

Forming a Capital: Changing Perspectives on the Planning of Ankara (1924-2007) and Lessons for a New Master-Planning Approach to Developing Cities*

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Modelling City Structure for a Semi-Developed/ Transforming Country: Formation of Core and Periphery

In the age of the so-called '*città diffusa*', '*edgeless city*' or '*elusive metropolis*', there is an apparent doubt about the relevance of the antagonistic conceptualisation of core and periphery to contemporary urbanism.¹ Although such a perspective can be quite valid when applied to developed urban systems, it would be simplistic to utilise the same terminology for developing 'peripheral' or 'semi-peripheral' countries, which are still formulating their own modes of inner and outer urban (trans) formations within specific contexts. In this sense, the conceptual duality between an urban *core* and a *periphery* is aimed to enable us to interpret the formation of developing cities such as Ankara, the capital of Turkey, as a model of a rapidly transforming country.

In its attributive usage, *core* is a central and often foundational part, a mass from which the superficial parts have been cut or chipped away. In other words, it is the central part, of a different character from that which surrounds it. In another definition, core is the innermost part, the 'heart' of anything. Drawing from these definitions, a core is the very essence of the body, containing its fundamental features; if you take it apart, the 'thing' - whether it is an object or an organism - loses its essence. Conversely, *periphery* is the external boundary or surface of a space or object; something forming such a boundary; a border or an edge and it is the

*region, space, or area surrounding something; a fringe, margin.*² In these spatial definitions, *edge* and *margin* can be counted as key concepts, giving the notion its essential character. From a non-spatial point of view, periphery is *the outlying areas of a region, most distant from or least influenced by some political, cultural, or economic centre.*³ In this use, periphery is relegated to a secondary position, compared socially to a core. Yet, periphery can also be taken as a fundamental part, determining the border condition of the core of the entire unit.

When we characterise the periphery as a *margin*, which is defined as *a region or point of transition between states, epochs, etc.; a moment in time when some change or occurrence is imminent;*⁴ periphery takes on a dynamic character, representing an 'in-between situation' in a transitional position. In addition, the margin presents a situation of *extremity* for being the furthestmost part of something. Sometimes this extremity results not only from spatial positioning, but also from the content and the program it serves. If we continue an etymologic search, the concept of *marginality* comes to the forefront when the periphery and the margin are regarded. If by 'marginal' one refers to *the edge of the field of consciousness* (physiological) and represents *an individual or social group: isolated from or not conforming to the dominant society or culture; perceived as being on the edge of a social unit* (sociological), an a priori assumption on periphery emerges accordingly: By definition, it should be of minor importance, having little effect; be inci-

dental and subsidiary. Therefore, it seems that the periphery is categorically excluded from serious consideration, in political terms.⁵ If this is the case, is such a conclusion valid in an urban context?

If we take the conceptual definition of the core and apply it to the urban context, 'core' should be represented as the innermost part, the 'heart' of the urban entity. It should lend the urban environment its primary character. From this point of view, the validity of the conception of 'core' may be questioned in terms of the phenomenon of human settlements. Whether in practical, functional or symbolic terms, the gravitational centre of cities does not necessarily coincide with the spatial centre of the urban form as a physical entity. Cultural preferences, economic relations, and changing modes and techniques of production are the factors which can make the central position of the spatial centre uncertain. This can be observed in the history of modern urbanisation in general terms. In urban history, urban peripheries could gain some significance through development and transformation processes.

The first systemic appropriation of an urban periphery goes back to the Republican Roman Empire. In ancient Rome, in order to reduce smuggling, the city limits - the customary boundary - were drawn further from the continuous fabric of the city and the urban core was stretched as far out as it was in the 4th century BC. From ancient times in Europe, when custom houses and city gates had been located at urban edges, the periphery remained important, with its enduring function of control, until the emergence of nation-states, where the outer political boundary of cities lost its validity. After industrialisation in the 19th century, the periphery gradually lost its cultural and functional importance, while water reservoirs, salvage plants, junkyards or leper houses came to be located at the periphery, 'marginalising' the margin of the city. This process went on at the city edge until the 'open city' concept appeared again in the post-industrial era, when the urban periphery

regained its prestige with the boundless development trend of the modern metropolis in the early 20th century.⁶

In early urban geographical models, the modern capitalist city was represented by a clear distinction between centre and periphery from a functionalist point of view. [fig. 1] In a sense, those models can serve as concrete clues about the relative positions of functional city sections among each other. With reference to the fringe formation, the common feature of those models is the basic difference of their peripheral sections to those of the pre-industrial city. While the 'elite' of society tended to locate themselves in the core of the city, which is relatively prestigious owing to intensive political and religious activities, when compared to the poorly developed periphery in the pre-industrial city, the modern urban periphery was a relatively desirable location for mobilised upper-class society.⁷

On the other hand, the relevant condition of the notion of the urban periphery for today's metropolises does not coincide with the early urban structure models of the monocentric capitalist city. In the period of the dynamic transformation of urban peripheries, the static notion of periphery was to lose its validity. For Nijenhuis, 'the plans taking their shape and meaning from the distinctive opposition between city and land and or periphery', have no meaning at all in the present phase of urbanism. Since everything is mobilised, including bodies, goods, information, and perception in flow, fragmentation in space is a given reality in the regime of speed.⁸

In developing countries, it is difficult to observe an extensive space production in urban peripheries which is completely apart from the existing body of the core central city. The urban core in developing/underdeveloped countries still has a serious dominance because of the overwhelming dependence on central space. To Richardson et al. at the metropolitan level the average ratio of central city

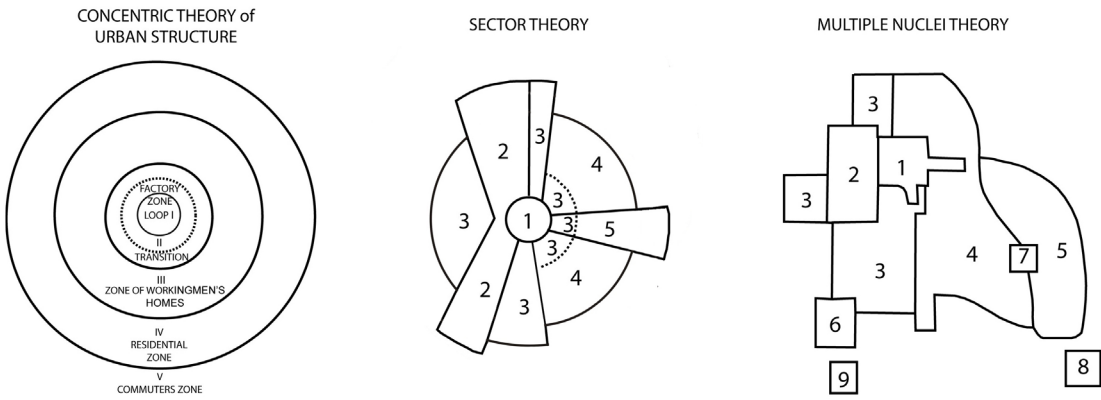


Fig. 1: The conceptual schemas of the theories of urban structure: 1. Central Business District, 2. Wholesale light manufacturing, 3. Low-class residential, 4. Medium-class residential, 5. High-class residential, 6. Heavy manufacturing, 7. Outlying business district, 8. Residential suburb, 9. Industrial suburb (source: Johnson, 1967, pp. 164, 166).

to peripheral densities is relatively higher than that in developed countries. It is because of this fact that decentralisation rates are much slower than the rate of the intensification of existing built-up areas in cities in developing countries. Additionally, the mean ratio of the central core area to the total metropolitan area in developing countries is higher than that of cities in developed countries.⁹

Intensification and external growth are generally considered as the contrary processes; however it is not the case in most cities in developing countries. While the reproduction of urban core by means of the intensification of central urban body is carried out, urban expansion goes on simultaneously in most rapidly developing cities. Densification and growth in the form of expansion as parallel urban processes are experienced within a dominant central urban body. That is why, unlike Western cities, the density surface gradient does not tend to decrease but keeps constant (increasing in some cases) in relation to the edge of the typical developing cities.¹⁰ This fact, which prevents the city form from evolving into an open peripheral system, is mostly derived from an insufficient level of public services (technical infrastructure) provided, the scarcity of urban land (lack of public land reserved for planned urban extensions), the dominance of fragmentary and jointly owned non-developable land around cities and the mass of people lacking the capacity for mobility because of poor economic conditions (thus tending to locate close to urban services in the existing urban fabric). With varied combinations of these real factors, a serious development pressure emerges in inner city land.¹¹

Another dynamic of such formation is the underdevelopment of the housing production process, which basically depends on small entrepreneurs rather than on highly organised, large-scale housing cooperatives. The limited capacity of building contractors results in partially realised, small-scale (plot-based) space production and the accumulation of the exist-

ing urban fabric - the core - by further additions, which can be called *core formation of the periphery*. All of these factors produce a real basis for a hardly controllable (or conceivable) 'oil-blot' type of urban form: an extension of the core with a homogenous and intensified/expanded urban body.

In terms of its historical context, showing signs of underdevelopment, and its current condition of rapid transformation towards development, Turkey provides a relevant case for a conceptual model of developing urban form with reference to the real factors named above. Public and private housing markets, which have rapidly developed in the last thirty years, provide an opportunity to observe a possible transformation of urban form in developing countries, from a core-dependent redevelopment scheme to a system of open development. [fig. 2] In this sense, the diagram of the proposed representative model depicts the common character of many Turkish cities, in which development is dependent on a dominant transport corridor - mostly inter-city highways which provide direct access to surrounding development areas. Yet the highway is not conceived of as a tool to control urban form; rather it functions as the carrier of the new urban extensions, which are mostly squatter and small industrial areas.¹² Therefore, large-scale highway structures and natural thresholds adjacent to the city are the major determining factors forming/directing the shapeless city footprint. While the existing centre is developed on the location of the historical city centre with modern extensions, a transition zone (belt around the core) as a diffusion area of growing commercial activity is always subject to plot-based, high density, high-rise re-development. Triggered by the increasing urban rent expectancies of landowners, the transition zone tends to expand within the entire body by transforming former single-family houses with gardens into apartments. Then small-scale retail activities find space within denser urban tissue in the first floors of the apartment blocks. This is basically the developing version of urban mixed-

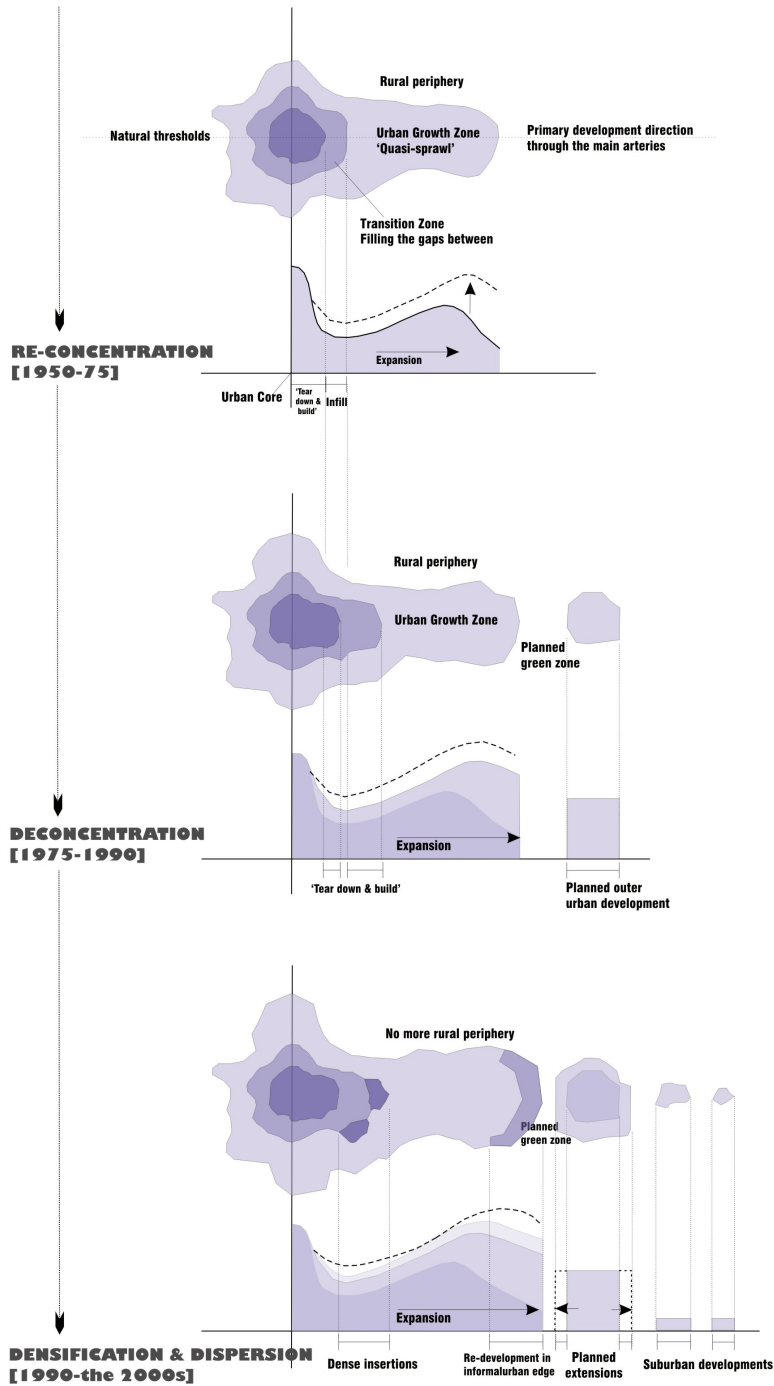


Fig. 2: Evolution of urban structure: 'Core formation' - the first phase - (source: Bilsel, 1977, p. 57) and its transformation within two periods in the case of Turkish metropolitan cities.

use which is not developed by a planning process, but evolves according to a small-scale free-market mechanism. On the other hand, the distinction between the core and the periphery is quite clear. Because of the limited capacity of planned urban land production by public authorities, the agricultural/rural character of the periphery is not rapidly transformed by urban extensions. The transition from the rural to the urban area is defined by the hybrid character of informal housing and by small industrial clusters through the main corridors, which provides a definition of an 'urban gate'.¹³ This framework represents the first phase of the Turkish city, which kept its intrinsic character until the emergence of the first structural public investigations within the city fabric.

The second phase of urban formation emerges when social-democratic types of local government models became influential in many Turkish cities, from the mid-1970s. This phase coincided with the introduction of mass housing in the late 1970s. After the creation of distinct settlement areas with the help of a new mass-transit infrastructure (which had been implemented in most European cities from the late nineteenth century) and collective housing projects, a new phase of urbanisation emerged. Once the contractor-based housing production method turned into one based on housing cooperatives, the average size of developed urban land increased. These were the years when city planning became a profession distinct from architecture itself and a new understanding of urbanism at the metropolitan level was institutionalised in primary cities. Through the end of this period we observe the development of the private sector as large capital construction firms in housing. Yet this development would not create a shift towards a multi-central metropolitan formation supported by alternative large-scale developments in the periphery. The new districts in the urban periphery were formed as a large assemblage of mono-functional housing zones, without a large-scale urban composition approach.¹⁴ In this sense,

the new phase could not be realised in the form of 'new towns' as it did in Turkey's European counterparts after WWII. The radical shift to the periphery in this period did not influence the informal periphery, which would be transformed by the limited financial capacity of local governments. In this regard, a semi-developed type of urbanism determines the overall character of the second phase of formation: having the intellectual capacity to make a plan (with some deficiencies in design), but lacking the financial power to control the overall form with a public hand.

In the last phase of development, city formation took on a hybrid character in terms of the developmental dichotomy between the core and periphery. A clear tendency in space production towards the core or the periphery has been replaced by a multi-faceted development strategy, one which occurred in both core and periphery. While the periphery maintained its dynamism through the development of a private real-estate market after the introduction of neo-liberal policies beginning in the 1980s, the core city became subject to a severe transformation by redevelopment processes. From the mid-1980s, after the introduction of the 'Law of Development Amnesty', the squatter areas located in transition zones entered into a new phase of transformation. Such rapid transformation in the main urban body was directed by the partial amendment plans of municipalities and realised by contractors in the form of a 'conventional modern Turkish urban fabric': an aggregation of larger apartment units located in a single plot. This development was realised at the expense of higher densities and without adequate social services. Although amendment plans produced large sections of new, densified tissues within the urban body, they were not dealt with as *urban transformation*. Once the central state introduced a national law called 'Preservation of Old Urban Tissues by Renovation and Utilising by Vitalisation' in 2005, urban transformation was put on the agenda of Turkish cities. From that time on, the

cities have been experiencing a rapid transformation based on the redevelopment of informal housing areas both in the inner city and on the outskirts, through plans by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI). Actually, this phase implies a 'developing' version of neo-liberalism which can only be experienced in countries which are shifting their direction from statism to neo-liberalism within a relatively short period of time. The projects which are programmed by the central administration are realised by private contracting firms with an absence of any public participation process at the local level. All of the transformation process is directed by the central plans produced by Turkey's Housing Development Administration, which are based on models of multi-storey house types, to be implemented in all Turkish cities despite their very different climatic and social conditions. This is basically the current dynamic of urban form which means a radical homogenisation of Turkish cities as a central strategy, one which is compatible with the free-market mechanism in Turkey. While this is the situation for the old core cities, the fragmented outgrowth of housing sites, mostly for high-middle and high-income groups, has put urban peripheries in an ephemeral condition within a diffuse and uncontrolled speculative development process. In this context, while the outgrowth of the existing planned urban extensions goes on, the fragmentary development of housing sites by partial planning diffuses into the outer periphery. The periphery no longer has a rural character with a growing expectancy on the part of landowners to get development rights. Thus, it is no longer marginal since the core has lost its place as a foundation.

At the end of the overall process we can define two types of peripheral segments for Ankara: informal and formal. While the informal periphery is constituted by the squatter settlements, it has evolved as a continuous penetration of the main urban body towards the natural thresholds of the undeveloped fringe. The spine of the extension is

mainly determined by the main highway corridors of the city. On the other hand; the formal periphery by planned urban extensions has a hybrid, disintegrating character. The morphological hybridness of the formal periphery results from the combination of large segments of planned new settlements and the small fragmentations around them. [fig. 3]

While this transformation is occurring in the inner and outer peripheries, the transition zones of the central cities have become subject to another partial transformation process in the form of dense insertions within outer core areas. Through this process, new office spaces and shopping centres have been created in the form of large-scale (mostly high-rise) architecture alongside the main inner urban arteries. Radical transportation operations, such as capacity increases through multi-level crossroads in the main city fabric, accompany this restructuring process. This is basically a direct response to the emerging demand of a growing real-estate market which cannot take hold within a dispersed urban periphery.¹⁵

Considering the same development dynamics (the same legal framework, type of actors in the production process and common political approach at the local level), we can generalise from this three-phased structural transformation model for other Turkish cities; however, it is reproduced in different forms. Because of the co-existence of two modes of urbanisation, one formal (planned) and one informal (uncontrolled/squatter type), it is quite difficult to conceptualise the structure of Turkish cities in terms of the conventional models of urban geography (depicted above) which are mainly based on developed Western cities. In this sense, it is much more relevant to model the transformation of Ankara's urban form as an exemplary case of transforming urbanism in a semi-developed context by considering the social and economic driving forces behind the formation of its metropolis.¹⁶ For this reason, reading urban (trans)formation by the series of

master plans can be proposed as an alternative approach for a clear understanding of the form and the process, because master plans are supposed to reflect the objective conditions of their time in terms of urban space/land production. In the case of developing countries, they enunciate the enduring spatio-political approach of the state, which is still active in space production because of the limited capacity of market forces.

After this lengthy introduction defining the developmental and transformational character of the Turkish metropolis, with reference to the phenomenon of 'developing' urbanisation, we can go on with an examination of the role of master plans in the formation of the city of Ankara. With each plan term, the aim is to reveal the changing perceptions in space production at a macro-level of scale, within the enduring antagonism between core and periphery. In the conclusion, a series of lessons from the master-planning experience in Ankara is discussed, aiming to provide some generalisable lessons for other cities in a similarly 'developing' context.

Master Planning of Ankara: *Shaping the City from the Periphery*

From the above, it is quite possible to typify the different modes of urban formation and follow the phases depicted by the model by means of the five master plans for the city of Ankara. Instead of an exact picture of its projected period of time, each plan represents a specific state of mind, producing its own concept of space within the distinct socio-economic and political conditions mentioned above. Framed by the different externalities of their time, each master plan takes a major ideological position between *centrism* and *decentrism*.¹⁷ They can be revealed either explicitly or implicitly depending on the clarity of the scheme or the plan discourse. According to Günay, the master-plan schemes for Ankara can be classified into two types, according to their eventual influence on urban form: the first three producing the core area of the city, and the

following plans producing the peripheral sections of the urban fabric.¹⁸ Although it represents a relevant categorisation of the current condition of the city, we must consider each master-planning scheme in its own context, producing a new peripheral formation which would in time function as part of the main urban body. It could then be recognised that all the master plans for the newly developed capital have been in the necessary condition of needing to formulate their own mode of urban periphery. This mainly characterises each planning approach ideologically in urbanism in the context of the antagonism between centrism and decentrism.

Jansen Plan (1932): *Aggregation of the parts*

After the War of Independence, in the early 1920s, not only social and economic development but also spatial regeneration became an urgent question to be solved in the Turkish Republic. The prior agenda of physical planning in those years was to rehabilitate the urban fabric devastated during the war and the production of planned settlements for immigrants from the Balkans. The new capital of the nation-state and its planning were of major importance to the regime, as Ankara was supposed to be the model for other Turkish cities.¹⁹ The early evolution of the small but strategically located town of Ankara into an urbanised capital was directed by the master plan prepared by C. Ch. Lörcher, a German architect, between the years of 1923 and 1928. This plan gave direction to the early constitution of the new city fabric and the construction of the main buildings, located in both the historical centre and in the emerging city extension. While the plan transformed the peripheral agricultural land into plan parcels, it basically designated the border and the main growth direction of the city. The chief development strategy of the plan was locating new plan developments adjacent to the existing historical core of the city. Then the prominent paradoxical antagonism between the historical core and the planned periphery would be solved by the integration of the historical city into the emerging city structure, with

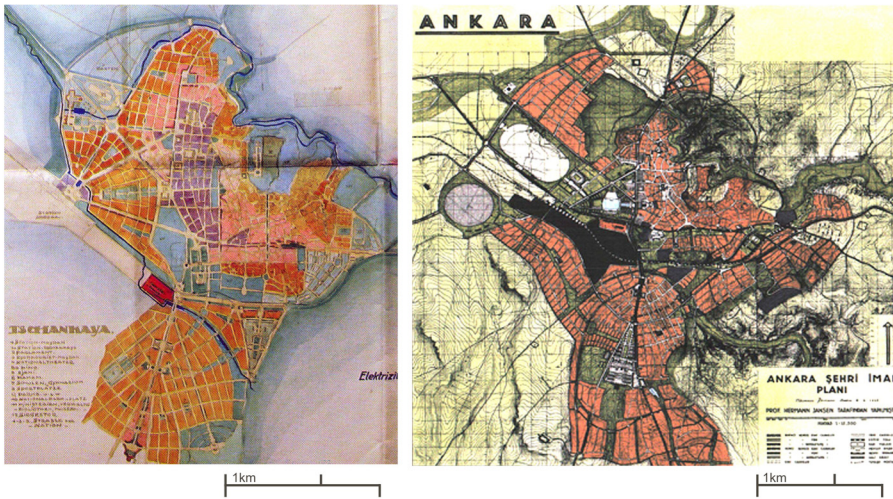
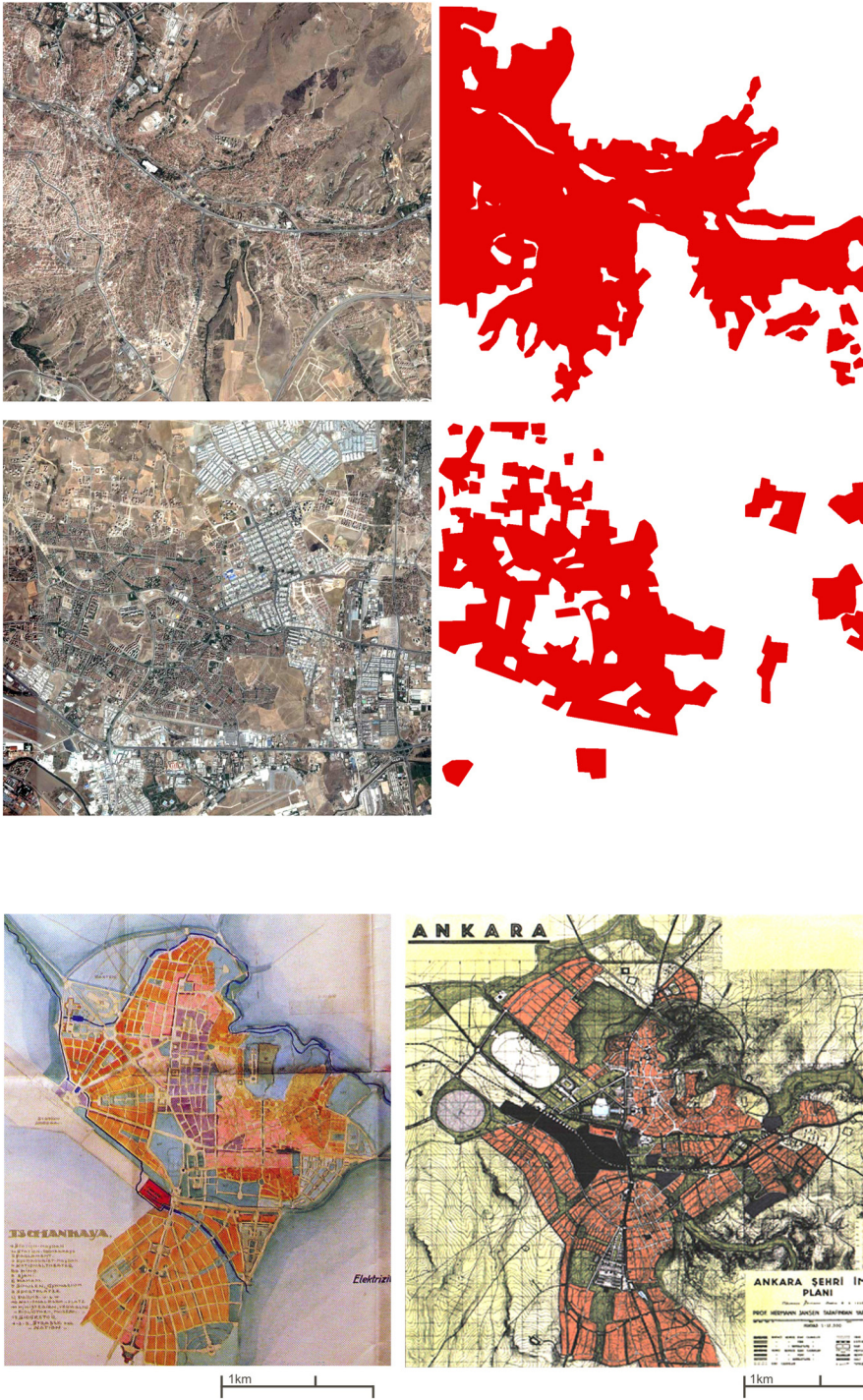


Fig. 3: Peripheral profile of the city of Ankara: common morphological distinction in Turkish cities - contiguous extension of informal settlements -above- and leap-frog fragmentation of outer planned developments -below-.

Fig. 4: Plan schema of the Lörcher Plan (1924) and the development plan of the city of Ankara by Prof. H. Jansen-1932 (Source: Cengizkan, 2004, p. 245; Harita ve Plan Belgeleme Birimi [Maps and Plans Documentation Unit, Faculty of Architecture], 2007).

modern boulevards and green corridors on which plazas and squares were located, arranged in a series. Nevertheless, the plan itself could never be implemented. One of the main reasons for its failure was the plan's vision of the periphery. The dominant design perspective in residential areas in the periphery was influenced by the Garden City movement, which was quite popular in Europe in those years. Actually, this low-density level would be one of the criticisms of the plan, which reflected economic and cultural concerns because of an inefficient use of space and the 'alienated' social environment created in the periphery as an indistinct urban tissue with detached villas for the new republican bourgeoisie.²⁰

The effect of Euro-urbanism continued after the first master-planning experiment for the new capital. In 1928, the Ankara Urban Development Council arranged a design competition, inviting three European urbanists: L. Jausseley (France), J. Brix (Germany) and H. Jansen (Germany).²¹ As a result of the competition, Jansen was given the authority to direct the planning process for the new capital. In terms of the idea of forming the city on the existing nuclei of the historical core city, Jansen encountered the same paradox between the 'new' and the 'old' which had applied to the Lörcher Plan.²² Jansen's attitude towards the historical core was quite conservative. In his view, 'a glass globe should be put on the historical core of the city' and the new development should be realised without touching the old one. By directing new development pressures to the outskirts of the city, the historical fabric would be preserved and new urban space would be free from any of the binding conditions under which old structures had evolved over time.²³ Accordingly, the new urban form appeared as the sum of the separate entities of the old city and the new extensions within the whole.

Jansen specifically warned against the speculative demands for non-programmed developments.

He believed that the plan boundary and the control of urban development within the urban fabric were essential to success. Otherwise, *scattered* development in the outer fringe would have disturbed the essence of the plan.²⁴ Yet, like the Lörcher Plan, Jansen's schema did not properly define urban fringe by design codes. Design geometry and the pattern types resembled the Garden City models, with an urban image based on a low-density, low-rise settlement pattern within separately defined neighbourhood units, like those in the Lörcher Plan. With both the housing types and the circulation system designed to be short and narrow, to maximise economic benefit, the style reflected a culturalist approach, rather than a progressivist one. The size, scale and the types of the buildings in the plan proposal did not reflect a progressivist/modernist conception of space, one which would produce space-dominant, over-scale public spaces or housing estates. Nevertheless, such a style did not produce a continuous and intensified type of urban fabric as it had in Europe. This would lead to a major transformation problem, one of turning the new urban tissue into a central city in time to keep up with the coming rapid growth of the city. On the other hand, the Jansen Plan provided a basic structure for the inner city, one that helped determine the future evolution of its urban form. In this sense, it produced a basis for the first phase of the formation model noted above.

The urban form proposed by the Jansen Plan is a relatively central and inward-looking in its two-dimensional form. The main concern of the Jansen Plan was to create a city that was different than a semi-rural Anatolian town. For this reason, a centralist approach at the macro-level was inevitable. On the other hand, the envisaged urban image was a product of a decentrist approach, envisioning low-density peripheral urban patterns. Therefore, overall the Jansen Plan can be considered as a compromise position.

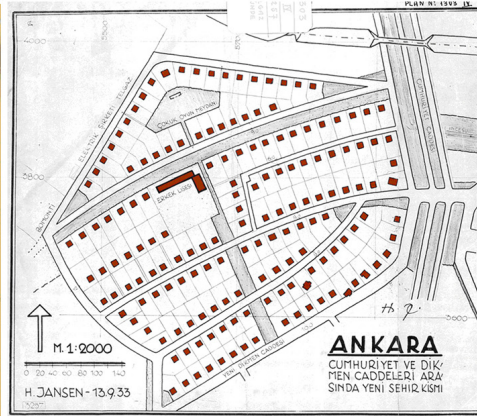
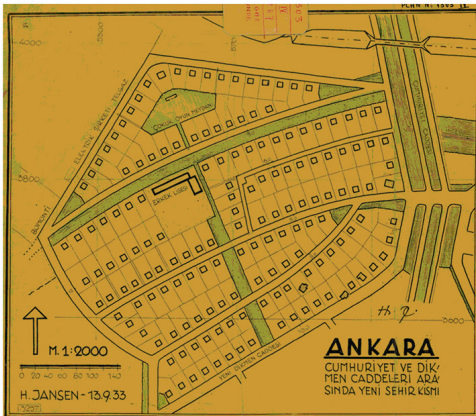
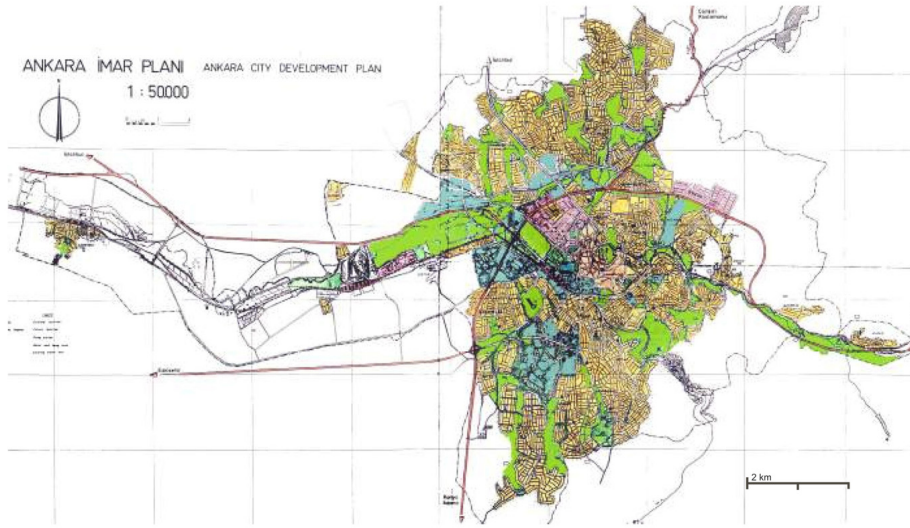


Fig. 5: Plan schema of Yücel-Uybadin-1957 (Source: B. Günay, personal archive).

Fig. 6: Transformation of an ex-peripheral planned development in Ankara during the 1960s: original plan of Jansen (1933) -top left-; figure-ground of the plan layout - top right hand the existing situation of the area after the transformation -below-.

Yücel-Uybadin Plan (1957): *Unification by banding*

The 1950s represent the period when the Turkish political system was re-established, based on the multi-party democratic system in parallel with political unification with the West after the Second World War. The unification was led by the U.S. Marshall Program, which had an influence on the Turkish economy as well. In this period, the modernisation of agricultural production resulted in huge numbers of people leaving the labour force in the rural regions and migrating to the large cities to find a job. Like other major Turkish cities, Ankara, the capital, was directly affected by the massive migration from the east, the least-developed part of the country. In 1956, the population of Ankara had doubled over the previous ten years and reached 455,000. In 1955, an international competition for a development plan was announced, with Luigi Piccinato and Sir L.P. Abercrombie serving as jury members. The competition resulted in the choice of Turkish architects Nihat Yücel and Rasit Uybadin's plan proposal.

As Ankara's second development plan, it did not contain a vision for the transformation of the urban core because of rapid growth. On the other hand, the basic mission determined by the plan was gathering the partial developments into a systemised holistic structure.²⁵ The plan proposed a homogenous city, one that was closely packed and pressed within the municipal boundaries. The plan was also in continuity with the green-belt ideology of the garden-city tradition.²⁶

Differently from the previous plan, local socio-political actors were mainly responsible for determining the formation of the capital in the 1950s. They were made up of both decision makers and pressure groups that had great expectations for renting out the inner urban land. Furthermore, the municipality was not capable of developing separate new settlements out of the inner city, because of the lack of

publicly owned vacant land stock. These factors made a leap-frog development towards the urban periphery as an alternative growth pattern impossible.²⁷

In 1959, just two years after approval of the plan by the ministry, a revised plan proposal called the 'Bölge Kat Nizamı-District Height Regulation' was presented by the governor and the mayor of Ankara to the public. It was a positive response to density requisitions, augmenting development rights for numbers of floors. The plan proposal was approved in 1961 despite counter-arguments by N. Yücel, who warned of a kind of sub-standard 'apartment-city'.²⁸ As a result, building heights began to double and even triple and a high-density apartment-type housing emerged. While the net density level in those districts had been proposed as 200-350 p/ha by the Yücel-Uybadin Plan, it increased as much as three times, to the level of 600-650 p/ha.²⁹ Excessive housing supply processes that continued to the mid-1970s caused the settlements around the CBD to be highly concentrated.³⁰ The new phase of development mainly transformed the ex-peripheral zones of the city, which had been produced by the first master plans, into parts of an overloaded urban core with low levels of spatial quality.

While buildings were demolished before their life spans had ended and were replaced by high-rise apartments, the urban image was completely contrary to the old fabric produced by the Jansen Plan. The main reason for this poor quality urban typology was its process of spatial transformation. The urban texture suggested by Yücel-Uybadin inherited the layout of the Jansen Plan. It was basically shaped by rectangular building blocks, appropriate for low-rise detached housing plots. When the old urban building type - detached housing based on two- to three-storey single family villas, constructed mainly for the early republican bourgeoisie of the capital - was replaced by the new one - apartment blocks - on the same plot layout, conventional solid-

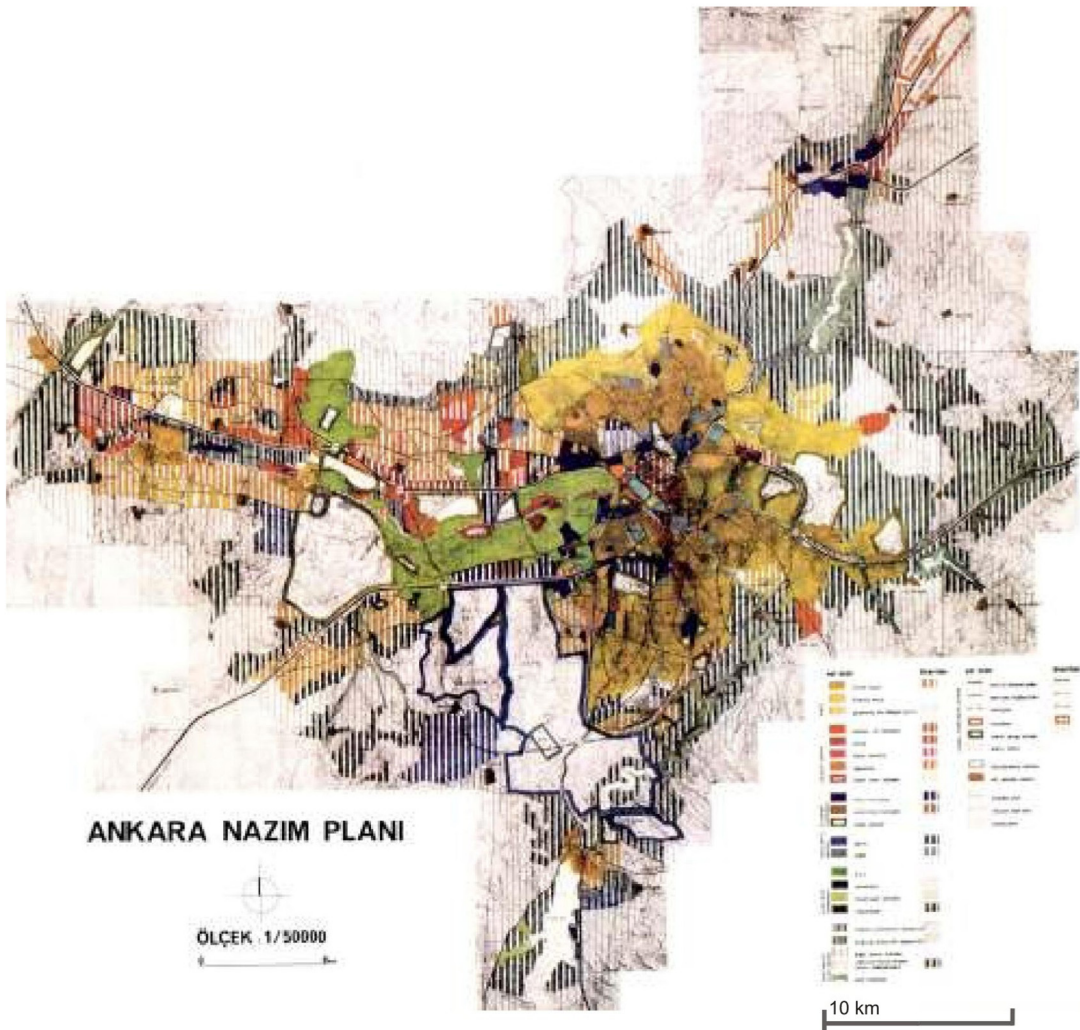


Fig. 7: Squatter districts throughout the main outward arteries in the year of 1966 (Adapted from İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1966) and the typical 'organic' pattern of the squatter districts evolved from the early 1950s (Source: personal archive, 2007).

Fig. 8: Structural schema of urban form by Ankara 1990 Plan (Source: Harita ve Plan Belgeleme Birimi [Maps and Plans Documentation Unit, Faculty of Architecture], 2007).

void space relationships were radically shifted and extreme density measures were created in the city fabric. [fig. 6] All of these factors together produced an 'oil- blot' type of urban form with densifications inside and expansion to the outside in the period covered by the plan. It corresponds to the first phase of the formal transformation of the city, which is typified by expansion with an overall density increase. [fig. 2]

Like the Jansen Plan, the Yücel-Uybadin Plan dealt seriously with boundaries. During the implementation of the plan, its authors clearly emphasised the necessity of restricting new developments to plan boundaries.³¹ Yet, the bounded development within the existing urban body allowed land prices to increase and encouraged unauthorised construction in the vicinity of the planned development areas.³² This became the driving factor for further urban expansion. Then, squatter areas developed around the main arteries of the city; by the mid-1960s these areas were relatively affordable and accessible from the working districts of low-income families and from the areas around the core city.³³ [fig. 7] Since the northern and eastern entrances to the city were blocked by unauthorised building sites, these fringe areas could be conceived of as the 'margin', both physically and socially, by the end of the 1970s.

The Yücel-Uybadin Plan, with its subsequent revisions, can be positioned ideologically as a centrist approach. Yet it is original in the Turkish case in that its centrism did not coincide with an urbanist point of view. It actually produced a kind of 'anti-urban' mode of urban form at various levels of scale: high-density without diversity at the intermediate scale and clear social segregation within a highly concentrated urban body at the macro-level. The lack of robustness of the fabric inherited from the foundational planning period of the cities resulted in a radical transformation under huge social pressure of growth which could not be directed by state

policies. This was the paradox of 'growth amidst underdevelopment' which is experienced in many rapidly transforming countries.

Ankara 1990 Plan (1975): *Stretching the saturated body*

Because of the high land prices within the planned inner city, almost sixty percent of the population - the low- to middle-income families who could not afford development costs - were excluded and compelled to locate in adjacent, unplanned areas of Ankara's inner city in the late 1960s.³³ This development pattern can be taken as a model-example of 'undeveloped/unplanned urban compaction'. On the other hand, the dominant trend toward vertical densification in the urban core was reduced due to the emerging process of the recessive extension of the city. When air pollution in the inner city became a real problem due to the inner-densification process, the need for a new master plan emerged. Consequently, the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau (AMANPB) was founded in 1970, as a department of the Ministry of Development and Housing. The bureau's importance to the urbanisation of Ankara was derived from its planning approach to the future direction of city development. The bureau aimed to canalise future development in a corridor schema based on the topographical crack around the city.³⁵ Major objectives of the plan were:

- to achieve an economical physical structure, minimising investment and management costs;
- to minimise environmental pollution;
- to enrich the relationship of the built-up and the natural environment;
- to ease accessibility to rural areas; and
- to increase the percentage of green and open areas.³⁶

For the first time, a master plan for Ankara aimed to integrate land use and transportation, which is still essential to any sustainable urban development strategy. The main plan criteria were defined based on the state of integration vs. decomposi-

tion (problematic in decentralisation), density and geometrical plan form.³⁷ Integration and decomposition here basically represent two extreme conditions of maximum compaction and dissolution and define the border of the form of future development to be proposed by the plan.³⁸

Within this framework, the bureau chose the corridor development as the final plan schema from a set of alternatives. It was envisaged as the best alternative, a controlled open system that would help solve the ongoing air-pollution problem. In this way, the inflexibility of urban form, as proposed by the previous plan schema, was to be surmounted by the new development schema of the Ankara 1990 Plan. By means of 12 different development zones on the corridors, the plan aimed to locate 48 percent of the projected population in decentralised development districts.³⁹ The linear development was aimed to be structurally defined by a transit line which would have transfer points around which the housing districts would be concentrated.⁴⁰

It is important to note that all the housing estates produced under the initiative of the Ankara 1990 Plan do not represent a modernist conception of centrism, despite having a high-rise and high-density formation. Some mass-housing examples produced by cooperatives are the result of a preference for high-rise, high-density development rather than for creating more open spaces, as in modernism.⁴¹ As a result, a strictly conforming high-density urban pattern in the inner city was reproduced on the urban fringe in the form of additional extensions. This created a duality in the fringe areas of Ankara: a low-rise, medium- to high-density urban pattern of squatter areas and a high-density, high-rise urban pattern of mass housing. This reality represents the remarkable point that in developing countries, a shift in the mode of housing production, from individual to collective housing, would not necessarily be realised in the same form as developed earlier in Western capitalist countries.

In this plan, the urban periphery was positioned at the 'core' of the design concept. In terms of the idea of the urban periphery, the Ankara 1990 Plan brought the issue of the relationship of humans and nature to the Ankara planning agenda for the first time. Basically, it signified a serious development in Turkey's young city-planning tradition. The plan answered this ontological question with a legible city form, open to the periphery in a controlled way. Control is ensured by planned penetration towards urban fringe areas. From that time on, the periphery would be the territory to be controlled by future plans for further developments. On the other hand, since the perception of periphery was not based on a suburban type of development but on a controlled-density surface, the Ankara 1990 Plan can be regarded as the most 'urbanist' planning perspective that had ever been put forward with reference to the issue of the periphery. In this way, Ankara experienced the second phase of the evolutionary model based on deconcentration, which typical European cities began to realise in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Ankara 2015 Structure Plan (1986): *Leaping beyond limits*

Since the military intervention in September 1980, the political milieu in Turkey has radically transformed into neo-liberalism in harmony with the dominant trend in Europe and the United States. In this period, metropolitan planning bureaus, one of which had produced the last master plan for the capital, were closed by the central government. Because of a series of partial development-reclamation plans at the beginning of the 1980s, the proposed balance between population and density throughout the urban fabric was significantly damaged. Such a trend was supported by, the Law of Exemption of Development which was enacted for the squatters' areas in 1984. By this law, the informal settlement areas in the cities were subject to be legitimised by a series of uncoordinated transformation plans.

Within this climate in 1985, a planning group from the Middle East Technical University was commissioned by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality to make a comprehensive urban macro-form analysis and metropolitan plan to coordinate the new transit system project to be introduced in the beginning of the 1990s.⁴² The plan prepared by the group should be considered as a policy plan or structure plan but not a master plan. Its structure covers a wider metropolitan area than that of the Ankara 1990 Plan.

Within this extended plan boundary, the key strategy of the plan was decentralisation. According to this strategy, alongside the existing urban fabric of Ankara, all the settlements listed above were envisioned as growth nodes in the overall urban system. Decentralisation was not a normative position held by the study group but a real trend experienced at the time. Rather than widespread decentralisation based on private car ownership, decentralisation in the form of a star-shaped city structure based on public transportation was suggested. The generation of a green-wedge system by increasing the width of the existing one to 8-10 km in order to create a microclimatic effect of air circulation was another key point of the plan.⁴³

The group perspective on the reproduction of the urban core by further intensification was clearly negative, unlike that of the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau. The study group regarded Ankara's compact urban form, defined as a 'high-density oil-drop form', as the source of enduring problems such as air pollution, unfeasible transport and infrastructure provision and sub-standard urban spaces. Thus, it was claimed that after thirty years, with a projected population of five million, keeping the city in a compact macro-form would have resulted in 'the death of the city'.⁴⁴

Even though the plan had a clear tendency to control urban form, for the sake of flexibility, the decentralised schema without a continuous border

definition of built-up areas destroyed the possibility of a legible urban structure. With a highly elusive city form, a green belt would not be an effective tool for controlling development through the corridors. The Ankara 2015 Plan provided a system which is open to further conurbations within a decomposed urban structure at the metropolitan level.

The planning approach taken by Ankara 2015 can be seen as a breaking point in the planning history of Ankara. For the first time a decentralist approach was manifested in a master-plan document. Such a stance was constructed on a radical conceptualisation of the urban periphery, which is still subject to discussion regarding the limits of the economic affordability. The new conception of the urban periphery was based on an over-scaled definition, one which included the surrounding settlement nodes within the metropolitan hinterland. By suggesting a decentralised and linearly scattered urban structure in the shape of star within a wider context, the plan represents a counter-argument against former centralist schemas composed in different forms. On the other hand, by envisaging a polycentric urban system with the mix of high- and low-rise settlement forms, the plan did not refer to a common typology of decentrist urbanism based on a low-density, low-rise urban pattern. Therefore, Ankara 2015 cannot be classified ideologically as a conventional decentrist/disurbanist point of view. Since society was not ready for radical decentralisation based on a low-rise suburban dispersion, the plan proposal still had to conform to existing transport arteries and the macro-structure provided by them. Even though the plan paradigm shifted, the real conditions were not ready for such a change in planning perspective at the time of a socio-economic transformation.

Ankara 2025 Plan Schema (1997): *Dissolving the urban body*

Different than in the previous plan period, from the beginning of the 1990s the real basis for a radical version of deconcentration emerged. Increasing



Fig. 9: Urban macro-form schema of *Ankara 2015* (Source: Harita ve Plan Belgeleme Birimi [Maps and Plans Documentation Unit, Faculty of Architecture], 2007).

car ownership and the new planned developments outside of the city fabric would give way to the third and final phase of macro-transformation, which was partially based on rapid dispersion (see Figure 2). This trend did not evolve from necessity, but mainly from the increasing number of private entrepreneurs demanding partial urban developments in the fringe of the city from the early 1990s. Disturbing the balanced population pattern and technical infrastructure of the city, the new tendencies made it necessary to have a new master plan to react to the ongoing demands of the housing market. Actually, such a condition would be presumed given the maturation period of the country's neo-liberal macro-economic transformation in the years after the 1980 military intervention. Within this context, the proposal for the Ankara 2025 Master Plan was prepared by the planning office of the municipality in 1997.⁴⁵ Although it was not officially approved, the Ankara 2025 Plan is worth evaluating as the fifth master-plan schema of Ankara because of the prevailing planning ideology it represents.

The main plan principle of Ankara 2025 was the amelioration of an unbalanced distribution of population by redistributing it, through the decentralisation of congested/cramped functions in the existing urban fabric and the creation of new nodes, corridors, axes and attraction centres.⁴⁶ As the dominant growth policy, the peripheral expansion envisioned by Ankara 2025 was not bound by real limits, whether functional or physical. The prevailing tendency was to allocate almost all developable locations in the outskirts of the metropolitan area to urban development without any significant development criteria being defined by the master plan. This strategy was not related to the existing urban fabric: for instance, optimum distances from the central city, a factor which is quite critical to the future costs for service provision by the local government (the lengths of additional technical infrastructure, mass-transportation service lines, etc.) were not taken into account. However, the development process

has been shaped by the partial fulfilment of market demands without the macro-rationale of a comprehensive phasing of development.

The plan was burdened by inconsistency, both in supporting peripheral development in extreme cases and in accepting immense population increases within the inner city. These increases came about through the reclamation plans of district municipalities, which transformed low-density squatter areas into high-density regular housing areas with the stereotype of apartment point blocks. [fig. 11] Finding its roots in the reclamation plans produced for the squatter zones from the mid-80s, today the second phase of the so-called planned transformation of the informal periphery is being realised in a vast area of urban fringe. In this way the 'marginal' periphery would be demarginalised by assimilation through a radical gentrification process. The rapid transformation triggered by the plans is realised without any social resistance from the people living in these 'marginal edges'. Increasing rents for urban land, an aspect of this transformation process, have been highly welcome by the families living there and perceived of as an opportunity for legalisation by the state.

The Ankara 2025 Plan schema contains no indication of considerations for directing urban form and shaping city structure. Therefore, it is difficult to classify and define the urban form and structure suggested by the plan. Furthermore, it is difficult to rationalise the plan decisions in terms of optimum city size and the gross-density criteria for the new development zones. As an amalgam of the previous partial development plans for new growth, the plan did not produce an explicit urban transformation strategy for the existing urban fabric.

Furthermore, the plan process, encouraged by the partial plans (which are not necessarily a substantial part of a large-scale development) were mostly comprised of a small number of building blocks

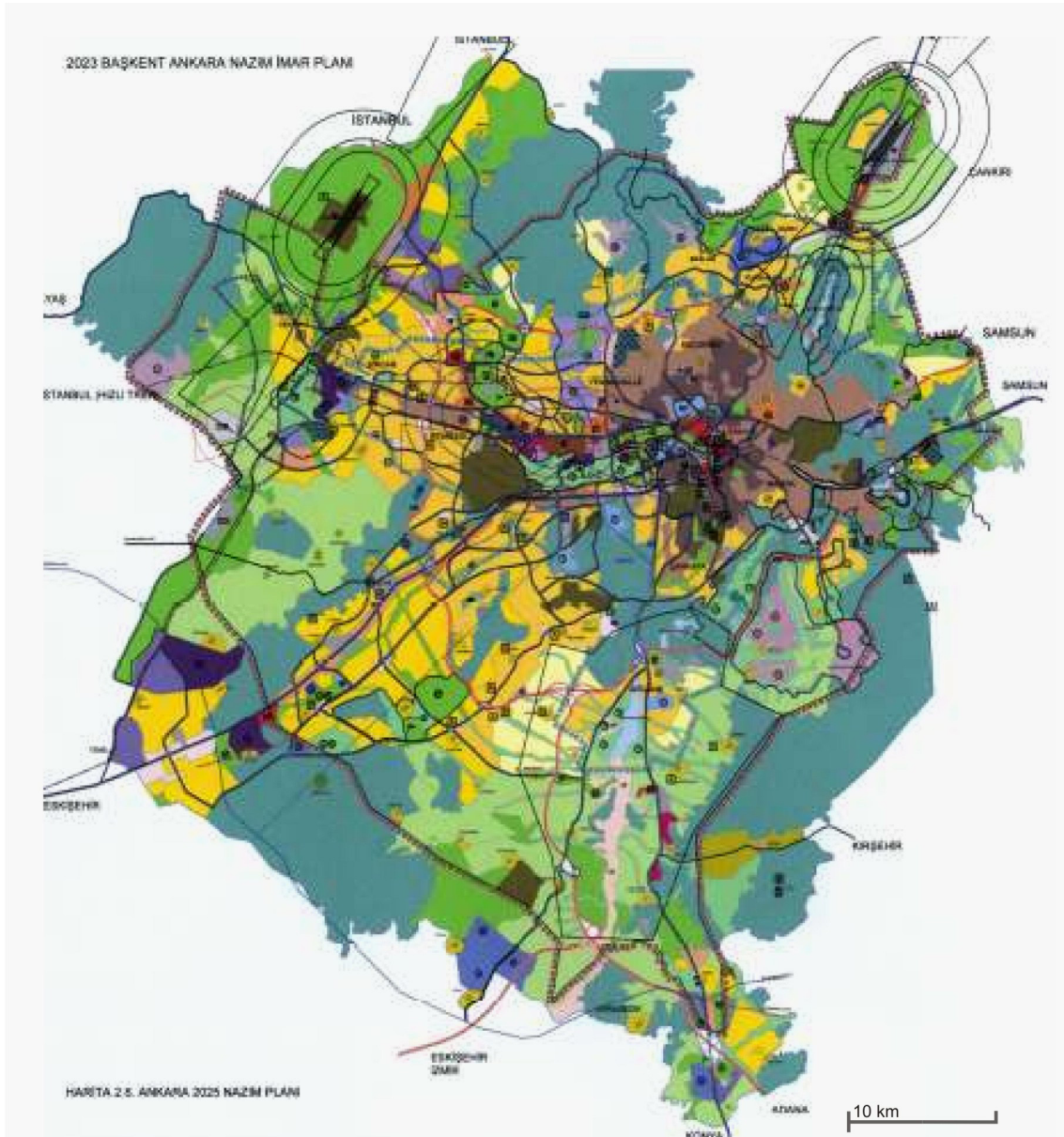


Fig. 10: Ankara 2025 Master Plan Schema (Source: ABBISDB, 2006).

constructed by small housing cooperatives. Then the idea behind the planned corridor developments was sacrificed to the dominant trend of market-led, fragmentary peripheral development. Instead, a star-shaped development pattern was deformed by the further medium- to low-density settlement nuclei in the periphery. It can be regarded as a return to the conventional ink-blot development process of Turkish cities. In other words, it was a realisation of the *formlessness of urban form*. 'Formlessness' here is the condition of the free-market urban economy explicitly depicted by the plan.

Thus, the Ankara 2025 Master Plan can be regarded as a trend-responsive and development-oriented plan type, which has been typical of Turkey's experience in the past twenty years, as it strives to adopt a free-market economy in an unprogrammatic way. The main feature of this planning approach is a disregard for large-scale planning rationales - holistic development patterns for the sake of social and physical integration at a macro-scale or increasing accessibility levels, etc. - with prioritising market rationales based on maximising urban land rents by further developments without any comprehensive projection for the city and regions. The prominent risk of this condition is the emergence of an urban composition which cannot go beyond the 'sum of its parts' in Gestaltic terms. As observed by the scheme [fig. 3], the clear image of the city at the level of macro-form has been highly disturbed by the partiality of city transformation. The urban form, which is still evolving according to current conditions, rather than being formed, can be defined in this framework. This is the reason why the city form is inevitably being shaped without responding to basic sustainability requirements such as spatial coherence between the core and periphery.

2023 Başkent Ankara Master Plan (2006): *Managing growth*

The early 2000s represents the maturation period of the third phase in our model, which began with the

previous plan's term. As noted in the introduction, the central government has directly engaged in the production of mass-housing through its dedicated agency (TOKI) and initiated large-scale transformation projects, such as redevelopments in the informal housing areas at the edge of the city and new development projects in the fringe. This was the spatial consequence of the emerging macro-economic policies of AKP, the ruling neo-liberal party in Turkey.⁴⁷ The dynamic character of the periphery has been responded to by another type of dynamism in the core city, with a series of infill projects in the form of high-rise office spaces and shopping centres along the main inner arteries in accordance with the growing demands of the real-estate market. This transformation in the core has been achieved at the expense of large-scale transport operations to make the confined core much more accessible. The process has been led by a 'radical urbanist' perspective, one which is willing to manipulate existing structures in a destructive way.⁴⁸

In these years, the capital city of Ankara met the new period without a master plan. Since the Ankara 2025 Master Plan schema was not approved as the legal master plan of the city by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing,⁴⁹ a new master plan became a real necessity from the late 1990s. After a new juridical regulation the Metropolitan Municipalities Law was enacted by the national parliament, the metropolitan municipalities were given the right to prepare 1/25,000 scale development plans in 2004. Before the regulation, the plan-making authority of the metropolitan municipalities was limited, with development plans at a scale of 1/5000. The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality would direct the increasing size and scale of the metropolitan development through a master plan. In accordance with this legal right, the planning department of the metropolitan municipality of Ankara prepared a new master plan in 2006: the *2023 Başkent-Capital-Ankara Master Plan*.

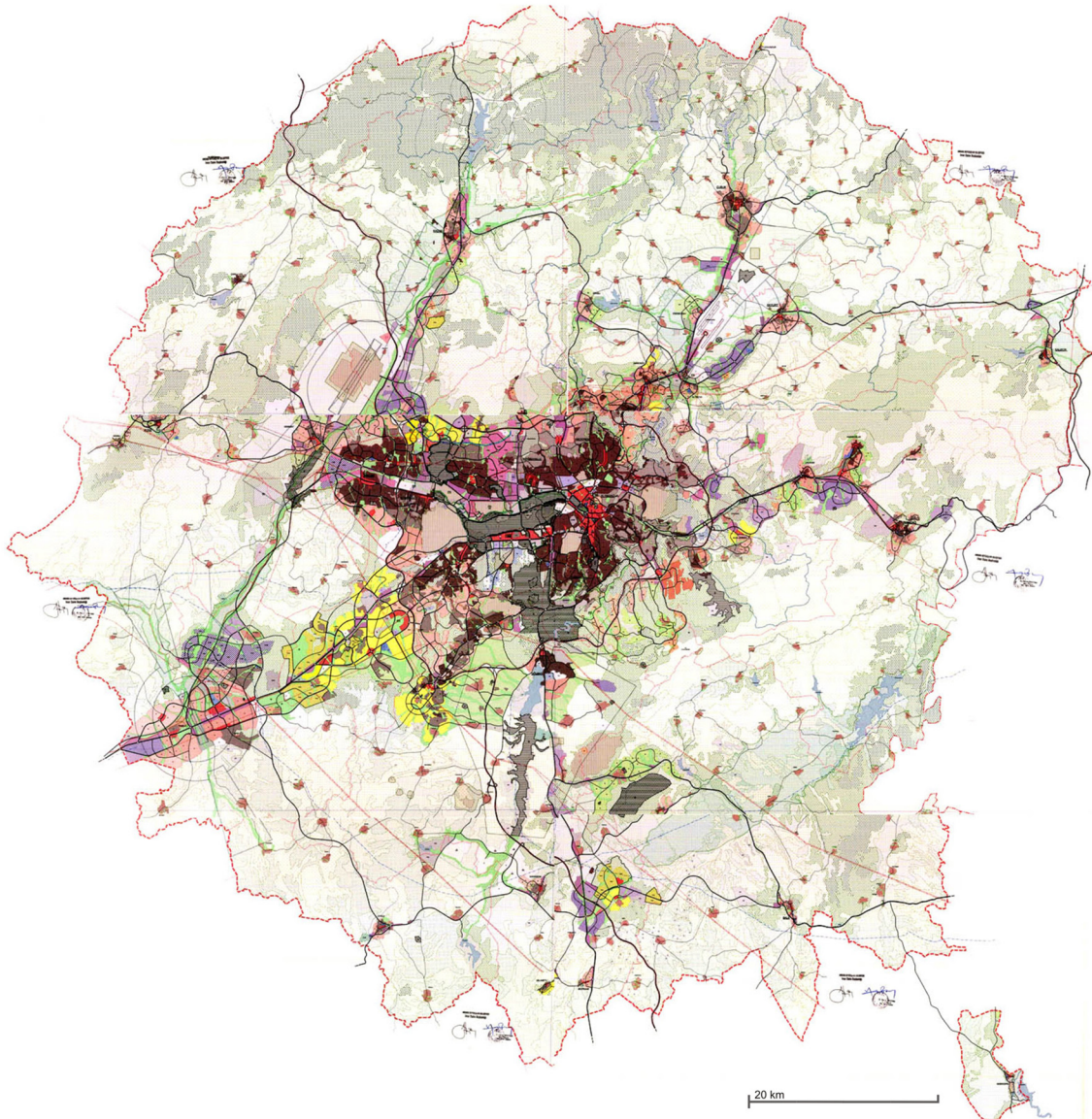


Fig. 11: Transformation of an informal peripheral area into a regular planned urban zone between the years of 2000 and 2005: *superimposition of a typical plan layout onto the organic settlement tissue of the squatter area.*
Fig. 12: 2023 Başkent Ankara Master Plan schema, 2006 (Source: ABBISDB, 2006).

The plan's chief difference from previous ones is that it does not reject further development categorically or trigger uncontrolled, fragmentary and speculative development tendencies. The end result was not the neither/nor condition to be expected from a master plan, but a reasonable compromise between centrality and decentrality at the metropolitan level by managing growth.

The originality of the plan also derives from the process, which was realised by the planning team of the municipality. Rather than defining an overall structure of the future city, the plan-making process describes another way for mastering the whole body of development. Ankara 2023 Master Plan represents a kind of bottom-up approach, combining 15 different development plans produced by the different local municipalities within the entire Ankara metropolitan area. The master plan, however, is not just a collage of those lower-scale plans. What the planning team had done was to revise all plans according to the overall structural perspective of the master plan. In this way, spatial coordination among the partial plans was ensured. To control the enduring speculative development trend - mainly based on housing for medium-high to high-income groups - triggered by the local initiatives, the total population projection within the entire area governed by those plans was decreased from 13 million to 6.5 million. This was accomplished through a series of plan revisions such as the reappraisal of density surfaces and cancelling excessive development extensions.⁵⁰ Only this point is a clue to the market-driven nature of development plans today in Turkey. The plan also provides a radical intervention to eliminate the ongoing developmental dynamic in the urban fringe, one that had been threatening agricultural land, water reservoirs and forestry areas for years. From the time of its inception, the master-plan approach became separated from the prevailing neo-liberal macro-political wing of the country.

While structuring the main development corridors according to the existing settlement composition and natural thresholds, the plan does not set out to produce a blueprint to be followed in detail. Instead it defines six different sub-regions and develops specific planning and design programmes according to their intrinsic urban and natural peculiarities. Then, within those regions the overall settlement fabric is defined as either development zones or as the existing fabric. Unlike the previous examples, this intervention process within the urban core is characterised by preservation, rehabilitation and transformation zones which tend to be located within an overall framework.⁵¹ Departing from a simplistic location choice practice, the plan proposes specific 'transformation action plans' for each zone. In this respect, it was the first time for the city of Ankara that the urban core was defined by a series of different intervention zones within a master plan. If it is realised in the plan implementation process, alternative spatial and social organisation, counter to the stereotypical transformation of informal settlements, can be achieved.

The most important point about the urban periphery addressed in the 2023 Başkent Ankara Master Plan concerns altering the dominant development mode in newly planned settlements. First, as opposed to a parcel-based formation, which is dominant in Turkey today, the plan encourages 'block-based plan implementations' within new developments.⁵² The drawback to this positive intention is that it does not define any principles for a design coding system for such a significant differentiation in urban space production, other than to refer the issue to lower-scale plans without a binding condition. Furthermore, the block level is not enough to create legible, harmonious and coherent urban patterns, which are lacking in almost all Turkish cities today. For that reason, the minimum control unit to be defined has to be at the level of the urban ensemble. Secondly, the proposal to phase in extensional development is another crucial issue for the urban

periphery.⁵³ Although it can be seen as a procedural issue, phasing has significant potential to overcome the continuing fragmentary development patterns in the periphery of the city.

The vision and target definition of the plan clearly state that the plan schema seeks an integrated and compact type of macro-urban form in order to make urban public infrastructure investments feasible.⁵⁴ On the other hand, what the plan proposes regarding compactness remains at the structural level by ensuring the holistic Gestalt of the development segments of the city, which are to be interconnected by the transport connectors. Compared with the previous plan, this is a relatively positive asset; however it lacks the major formal characteristics of urban compactness - density, coherence and mixed-usage - which are critical at the intermediate scale.⁵⁵ In the plan report, a clearly doubtful approach to the density issue can be observed. For the new development zones, the maximum density level is determined as 'mid-density' (60-100 people per hectare)⁵⁶ without regarding the possibilities of well-designed high density measures as a criterion for sustainability. This is very much an indicator of the enduring perception of urban density by Turkish planning circles, because of the powerful image of the modern Turkish city core which has suffered greatly from ill-defined, high-density layouts.

Another indicator of the plan's moderate position between centrism and decentrism is its consideration of extensive, campus-type open areas and large green zones as constituent parts of the macro-urban form, in opposition to ink-blot, pseudo-compact urban formation.⁵⁷ Unlike some others in the past, it does not offer a large-scale green system for the organisation of the metropolitan form. This is basically because of the increased surface area of the plan (8500 km²), in which it is too difficult to code 'voids' without significant planning tools for land control.

Despite all its apparent handicaps and strengths, the 2023 Başkent Ankara Master Plan will require time to be evaluated with reference to the mid- and long-term results of the current plan implementations. Even though the capital's present local government would rather direct the dynamic process of the final phase of evolution through a number of incremental projects without any reference to the master plan (conforming to a conventional, neo-liberal reaction against the idea of planning), the importance of the last plan stems from its large-scale effect and its macro-approach to the (re)formation of the capital.

Conclusion

This short planning history of Ankara provides a substantial set of lessons for similar types of rapidly developing and transforming cities. First of all, reading master plans is fairly relevant to understanding the dynamics of urban form and formation in developing and transforming countries. A historical perspective has real potential to be utilised in planning policies. Revealing the major determining factors in the control of the macro-urban form in the context of highly elusive and ephemeral social, economic and political externalities enables planners to revise ongoing policy directions in master planning.

Nevertheless, such a reading should not be based on academic criticism, derived from purely conceptual idealisations. Especially in the case of developing democracies, planning practices are under the direct influence of local and national politics and emerging market forces. Resistance to these 'external' factors, all of which must be taken into consideration in the planning process, may not be easy for planners in cases when there is a contradiction between political directions, market rationale and planning principles. This is clearly observable in the formation of capital cities, which are the focus of large capital investments and political symbolism, as in the case of Ankara.

The main contradictions are constructed from the basic dichotomies which characterise the ideological positioning of any master plan. The main dichotomies we find in the correlation between the macro-urban evolution and master-planning perspectives in the Ankara case are:

- old vs. new (historical vs. modern)
- conservation vs. transformation
- formal vs. informal
- city vs. nature
- proximity vs. distancing
- integration vs. segregation
- growth vs. regeneration

These are the factors which transform the action of form control at the macro-level into a political phenomenon. Each dichotomy gains a different level of importance in each specific phase of the evolution of cities. In this case, master plans have to make a trade-off within these dichotomies in order to specify their future direction. Nevertheless, there is a certain dichotomy which manipulates the other ones, spatially: *core vs. periphery*. An explicit domination of one over the other determines the basic ontological position of any master planning schema in terms of the dichotomies mentioned above. This is the reason why it is argued that the first criterion used to evaluate any master plan should be its principle proposition on core and periphery. The different forms of the reproduction of these two entities are subject to the design domain and open to new interpretations. This actually makes master planning an innovative action area.

Since each innovation is based on a paradigmatic shift and leads later ones,⁵⁸ evolving approaches on master planning are also sensitive to new paradigms, to be re-interpreted in different cases. On the other hand, any paradigmatic shift in planning may not always find its applicable basis in reality. In developing countries this state is much clearer. As we see in the Ankara case, the planning profession, which is active in master-planning practice and

engaged with the 'universal' terminology of planning, may experience difficulty in operationalising Western-oriented planning concepts (i.e. 'garden cities', 'decentralisation', 'urban transformation') in their original forms in the new context. This is basically the common contradiction experienced by the intelligentsia of any developing country. Yet, for planners this contradiction is not only an intellectual problem, but also, and principally, an ideological one. Considering the macro-dynamics of urban formation, mainly directed by the dominant mode of production, mobility and politics, we see planning either in a state of resistance to or conformity with the macro-trends. In spatial terms, these two states of being manifest themselves through the basic dichotomy between core and periphery in the name of *centrism* and *decentrism* in master planning. This reading of master plans (within this spatio-political perspective) claims to provide a proper way to define them in a broad context, beyond the limits of a technical point of view.

Another conclusion we can infer from the master planning experience in Ankara is that during the evolution of urban form the emergence of the nuclei of the core to embody its periphery, not only the scale of the entity but also its complexity level progressively increases by the asynchronous differentiation of the sub-segments of the entire body. This diversification in spatial form inevitably demands a differentiation in the conventional forms of plan interventions. As is seen in the Turkish case, planning tools and control mechanisms can sometimes be incompatible with emerging socio-spatial dynamics and the urban forms created by them (i.e. squatter housing after inner migrations, or the high-rise financial districts/corridors created by an emerging real-estate market). In these cases, the master plan falls behind the dynamic process and loses its control over form. To transcend this problem, the master planning process in rapidly developing countries should combine two areas: growth management and urban architecture/design.

While alternative programmatic approaches need to be produced for specific city sections with regard to their location in the core or periphery, these programmes should be elaborated by the associated specifications of urban patterns. Considering the dynamic character of 'developing' urbanisation, this approach should be typological and flexible enough to properly handle any sudden future orientations. This perspective requires a new framework, combining large-scale programming and an intermediate design scale.

In this context, the question of bottom-up vs. top-down is still valid. What we clearly observe, not only in the case of Ankara but also in other modern cities, is that the master plans steering the formation of cities are not capable of ensuring spatial quality by defining the overall form at once (like the early modernist master-plan schemes) or only by defining the macro-structure without an explicit formal characterisation of the parts (as in most strategic plans). This is why a new master-planning perspective should be sensitive to bottom-up formations, designing compositional rules at an intermediate scale while simultaneously controlling the constitutional structure (not the form) of the entire metropolitan body through growth management. This is especially important to the creation of robust forms and patterns which are subject to destructive transformations in rapidly developing cities (i.e. the inner city transformation of Ankara).

In terms of the ongoing trend towards the fragmentation of urban form by uncontrolled, piecemeal transformations and developments, an alternative master-planning approach can be found in the thoughts of Christopher Alexander, who declares the fragmentary growth pattern,

to be piecemeal in the bad sense, incoherent, scattered, fragmented. It tends to produce aggregations and assemblies...instead of coherent wholes. To solve this problem, it may be necessary to use still

*more powerful methods of generating large wholes, and linking them to the piecemeal process.*⁵⁹

From this point of view, turning the current problematic condition of cities experiencing rapid and fragmentary development into opportunity would seem to be a difficult but not impossible planning mission. What is needed is basically a new understanding of 'mastering city form'. In the search for wholeness between the core and the periphery, conventional large-scale master planning has proved to be insufficient for shaping the urban environment within a system of coherent and complex fragments. Therefore, instead of searching for the old power of master planning for the sake of total control, redefining large-scale planning with context-sensitive morphological design approaches seems relevant in our current context. The fragments would no longer be fragmented, but would perform as the constitutional parts of a holistic structure of metropolitan urbanity.

In this regard, for the definition of the typology of urban form and patterns, master plans should take into consideration the locational characteristics of the fragments, in terms of core and periphery. This is the point where urban architecture and master planning come together. Otherwise, the intermediate scale design with no link to macro-transformation dynamics would end with an unexpected force of transformation as is often experienced in 'developing' urban contexts. In this framework, the design challenge becomes one of innovating compatible types of patterns according to their macro-locations (core and periphery), while the challenge of planning emerges as mastering the fragments within a coherent whole of the metropolitan structure.


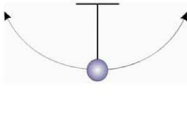

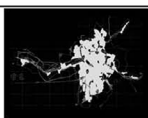
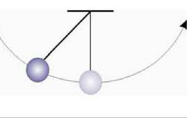


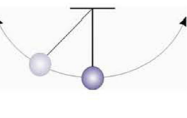


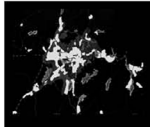
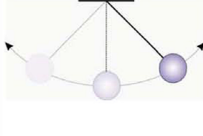

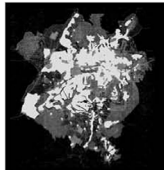
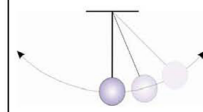


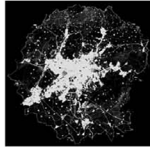
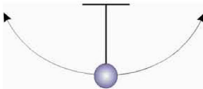
MASTER PLAN		Urbanization phase	Prevailing political atmosphere	Projected population & time interval	Depth of control (r)	Spatiality Centrism vs. Decentrism
 Jansen Plan (1932)		Rapid urbanization	Statist	300,000 45-year	4 km	
City structure	Urban form	Main policy direction	Development strategy	Average urban density	Settlement type	
Quasi-Core City	Consolidated Well-defined bounded Organic Mono-centric Permanent Inward-looking	Horizontal development within the plan boundary	Development and infills within designated urban lands by housing cooperatives.	140 p/ha	Low-density low-rise housing (detached villas in garden city model-environment) in the main body of the new city. 	
MASTER PLAN		Urbanization phase	Prevailing political atmosphere	Projected population & time interval	Depth of control (r)	Spatiality Centrism vs. Decentrism
 Yücel-Uybadin Plan (1957)		High population increase by migration	Populist	750,000 20-year	15 km.	
City structure	Urban form	Main policy direction	Development strategy	Average urban density	Settlement type	
Extensive Core City	Intesive Centralized Close-knit Mono-directional Confined Continuous	Vertical Compaction Intensification in inner city	Meeting housing demand by increasing densities in the existing settled area with additional development rights	189 p/ha	High-density, high to medium-rise coarse grain housing settlement pattern. Apartment buildings at individual parcels within typical narrow rectangular building blocks. 	
MASTER PLAN		Urbanization phase	Prevailing political atmosphere	Projected population & time interval	Depth of control (r)	Spatiality Centrism vs. Decentrism
 Ankara 1990 Master Plan (1975)		Decreasing rate of urbanization after the late-1970s	Social-democrat	2.8-3.6 million 15-year	25-30 km.	
City structure	Urban form	Main policy direction	Development strategy	Average urban density	Settlement type	
Corridor/ Quasi Linear	Linearly extended unbalanced total layout Inflexible (axis dominance) Increased surface relation with the surrounding Greenbelt	Corridoric extension	Expropriation of large lands by local authority, then the development by mass housing cooperatives.	200 p/ha	Low to high-rise, high density patchworks of road bounded housing clusters.  Medium to high-density modernist housing with courtyard type common space encouraging open system development 	

Table 1: Characterisation of master plans for Ankara with reference to their prevailing socio-political context and major formal/structural features.

MASTER PLAN		Urbanization phase	Prevailing political atmosphere	Projected population & time interval	Depth of control (r)	Spatiality Centrism vs. Decentrism
 Ankara 2015 Structure Plan (1986)		Stabilized urbanization -Increasing tendency for the escape from the city (sub-urbanisation)-	Social-democrat & Neo-liberal	5 Million 30-year	35-40 km.	
City structure	Urban form	Main policy direction	Development strategy	Average urban density	Settlement type	
Star-shaped	Decentralized Flexible Penetrations in to periphery Green-wedges	Concentrated decentralization through main transport corridors	Directing private housing sector and public institutions by plan initiatives without any expropriation.	130 p/ha		Medium to low density mid- and high rise development -not exactly coded by the plan-
MASTER PLAN		Urbanization phase	Prevailing political atmosphere	Projected population & time interval	Depth of control (r)	Spatiality Centrism vs. Decentrism
 Ankara 2025 Plan Schema (1997)		Speculative urbanization	Neo-liberal	7.2 Million 28-year	60 km.	
City structure	Urban form	Main policy direction	Development strategy	Average urban density	Settlement type	
Dispersed	Scattered Fragmented Diffused Multi-nucleated Ad hoc Non-centric Elusive	Concurrency of dispersion and inner densification	Meeting partial development requests of housing sector in an uncoordinated way.	50 p/ha		Heterogeneity in density and rise without any holistic system of an urban pattern. Inwardly oriented housing sites at the periphery and
						Coarse grain apartment block development in the inner transformation zones of the city.
MASTER PLAN		Urbanization phase	Prevailing political atmosphere	Projected population & time interval	Depth of control (r)	Spatiality Centrism vs. Decentrism
 2023 Baskent Ankara Master Plan Schema (2006)		Speculative urbanization	Neo-liberal	6,5 Million 16-year	60 km.	
City structure	Urban form	Main policy direction	Development strategy	Average urban density	Settlement type	
Corridor & Urban Galaxy	Multi-polar Stretched Mesh of fragments	Structuralization of uncoordinated piecemeal development zones.	Re-assessment of the partial local plans according to the holistic structure of new metropolitan form.	40 p/ha	?	

* This paper is a revised and improved version of a paper submitted to the 4th ISUU International Conference held on 25 September 2007. See: Çalişkan, O., 'Rethinking on the Peripheral Urban Formations in a Semi-Peripheral Country: the City of Ankara, the Capital of Turkey', in: Bruyns, G. et al. (eds.), 4th International Seminar on Urbanism and Urbanisation: *The European Tradition in Urbanism and Its Future*, (Delft, The Netherlands, 2007), pp. 223-231. The paper was based on the 2004 MSc dissertation published in 2009. See: Çalişkan, O., *Urban Compactness: A Study of Ankara Urban Form* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, 2009).

Notes

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Biography

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