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Recent Sprawl and Shrinkage Policies Deployed in The Sphere of Urban Management in Turkey: The Case of Ankara

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RECENT SPRAWL AND SHRINKAGE POLICIES DEPLOYED IN THE SPHERE OF URBAN MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY: THE CASE OF ANKARA

1. INTRODUCTION

The city is a comprehensive, dynamic phenomenon which, in different forms, changes perpetually. The mission of urban management is to steer the change in a public and societal manner. Urban planning, on the other hand, is one of the most rational tools that will render the management fair, participating, reconciling and transparent characteristics. Within the framework of this approach, and within the scope of urban management and planning, the aim of this study is to explain the process of altering the urban space via urban sprawl and shrinkage policies, which are simultaneous and yet are triggered by differing factors and preferences. On the management level, generating urban policies for the implementations regarding the utilization of the land and space with different potentialities constitutes the ground for this context (Feagin, Gottdiener, 1988).

Shrinkage in the urban space is kept ongoing through demolishing-reconstructing the city center and the historical texture, while sprawl continues by the creation of new revenue areas on the perimeter of the city, disregarding the natural resources and the infrastructure costs to be undertaken by the public, all accomplished under a generic title: urban regeneration. This process, defined as reshaping the urban space, corresponds to the periods of transition from modernization to globalization and even to the changes in the management and the economy of the country. These eras may be identified as the establishment period of the Republic – the years 1923-1950, 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and thereafter (Ataöv, Osmay, 2007; Tekeli, 2001). Şengül defines these periods, within the context of urbanization, as the urbanization of the state, urbanization of the labor and the urbanization of the capital (Şengül, 2009).

In Turkey, the time span after the 1980s differs from the previous eras in that the local administrations which gained power in urban management and planning deemed urban regeneration as the unique method in their implementations for bringing solutions to spatial issues. During the 2000s, however, as an extension of the deindustrialization trends of the neoliberal policies of the former era, production, employment and social dimensions are disowned, and the real-estate market outshines. During this period, urban space was reshaped through urban regeneration, which then was advocated to be indispensable based on the pretext to gain advantage with the new physical image of the city in the urban competition and by means of mega projects. However, all these implementations were being accomplished not by a spatial planning strategy of the planning system that considers the public and societal benefit for the urban space, but as a result of the trend shifting towards urban value increase (Ataöv, Osmay, 2007), and a fragmented and obligatory management system understanding. This process, attributed to the cyclical change defined as globalization and neo-liberalism that the world was living through, bears importance in understanding the change in cities and the alterations in the urban planning practices. Despite the fact that such interventions were implemented in every city utilizing the same tools through continuously changed legislation on public works, the meaning and the relevant velocity of this process differs for the city of Ankara, since it stands as the capital of the country, and therefore the city of Ankara is selected as the study area in this work.

2. URBAN MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING IN TURKEY – FROM MODERNIZATION TO GLOBALIZATION

Following the declaration of the Republic on October 29, 1923 and the establishment of the nation-state, modernization that would unite the national and the modern culture through reforms leaned mostly on large-scale socio-spatial strategies. The city to become the indicator of the power of the Republic and modernism display an urban sprawl which is based on the belief that the modern society can be created with new urban areas, leaving the old town untouched. During this process which continued until the 1950s, and defined as “*radical modernity period*,” efforts were spent to build modern cities through the combination of public authority of a centralized-dictating nature and physical zoning plans representative of formalism and constructivism (Tekeli, 2001). During the first phase (1923-1939) of radical modernity, powered by this ideal, the spatial set up of the cities were determined. The cities were to be generated and structured around the template of ‘the boulevard-main station street, square-park and the statue of Atatürk’, comprising the city center and residences. Construction activities out of the scope of the plans were not permitted. However, in practice, urban sprawl over the expropriated areas constituted the basis of implementations.

During the years of World War II (1939-1945), although the state did not take part in the war, it was obliged to abandon import substitution for industrialization and inter-connected urban policies. Factors such as state investments focusing on production, secularism, censorship and extremely rigorous implementations of tax legislation (Law on National Protection, Law on Wealth Tax) and the economic measures paved the way for the transition to multi-party political system and liberalism (Oran 1988). Thus, both in politics and in the city, the new bourgeoisie – the middle class – evolving out of the advantages of the war time economy and the provincial rich became active both in politics and in cities. The state was unable to develop policies to solve the residential issues of this group as well as the rapid urbanization forge ahead. In the large cities, the squatter's houses (*gecekondu*), the first examples of urban regeneration, rapidly expanded over at the perimeters of the towns. Therefore, at the end of World War II, the “modern city” project came to a standstill as a result of the influx of masses of poor citizens (Şengül, 2009).

The years as of the 1950s up to the 1980s are defined as the “*populist modernity period*” (Tekeli, 2001). The country has already implemented the multi-party political system; the Democratic Party, which comes to power in 1950, draws away from modernization in to a partially conservative liberal economy leaving behind statism. Private and foreign investments are promoted; land reform and agricultural industrialization are carried on, and the state now has undertaken foreign debt (such as Marshall Plan). All such initiatives and developments caused structural changes in the cities. The cities are no more the areas of modernity but are the loops on a network system where manpower and raw materials are carried to production areas and products to the market. However, as the labor force migrates into the cities, urbanization overtakes industrialization. Here, what lies underneath this process of urbanization is not the appeal of the city but the repulsiveness of the countryside (Vergin, 1986). In this environment, the squatter's houses of the poor migrants, and many a residential area with insufficient infrastructure, have surrounded the cities like oil spillage stains, and uncontrolled urban sprawl has started. Simultaneously, through the Law on Condominium Ownership (co-ownership) and the rehabilitation plans, construction intensity increased, and this development may be defined as urban shrinkage. Thus, owing to partial local rehabilitation plans, and the squatter's houses built by the poor migrants illegally by themselves, the style of urban structuring which evolved was far away from modernization.

In the 60s, pursuant to the military intervention, a shift in paradigm was brought about with the adoption of a comprehensive and rationalist approach towards urban planning (Tekeli, 2012). With its inflexibility and the retardant impact on the planning processes, this paradigm heralded the oncoming of postmodern urban planning. As of the 1970s and while the “globalization” period started in the world, the process of rehabilitation was initiated for the city centers which lost their appeal and turned into depression areas. Urban sprawl, at the time, continued at the suburbs. The petroleum crisis which erupted in this period, dynamics (such as Postmodernism, Post-Fordism and Information Society) beyond industry, replaced the concepts like ‘the state of wealth’ and ‘mass production’, causing important transformations. In the 1980s, within the context of new liberal understandings these dynamics were transferred onto the economic and political power level by means of relations of favoritism. This phenomenon, the “*erosion of modernity*” (Tekeli, 2001), even its rejection, like the conditions that came about with the military coup of 1980, was in contradiction with the country’s own conditions, or, in secrecy, changed them. In urban planning, through decreased centralization, and supported by strategies leaning on concepts such as sustainability - seemingly reflected as being taken into consideration, along with democratization, participation, transparency - all backed-up by legal and administrative regulations, the urban space was commodified. The ‘new-right ideology’ thus put into implementation aimed at integrating them in its own project by bestowing the right of rehabilitation on the population of the squatter’s houses (Sönmez, 2006). By way of rehabilitation construction plans, regeneration projects and investments directed at the consumption culture of the new bourgeoisie who lean their back on the politicians, pathways were opened up for capital returns. In the city, the increase of licensed or unlicensed construction activities, creation of closed, luxury residential areas at the far ends, functional changes in the center or in the industrial zones may be explained both as urban sprawl and/or urban shrinkage policies.

The years of 2000 differ from the former periods in that urban regeneration is implemented through the collaboration of the local administrations and the private sector. Following the 1999 earthquake, regeneration of the pieces of land in the city with high economic value was gradually legitimized based on such justifications as taking preventive measures against earthquake risks, constructional changes required in the harmonization process of the European Union, fortifying the global identity. So, holistic planning system, deployed especially for metropolis, was replaced by mega urban projects. During this progress, Public Housing Administration (TOKİ), though a public institution and given its legitimized privileges, attained the status of a monopoly teaming up with its partners as if it were a private sector institution, redirecting urbanization policies through mega projects. Such projects, planned in contradiction with planning legislation, principles and the master lay-out plan in a fragmented manner, are implemented as the sole spatial strategy in creating new capital income. Such developments, backed up with legal regulations that contradict one another, create chaos in planning.

3. THE CHANGE IN SPATIAL STRUCTURE IN ANKARA – THE CAPITAL CITY

The period following the year 1980 is defined by suppression under globalization and the internal dynamics of the country. Ankara, at this stage, undergoes for the first time a radical change following its rehabilitation as the Capital city and begins to lose its role as the pioneer of the modernity project (which was undertaken along with the Republic yet which dwindled

during the transition to multi-party political system) and of planned development. For this reason, Ankara bears importance from the perspective of this breakpoint in this study.

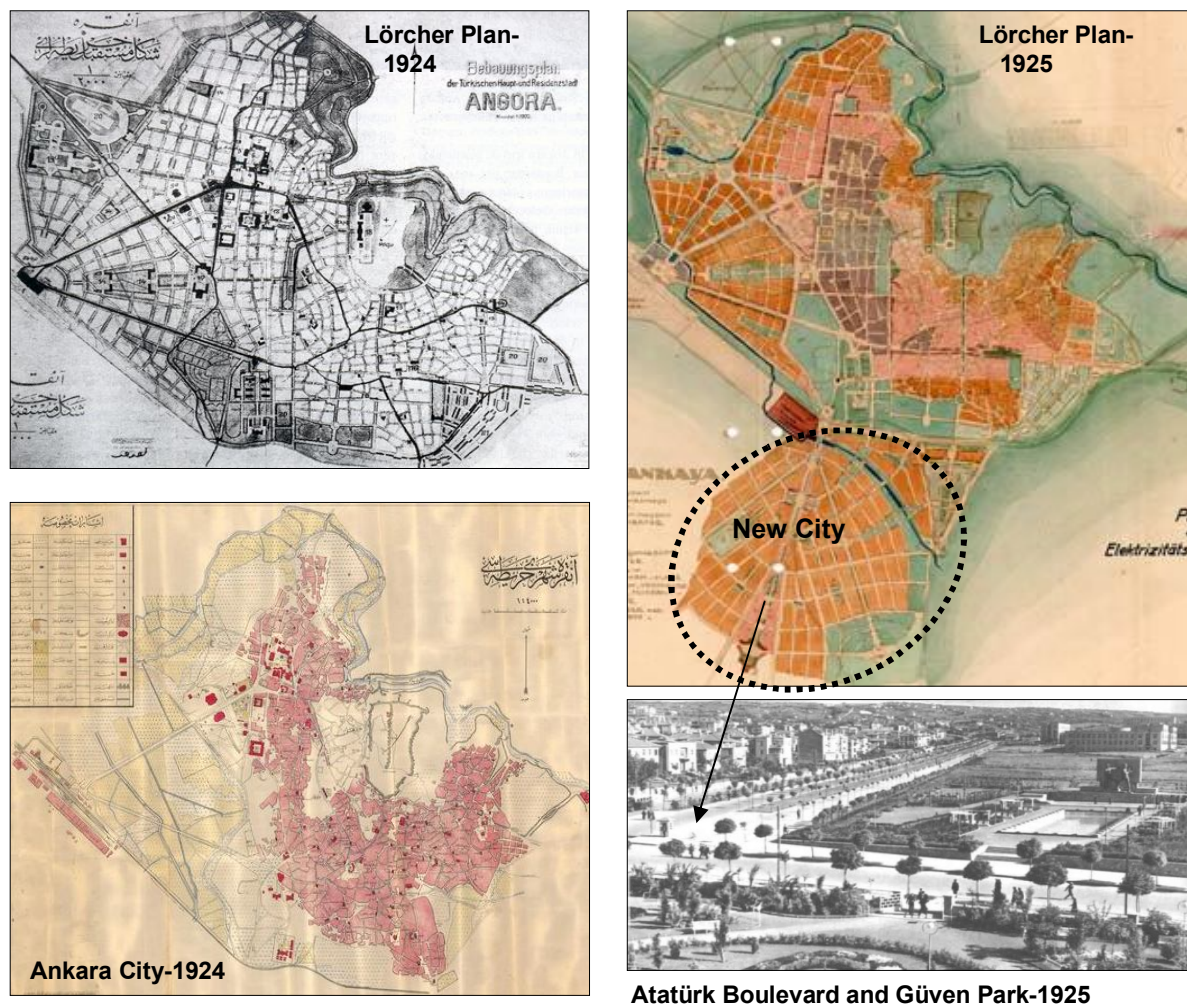
3.1. Impact of Modernism: Pre-1980

During the radical modernity period which started with the establishment of the Republic, the political and economic environment of the country changed under the influence of external and internal dynamics. In this changing environment, the variations in the understanding of modernism created differences in the structuring of the urban space. On October 13, 1923 Ankara was declared the Capital city of the country and the reconstruction of the city continued until World War II in the spirit of excitement of creating the modern capital of Turkey. During the process between 1923 and 1940, referred to as the Early Republic Period, Ankara exhibited a pioneering and teaching role in the urbanization of Anatolia. The basic principles implemented in modernizing Ankara were planned development, planned sprawl and construction. The understanding underlying this initiative of modern planning was to establish control over the space by imposing the standard believed to be fair and right for all, thus setting up the ideological and political hegemony over the society, keeping it under control so as to ensure its sustainability (Harvey, 2003). In this manner, a modern planning process for the city was launched under the sponsorship of the political power despite the economic difficulties that emerged following the War of Independence. The socio-spatial strategy adopted for this process would exhibit the spatial pattern of the power of the Republic and its reforms. The state established its dominance over the space by abandoning the old city and foreseeing a modern city in its place to be set up by the public sector utilizing the method of planning (Bademli, 1985).

The first experience in planning was the 1925 Heussler Plan that remained only on a level intended to determine the existing situation, and could not prevent the unplanned development, in fact, not even the creation of the first squatter's settlement area - Atıf Bey District (Tankut, 1981).

The second one comprises two plans prepared by Lörcher – one for the Old Ankara, 1924, and the other for the New City, 1925. In line with the plan of 1924, attempts were made to settle the increasing population of the old town in the old town, without changing the Old Town. Semantic and physical integration of the old town with the new was maintained on the axis of the concept scripted by Lörcher, namely the “Beautiful Castle” and successive green areas. The Railway Station-the House of Parliament-the Castle axis, running through the old town, highlighted the passage way of the city and the Boulevard of the New City (the *Atatürk Boulevard* or *Strasse der Nation-Millet Caddesi*, starting from the train station at Sıhhiye district and running up to the Presidential Palace) was connected to this axis. Rapid population increase and the pressures exerted by the ideologies of the Republic developing prior to the completion of this plan necessitated the planning of the New Town. The plan of 1925, naming it “*Çankaya*”, designed the New City as a “*district of state*” incorporating wide avenues, large squares and parks, the parliament building, the ministries, various public buildings and the residential areas for the employees. Propositions of the Lörcher Plan for the Old Town could not be implemented due to some different reasons such as property ownership issues, high degree inclination, and contradiction with the vision of the Republic (Figure 3.1). However, 150 hectares out of the 400 hectares of the land expropriated by the State for the implementation of the Lörcher Plan was used. The permanent spatial impact of the New City (such as the Atatürk Boulevard, Kızılay Square, and Güven Park) reaching our day is still live and visible (Cengizkan, 2003, Cengizkan, 2004).

Figure 3.1. Ankara City in 1924-1925 and Lörcher Plans



Source: Goethe-Institute Ankara; Cengizkan, 2004; Vehbi Koç and Ankara Research Center.

When the city population reached 107.000 in 1928, from that of 47,727 in 1926, the Lörcher Plan was no more feasible, and new plans had to be prepared for the city, projecting them on a population of 250.000 citizens. The Municipality invited three experienced urban planners (*Stadtbauer*), namely Hermann Jansen, Leon Jausseley and Josef Brix, to Ankara who participated in the planning competition realized in 1928. Among them, Jansen's Plan turned out to be the winner of the competition. In line with the instructions of the Municipality, the Jansen Plan that bases the urban macro plan on the dualism of Old/New Ankara was approved in 1932. The old town was left untouched as the “*area for state ceremony or protocol*”. In the new city, the standard of a “*Garden City*” was tried to be followed through green pedestrian walk ways that interconnected the districts of the city (Figure (3.2)). However, this plan received criticism based on such reasons as macro form, spatial structure, vague city center, and non-contemporary transportation (Tankut, 1998).

During the Early Republic Period, legal and administrative regulations were realized for the reconstruction of Ankara. In 1924, the Municipality was established, Law on Expropriation, dated 1925 and numbered 583, came into effect with the purpose of providing financial resources, “Real Estate and Loans Bank” (befor Emlak ve Eytam Bankası – after Emlak Kredi Bankası) was set up in 1926, The City of Ankara Development Directorate was founded by

Law dated 1928 and numbered 1351 (Tankut, 1993; Yavuz, Keleş, 1974). These laws and regulations served as the basis for many legal arrangements enabling the establishment and management of modern cities in the country. The objective of all initiatives was to create state buildings, parks and residential area models (Cengizkan, 2003) utilizing the implementation of the expropriation method and with the contribution, participation and preferences of the public and the citizens as well as to implement them also in other cities.

Şekil 3.2. Ankara City in 1928 and 1932 Jansen Plan



Source: Vehbi Koç and Ankara Research Center (VEKAM); Technische Universität Berlin Architekturmuseum.

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Following World War II, during the period between 1950 and 1980, urban macro form in Turkey changed due to such reasons like economic growth, industrialization, migration to the city from the rural areas arising thereof, population increase to 226.000 in 1945 from that of 74.999 in 1927 (Yavuz, 1980), issues of housing, infrastructure and unemployment. We reach at the following conclusions when we shortly evaluate the spatial development of the city according to the paradigms of sprawl and shrinkage:

- During the period 1950-1960 when the Democratic Party was in power, operations were initiated in Ankara (named Menderes Reconstruction) to create new capital accumulation, American type life-style, and spatial norms (such as cars, wide roads, high buildings)

through relations between the state-the society and the markets. The housing issue was solved through the Law dated 1948 and numbered 5218, which allowed the construction of housing for the workers at Yenimahalle district; in 1946 the Saraçoğlu District was created with the support of bank loans of Emlak Kredi Bank, and Law on Amnesty for the Squatter's Houses; all were undertakings to bring a solution to the housing problem. In the city, transportation and spatial structure was changed with wide streets (such as Talat Paşa Boulevard at Hamamönü, Bent Deresi Street at Ulus in old city center).

- Central administration was not effective in supplying housing. Due to this fact, the city was surrounded by squatters built by the poor migrants illegally and on land owned by others to provide accommodation for themselves. They first appeared at the district of Altındağ and scattered, thereafter, over the Dikmen area. It is known that 100.000 people comprising the 34% of the city population were living in those squatter houses in the 1950s.
- In 1955, due to the uncontrolled construction activities and the population increase to more than half a million, made it necessary to re-plan the city. Yücel-Uybadin Plan won the international competition opened for this purpose and it was approved for implementation in 1957. The existing development of the city over the north-south and east-west axes was accepted; however the valleys and stream beds (such as Dikmen, İmrahor Valley) as natural thresholds were not allowed for construction.
- In 1961 Regional Multi-Storey Plan was put into implementation, and the existing land parcels were merged and allowed for the construction of multi-storey buildings increasing the intensity of buildings. The structure of the old city was converted for different usages (such as Hacettepe University) through demolition-reconstruction trends. These implementations gained momentum with the support of the Law on Condominium Ownership dated 1965, 1960 Redevelopment Plan and 1968 Zoning Legislation. As a result of such initiatives, as of the year 1960 the single houses with a garden located in Bahçelievler district, and as of the 1970s, those in Mebusevleri and Maltepe were demolished and regenerated as multi-storey apartment buildings.
- In the '70s, Ankara, squeezed geographically in a basin, was faced with many issues such as migration, rapid urbanization, squatter's houses, air pollution, traffic, and housing. Solutions to such issues were deferred with the first set up of residential housing cooperatives on the outskirts of the city due to the increase in the prices of land located in the city center and as an outcome the increase of the number of flats in the apartments (Altaban, 2002). In 1965, Ankara Master Plan Office (ANİB) was established with a decree of the Board of Ministers based on the policy of producing effective and rapid urban plans. The 1990 Master Plan prepared by ANİB, with a flexible and dynamic planning understanding, was approved in 1982. This plan had foreseen the development of the city from the center to the periphery with corridors on the inter-city roads and the monitoring of the macro form through the housing projects to be realized by cooperatives. According to the Law on Cooperatives dated 1969 and 1978, the largest housing cooperative union of Turkey, KENT-KOOP, was established. In cooperation with the Municipality of Ankara, which extended its support for expropriation, the second largest planned housing settlement after Yenimahalle, Batıkent (Akköndü) was developed expanding the city towards the west. Along with the housing cooperatives (such as Çankaya-Central Cooperative Housing, Çankaya-Worker Cooperative Housing), multi-storey housing cooperatives of the private sector (ME-SA in 1970 and OR-AN in 1972)

realized their investments at Çankaya, an area producing high returns on investments. This selection of location initiated the expansion of the city towards the Eymir Lake.

- In 1972, an Inner City Transportation Study was conducted. The objective of initiating such a study was to change the compact form of the city and to ensure urban development on the corridors in order to decrease the congestion at the center, to meet the transportation demands with more effective systems and to solve the traffic congestion in the city. Based on this study the rail system and the other proposals made in the direction of the objectives of the 1990 Master Plan were deferred due to political and technical reasons (Sutcliffe, 2005).

3.2. Reflections of Globalization: Post-1980s

During this period the key sector of the economy is the construction sector as it provides employment opportunities, supports the construction materials production industry extensively, and vitalizes the real estate market. This orientation, put together with public-private sector-municipality cooperation and local plans, and large-scale projects in line with global consumer models, commodities' the urban space, and we see this phenomenon clearly in the city of Ankara. Public institutions (Emlak Bank, TOKİ), cooperatives and big private companies supported by the cheap bank loans provided by the military government and the new-right government take their place in the construction of collective housing projects. Collective housing production was realized with a stream of legal regulations and with different methods (Türel, 1998). As per Law on Metropolitan Municipality, dated 1984 and numbered 3030, and Law on Development, dated 1985 and numbered 3194, planning authority was transferred to the municipalities and, as per the Law dated 1984 and numbered 2981, a stream of development amnesty laws came into effect, adding the rehabilitation development plans to all of these happenings, urban regeneration projects contradicting the integrality of urban planning were implemented. Rehabilitation development plans for the squatter's settlement areas on the perimeter of the city were turned into regeneration projects in the hands of contractors (such as 19 Mayıs District-Keçiören); the squatter's settlement areas close to the city center were regenerated by multi-storey constructions through special projects in the hands of public-private sector collaboration (such as Dikmen Valley-Çankaya) (Sönmez, 2006). In this manner, urban regeneration was disseminated in Ankara. Among the development reconstruction plans for the whole of the city covering the areas of Altındağ, Etimesgut, Keçiören, Mamak, Yenimahalle, and Çankaya were prioritized as a public and social prestige area. Thus, the squatter's houses which spoil the image of the city and which are in adversity with the spatial standards will be cleared away. However, the decentralization of the city and thus the existing city plans that support the spatial expansion, increasing the intensity of construction through development reconstruction plans or spatial shrinkage are in contradiction.

These implementation practices facilitated development out of the scope of the plan and nourished the land speculation. Following the realization of the Ankara peripheral highway by the General Directorate of Highways, location selection outside the scope of the plan by the housing and industrial areas, especially over the south-western corridor (around Eskişehir highway-Alacaathı, İncek, Kızılcaşar, Taşpınar) initiated speculation in the real estate market (Photo 3.1.). In the areas (İncek-Taşpınar, İvedik and Çayyolu) which were a part of the green system foreseen by the 1990 Plan, low intensity housing areas were realized owing to the new legal and administrative resources. In the development of the city towards the north, west and south-west, the excuse for each initiative is that the city reached its topographic thresholds in

the 1980s and was squeezed by the squatter's houses. For this reason on the İstanbul axis to the north of the city where the topography is suitable, development was started with the intension to prevent squatter's settlement areas (Batıkent, Eryaman), and on the Eskişehir axis, large-scale housing projects were initiated for the upper level income groups (Ümitköy, Konutkent, Koru Compound). In this spatial sprawl by means of large-scale projects, the investors were the local administration (Konut-Kent I, Taşocağı Yankı Sitesi), the private sector (Konut-Kent I, Taşocağı Yankı Compound) and TOKİ. Public institutions, business centers, bank headquarters, and political party centers selected a place for themselves on the Eskişehir axis, speeding up this development. However, the squatter's house population could not afford to have access to these housing areas due to the high costs. So, these projects reducing the trend of escape of the mid and high level income groups and the elite out of the city center to urban space, during the Early Republic Period sharpened a dual social topography in the city, similar to the socio-spatial segregation of the executive class (Şenyapılı, 2006).

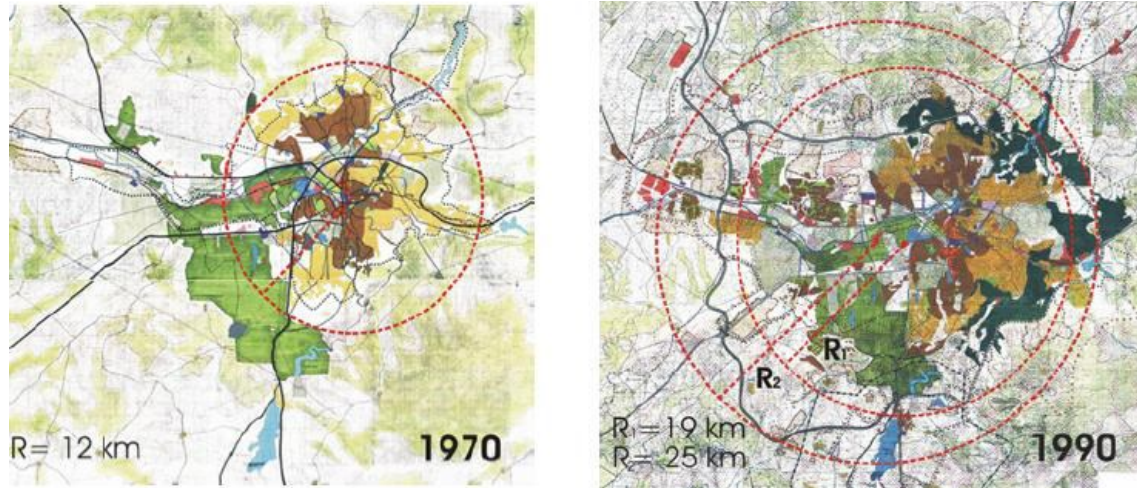
The study on transportation initiated in the 1980s was unable to bring a solution for the increasing transportation demands due to the expansion of the city in all directions. Therefore, proposals were developed in line with the contemporary transportation planning principles within the framework of 1994 Transportation Master Plan. In accordance with this plan the peripheral highways of the city were mostly completed during the years 1989-1992. In 1996, the light rail system, 8.5 kilometers in length (Ankaray) connecting Kızılay and its nearby environs to the inter-city bus terminal (Dikmen-Kızılay-AŞTİ) was inaugurated. Moreover the 14.7 kilometers long subway between Batıkent and Kızılay was put into service in 1997. However, the transportation demands of the city per its area of expansion could not be fulfilled. During the same period overhead pedestrian crossings were constructed in proximity to one and the other received wide criticism and remained idle.

During the 1980s, Ulus, Kızılay, Tunalı axis constitutes a triple city center, and at Gölbaşı, Sincan and Bahçelievler sub-centers exist. Ulus serves the low-income level population of the city and its outskirts. Kızılay serves the mid-income level population while Tunalı and Çankaya's target population is the high-income level group residing on and around the Eskişehir highway. This structure started to change in the 90s, first at the city center and thereafter at the developing corridors by the construction of large-scale shopping centers and thus introduced the urban dweller to the global companies and life-styles. In 1989, the second largest shopping center of Turkey and the first one of Ankara was opened on the ground floor of the tower – Atakule at Çankaya. Karum Business and Shopping Center, opened in 1991 on Tunalı Hilmi, targets the wealthy population. Migros Shopping Center, opened following the privatization of an industrial facility in 1999, is accessible by the subway for all citizens. Bilkent is the first out-of-town shopping center and was opened in 1998. It serves the high-income level population as a recreational center with its commercial, sportive and food and beverage facilities. These centers were realized not as the infrastructure of urban development but as the location selection preferences of local and foreign capital.

In the 1990s, the city of Ankara was re-shaped through urban regeneration projects. In this process, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (Büyükşehir Belediyesi) even all the district municipalities, the private sector together with TOKİ undertook an active role as the main investors. Since 2007, 73.657 residential units are have been constructed by TOKİ partnerships. As a result, almost all of these projects have caused spatial segregation of mid and high level income groups (Güzey, 2014) also approximately three times the spread of the urban space after 1970. (Figure 3.3). Following the 1990s, Akyurt Industrial zone situated to

the north of the city across the airport established in 1997, Ostim Industrial Zone located in the west of the city bordering Batıkent established in 1997, and İvedik Industrial Zone located on the same axis and established in 2001, have impacted the spatial development of the city at the direction of their place of location.

Figure 3.3. From 1970 to 1990 the Spatial Sprawl In Ankara City



Source: Çalışkan, 2014, Figure.5.

3.3. The Emerging New Spatial Structure Following the Legitimization of Urban Regeneration: Years of 2000

In the years of 2000 and for the first time, urban regeneration, initiated upon social and physical anxieties, is defined as a spatial strategy and is placed within the framework of legal regulations (Law numbered 5215, article 73 and article 6306/9). However, due to economic and political purposes, the social and physical context of this strategy is disowned. Implementation, on the other hand, is continued by means of the partnerships established between big construction companies which are in close relations with the government circles and the municipalities; the ownership of TOKİ is ongoing. Owing to the easy and cheap loan policies of the AKP (the Justice and Development Party) Government, which came to power for the third term in 2007, and the never-decelerating speed of sales transactions finalized over the plans, many (approximately 144) large-scale regeneration projects are altering the spatial facet of Ankara which now looks like a construction site (TOKİ).

In this process, a total of 50 thousand squatter's houses were demolished in Ankara. The municipality of Altındağ demolished 20.000 and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality demolished 10.000 squatter's houses located on the Protocol (Airport) Road and in the Dikmen Valley and 7.000 in northern Ankara and, these municipalities in partnership with TOKİ and The private sector instead of the squatter's settlement areas had built multi-storey residential sites. With the urban regeneration projects of Northern Ankara, Samsun Road-Hatip Stream Valley, Dikmen, Stages 4 and 5, City East, 50th Year Park, İmrahor Valley, Yakupabdal-Karataş-Yaylabağ municipalities and Aktaş Stage 3, Şükriye and Başpınar neighbourhoods, a spatial space four times larger than that of the 1980s will be attained, and the city will spread over in all directions becoming enormous (Figure 3.4). *A valley of skyscrapers* comprising 30-40 storey business centers is being constructed on the Eskişehir and Konya Highways and for this reason even the barrier plan is being altered. At Bilkent,

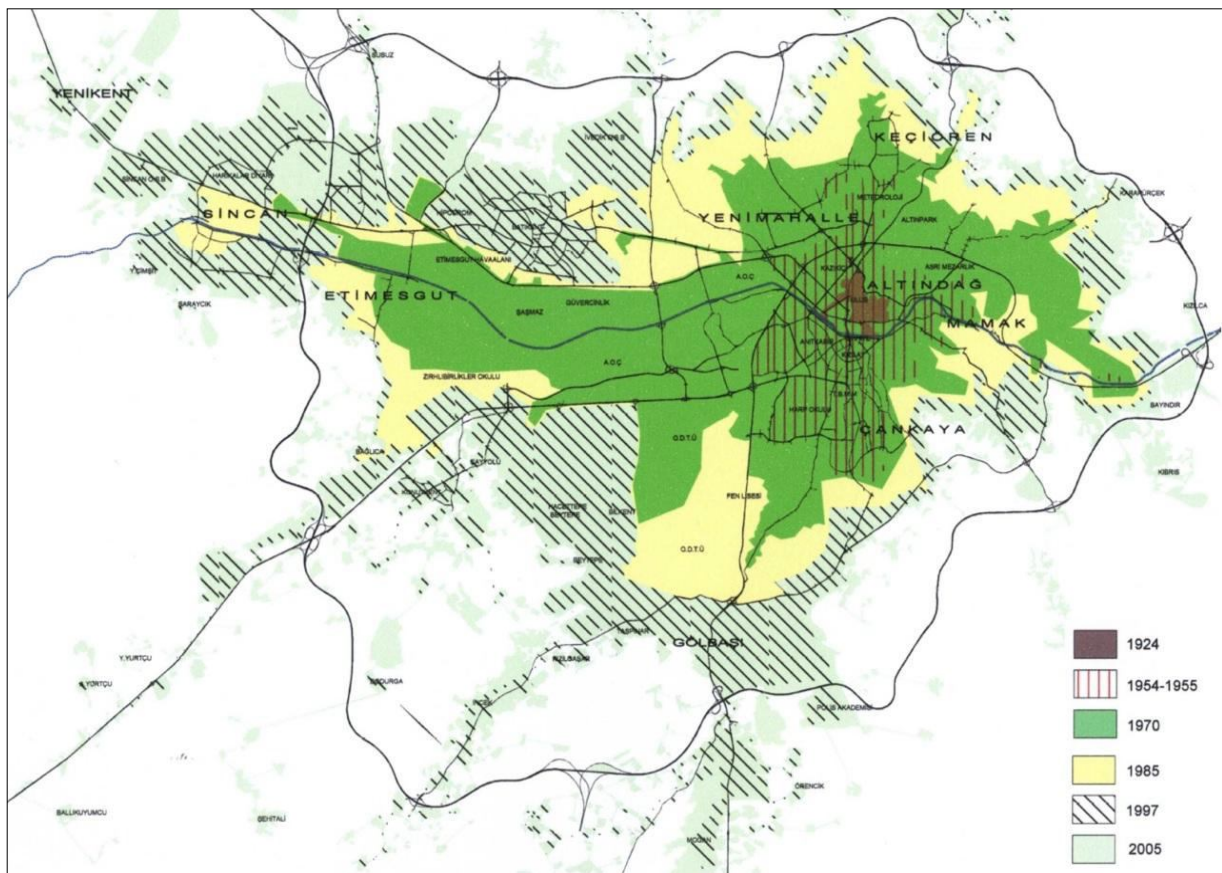
Gölbaşı, İncek (Photo 3.1) and Çayyolu (Photo 4.1) luxury and multi-storey residential compounds are under construction over the agricultural land (Dinçer, Varol, 2012).

Photo 3.1. Urban Sprawl on Agricultural Lands: İncek-Kızılcaşar Village



The South City project, which is the crazy project of the AKP Government, designs a center of 500 thousand residences. In this enormous urbanization, the infrastructure, especially transportation network is overlooked, and the issue attempted to be solved by local approaches, roads and highrise crossroads accomplished in a very short time disowning the natural and cultural values, are being patched over the urban plans. Same conditions prevail over the Atatürk Farm founded in 1937 by Atatürk.

Figure 3.4. The Process of Spatial Development of Ankara City



Source: 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan –The Chapter Macroform, Map.3.1.

4. CONCLUSION

The spatial transformation of the city of Ankara (Figure 3.4) differs from that of other cities due to its political and strategic privileges as a capital city. Focusing on policies of urban sprawl and shrinkage, this study has evaluated the transformation process, from modernity to globalization, in four basic sections.

- In the radical modernity period until the 1950s, the principle of planned development-modern city formation, the spatial strategy of Republican ideology, has been effective despite its decreasing force.
- In the period from 1950 to 1980, migration, squatter's house formation and industrialization have influenced the transformation, thereby shaping urban space. The macroform of the city has, in the form of a grease stain, expanded through an uncontrolled sprawl.
- In the years of the 1980s when modernity was denied, spatial transformation was initiated by market mechanisms which were, in turn, shaped by the newly formed government and capital relation under neoliberal policies, as well as public and private sector partnerships, in the commodified urban space. The fact that production and consumption habits were changed in this period due to global tendencies altered the demands for urban space, and spatial development was yielded by large shopping malls and enclosed residential complexes.
- With the slogan of globalization that became more effective as of the years of 2000, the city has transformed into a construction site through multidirectional sprawl strategies that would enable renewal and unearned income at the city center oriented towards obtaining a share of the urban value increase. As such, sprawl beyond the center is ongoing as a result of the re-concentration at the city center due to increasing squatter's settlement area regeneration projects (such as Balgat and Etlik) and middle-upper income groups and/or elites moving away from the center due to luxurious residential projects (such as İncek, Gölbaşı, Çayyolu -Photo 4.1- and Yaşamkent -Photo 4.2-).

Photo 4.1. Urban Sprawl on the Eskişehir Axis and Luxurious Residential-Çayyolu

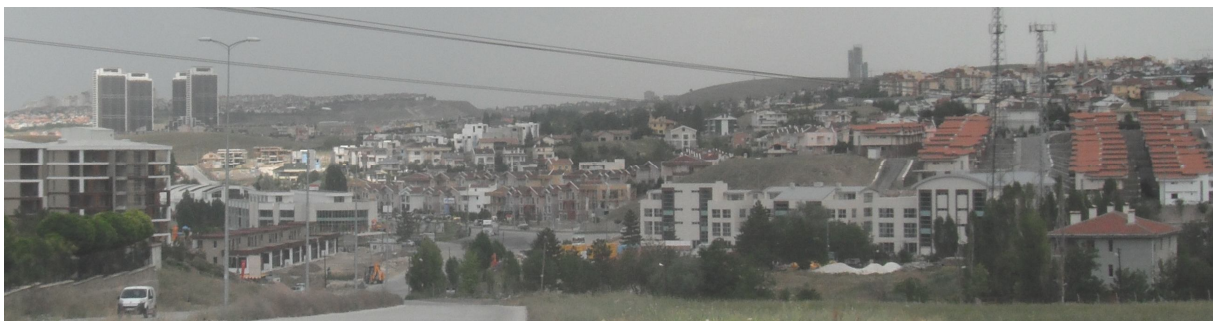
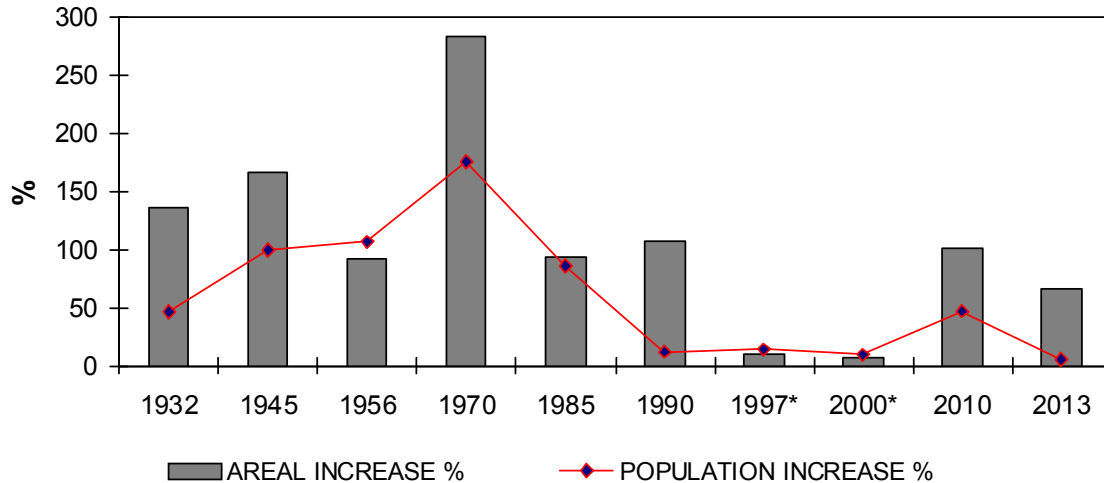


Photo 4.2. Urban Sprawl on the Eskişehir Axis and Luxurious Residential - Yaşamkent



- In this process, the new dynamics of the urban macroform are new residential locations, even new cities, supported by the political authority that regards the construction sector as the fundamental economic sector, and the transportation infrastructure that would feed them. In other words, the physical space of the city is being shaped through housing projects. In the aftermath of the increasing construction sector in Ankara in the recent years, the fact that the city's spatial expansion rate is higher than that of the population increase (Figure 4.1) and that housing supply is higher than demand provides adequate support for this case (Figure 4.2).

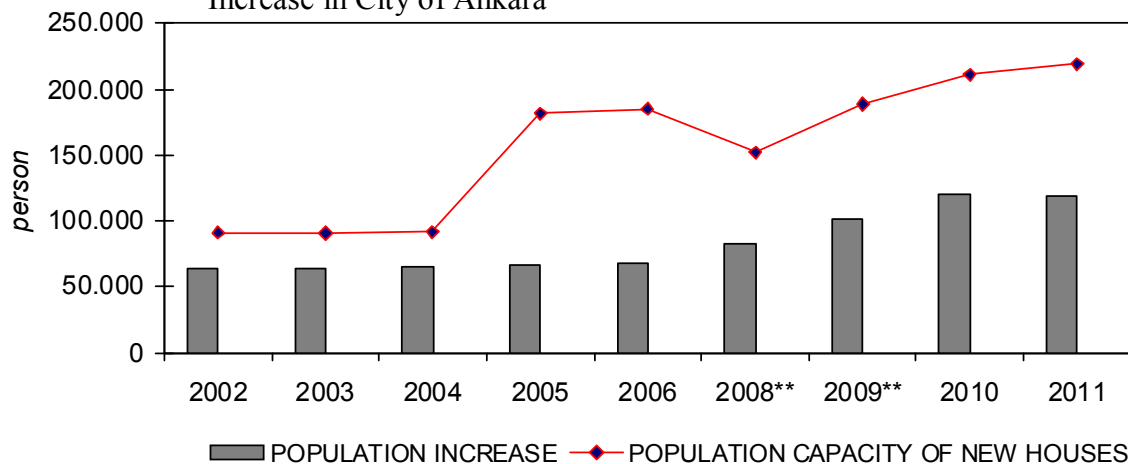
Figure 4.1. The Rates of Increase of Areal and Population in City Of Ankara



Source: Çalışkan, 2014, TÜİK (Turkey Statistical Institute) 2012.

* The effects of the global economic crisis of 2001 lasted until 2004. After this year, the construction sector was vitalized through new economic policies and privatization of production facilities and areas previously under government ownership.

Figure 4.2. The Rates of the Population Capacity of the New Housing and Population Increase in City of Ankara



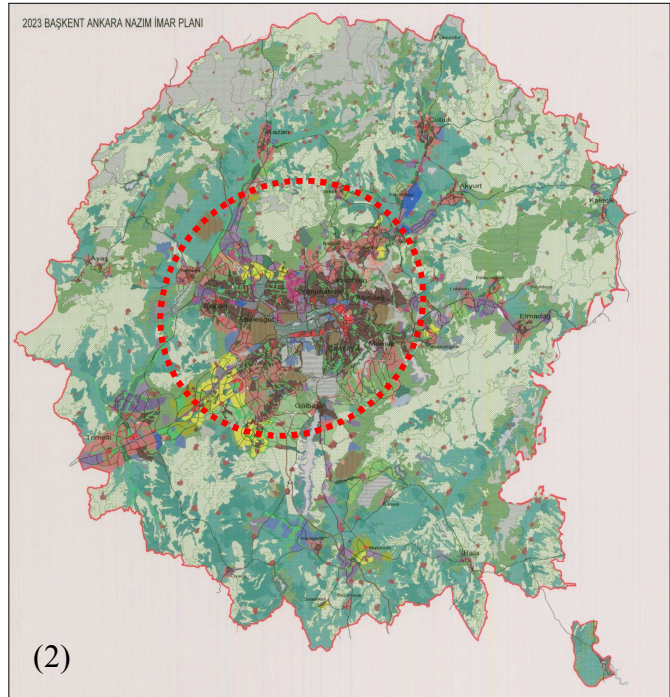
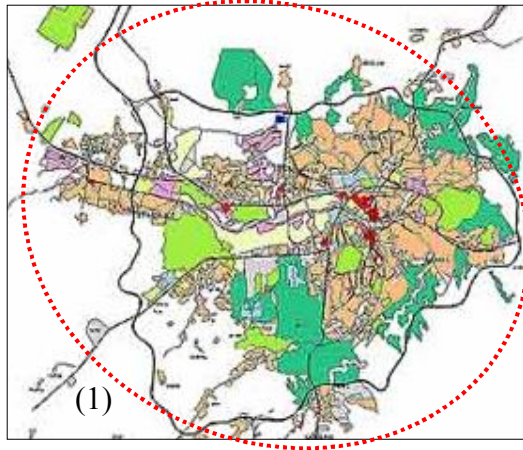
Source: TÜİK (Turkey Statistical Institute) 2012, Ankara Development Agency, 2011-2013 Ankara Regional Plan, Figure 15.

** The construction sector was negatively affected by the global crisis and economic shrinkage. With the arrival of huge international capital after 2009, the construction sector became the fundamental sector once again

- It is thought-provoking that, despite these rates, approximately 35% of the urban dwellers are not the owners of the houses in which they reside. Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, the jurisdiction of which was expanded to include the whole of provincial borders in accordance with the Law numbered 6360, has been unable to answer the need for new and different urban services in a way that would increase the urban dweller's quality of life. On the contrary, the Municipality has been functioning in support of urban sprawl. What is more, although the *2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan*, prepared by the Municipality, has identified "urban sprawl" as the most vulnerable issue, it has fallen short in developing powerful spatial scenarios that would prevent the unplanned and uncontrolled expansion in the form of a grease stain, regardless of the basic bearing axes (Eskişehir, Konya and İstanbul roads) that would shape the urban macroform (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3.

- (1) The Spatial Sprawl of Ankara City in 2010
- (2) The Spatial Sprawl Ankara City According to 2023 Capital Ankara Master Plan



In conclusion, it can be argued that the city of Ankara has been stuck between the modern and the postmodern in shaping urban space and in urbanization without internalizing the dynamics of modernization, that it is rendered inadequate and helpless in the face of practices that surpass globalization-localization dynamics and modernism, and that it has been unable to interpret globalization in accordance with its own circumstances. This situation should be the main agenda of the city administration.

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