of housing and production spheres, shifts and transformations in production and consumption with reference to changes needed by capitalism in order to survive. (Harvey,1985) In order to understand the urbanization of capital and urbanization under capitalism; Harvey distills the analysis over the laws of accumulation and circulation of capital from Das Capital of Marx. The three stages of circulation of capital, extracted from Marx and expanded by Harvey are as follows;

##### ***The Primary Circuit of Capital***

283 Harvey, D. 1985. p.349-56

284 Ibid. p.350

285 Altaban, Ö. 1980. p.138

286 Harvey, D. 1985 p.352

287 Marx, Karl., Capital, Vol.3 p. 737 in Harvey, D. 1985a. p. 354

288 Harvey, D. 1985 p.356

289 Altaban, Ö. 1980. p.138

The primary circuit of capital resembles the basic process of capitalist mode of production and generation of surplus value with a circular relationship emphasizing “the general law of accumulation”. Within each turn of capital in the primary circuit of capital, an increasing amount of accumulation must be secured for the sake of capitalist mode of production to carry on.<sup>290</sup> The general law of accumulation provokes individual capitalist to accumulate more and more by decreasing costs in production process and results with an increasing rate of accumulation cumulatively created by individual capitalists. What a capitalist seeks individually, -increasing rate of return- becomes an obstacle in front of the capitalists' interest as “class”. This obstacle is known as overaccumulation meaning “too much capital is produced in aggregate relative to the opportunities to employ that capital” and the side-effects are “overproduction of commodities”, “falling rates of profit”(both in pricing terms and in value terms), “surplus capital” which is unproductive and transformed from kinetic capital to potential capital like energy, “surplus labor power” as a reserve army “and/or a rising rate of exploitation of labor power” (Harvey,1985).

### ***The Secondary Circuit of Capital***

Harvey draws the frame of the secondary circuit of capital with two key elements; “the formation of fixed capital and the consumption fund”.<sup>291</sup> The distinction of these two elements basically stem from their positions taken against production and consumption. The formation of fixed capital provides a “built environment for production” while consumption fund provides a “built environment for consumption”.<sup>292</sup> The example that can be given for the built environment is the factory building while house can be considered as the medium that consumption takes place. At this point Harvey says that built environment can work for both production and consumption as in the case of transportation infrastructure. The secondary circuit of capital in sum, refers to the urban built environment and the capital embedded in land.

The basic instinct of capitalist form of production is the need for the surplus for every production cycle which eventually lead to the problem of overaccumulation in the primary circuit. That is the trigger beyond the capital flow to secondary circuit of capital. The switch between these two circuits is not an easy one; the turn-back time is much longer than the primary circuit and also the scale is much larger. According to Harvey this creates an invisible barrier for capital flow from primary to secondary circuit and to overcome this barrier he claims that, a state willing to provide needed infrastructure for those “long-lasting” and “large scale” investments to take place is crucial.<sup>293</sup> To switch from the primary to secondary circuit, “a money supply and credit system that creates fictitious capital” is also needed.<sup>294</sup> This brings us the question of the control mechanisms over credit system and fictitious capital. For Harvey, the central mechanism is the collaboration of financial and state institutions working like “a nerve center” for the switch from primary to secondary circuit of capital.<sup>295</sup> For instance, investment of state institutions in transportation infrastructure will eventually lead to an increase in the investment to the land for both spaces for production and consumption, in other words flow of capital to the secondary circuit, or financial institutions giving credits related to housing, like mortgage, will encourage the flow of capital to the housing sector, flow of capital into urban land. The “volume and direction” of the capital is under the impact of state and financial institutions.<sup>296</sup>

### ***The Tertiary Circuit Of Capital***

Tertiary circuit of capital constitutes of the research and development investments and social expenditures. The scale of these two areas of investments is not a scale that an individual capitalist could deal with, as a matter of fact mostly state takes this role like an agent for capital.

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290 Harvey, D. 1985b. p.3-4

291 Ibid. p.6

292 Ibid. p.6

293 Ibid. p.7

294 Ibid. p.7

295 Ibid. p.7

296 Ibid. p.7

Also capitalists have to act as a class for these investments. The first one is directly related with the profitability and a desire for increasing the surplus, by investing in science and technology, capitalists *as a class* benefit from it. The second one is more complicated. The investments in social expenditures are related with the reproduction of labor power referring both to education and health like expenditures and the expenditures on providing ideological control and repression over labor class, to reproduce the power relations.<sup>297</sup> The social expenditures in both social expenditures for needs and repression are highly related with class struggle. Class struggle has the transformative and revolutionary power over the reproduction of state and capitalist system, and because of this power the labor class have to be held under control.

## **B.2 The Urban Managerialist Approach by Ray Pahl**

Urban managerialism depends on different theories such as Weber's urban political sociology and critique of Rex and Moore's housing classes<sup>298</sup>. In addition, the critique of Chicago School's ecological approach, which failed to explain the allocation of housing areas and urban resources, and which was not enough for the sociologists to explain the processes that occurs in cities are also steps on the way to the design of the urban managerialist approach.

Pahl's suggestion is that; it is not the classes of urban population that is determined with the degrees of access and relations, but the "types of housing" which the urban gatekeepers allocate according to their own beliefs, rules and procedures; since the present housing condition could not be able to indicate "class" conflict."<sup>299</sup> He stated that the city is the spatial appearance of the political and economical structure of the society<sup>300</sup>, so the focus must be society instead of the city<sup>301</sup>. Eventhough we said that the focus must be on the society, Space is an important element for Pahl because it is "inherently unequal since no two people can occupy the same location in relation to the provision of any facility and according to his definition, an urban resource must have a spatial component"<sup>302</sup>. The main assumption of the approach is the inevitability of the inequalities of urban systems, in the distribution of scarce resources.

The main statements of urban managerialism are:

- "Spatial constraints" related with accessibility and "time/cost distance"
- "Social constraints" related with the bureaucratic rules and procedures and decisions of urban managers over the distribution of resources
- Spatial location of individuals directly related with accessibility to the services provided, Pahl adds that it is important when their occupational position or income level is held constant. The accessibility of the groups that have different opportunities in accessing the urban resources are the dependent variable and urban managers are the independent variable.
- "Conflict in urban system" is inevitable. Scarcer resources cause greater conflicts in cases such as demand is far bigger than supply.<sup>303, 304</sup>

The structure of the urban distributive system is formed by urban managers who have their own rights and ideologies. The priority must be given to the search for the level of harmony of ideologies and conflicts between urban managers; each having different professions and

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297 Ibid. p.8

298 Rex and Moore, 1967

299 Ersoy, M., Şengül, T. 1997 p.57

300 Pahl, R.E 1968 p.3

301 Pahl, R.E. 1975 p.6

302 Saunders, P. 1979 p.120

303 Pahl, R.E. 1975 p.201

304 Ersoy, M., Şengül, T. 1997 p.54

occupations.<sup>305</sup> According to Pahl, urban managers are the “independent variable” of the urban resource allocation system. These independent variables of the urban areas are crucial in understanding it as a whole. The professions and occupations directly related with managing the urban environment in other words actors that are counted as urban managers are as follows:

**“Finance capital:** such as building society, savings and loan association managers and others engaged in lending money for house purchase, housing development and housing improvements;  
**Industrial capital:** such as developers and builders;  
**Commercial capital:** such as exchange professionals like estate agents, lawyers and surveyors engaged in the market distribution of housing;  
**Landed capital:** such as landowners and rentiers like private landlords;  
**Central State agencies:** such as social security agencies;  
Agencies of the local state: local governments”<sup>306</sup>

These professions’ common feature is the role taken in the distribution of housing and urban resources<sup>307</sup>.

According to Pahl, urban managers are much more effective than government and capital owners over the urban distributive system. The vital decisions about city are taken by managers, not capital owners and moreover even the decisions about industrial investments are determined by them<sup>308</sup>. The urban managers can also influence the central government<sup>309</sup>. At this point, it is necessary to remind that Pahl, after intense critiques, revised his approach, and he lessened the degree of autonomy and power of urban managers. He introduced three constraints to managers which are ecological, governmental and economical. He defined four different ideal types regarding the relationship between these three constraints and urban managers. These four alternative ideal types are<sup>310</sup>: The pure managerialist model; giving total control to urban managers over urban areas, The statist model; giving total control to central state over urban areas and urban managers, The control-by-capitalists model; claiming both national and local resources are allocated in favor of capital owners, and The pluralist model; stating that there is a permanent tension between national bureaucracy that controls the distribution of urban resources, and profit of capital owners, and it is this tension ruling over the urban areas alongside urban managers.<sup>311</sup>

### **B.3 The Models of Determination by Erik Olin Wright**

There are six modes of determination; which are structural limitation, selection, reproduction/non-reproduction, limits of functional compatibility, transformation and mediation.<sup>312</sup>

#### ***Modes and Models of Determination***<sup>313</sup>

##### ***Structural Limitation***

Structural Limitation as understood from the phrase used; can be explained as *a pattern of determination* which defines the boundaries of possibilities of structures within the given structure. Wright states the significance of this mode with the claim that; it is needed “for understanding the

305 Ersoy. M.,Şengül, T. 1997 p.55

306 Knox, P. Pinch, S. 1982 p.181

307 Knox, P. Pinch, S. 1982 p.181

308 Ersoy. M.,Şengül, T.1997 p.60

309 Ersoy. M.,Şengül, T. 1997 p.60

310 Pahl, R.E.1975 p.270–272

311 Pahl, R.E. 1975 p.271

312 Wright, Erik Olin. (1996). *Class, crisis and the state*. London: Verso Books. p.15

313 Wright, Erik Olin. (1996). *Class, crisis and the state*. London: Verso Books. p.15-26

sense in which economic structures “ultimately” determine political and ideological structures”, with “ultimately” he does not refer to a mechanistic determination of economical structures rigidly determining the ideological and political structures<sup>314</sup>. In stead, the universe of possibilities of ideological and political structures is bounded with the limits of the economic structure, and within this structure some of the possibilities are much more possible with the economic structure given.<sup>315</sup>

Another important feature of this mode and model of determination is the functionality of the possibilities in reproduction of the structure limiting. Wright clearly states that “the range of structurally limited possibilities and the range of functional possibilities do not necessarily coincide”<sup>316</sup>, in other words a realized possibility which is previously supported by the structure, does not have to pay back to the structure via reproducing it as it is. Any possibility within the boundaries does not have to be totally functional for the structure.

### ***Selection***

Selection is explained as a second-order limitation by Wright, “the setting of limits within limits”<sup>317</sup>. It can be considered as the underlying order of the choice of the possible outcomes structurally limited. The historical background of the issue at hand, the previous selections within the boundaries in other words, are creating a dependency of the current possibilities and selections. Selections within the boundaries of a structurally limited universe of possibilities can be divided into two; positive and negative selections. Negative selection is the exclusion of some possibilities by previous patterns or the structural mechanisms itself. Positive selection, together with the exclusivity of negative selection constitutes “decision making processes”.<sup>318</sup> The impact of the state over the urbanization for instance, can be understood via this model of patterns. The selective role of state or as Wright says, another mechanism defined within the possibilities of the structure is creating a pattern of determinations like a secondary layer over the previous structural limitations and leads to a secondary limitation in possibilities.

Wright visualizes the selection with the three sided relation between economic structure, class struggle and state structure. Economic structure defines the limitations both for class struggle and state structure while state, with a selective mechanism modifies, affects class struggle. Similar to limitations, the functionality of selections are not a must or the only possible way. The selections made by the decision making processes does not have to work for the reproduction of the structure or the state structure.

### ***Reproduction/non-reproduction***

The debate on functionality of the limitations and the selections brings us to another mode of pattern, namely reproduction/non-reproduction. According to Wright, reproduction is also a form of limitation.<sup>319</sup> If a selected possibility leads to the reproduction of the structure, then the varieties are limited to the ones similar to the existing structure and “the reproducing structure prevents the reproduced structure from changing in certain fundamental ways”<sup>320</sup>. It is similar to structural limitations but there is a highly important difference between them. To put bluntly with an example: in order capitalist economic structure to reproduce itself, capitalist state structure is needed, moreover a must; but the existence of capitalist state is far from guaranteeing the reproduction of capitalist economic structure. The tendency to reproduction or non-reproduction is a “variable relation of determination” instead of being absolute.<sup>321</sup>

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314 Ibid. p.16

315 Ibid. p.16

316 Ibid. p.16

317 Ibid. p.17

318 Ibid. p.17

319 Wright, Erik Olin. (1996). *Class, crisis and the state*. London: Verso Books. p.18

320 Ibid. p.18

321 Ibid. p.19

### ***Limits of Functional Compatibility***

This mode of determination took its base from the question; if the state is not always functional for the reproduction, what are the qualities that make it functional for the reproduction of the economic structure as the way it is. "The limits of functional compatibility are not intrinsically coordinated with the limits of structural variation" is the reason beyond a non-reproducing state structure and the changes occurring in the structure, without reproduction as the exact copy of the existing structure.<sup>322</sup> This can be seen as the motive of change along other models of determination. If the changes in the level of the functional compatibility passes over the limit of the reproduction of the state structure and/or the economic structure; a shift occurs; Wright exemplifies it with the bourgeois revolutions leading to a drastic change, "violent transformation" in the (absolutist) state which has become dysfunctional for regulating the power relations between aristocracy and bourgeoisie which is newly gaining power.<sup>323</sup>

### ***Transformation***

Transformation as a mode of determination is the causality of class struggle over the state structure and the economic structure. The antagonism between structures caused by the lack of functionality for reproduction is realized with the intervention and impacts of the class struggle over the state structure and the economic structure.<sup>324</sup> The inter-relational impact of class struggle is summarized by Wright as follows; "class struggle, which is itself structurally limited and selected by various social structures, simultaneously reshapes those structures."<sup>325</sup>

The class struggle increases the entropy in state and structure especially in the reproduction process of each other. This creates a non-reproductive form of determination but Wright claims that this does not prove that class struggle is always enough powerful to change the state and the structure.<sup>326</sup> The structural limitations and the selections can also bound the class struggle and make the impact of it insignificant over the state and the structure.

### ***Mediation***

Mediation can be considered as the "contextual variable" effective over the relations of determination between class struggle and the state structure for instance.<sup>327</sup> Mediation is the determination and impact over the grounds of operation where other modes of determination take place. The role of class struggle over the decision making process of the state; the intervention policies of state, is effective and transformative.

The form and characteristics of class struggle changes the level of the reproductivity of the state structure. With an intense and highly political class struggle, the tendency to the non-reproduction rises, while an "economistic and apolitical" class struggle leads to more reproductivity in state structure and the economic structure.<sup>328</sup> The impact of the mediation as a mode of determination is also effective over the structural limitations by having impact over the structures.

### ***Combined Model Of Determination***

Bringing all the modes of determination together gives us the chance to see the relational patterns between structures and agents; the patterns of determinations related to "economic structure, state structure, class struggle and state policies".<sup>329</sup> Wright claims that this chart is not a complete and detailedly comprehensive one, but a simple outline illuminating the researchers way on

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322 Ibid. p.20

323 Wright, Erik Olin. (1996). *Class, crisis and the state*. London: Verso Books. p.20

324 Ibid. p.21

325 Ibid. p.21

326 Ibid. p.22-23

327 Ibid. p.23

328 Ibid. p.24-25

analyzing, a general framework signaling the relationality between structures and agents, moreover the historical progress of this relation.

In modes of determination, the structures gives a breathing space to actors, in other words this approach does not consider actors insignificant and/or directly dependent to the structures, yet it is also not ignoring the structures and deifying the actors as the most effective elements over the urban areas.

The approach developed by Erik Olin Wright is criticized as being non-marxist and being a mixture of Weberian and Marxian approach which are paradigms on the opposite edges<sup>330</sup>. But regarding the mechanicality of the structure focused approaches and the naivety of the actor-focused approaches; the modes of determination proposes much more wide opportunities to analyze and understand the impacts of structures and agents without ignoring one for another.

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329 Ibid. p.25-27

330 <http://socserv2.mcmaster.ca/soc/courses/soc2r3/wright/wrighte.htm#XV> , accessed on April, 2010.

## C. POPULATIONS AND DENSITIES

Planning Zones and Sub-zones Defined By The 2023 Plan  
2009 Population (TÜİK) and Densities (Areas are gathered from 2023 plan)

		Core			
		Periphery			
Central Planning Zone		Population 2009	Total Area (Ha)	Density	
1	Ulus	6429	154	41,75	
2	Kültür	526	75	7,01	
3	Kızılay	5677	112,4	50,51	
4	Devlet	3528	488,8	7,22	
5	Kocatepe	13323	76,8	173,48	
6	Maltepe	26925	250,5	107,49	
7	Bahçelievler	57960	305,8	189,54	
8	Kavaklıdere	25458	158,3	160,82	
9	Çankaya	31973	307,1	104,11	
10	Ayrancı	39565	221	179,03	
11	Öveçler	57535	291	197,71	
12	Balgat	33979	257	132,21	
13	Çukurambar	18817	301	62,51	
14	GOP	31836	232	137,22	
15	Seyran	23651	97	243,82	
16	Söğütözü	17202	458	37,56	
17	İncesu	19684	57	345,33	
18	Cebeci	35167	160	219,79	
19	Demirlibahçe	24483	109	224,61	
20	Hamamönü	7306	65	112,4	
21	Hisar	22162	115	192,71	
22	Yenidoğan	36929	220	167,86	
23	Altındağ	36298	117	310,24	
24	İskitler	17171	240	71,55	
25	Hipodrum	105	127	0,83	
26	Varlık	5419	264	20,53	
27	Çalışkanlar	28048	147	190,8	
28	Dışkapı	17694	148	119,55	
<b>TOTAL</b> Central Planning Zone		<b>644850</b>	<b>5555</b>	<b>111,74</b>	
South Planning Zone		Population	Total Area (Ha)	Density	
29	Ata(Dikmen)	75169	395	190,3	
30	İlker	63464	508	124,93	
31	Yıldız	88945	4313	20,62	
32	Kırkkonaklar	18497	417	44,36	
33	Bağcılar	14145	100	141,45	
34	Zafertepe	22727	101	225,02	
35	Gölbaşı	56351	9212	6,12	
36	Yakupabdal	6881	9672	0,71	
37	Hacılar	1923	5649	0,34	
38	Oğulbey	1233	5940	0,21	
39	Ahiboz	561	4232	0,13	
40	Mogan	2664	6339	0,42	
41	Velihişmetli	2406	18057	0,13	
42	Oyaca	4220	30133	0,14	
43	Karagedik	2970	9317	0,32	
44	Selametli	1960	7468	0,26	
45	Bezirhane	2366	10071	0,23	
46	Karaali	1477	17328	0,09	

47	Beynam	1145	8189	0,14
48	Çavuşlu	1685	16552	0,1
49	Bala	10084	32630	0,31
50	Keklicek	6993	23278	0,3
51	Kesikköprü	1290	5270	0,24
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>South Core</b>	<b>282947</b>	<b>5834</b>	<b>48,5</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>South Planning Zone</b>	<b>389156</b>	<b>225171</b>	<b>1,73</b>
<b>South-West Planning Zone</b>				
		<b>Population</b>	<b>Total Area (Ha)</b>	<b>Density</b>
52	Çayyolu	58276	1516	38,44
53	Ortadoğu	60086	3317	18,11
54	Dodurga	10224	5283	1,94
55	İncek	4818	4885	0,99
56	Bağlıca	1431	8331	0,17
57	Yurtçu	1142	3664	0,31
58	Balıkkuyumcu	1438	8028	0,18
59	Tuluntaş	1069	4780	0,22
60	Temelli	8014	25846	0,31
61	Malıköy	1261	20596	0,06
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>South-West Core</b>	<b>118362</b>	<b>4833</b>	<b>24,11</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>South-West Planning Zone</b>	<b>147759</b>	<b>86246</b>	<b>1,71</b>
<b>West Planning Zone</b>				
		<b>Population</b>	<b>Total Area (Ha)</b>	<b>Density</b>
62	Yenimahalle	87017	500	174,03
63	Karşıyaka	77921	879	88,65
64	Demet	115607	790	146,34
65	Ostim	18705	2107	8,88
66	Batıkent	171990	3163	54,38
67	Yuva	13345	27497	0,49
68	Gazi	13851	1233	11,23
69	Şeker	11056	5123	2,16
70	Etimesgut	154836	2696	57,43
71	Eryaman	99676	1843	54,08
72	Sincan	160126	2052	78,03
73	Fatih	64729	624	103,73
74	Peçenek	1086	9769	0,11
75	Sincan OSB	10416	1944	5,36
76	Yenikent	16765	21180	0,79
77	Susuz-Sarayköy	7384	13597	0,54
78	Mürted	5812	6010	0,97
79	Eski Kazan	670	6723	0,1
80	Kazan	28007	27498	1,02
81	Pazar	3242	27528	0,12
82	Örencik	1296	14292	0,09
83	Çanıllı	3038	20756	0,15
84	Ayaş	9051	36830	0,25
85	Sinanlı	3274	13537	0,24
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>West Core</b>	<b>485091</b>	<b>8672</b>	<b>46,43</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>West Planning Zone</b>	<b>1078900</b>	<b>248171</b>	<b>4,35</b>
<b>North Planning Zone</b>				
		<b>Population</b>	<b>Total Area (Ha)</b>	<b>Density</b>
86	Aydınlık	53880	339	158,94
87	Siteler	52487	601	87,33
88	Önder	30816	253	121,8
89	Karapürçek	111119	2623	42,36
90	Güneşevler	46419	397	116,92
91	Hasköy	68326	849	80,48
92	Solfasol	8013	1618	4,95

93 Aktepe	55650	213	261,27	
94 Keçiören	135676	463	293,04	
95 Sanatoryum	167432	1064	157,36	
96 Basınevleri	26939	357	75,46	
97 Etlik	204242	2354	86,76	
98 İncirli	92407	385	240,02	
99 Bağlum	27537	9130	3,02	
100 Pursaklar	42917	2806	15,29	
101 Saray	5029	3489	1,44	
102 Altınova	446	2219	0,2	
103 Sirkeli	2621	9269	0,28	
104 Esenboğa	6169	8921	0,69	
105 Çubuk	65239	21058	3,1	
106 Akkuzulu	4645	18082	0,26	
107 Yakuphasan	1910	12788	0,15	
108 Kuruçay	3277	13396	0,24	
109 Yukarı Çavundur	3375	7466	0,45	
110 Akyurt	19057	32878	0,58	
111 Balıkhisar	4729	4675	1,01	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>North Core</b>	<b>1053406</b>	<b>11516</b>	<b>90,28</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>North Planning Zone</b>	<b>1240357</b>	<b>157693</b>	<b>7,87</b>
<b>East Planning Zone</b>				
	<b>Population</b>	<b>Total Area (Ha)</b>	<b>Density</b>	
112 Türközü	26786	153	175,07	
113 Abidinpaşa	57522	175	328,7	
114 Mutlu	66056	310	213,08	
115 Tuzluçayır	63819	533	119,74	
116 Mamak	32791	401	81,77	
117 Saimekadın	33757	153	220,63	
118 Kayaş	37028	1693	21,87	
119 Kıbrıs	45158	1578	28,62	
120 Natoyolu	18363	4249	4,32	
121 Hüseyingazi-Keçikıran	20836	1006	20,71	
122 Gülveren	30433	197	154,48	
123 Gülseren	13268	149	89,05	
124 Kutludüğün	16932	7903	2,14	
125 Kızılca	4201	7661	0,55	
126 Lalahan	4488	4750	0,94	
127 Hasanoğlan	9424	9315	1,01	
128 Elmadağ	27842	53842	0,52	
129 Kalecik	12966	36797	0,35	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>East Core</b>	<b>445817</b>	<b>10597</b>	<b>62,67</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>East Planning Zone</b>	<b>521670</b>	<b>130865</b>	<b>3,99</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>		<b>3030473</b>	<b>47007</b>	<b>64,47</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>		<b>4022692</b>	<b>853701</b>	<b>4,71</b>

data source: TÜİK 2009 neighborhood populations of Ankara and 2023 plan report, planning sub-zones.

Core	%75	%6
Periphery	%25	%94