PRODUCTION OF URBAN FORM
AS THE REPRODUCTION OF PROPERTY RELATIONS
MORPHOGENESIS OF YENİŞEHİR – ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

PRODUCTION OF URBAN FORM
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Baş, Yener
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Aim of this thesis is to explain the role of property relations in the production of urban form. It is assumed that urban form is produced not only as a physical setting but also as a concrete and relatively fixed manifestation of property relations. In this respect, urban form should be considered in a *relational* conception of space.

The study departs from the proposition that property relations are the main determinants of the formation of urban space, and private property constitutes the generator of the dynamics and contradictions of urban formation, through a continuous process of fragmentation. For this reason, in the control of urban formation, property rights are the basic element that city planners have to face. Therefore, this study presents a comprehensive framework that integrates the categories of urban morphology with a structural analysis of urban formation process. As the essential unit of capitalist city, "production of *the parcel* as a commodity" is elaborated as the core of urban formation process.

In this framework, morphogenesis of Yenişehir–Ankara is analyzed in order to understand its historical transformation with reference to the context of property relations. Its morphological layers are depicted as a product of the contradictory relation between urban planning and property relations. It is seen that the morphogenesis of Yenişehir includes three distinct layers of formation, which are characterized by the gradual domination of commodity production in the formation process of urban space.

Keywords: urban form, property relations, urban morphology, morphogenesis

ÖZ

KENTSEL BİÇİMİN ÜRETİMİ VE MÜLKİYET İLİŞKİLERİNİN YENİDEN ÜRETİMİ YENİŞEHİR – ANKARA'NIN BİÇİMSEL OLUŞUMU

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Bu tezin amacı kentsel biçimin üretiminde mülkiyet ilişkilerinin rolünü açıklamaktır. Kentsel biçimin yalnızca bir fiziksel yapı olarak değil, aynı zamanda mülkiyet ilişkilerinin somut ve görece sabitlenmiş oluşumları olarak üretildiği kabulüne dayanmaktadır. Bu açıdan kentsel biçim, mekanın *ilişkisel* kavramlaştırmasıyla ele alınmalıdır.

Çalışma, mülkiyet ilişkilerinin kentsel mekanın biçimlenişindeki temel belirleyici olduğu ve özel mülkiyetin kesintisiz bir parçalanma süreci yoluyla kentsel biçimlenmenin çelişki ve dinamiklerinin kaynağını oluşturduğu önermesinden yola çıkar. Bu nedenle, mülkiyet hakları şehir plancılarının kentin biçimi denetlerken yüzleşmek zorunda oldukları temel öğedir. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma kentsel morfolojinin kategorilerini kentsel biçimlenme sürecinin yapısal bir çözümlemesiyle bütünleştiren kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunar. Kapitalist kentin temel birimi olan "*parselin* bir meta olarak üretilişini" kentsel biçimlenme sürecinin çekirdeği olarak ele alır ve irdeler.

Bu çerçevede, Yenişehir-Ankara'nın "biçimsel oluşumu", tarihsel dönüşümünün mülkiyet ilişkileri bağlamı içinde anlaşılabilmesi amacı doğrultusunda çözümlenmiş ve Yenişehir'in morfolojik katmanları kentsel planlama ve mülkiyet ilişkileri arasındaki çelişkili ilişkinin bir ürünü olarak betimlenmiştir. Çözümleme sonucunda Yenişehir'in biçimsel oluşumunun meta üretiminin kentsel mekanın biçimlenme sürecinde aşamalı olarak hakimiyet kurması ile ayrışan üç farklı biçimlenme katmanını içerdiği görülmüştür.

Anahtar kelimeler: kentsel biçim, mülkiyet ilişkileri, kentsel morfoloji

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM OF THE STUDY

> *...The point in question is not slightly altering what is old; widening a road there or pulling down a house here and supplementing a whole district in areas where possible, it is rather subsuming the non-existing with the already-existing under a characteristic unity beneath the imprint of an idea regarding the whole. Only then, something alive, something that can be entire, will have been formed. Thereby, the fundamental concern of Turkish urbanism can be expressed with this question: How can be the main pattern of Turkish city compromised with straight transport lines in a good and satisfactory way? I am certain that researches which will be done based on this thought will take us from those generally accepted urban blocks to the* envision of new urban blocks *strictly divergent from the previous ones.*
>
> *Egli (1936)*

It seems that the traditional urban space in Turkey, which is defined by Egli as 'the main pattern of Turkish city' in 1930s, is no longer present or, at most, became a rare pattern in contemporary cities of Turkey. Instead of the intricate fabric of traditional towns, Turkey's planning practice has produced a completely different urban form composed of '*envisions of new urban blocks*'. Most probably, this was not the city in Egli's imagination, which he described as a unity of the past and the future, under the impact of an '*idea*' that sustain the character of 'the whole'.

Whether the new urban spaces created through the planning experience of the Republic have been the outcomes of the planners' '*envisions of new urban blocks*'as hoped by Egli, or their imaginations were already determined by what market forces produced 'spontaneously'. This study will deal with such questions about the formation of planned urban patterns, particularly through an empirical research focusing on the constitution period of Ankara-Yenişehir.

It is evident that the reasons which override Egli's imagination is the same with the reasons which makes Turkey's planning practice as different from the western countries. This thesis assumes that the peculiarity of Turkish planning system and of urban forms created in this system could not be explained without understanding the role of property relations in the planning practices of Turkey.

Therefore, our study is about, at first, a very general but also a basic question: *how is urban form produced*? Or with a statement specific to the case of Turkish planning history, the question is "how the *planned* urban forms have been produced in Turkey". Apparently, this was not only a question but also a (***first***) proposition: urban form is something *'produced'*. Although it seems obvious and tautologous as a starting point, it has an emphasis on the social (and so contradictory) character of formation process of the city. It indicates the necessity to achieve explanatory analysis transcending the descriptive morphological analysis in order to understand the formation of cities. This proposition as a point of departure provides us with a reflexive viewpoint which passes from "the space of production (the production of things in space) to the actual production of space" (Lefebvre, 1991).

Within this kind of an approach, planning and design activities emerge not only as the acts of some professional individuals but also as contradictory processes embedded in the social dynamics of their historical period; and in our epoch, it means that planning and design serves the production of space as a *commodity*, which will be the core of our analysis on the formation of urban space.

While stating this aspect of space, Gottdiener (1985; 129) points that, unlike other commodities, space helps to reproduce the very same relations which helped produce it in the first place; thus space has the property of being materialized by a specific social process to act back upon itself and that process. It is therefore, the simultaneously material object or product, the medium of social relations, and the reproducer of material objects and social relations. This specificity of space demands a more specific framework, which is argued by Günay as 'property relations':

> Like other commodities urban space is an outcome of production relations. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the relations among the factors of production, namely capital, labor and land, and their transformation in time for different societies. However, the production relations are too general to understand the evolution and structuring of urban space. For this reason, the study of property relations has become most prominent in apprehending the processes producing urban space. (Günay; 1999, ii)

Here, the ***second*** proposition of the thesis emerges; among the general social relations, *property relations are the basic determinant(s) of urban form*. Obviously, it doesn't mean that property

relations are prior to relations of production and reproduction, but means that these can only be manifested in urban space and gain a spatial form with the mediation of property relations. In this respect, legal codes and mechanisms like urban planning, which are established to control the property relations, can be seen as the mediators between general social relations and their particular spatial manifestations. Once a pattern of property is constituted on land, it becomes a spatial form that poses certain reverse effects on planning processes. It provides us a relational conception such that *urban form is produced not only as a physical setting but also as a concrete and relatively fixed manifestation of property relations*. In other words, production of urban form is actually the reproduction of property relations. Here, we use the term "reproduction" including the reproduction of its own contradictions, implying that production of urban form cannot be separated from its immanent contradictions. Thus, in this respect, the physical aspect – that is the morphology – of urban form should be conceived in a dialectical relation with its social aspect.

In this context, following Günay's formulation I will assume that the two dimensional design of urban space, that is the design of urban layout, is basically an arrangement of ownership patterns; and the design of urban space in the third dimension is an arrangement of construction rights. Thus, every planning attempt can be seen both as a tool of and as an outcome of property relations (Günay, 1999a). In this respect, the planning process of *Ankara-Yenişehir will be analyzed in respect to the changing context of property relations*.

Thus, we come to the ***third*** proposition. Morphology of urban space in capitalist societies suffers from a basic tension between the tendency of market dynamics to produce urban form as *the concentration of land parcels* (so to reduce the urban space into title-deeds and construction rights) and the tendency of planning agencies to produce urban form as *the composition of urban blocks* (so to reduce the urban space into rational standards and functional units). This tension should be considered as a manifestation of wider conflicts in the production of urban space and it means that in a study of urban morphology we have to depend on a micro scale analysis at the level of parcels and blocks. Since a parcel cannot be conceived detached from the scale of urban block, we will assume that characteristics of parcel are subsumed by the scale of block. Therefore, in this study, urban block is defined as the constituent element of urban morphology which expresses its most basic characteristics. So, this is a thesis about urban morphology and it is concerned with urban form as a composition of urban blocks. In other words, my interest in

urban form is not the ‘macro-form’ of the city or its structural elements but the block patterns that construct the fabric of the city.

Urban block does not only include the relations between basic individual units (i.e. buildings within their plots, i.e. the solids) but also the relations between streets or circulation channels (i.e. the voids). In other words, physically, streets and blocks can be seen as counterparts which form and define each other. Moreover, urban block expresses the most general composition of public and private property patterns in the city. Since planners divide the whole of urban space into parts and define the boundaries between private and public spaces by means of blocks, these are used as the main units of functional zoning in the legislative control mechanisms. Thus, the territorial organization of the city as public and private spaces and their boundary relations are constituted by urban blocks. In short, this study will focus on the relation between urban property and urban form through an analysis on the patterns and characteristics of urban blocks including their component parcels.

In conclusion**,** the purpose of this thesis is to develop a framework through which formation of urban space can be analyzed depending on the context of property relations. In this framework, morphological transformation of Yenişehir will be taken up as an implementation of this framework. Through the analysis of Yenişehir, it is aimed to derive explanations for the historical roots of the urban planning in Turkey.

The three assumptions mentioned above will determine the content of the framework, which aims *to develop conceptual diagrams to understand the nature of the formation process* of urban space in the capitalist city. But the very same assumptions tell us, while the formation process of a particular place cannot be grasped without reference to its historical and social context, there cannot be either a general theory of urban form independent from the analysis of a particular place, because the category of ‘form’ itself connotes a particular and specific object. This issue poses a two-sided discussion on methodology.

1.2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to understand that why a certain city gained a certain form, we might refer to many factors such as topography, climate, architectural traditions, institutional structures, demographic and social pattern, etc. most of which are largely natural or contingent factors. Similarly it cannot be explained in structural terms as to why a specific urban block had this or that shape or

dimensions. Or we cannot reduce the geometry of a certain district of the city to the manifestation of a social complex. Nevertheless, the studies on the history of urban form, such as Kostof (1991), Gallion and Eisner (1986), Benevolo (1980) and the studies of many geographers, such as Conzen (1969), Vance (1990) and Panerai (2004) show us the connections between the morphology of different times and spaces.

Therefore, the fact that the form of cities is not simply accidental and cannot be reduced to mere contingencies is a widely accepted idea. From geographers to planners and architects, as we will see in *Chapter 2*, many disciplines dealing with the morphology of cities take the urban form as a 'text' from which we can read out the historical processes creating it. According to Whitehand, landscapes are used

> …as a means of interpreting the societies that creates them. In this perspective, rather than being viewed just as objects to be explained, urban landscapes are viewed much more as transmitters of signals about the societies that make them. They are 'texts' to be read for the ideas, practices and interests of those societies. In this view the physical form of the urban area and the society creating it are synthesized: the urban landscape becomes a part of social geography. (Whitehand, 1992; 2)

In this respect, urban space is seen as the *mirror* of the society and the manifestation of underlying social relations. Apart from its deficiencies, the 'reflectionist' view in its vulgar form does not take us much forward for understanding the production of urban form. So the question might be that "among the social relations shaping the environment, which one is the most determinant in the production of urban form" or "are there certain structures or relations that we can qualify as *essential* " in this respect. This study asserts that it is possible to talk about such essential factors and hence there is a certain structural determination over the formation of urban space. This assertion poses the first problematic side of our methodology – the problem of structure-agency – and requires a structural framework which is drawn in Chapter 3.

1.2.1. Problem of Structure-Agency

In the first glance, urban form seems to be a direct outcome of the actions of planners and architects. However, planning process and legal mechanisms conceal the fact that built environment is produced through the market forces which pose cumulative effect of many individual actions. On the other hand, these individual actions are already restricted by certain social structures. Hence, a direct separation between the aspects of structure and agents may result with illusions which have already generated a major debate in social theory, such as

structuralism and structuration. Obviously, going into the details of this debate exceeds the boundaries of this thesis. But we can claim a position, as described by Keskinok (1991; 40), where structure is seen as;

> a product (but not a simple sum) of a process of stabilization of the practices and actions. However this stabilization is realized in a given state of disequilibrium. In other words, it is a temporal state of *relative equilibrium*. This state of 'relative equilibrium' is not neutral from the contradictions within itself and from the contradictions between itself and the other structures of the given social formation. Therefore, the structure is a *stabilization* and *prolongation* of the contradictions of the social formation. (Keskinok, 1991; 40)

With such an approach it is possible to avoid any dichotomous separation between structure and agency/action and construct a dialectical (relational) and temporal (historical) model. However, Keskinok (1997; 56) says "the mode of analysis should radically differ from mono-causal and unidirectional explanation. (...) In contrast to this mode of explanation, aggregate effects of a myriad of particular, local events, practices constitute the structure".

Consequently, in *Chapter 3* we deal with a structural framework in which the *interaction* between the 'form' of urban space and its 'content' is elaborated. In other words, 'form' is introduced as a *relational* category of the production of urban space.

This framework sets out from Lefebvre's distinguished formulation: "*each mode of production has its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another, must entail the production of a new space*" (Lefebvre, 1991; 46). Translation of this formulation into the framework mentioned above provides a point of departure to comprehend the specificity of the production of urban form in capitalist societies. The same point also constitutes the basis of our empirical research on the formation of Ankara-Yenişehir, which represents the shift from one mode of spatial formation to another, that is from the declining context of Ottoman period to the emerging structures of the Republic.

Here, the other problematic side of our methodology appears, that is the dichotomies between general and particular and between abstract and concrete, which are taken up as the problem of necessity-contingency.

1.2.2. Problem of Neccessity-Contingency

How can we relate the necessary and contingent aspects of the urban formation process? Sayer (1985) deals with this problem through the distinction between abstract and concrete. *Abstract research* deals with the structures, that is, with the groups of interrelated objects and practices. It

investigates the causal forces inherent to the nature of structures; whereas *concrete research* aims to expose the actual effects of casual forces and the way those contingent relations work through concrete empirical studies, which necessarily include a spatial dimension. In this sense, *space is equalized with the contingent and the actual*; while the role of space is to condition the causal forces that operate via the differences created by space. In this respect, for Sayer, "space is difference". However, the approach of critical realism severely separates the necessary relations of the object from its contingent aspect and confines the spatial analysis to the empirical research.

We think that, instead of reducing *the concrete* to the one that is empirical, the concrete should be taken as the totality of its immanent relations. With Marx's terms,

> The concrete concept is concrete because it is a synthesis of many definitions, thus representing the unity of diverse aspects. It appears therefore in reasoning as a summing-up, a result, and not as the starting point, although it is the real point of origin, and thus also the point of origin of perception and imagination (Marx, 1970).

In this way, we can conceive the necessary and contingent relations in a dialectical unity. Then, as the research method of this conception, we can refer to Marx's method of analysis for commodity production, where he defines the essence of capitalist mode of production by means of "concrete abstractions". In this method, the systematic analysis of the essence and its expansion clarifies the connections between parts and allows us to include into analysis, the concepts that are needed to reconstruct *the concrete* in our thought. Therefore, the research method of a specific *place* has to provide the means for summarizing the production and property relations in which that place is constructed.

This issue constitutes the subject of *Chapter 4* which aims to comprehend the production of urban form as a historical process by means of the essential aspects of property relations in capitalist social formation. It will include the categories derived from the structural framework of *Chapter 3* through abstractions based on the characteristics of 'commodity production' in the capitalist system. Thus, production of space as a commodity in capitalist societies is the core and starting point of this framework.

1.2.3. Morphogenetic Approaches in Urban Morphology

How can the morphology of a complex social being, such as the city be defined? Obviously, the investigation on the form of cities, like as any social investigation, requires certain abstractions

but the way that it is attained changes according to the purpose. Urban morphology studies which are covered by different disciplines like history, geography, architecture and planning, present a long history beginning from the late 19th century. As we will review in *Chapter 2*, they have evolved broadly in two paths.

Firstly, the normative studies on urban form which is mainly occupied by architecture and planning aims to reach certain design principles through morphological examinations of cities, whereas the most of the morphological studies remain idiographic and 'descriptive' containing typologies and formal characteristics.

The second path is the 'substantive' studies, which aim to understand the underlying aspects of the environment and to explain the processes that constitute the urban space. Parallel with the purposes of our study, especially, morphogenetic approach, which is called as 'Conzenian' tradition, displays a rich content for the understanding of the 'genesis' of urban form in different cities. Morphogenetic approach intends to fulfill a demand in geography and history, stated by Lefebvre (1991; 31), as "the need for a study of that space which is able to apprehend it as such, in its genesis and its form…" However, in spite of the opportunities served by morphogenetic studies, we consider that these have a weakness in providing a theoretical framework in which the formation of urban space can be conceived as integral to the production and property relations. They do not articulate with a general urban theory and remain largely empirical.

Harvey (1989; 2-3), considers these explanatory approaches as the viewpoint of the historian, and denotes the atrophy of a meta-theory –a general theoretical framework– for the urban process, which can serve as a "a cognitive map; that shows how each view can itself be explained by and integrated into some greater conception of what the city as a whole, what the urban process in general is all about". According to him, *Marxian* meta-theory had the potentiality – largely unrealized in actual work – to get at matters as diverse as the formation of the built environment and architectural design.

As mentioned by Harvey in 1989, this potential had not been actualized sufficiently. Nevertheless, in the following twenty years, Marxian approaches have played a crucial role in the progress of spatial studies in spite of the negative ideological conjuncture. However, Keskinok (1997; 57) states that most of the Marxist urban political economists focused on the spatial manifestation of production relations. This 'manifestation' perspective follows the same premises of classical thought, that is, the idea of reflection on space or in other words, one-to-one correspondence between social structure and the spatial forms and patterns.

In a similar way, Short criticizes the reflection idea and notes that the social relations of the mode of production set limits and create pressures for a certain kind of spatial organization, but they do not determine spatial relations in any unique, non-contradictory or unidirectional way. Indeed, spatial relations are part of the internally structured whole of a mode of production. Then, she states the problem as analyzing the production of the city within a deterministic framework while also being sensitive to contingent factors. This is a problem central to Marxism as an explanatory theory of how history evolves and why particular spatial configurations emerge. So she suggests that more detailed analyses of specific agents operating in real time in specific places may be of more value (Short, 1996; 98).

Although, there are scholars who deal with urban form within a Marxian orientation, such as Cuthbert (2006), King (1996), Zukin (1993), Knox (1993), their works are mainly economic and sociological rather than morphological.

Consequently, for us, the field of urban morphology should be connected with a Marxian perspective so that the explanation and understanding of the evolution of urban form can be elaborated in the way that urban form is immanently related with social totality. On the other hand, Marxist studies on urban space have some problems in overcoming the defects of the deterministic framework. We think that when the form of urban space is in question, focusing on the property relations can help avoid the threats of reflectionism.

1.3. PROPERTY RELATIONS AS THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY

> Urban land, housing and other forms of real estate could be more than just items of consumption. For those who owned or controlled them, they were, and are, real sources of power. Ownership confers rights: rights of exclusion, rights to decide who should or should not have access, rights to revenue and to capital accumulation. Thus, if we try to understand the obvious and visible changes in the spatial and social ordering of the cities, we must begin with property and property relations. (McCrone and Elliot, 1982; 98)

In spite of this fact, as denoted by Günay, while the studies on urban land, real estate and urban rent issues constitute a huge set of knowledge in economy, they are rarely connected with the form and design of the built environment. In his study titled “Property Relations and Urban Space”, he focuses on the role of property relations in the production of urban space, through exploring the evolution of western urban space structure and evaluating the bond between property and urban design approaches. In this context, he states,

> Although the impacts of urban land policies on planning implementation attracted a lot of attention and debate, neither planning nor architectural theories have dealt sufficiently with property. Consequently, the counter-impacts of property and urban design have remained a rather untouched field. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to search for, and clarify the political and technical relationships between property and urban design approaches, where the former relationship covers the decision making process and the latter, evolution of urban form or production of urban space. (Günay, 1999; 16)

Therefore, when we focus on property relations, we do not only attempt to confront this neglection, but also adopt a framework that covers decision making and production processes simultaneously in order "to limit the problem of contingency through distinguishing uncontingent aspects of the system". As Keskinok emphasized;

> Otherwise such a framework will lead us to a pluralistic conception of the production of space, that is conceptualization of urban space as a sum of individual activities, preferences, choices, etc. … Therefore the contingency of outcomes emerges from the *necessary* articulation of the contradictions defining the determining structure and that of determined structures… Thus, there are limits of contingency... At least, for instance, the relations of private ownership and possession *prevailing* on and *defining* urban land are not contingent. However, the contradiction between capital and land is a source of contingency in public decision making processes. (Keskinok, 1997; 56, 57)

Therefore, the production of urban form cannot be squeezed into the realm of contingent relations. Our empirical research in Ankara-Yenişehir should be based on a method that includes both the structural and the contingent aspects of its case area and we are going to deal with the issue of empirical research method in *Chapter 5*.

1.4. THE CASE STUDY: ANKARA-YENİŞEHİR

The story of Ankara is distinguished from the general history of urbanization in Turkey. Its peculiarity that comes from being the Capital city also renders its planning history special. On the other hand, we think that the same peculiarity makes the case of Ankara a representative of Turkish planning history, in which the tendencies and contradictions of the social and property relations of Turkey can be observed in sharp and distinct forms. Especially, in the constitution and consolidation period of the Republic in 1920s and 1930s, Ankara displays an early image of the planning history of Turkey. Constitution of the Republic was also a constitution of new social relations. It was the crystallization of the emerging class conflicts and of the new relations of property. Hence, building up of Ankara and its planning practice became both the arena and the product of those dynamics. In other words, this period was not only a historical shift to a new mode of production but also a shift in the way that space is produced and shaped.

Yenişehir, as the project of the Republican ideals, settles at the core of this historical stage. While other cities were stagnant, Ankara was growing rapidly (which would be a general trend in Turkey only after 1950s) and Yenişehir is the main place of this growth and of the conflicts that appear out of this process. For these reasons, understanding the constitution of Yenişehir as a 'product' of the Republic contributes much, not only to literature about Ankara, but also to the understanding of the nature of planning practice in Turkey.

This is the very reason, why planning practice of Ankara and Yenişehir occupy an important place in the early studies on the planning theory and practice of Turkey, such as Yavuz (1956), Akçura (1971). Moreover, there are significant historical studies about that period of Ankara and Yenişehir. For example, Cengizkan (2004) investigates the preperation and implementation of Lörcher Plan, the first plan of Ankara, and shows its sustaining traces in the present layout. Similarly, Tankut's study on Jansen Plan, which is the second and the most determining plan in the history of Yenişehir, also reveals the planning process in 1930s in great detail. Evyapan's morphological study (1980) on Yenişehir, focusing on the open spaces between buildinds, depicts the architectural transformation through the history of Yenişehir. In addition to these, there are significant studies containing planning and architecture practice of Yenişehir, such as Tankut(1993), Şenyapılı(2004), Tekeli(1980). Nevertheless, detailed and comprehensive morphogenetic explanation considering property relations, which is the aim of this thesis is still lacking. That is, such a study on Yenişehir, is not suggestive only because of our theoretical purposes but also because of the historical significance of Yenişehir.

In conclusion, *Chapter 6* includes the presentation of our detailed emprical study which focuses on the constitution period of Ankara-Yenişehir between 1925-1935. This period also comprises the first planning experiences of Ankara, that are Lörcher and Jansen plans. Whereas *Chapter 7* includes a general transformation of Yenişehir in later periods, in order to provide a base for some deductions for the present. We should mention that Chapter 7, rather than detailed morphological and visual analysis, includes a genaral evaluation of the tendencies in the transformation of Yenişehir, depending mainly on the analysis of the decisions made by the planning authorities.

1.5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

As mentioned at the beginning, an explanatory study on 'form' and morphology needs a theoretical framework based on a relational conception of urban form, which constitutes the first phase of our study; whereas there cannot be a purely theoretical discussion on 'form' since it is a category that directly refer the particular and actual one, and this is the point that constitutes the second –empirical– phase of the thesis. Then, the third phase includes a *re*evaluation which constructs the concrete unity of theory and practice. This will form the body of concluding *Chapter 8*.

The conceptual connections between the phases of the study are summarized in the following Diagram 1.1. Through this conceptual framework, we intend to develop an insight for the questions that how is the urban form produced as an aspect of property relations in capitalist cities and what is the planners' role in the production of urban form (particularly in Turkey).

We think that if the aim of city planning is to create 'living places', then any discussion on its problems should focus on its concrete products. In this respect, a comprehensive understanding of the urban morphology shaped by the planning system in Turkey is a crucial issue. This study is considered as a step to fill the gap in the field of urban morphology studies in Turkey.

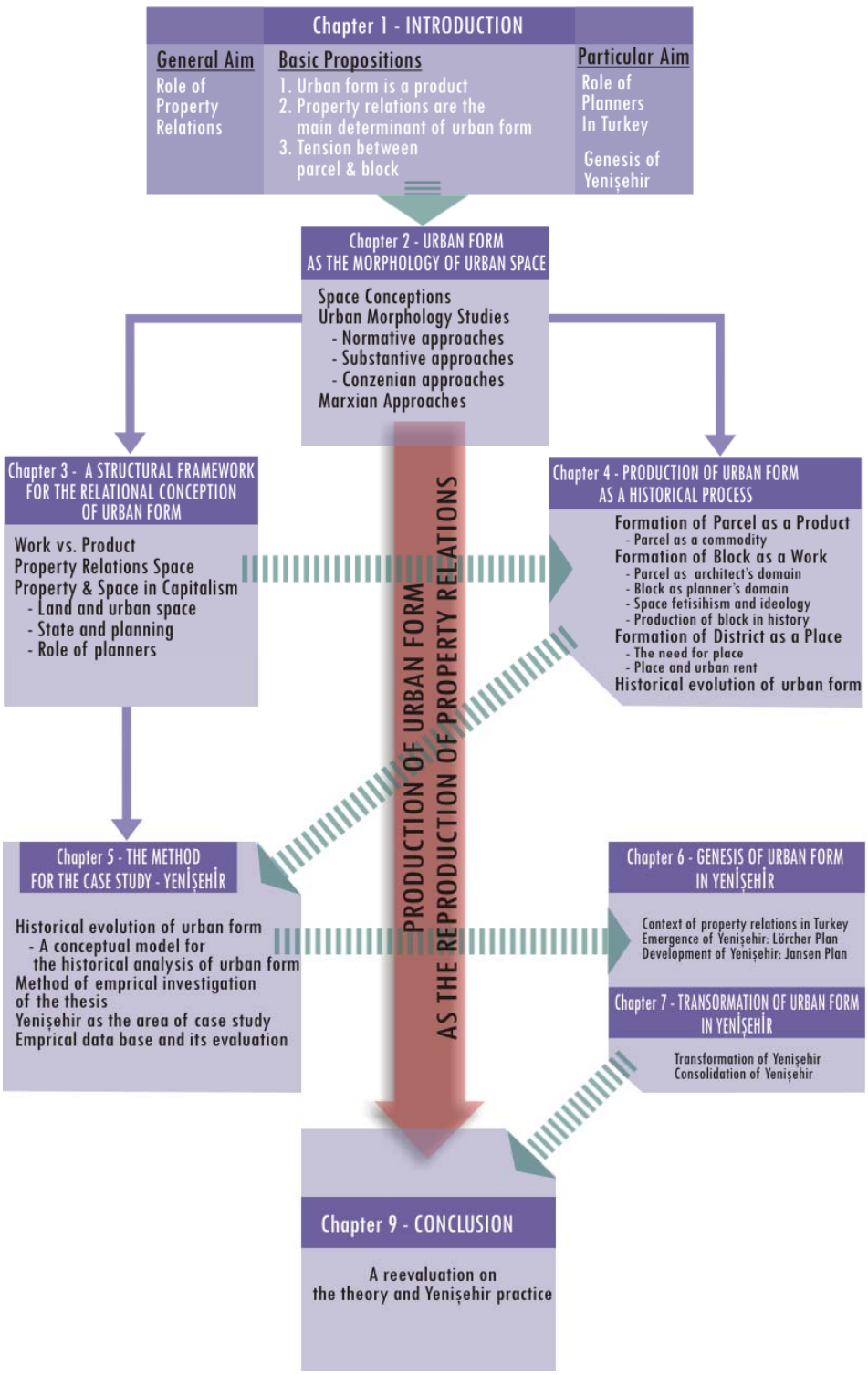

Diagram 1.1. Conceptual Diagram of the Thesis

CHAPTER 2

URBAN FORM AS THE MORPHOLOGY OF URBAN SPACE

> *Not only is the city an object which is perceived (and perhaps enjoyed) by millions of people of widely diverse class and character, but it is the product of many builders who are constantly modifying the stucture for reasons of their own. While it may be stable in general outlines for some time, it is ever changing in detail. Only partial control can be exercised over its growth and form. There is no final result, only a continuous succession of phases.*
>
> Lynch, (1960;2).

How shoud we define the concept of 'urban form' so that we can understand the dynamics of its production? At first glance, its meaning is clear; it corresponds to the shape of urban space. But if examined more closely, we see that the conception of 'urban form' is a complex issue since it refers to the form of a highly complex and dynamic social object; that is the city, just as Lynch's definition. For this reason, the term *urban form* is the subject of many fields like urban morphology, urban history, architecture and planning. In this chapter we will review different definitions and conceptions of urban form coming from different fields, through a discussion on their underlying '*ontology of space*'. This review will lead us to comprehend the different aspects of this complicated issue. In this way, we aim to derive the basic elements of urban form, particularly focusing on the characteristics of 'urban block'.

2.1. SPACE CONCEPTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS ON URBAN FORM

We mean by 'ontology of space' the fundamental conceptions about the questions what a space is and how it exists. In this respect, there are three main conceptions of space; the absolute space, the relative space and the relational space.

Each of these conceptions focuses to the spatial aspect of the social reality from a different position. In the absolute conception, we are *in* space, it surrounds us; whereas in the relative one, we are *over* space, it exists as relative to our relations. Then, the relational conception aims to stand in between these positions. It is apparent that the way we define urban form and the way we handle it *changes* in accordance to the space conception that we choose. In this respect, these positions should not be considered as explicit alternatives. Each one might have distinct advantages and disadvantages according to the subject and the aim of study. Now, we will briefly evaluate these positions and derive some implications for the definition and study of urban form.

2.1.1. Urban Form as the Form in Absolute Space

The immadiate meaning of urban form refers to *physical* shape of urban space. In this positive conception, urban form corresponds directly to the term '*urban morphology*'. In its narrowest sense the term 'morphology' can be accepted as 'the form of an object' and 'the study of its form'. In other words, it refers both to the object of the study and to the study itself. As mentioned by Agnew (1984, 11-12) 'urban morphology' is used as synonymous with 'urban form', which can be defined simply as the physical arrangement of structures and open spaces, including streets and other pathways within some defined area that is called a town or city. As the entire physically built layout and open spaces of the city, urban morphology has also close meaning with the terms '*townscape*' and '*urban landscape*'. Shortly, in this respect, urban form refers to the physical shape and characteristics of urban space.

Although this definition of urban form seems too simple in order to understand the nature of urban space, it constitutes the foundation of urban morphology and spreads into many distinct fields. Because, this conception is based on the *absolute space* conception and this is the most rooted viewpoint both in daily life and in the disciplines like planning, architecture and geography. In the absolute space conception, space is seen as a container in which social objects located and moved. It has coordinates, dimensions and measures. It can be represented by quantities and maps. In fact, in respect to absolute conception of space, even making a distinction between urban space and urban form is not necessary. In this viewpoint, urban space itself is a physical object and amounts to the same thing with urban form.

2.1.2. Urban Form as the Appearance of Relative Space

The *relative* conception of space can be seen as the opposite of absolute space. Besides, as Şengül (2001; 145) mentions, relative conception has risen as a reaction to the absolute conception. In this case, space is not conceived as a fixed, external frame. This understanding argues that space cannot be independent from the social; on the contrary, the positioning of social objects constitutes the space. However, in this case, for Şengül (2001; 145), space appears as insignificant and neutral; and thus, social facts and processes appear as if occurring on a pinhead. Although this has been a widespread tendency in sociology and yielded an important progress in social studies, relativist conception is not actually functional for morphological studies.

On the contrary, the influence of relative space conception has caused to some negative outcomes in the studies about urban form as a tendency of *reflectionism*, which reduces space to a mere direct manifestation of social relations and hence takes up urban form as the epiphenom of urban process. In this way, the attempt to explain the formation of urban space as a process might end up with a vulgar and unidirectional explanation of urban form and with the ignorance of the peculiarities of place.

2.1.3. Urban Form as the Form of Relational Space

The relational conception of space is raised explicitly by the critical realists, like Urry (1985), Sayer (1981) and Duncan (1989). This understanding of space claims to transcend both absolute and relational conceptions through a dialectical conception of the relation between space and social facts. Thus, the relational perspective takes up the space as an outcome of social processes (as in the relativist approach), but also consider the counter effects of space on the social processes.

In this sense, it is assumed that once a space is produced by certain relations, it starts to determine those relations that produce it. Space does not have a causal force yet it is not neutral. Thus, urban form may be considered again as a ‘reflection’ of social relations but as a reflection that is relatively permanent and that has reverse effects on the processes either as a barrier or as a catalyzer. This is not relevant only at the level of the individuals as the affordances of the environment on the human behaviour but also at the level of property relations.

Therefore, as we will elaborate, the relational space conception (with its emphasis on the *process* and on the dialectical interaction between the social and the spatial) has been utilized in different disciplines by some studies of urban form. The common aspect of these studies is their dialectical and historical perspective as exposed below.

2.2. URBAN MORPHOLOGY STUDIES AND IMPLICATIONS ON URBAN BLOCK

In urban morphology studies, due to the nature of its object, the absolute space conception is dominant. For this reason, morphological studies are generally limited within the *description* of urban form and excludes the explanatory outcomes. However, it does not mean that there are no studies that aim to explain the evolution of urban form or the interaction between man and environment. Both the practical disciplines like planning and architecture and the research disciplines like geography and environmental psychology exhibits a rich literature in this respect. Moudon (1997) summarizes the studies on urban form according to the schools of England, Italy and France.

1. English school; The study of urban form as *descriptive and explanatory* purposes to developing a *theory of city building*. They are concerned with *how and why cities are built*. (They come mainly from the morphogenetic tradition of Conzen and Whitehand)
2. Italian school; The study of urban form for prescriptive(normative) purposes to develop a *theory of city design*. (They come mainly from the typology traidition of Canniggia and Rossi)
3. French school; The study of UF to assess *the impact of past design theories on city building*. They are concerned with the differences or similarities between the stated about what should be built (normative theories) and what has actually been built. (Its main figures are Philippe Panerai and Jean Castex and Henri Lefebvre)

Therefore, we see that it is not possible to classify urban form studies in a straight manner as descriptive and explanatory. For this reason, we will evaluate the studies on urban form with respect to their tendencies as being *normative* or *substantive*.

The normative studies on urban form are generally associated with approaches of the architects and urban designers to the urban form. Their main concern is to develop design principles and norms from the analysis of the physical structure and components of the urban fabric. Thus, their emphasis is on *the physical form and its impacts on the human behavior*. Whitehand explains the distinction between the approaches of geographers and architects with this point:

> The geographical urban morphologist has sought to understand the world, not change it. In this respect he differs from the architectural urban morphologist, for the creation of new forms is

> central to the architect's purpose. However, geographers have not been totally devoid of ideas that might form the basis for urban landscape management. (Whitehand, 1992; 5)

The substantial studies, therefore, are mainly comprised of geographical researches. Nonetheless, a rich spectrum of disciplines from urban sociology, urban economics, urban history, planning and architecture takes up the city and its form in a substantive manner. Among them, the studies called *urban morphogenetics* considers also the physical aspect of the city with a focus on the transformation process of urban form through history.

According to Kostof (1991; 26), many geographers judge the morphogenetic approach, which puts emphasis on the urban landscape itself, as too restrictive. Usually, these geographers also criticize the designers and the architectural historians because of their strict *formalism*. According to Kostof, what is missing in them is *a sense of economic forces*, having to do with land values, the building industry and the like, which affect the physical growth and shape of the city. Yet, urban morphogenetics is an extensive tradition which comprises different approaches and hence Kostof's critique is *not* relevant for all of them.

Therefore, in these two groups we will make an assessment of urban morphology studies. However, the aim is not to demonstrate a comprehensive review but to derive concepts and definitions that can be utilized in the later analysis on the production of urban form.

2.2.1. Normative Approaches to Urban Morphology

What are the basic components of urban form? How should urban space be designed so that it becomes legible and functional? What are the characteristics of a 'good' city form? Many architects and planners, through the analysis of the characteristics of urban form, try to answer such normative questions related with urban design problems and principles. These analyses comprise two groups: the objective morphology and the subjective morphology.

The term *objective morphology* is used basically to represent the real physical structure of the urban environment regardless of its variation according to different people's behaviors and perceptions (Kubin, 1992). Whereas, *subjective morphology* is related with the subjective experiences of different people and about their behavior in urban space. In subjective morphology, places and areas, relations and orientational systems, distances and barriers, are all subjective to a degree. The city may be experienced and understood in quite different ways by different groups. Therefore, subjective urban morphology analyzing the relation between

environment and human behavior, tries to develop principles for the design of urban space that are responsive to the cognitive and perceptional needs of users.

These two fields of morphology can be considered as the tools of the two main approaches in contemporary urban design theory, which are named by Broadbent (1990) as the *neo-rationalist* and the *neo-empiricist* approaches.

Neo-rationalists: According to Broadbent (1990; 157) 'neo-rationalists' such as Leon Krier, Rob Krier, Aldo Rossi, Taffuri worked with architecture of abstract, geometric purity, with 'Types' derived from the objective morphology studies. The neo-rationalist (or "formalists" with the term of Attoe) argues that satisfactory patterns for accommodating human need and public life exist in our urban heritage. So they assumed the existence of timeless design figures through typologizing the elements of the city (Attoe, 1989; 14). Their method of typology may constitute the basis of a typology of urban blocks for this thesis study.

Rob Krier (1979; 15) takes the urban space as all types of space between buildings in towns and other localities. The street and the square are defined as the basic elements of urban space in Krier's classification. In other words, he focuses on the public channels voids between the urban blocks. Thus, urban blocks are treated as facades defining the street and the square in Krier's morphology. He makes a formal "typology" of urban spaces as the combinations of square, circular and triangular shapes. These types are derived as rationally rather than empirically. Thus, the physical form of the city is determined by relationships between the various types of streets, squares, and open spaces and the elevations and sections which enclose them.

The method of 'Typology' is also fundamental in Rossi (1982)'s morphology but on the contrary to Krier, he defines the types of buildings rather than the spaces between them. Rossi's concern is to study architecture for its own sake without reference to outside disciplines, like sociology and politics. So he deals with urban facts, as they are themselves, the actual physical objects of which cities are made. Types for Rossi are the models remain constant and unchanging behind and underlying all the particular built examples. Having established his basic types, Rossi hopes to determine the laws by which each type was constructed. Therefore, as Broadbent (1990; 169) state, Rossi's aim is to use the idea of Type to establish the basic continuity that underlies the apparent diversity of the individual urban 'facts' to whole sectors of the city. In this respect, Rossi sees the city as a continuous mass into which large-scale elements can be inserted. These insertions will conform to the types which have been derived from the study of historical precedents: centralized blocks, courtyard forms, linear blocks and so on (Broadbent, 1990; 170).

Neo-empricits: The neo-empricist stream, instead of starting out from abstract geometrical forms as in the case of neo-rationalists, has focused on human needs, and investigated man-environment relationship. In other words, they focused on the subjective morphology rather than the objective morphology. Environmental design approach was established on the findings of the studies of subjective morphology. While the neo-rationalists, deriving their geometry from the classical forms of Greece and Roman architecture, the neo-empricists generally appriciate the context of traditional medieval town as an ideal responsive environment to human behavior and urban life. Team X's culturalist approach, Lynch's studies on environmental cognition, mainly his book The Image of the City (Lynch, 1960), Cullen's Townscape, analyzing the sequence of public spaces and their visions (Cullen, 1959), Alexander's pattern language, Newman's Defensible Space (Newman, 1972), and Rappoport's book, Human Aspects of Urban Form (1977) has founded the basis of environmental design. Especially, their analysis of territorial behavior provide various criteria in the analysis of the characteristics of urban blocks, as discussed in more detail below.

2.2.1.1. Urban block in objective morphology

Morphological aspect of urban blocks contains the physical characteristics of its formation, such as size, shape, density and the physical elements which are contained in the block; mainly the parcels of land and the types and the order of buildings, the order of inner volumes.

If we define the urban design simply as a division of a whole into parts and achieving some kind of a unity, we can say that, in each design approach, the way of this division changes depending on their understanding of unity. The common aspect of every urban design process is that, they reach a pattern of blocks and streets as their product. Thus, urban block is a basic tool of urban design, and we can evaluate the differences between design approaches in respect to the functions and features of urban blocks through which they divide space as parts of the final whole.

Therefore, as a *morphological* element, or as a physical entity, the urban block is a basic unit of urban form. Formally, *the urban block*[1] can be defined simply as an element or urban form,

[1] The Penguin Dictionary defines the term 'block' as "a usu more or less rectangular area in a town enclosed by streets and usu occupied by buildings". Eren gives a list of the terms synonymous with urban blocks as "building block, building island, city block, insula, insulae, ilots and chequer". She indicates that among all, insula, insulae ilots and chequer are used to define formal plans with orthogonal geometric

surrounded by circulation channels. In turn, the channels (which are called simply as 'streets' in this study) surrounding and defining urban blocks are, at the same time, shaped and defined through the formation of urban blocks. In other words, blocks and streets are characterized and formed by each other and they can be seen as the constitutive elements of each other.

This reciprocal relation between urban block and street is the basis of the most general classification of the components of the city: '*solids* and *voids'*. A similar classification is made by Spreiregen as '*urban mass* and *urban space'*, the relationship between which is accepted as the primary issue in urban design. According to him, *urban space* is the primary element of urban design, and *urban mass* is the basic element to form urban space and to shape activity patterns, or both large and small scales (Spreiregen, 1965; 70-76).

According to Trancik (1982; 97), the figure-ground theory is founded on the study of relative land coverage of buildings as solid mass ('figure') to open voids ('grounds'). Each urban environment has an existing pattern of solids and voids, and the figure-ground approach to spatial design is an attempt to manipulate these relationships.

Trancik states that a predominant field of solids and voids creates the urban pattern, often called the fabric. Spatial orientation is defined by the configuration of 'urban blocks' that collectively form districts and neighborhoods. It is the articulation and differentiation of solids and voids that make up the fabric of the city and establish the physical sequence and visual orientation between places. Moreover, the nature of the urban void depends on the disposition of solids that is the urban blocks. (Trancik, 1982; 100). In other words, the accumulation of urban blocks creates the overall patterns of solid-void relations.

Therefore, Trancik sees the urban block as a basic unit in the organization of urban patterns and defines six typological patterns of solids and voids, which are grid, angular, curvilinear, radial concentric, axial and organic as seen in the figure below. These patterns solids and voids can also be seen as the patterns of urban blocks.

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physical spaces (generally forming a grid-iron organization pattern). The others, block and building block-island in general define a physical structure of any geometric form and dimension. In today's urban design literature, the block is defined as an element, module, segment or a section of a city that is bounded on each side by consecutive channels, of either vehicular or pedestrian circulation systems (Eren, 1995; 19, 20)

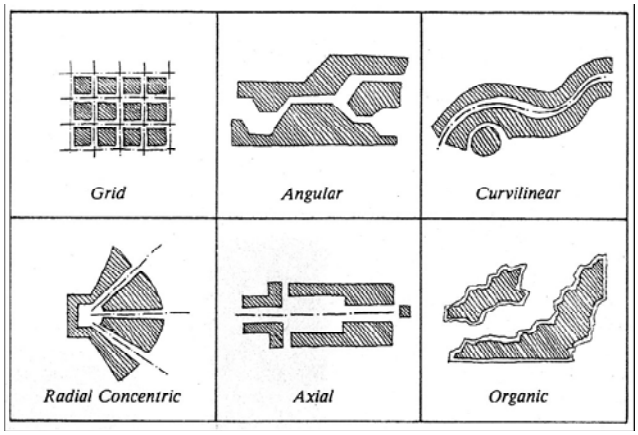


Figure 2.1. Six Typological Patterns of Solids and Voids (Trancik, 1982; 101)

For him, most cities are built from combinations and permutations of these patterns as well as through juxtaposition of larger and smaller patterns. "The organic shifting patterns of Imperial Rome and the regular grid of midtown Manhattan are the particular organizing structures of those cities. The shifting relationships of streets and blocks throughout an urban district give it its aggregate form" (Trancik, 1982; 101).

In addition to this pattern typology, he gives a typology of urban solids and voids as distinct elements, which are seen in the Figure 2.2.

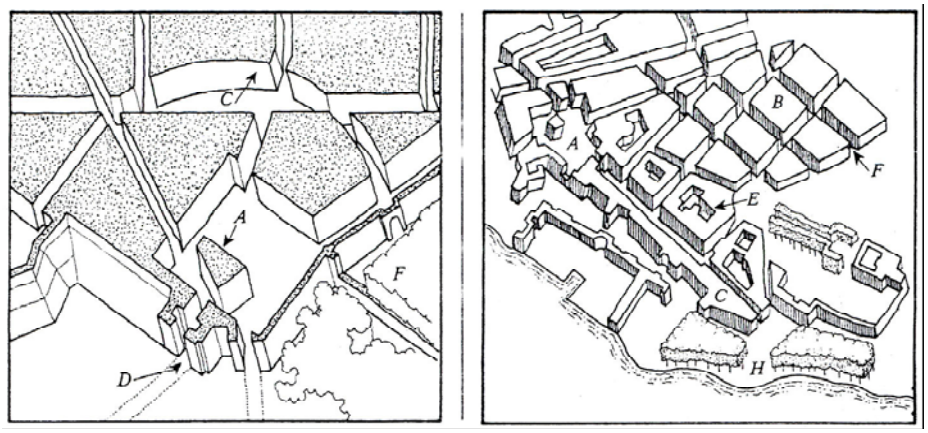


Figure 2.2. Diagram of the Types of Urban Solids and Voids (Trancik, 1982; 102)

In this figure, there are three principal types of urban solids;

(A) *public monuments and institutions*;
(B) *the predominant field of urban blocks*;
(C) *edge-defining buildings*;

There are five main types of urban void that perform various functions;

(D) *entry foyers*; act as passageways between private and public space
(E) *inner block voids*; are semiprivate transition zones
(F) *the network of streets and squares*; corresponds to the predominant field of blocks and contains the active public life of the city;
(G) *parks and gardens*; are nodes that contrast with architectural urban forms,
(H) *linear open space systems*; usually associated with natural features as riverways, waterfronts and wetlands, cut through urban districts to establish edges and create larger-scale connections (Trancik, 1982; 102).

As seen in Trancik's classification, (A) the predominant field of urban blocks as a basic type of solids and (F) the network of streets and squares as a basic type of voids correspond to each other and determines the overall pattern of urban space. Thus, the most crucial element in Trancik's typology for our study is the *predominant field of urban blocks*;

> The field (of urban blocks) is organized by a repetition of preshaped parcels forming a pattern determined by use, such as residential, office, retail, or industrial, with appropriate spacing, bulk, and vertical dimension. The field of urban blocks sometimes forms a carpet pattern of recognizable, coherent textures that define a center. They might also be formed by neighborhoods or districts of a consistent group form. (Trancik, 1987; 103).

In Krier's abstraction of the city components showed in Figure 2.2 below, the field of '*res-privata*' is also formed by these '*predominant field of urban blocks*'. Similarly, Trancik's predominant field of urban blocks can be considered as the equivalent of Lynch's '*districts*' which is one of his famous five cognitive elements of urban form: "*paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks*". Among these five elements, Lynch emphasizes the importance of the organization of *predominant field of urban blocks* for the clear definition of '*districts*', which are "the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of having two dimensional extent, …which are recognizable as having some common identifying character" (Lynch, 1960; 47).

These definitions that the predominant fields of urban blocks (by Trancik) and the district (by Lynch) are critical to connect the contingent forms of particular units of urban form with the necessary relations that produce them. These are the abstractions that assemble distinct particular formations in certain Types. If we can establish a connection between these Types with the property relations that produce them, we can thus connect the contingent forms with structural relations. (This will be the subject of Chapter 4.)

As in the case of urban solids, there are certain definable urban voids that can be considered in relation with urban blocks. Because urban voids are shaped through the production of urban blocks and their characteristics are interdependent. The entry foyer space (indicated with (D) in the Figure 3) that establishes the important transition, or passage, from personal domain to common territory. (E); the inner block void is a semiprivate residential space for leisure or utility or a midblock shopping oasis for circulation or rest (Trancik, 1982; 103). These two types of voids (which will be discussed under the next heading in detail) are the transition zones between public and private spaces, and their formal and territorial properties, gives the character of urban blocks. (F); *the primary network of streets and squares* ; is the category that responds to the predominant field of urban blocks and that contains the active public life of the city. Trancik emphasizes that, historically, the streets and squares were unifying structures of the city and throughout most of urban history, and the network of streets and squares functioned as the principal structure for civic design and spatial organization. However, in modernist urban design, these have lost much of their social function and physical quality (Trancik, 1982; 103).

2.2.1.2. Urban block in subjective morphology

The subjective morphology, as the research of the impact of built environment on human behavior has a very indirect relation with our study. Nevertheless, the territorial hierarchy, as the connecting concept between subjective and objective morphology, has a crucial significance for the production of urban form, since the concept *territory* is directly related with the relations of property. For this reason, we will here focus on the role of urban block in the constitution of territorial hierarchy.

In the development and transformation process of urban form, the relation between the block and the street as the basic elements of urban space has been continuously redefined. In a certain level of abstraction, we can state that the redefinition of the relation between the blocks and the surrounding streets can be seen as a redefinition the relation between "*private space* and *public space"*. Urban space can be seen as a composition of these two main domains. In this abstraction, the streets are the elements of the *public space*, while the urban block constitutes the territory of the *private space,* like as in the Krier's definition of urban space.

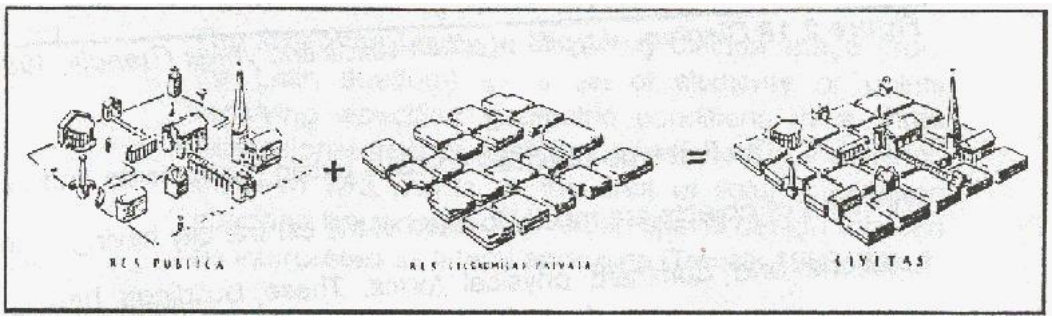


Figure 2.2. Basic components of urban space for Krier (1984; 22); According to Leon Krier urban space is constituted from two main domains; public and private domains. Urban form is the sum of public artifacts (public buildings and streets) and private blocks.

Thus, we can take up the relationship between the street and the block as a relationship between public space and private space. Ali Madanipour (2003), in his book named "Public and Private Spaces of the City", investigates how the urban space is structured in terms of the relationship between public and private spaces. He considers the public and the private as interdependent notions, which make sense in relation to each other; and argues that the way space is subdivided and the relationship between the public space and private spheres in general are the main indicator of how an urban society organizes itself in space. "By defining space, enclosing it within boundaries which separate the public and private, social relations take a spatial form; a concrete and relatively fixed representation of constantly changing phenomena" (Madanipour, 2003; 60). From this perspective, according to Madanipour, city building is essentially "*a boundary setting exercise*". The space of the city is shaped by many forms and levels of boundaries. These territories formed through the setting of boundaries define the conditions in which individuals interact.

Therefore, the urban block as the main tool of planners in their "boundary setting exercise", is also the basic element in the formation of the territorial organization of urban space as a relationship between public and private spaces. This is what we call the "territorial aspect" of the urban block. Analysis of the urban block in this aspect includes the analyzing the relationship between the street and the block, mainly the analysis of the way of controlling the block boundaries in the planning and design process. It also includes the analysis of the inner-block spaces as a relation between the individual private units.

In conclusion, understanding the typology of urban blocks in respect to their boundaries and the configuration of their inner spaces; in respect to the legal tools that define the way of control of the inhabitants over space or the way of public control over the inhabitants allows us to evaluate the role of urban blocks in the organization of public and private spaces of the city. Furthermore, as one of the main problem areas of urban design, understanding the urban block as a boundary, which defines the territorial hierarchy can provide us the opportunity to evaluate the spatial outcomes of different urban design approaches in terms of the patterns of territorial interaction.

However, the formation of territories cannot be understood without considering the property relations which constitutes the concrete basis of the territorial boundaries. Madanipour (2003; 67, 68) emphasizes that "separation of public and private is not often treated as a black and white distinction. The lines that divide the two are porous and ambiguous. (…) In law and politics, however, there is demand for the clarity of these boundaries and the maintenance of this dichotomy as a means of protecting individual". Thus, we can state that the ownership rights are the main factors that determine the patterns of territorial control. In the process of setting territorial boundaries through which space is constantly divided and reshaped in new forms, the overall shape of the city is determined by the public and private property.

Lawrence (1996, 41) also stresses on the relation between the boundary definition and ownership rights in his study on the changing structure of housing layouts in Switzerland. According to him, understanding of the changes in territorial boundaries necessitates a historical perspective that considers provision, ownership and management contexts. He states that,

> …public and private domains define and mutually defined by a range of administrative, behavioral, judicial and socio-political factors concerning property rights, which are contextually defined by societies and they may change over the course of time. (Lawrence, 1996; 31).

2.2.2. Substantive Approaches to Urban Morphology

Substantive approaches are largely geographical and historical. Indeed, they need to be simultaneously geographical and historical as in Whitehand's approach historico-geography (Whitehand, 1992). These studies have been expanding in the literature within different approaches so that there are appearing new streams of research, such as space syntax (Hillier, 1984), evolutionary approach (Marshall, 2009) and complexity theory (Batty, 2007). The general emphasis is on the *continuous change* of urban form. However, the basis of this change is understood in different ways and so yields to different orientations and methods. In addition to

these, we can mention the studies of urban history and finally urban morphogenetics. In the following headings, we will discuss these approaches, starting from the latest one.

2.2.2.1. Evolutionary approach

This is a new stream in morphology studies, which is introduced by Marshall as a reaction to the three main paradigms based on three traditional metaphors in urban design. These are,

- The city as a *work of art*: Urban space is seen as an artistic creation, an expressive and indivisible object. It goes back to the Renaissance designers and early planners like Unwin and Sitte.
- The city as *a machine*: Urban space is seen as a functional construct mainly by modernist architecture and planning
- The *organic* metaphor: Urban space is seen as an organism. It is a pervasive interpretation from Howard, Geddes to Jacobs and Alexander.

Against these, Marshall puts a metaphor of ecosystem. He states that the city is not a design object nor organism; the city is a collective entity like an ecosystem, competing and cooperating counter parts. It is a complex, emergent and collective product, which has no optimal target form. In this manner, he adapts the biological theory of evolution theory to urban design, including the evolution concepts like natural selection, cambirien explosion, adaptation etc. In this way, he comments the history of urban form as the evolution history of different forms, styles, approaches and so on. However, this approach does not help to understand the evolution of a certain place. It is rather interested in deriving design solutions from a whole spectrum of forms and approaches through history. This is attempted by another movement –complexity theory– again with a natural metaphor but this time referring the chaotic systems in physics.

2.2.2.2. Urban morphology in complexisty theory

The complexity theory adapts the chaos theory, which takes up the natural processes as 'non-linear' systems, to the social and urban processes. Fractal geometry, which means the irregularity geometrically repeating itself through many scales and the formation through iterations, is used as a representation of urban pattern. Depending on the complexity intrinsic to the chaotic processes and fractal structures, formation of urban patterns is represented through mathematical models, which depends on non-linear systems. Michael Batty introduces a comprehensive exposition of the complexity theory in his book, 'Cities and Complexity'. Complexity theory as a new paradigm "illustrates the philosophy that cities should be treated as

emergent structures, built from the *bottom up*, whose processes are intrinsic to the form and structure that is ultimately develops" (Betty, 2007; 107, 497). These result in hierarchically differentiated structures that might suggest central planning: "But central planning there is not; there are only the actions of individual elements whose coordination results from the remorseless processes of competition and adaptation" (Batty, 2005; 5 cited in Marshall, 2009; 83)."

Although the complexity approach focuses on the 'change' of urban form, it is not taken up as a 'historical' process in which social forces interact but as if it is a 'natural' process. Therefore, it naturalizes the social relations, mainly the market relations of capitalism. And the 'chaos' of capitalist market is presented as natural and inevitable. Therefore, complexity theory, while it is dealing with the non-linear system, it ignores the real capitalist system. The critique of apolitizm directed towards the urban ecologists of Chicago School is also relevant for the complexity approach.

2.2.2.3. Urban morphology in urban and architectural history

There is a huge set of literature about the history of urban form and architecture, concerning with the historical transformation of urban patterns and architectural traditions. Obviously, we cannot cover most of them in this study, but it is possible to emphasize some major works such as Gallion-Eisner, Benevolo, Kostof, Mumford, Moholy-Nagy, Korn and Morris, each of which presents the connections between general historical processes and the form of cities. They pose a narrative of a general evolution including the similarities, continuities and breaking moments in the transformation of formal characteristics of different cities and periods.

In this way, the history of urban form becomes the history of urban society in which the form of cities reflects the social and political peculiarities of their period. These studies go beyond the absolute space conception through their historical view, in which space is a dynamic outcome burdened with the values, rituals and meanings. In this respect, space gain a *relative* quality, continuously changing according to the changes in social context. This is the crucial point to transcend the description of urban morphology and it is *necessary* to attain explanations of urban form. However, it is not *sufficient* to develop a comprehensive understanding for the role of space in the historical processes.

2.2.2.4. Urban morphogenetics

The physical form of the urban environment is one of the longest-established branches of urban geography, especially in Europe and the morphogenetic tradition is a major one of these

branches. As Whitehand (1992; 2) states, it developed in the German-speaking countries during the half-century before the Second World War, was brought to Great Britain and greatly enriched by Conzen (1959, 1960, 1962). This tradition has provided the basis for a variety of studies of wider aspects of urban form, especially the cyclical character of land utilization and building form. Moreover, works of land economists and economic historians on urban-rent and building cycles get involved in the morphogenetic tradition.

The term "morphogenesis" refers to the processes that create and reshape the physical fabric of urban form. "Over time, urban morphology changes, not only as new urban fabric is added but also as existing fabric is modified. Basic forms, consisting of house, plot and street types of a given period, become hybridized as new buildings replace old, plots are amalgamated or subdivided and street layouts are modified" (Knox, 2000;80). Thus, "urban morphogenetics", as a school of urban morphology investigates, the historical processes creating and reshaping the urban landscape (e.g. building cycles, fluctuations in land values, changing structure of capital invested in built environment) and the role of different agents responsible for the urban landscape (e.g. the property owners, developers, planners) (Vance, 1990;4).

Street-block pattern *Plot pattern* *Building structures*

Figure 2.4. Elements of urban form in M.R.G. Conzen's terminology (Kostof, 1991; 26)

Urban morphogenetics has firstly developed in the German tradition of urban morphology, mainly by the works of M.R.G. Conzen. In his significant study of Alnwick, Conzen analyses the historic development of the town from ancient times through the mid-twentieth century. His conceptual structure focused upon the *block plans of buildings* in their *plots* and how they were contained within streets and blocks (Hall, 1998; 230). Thus, for Conzen the basic elements of urban form are *building structures, plot pattern and street pattern* (Figure 6). He emphasized the difference in stability of these elements. Buildings, and particularly the land uses they accommodate, are usually the least resilient elements. Although more enduring, the plot pattern changes over time as individual plots are subdivided or amalgamated. The street plan tends to be the most enduring element. Its stability derives form its being a capital asset not lightly aside; from ownership structures; and, in particular, from the difficulties of organizing and implementing large-scale change. Changes do happen, however, through destruction by war or natural disaster or, in the modern period, through programs of comprehensive redevelopment (Carmona, 2003; 64). As Hall (1998; 231) emphasizes this process was often accompanied by the persistence of older boundary lines as a result of the constraints of the legal process of conveying land ownership.

Another morphologist, Knox, developing the ideas of Conzen, puts forward a hierarchy in morphological transformations. According to him (Knox, 2000; 84) morphological reorganization involves a variety of *processes of change that operate at different spatial scales*, with small scale changes to individual buildings eventually leading to morphological transformations at the level of city blocks, neighborhoods and quarters. These steps are:

1. Change of uses on sites and buildings
2. Reorganization within the building
3. Extension into the unbuilt areas of plots and blocks and intensification
4. Increase in the number of storey
5. Linking of plots
6. Alteration of the whole or relevant part of a block
7. Changes to the size of blocks through alterations of the street network
8. Alterations to a large area consisting of a number of blocks
9. Changes to a whole quarter or part of the town

Knox (2000; 80) claims that innovations in transport technology are of particular importance, since they not only contribute to the evolution of the norms and aesthetics of power, space and design (as in the development of subdivisions based on cul-de-sac and loop roads in response to the intrusiveness of automobiles.

Lastly, we can mention Whitehand as an important author in morphogenetic school. His cyclical theory of urban form based on the interrelationship of land value, economic fluctuations and innovation adaptation which integrates much of the subject-matter of (Whitehand, 1992; 625) His approach depends on two basic assumptions: Firstly, the different elements that make up the urban landscape change at different speeds. A spectrum of susceptibility to change can be recognized, with structures entailing a large capital investment changing rarely and those involving a relatively small capital investment undergoing quite frequent changes. These changes are seldom the result of physical decay. Secondly; both the amount and character of forms created and the modifications that they subsequently undergo are subject to cycles. Planning itself is subject to cycles. And there is an evident synchronism between these cycles and 'morphological periods' (M.R.G. Conzen's term).

In brief, the focus of morphogenetic tradition on the '*genesis*' (that is the emergence and becoming) of morphological elements of urban space provides a significant view and methodological tools for a relational analysis of urban form. For this reason, we will evaluate more closely the approaches of M.R.G. Conzen as the founder of this tradition and Whitehand as the main figure of its economic orientation.

2.2.2.5. Conzenian conception of urban form

Conzen's approach in essence is based on a successive periods of landscape formation. Since the landscape is never a *tabula rasa*, all societies live in previously created environments and no society can detach itself completely from its past. Each society leaves its mark on the landscape, creating forms that reflect the aspirations and problems of its day. These forms are part of the inheritance of future societies, which they in their turn variously alter, add to, preserve or erase. In this way, an urban landscape, whether that of a town or a single street, acquires its own ***genius loci***. This is the product not only of the present occupants but also of their predecessors (Whitehand, 1992; 7). In this context, he defines five principles of morphogenesis, first of which implies directly the core of our study, which is the property relations;

Conzen's Principles of Urban Morphogenesis

(i) *Secular socio-political conditioning:* It is the fundamental and universal factor for Conzen. "Having its roots in the history of socio-political organization and especially in the changing relations between society and the individual, it is a fundamental and universal

factor in which urban morphogenesis assuming the role of a general principle, the principle of secular socio-politcal conditioning" (Conzen, 2004; 64).

(ii) *Systematically differentiated persistence of forms:* Degree of persistence decreasing from town plan to building fabric and at least the pattern of land and building utilization.

(iii) *Historical stratification:* Succession of morphological periods each of which has its own tonwnscape characteristics.

(iv) *Systematically induced period mixtures:* The differentiation between old town and outer parts, in which the complexity of stratification tends to decrease with increasing distance from the old town.

(v) *A hierarchical nesting of morphogenetic regions.*

Especially the way he introduced the first principle –secular socio-political conditioning– is a significant example of a relational conception of urban form. He explains the transformation of medieval town pattern and of its plot type called 'burgage', through the rise of new social classes and property relations and defines four periods from the medieval era to industrialization.

1. Control of a corporate social order: The intricate traditional pattern of the medieval townscape was a manifestation of the medieval corporate society and it was based on the free burgage tenure which is the basic legal element in the creation of medieval towns. The adherence of house builders to common styles of architecture lead to a strong unity and plan of the town presented a hierarchy of morphogenetic regions that were also socio-geographical regions, expressed consistently in their townscape elements of plot, building and land utilization types.

2. Opening for individual action: Free burgage tenure was gradually upsetting during Middle Ages and free ownership of burgages encouraged individual initiative at the expense of corporate control. Yet, corporate control and its traditional townscape were still strong and unchallenged. However, free burgage tenure attracted piecemeal capital investment in urban property by the powerful merchants and guilds. They acquired extensive property in the form of scattered burgages or blocks of contiguous burgages. Consequently, the concentration of ownership in the hands of merchants and financiers was in progress between the late 13th and 15th centuries, and caused to weaken the corporate order in the townscape.

3. *Balance through customary discipline:* Individual initiative began to dominate the plot and building pattern of the medieval townscape. Yet the resistance of the inherent discipline of

medieval order against the private property enabled to guidance of the production of new forms in the townscape in terms of consistent architectural style until the early era of industrialization.

4. Industrialism and laissez-faire freedom: Through the industrialization in mid-18 century, unrestrained exercise of individual initiative –*laissez-faire*– enabled the owners of land and property to act independently or under the weak control of new instutional constraints. They proceeded to reform the townscape piecemeal by changing the land and buildings on their plots or newly amalgamated plot groups or estates. Thereby a new heterogeneity of form mixtures appeared as the eclecticism of different architectural styles. As a result, only the small historic towns can avoid the complexities of modern functional development. For this reason they show more directly the morphological continuity from early beginnings to the present, and thus enable some first principles "to be established about the genesis of today's morphological regions in the light of *the whole* of a historic town's history" (the whole that can be seen as the correspondent of Egli's expectation for Ankara) (Conzen, 2004; 67).

2.2.2.5. Whitehand's conception of urban form

According to Whitehand's conceptualization, the *urban landscape* is not a *reflection* of the requirements of the society but it is a cumulative, albeit incomplete record of the succession of booms, slumps and innovation adoptions within a particular local (Whitehand, 1992; 5). Whitehand calls his approach as '*historico-geographical*' perspective, which is mainly based on the idea of building and innovation cycles. He summarizes this idea in his book 'The Changing Face of Cities' as follows;

> … stress was placed on the economics of land use. At the centre of the theoretical framework were land value, economic fluctuations and the adoption of innovations. Fluctuations in urban development were related to land-value theory in a schema of urban growth and internal change in which the creation and modification of elements in the urban landscape were linked to pressures on land over time and space. The rapid outward growth of urban areas in the form of high-density housing took place during periods of relatively high land values associated with housebuilding booms… Each boom (is) characterized by the appearance in the landscape of a particular innovation… Conversely, slow outward growth of the built-up area, relatively low land values, and the creation of large plots for extensive land use, especially for public and institutional purposes, were associated with housebuilding slumps… (Whitehand, 1992; 3).

In this frame, Whitehand proposes a method of research based on three groups of questions. *First* one is about the characteristics of activities and agents take part in the development of urban space. He separates the corporate-public activities and private activities realized by public and private agents. *Second* group of questions comprise the degree of concentration of decision making; He proposes that the concentrated decision making leads to uniformity, whereas dispersed decision making leads to variety in the formation of urban landscape. Finally, the *third* group of questions comprises the classification of the functions of agents, such as owners, architects, builders, planners and so on. The types of owners are directly related with differences of concentration of decision making between agents (Whitehand, 1992; 7-8).

2.2.3. Common Principles and Implications of Substantive Studies

According to Moudon (1997), the common point of these studies is the agreement that the city can be '*read*' and analysed via the medium of its physical form. Among them, the tradition of urban morphogenesis is especially interested in the dynamic state of the city, and pervasive relationships btw its elements. He argues that there are three common principles of the substantive studies.

1. Urban form is defined by three fundemental pysical elements:
   - Buildings and their related open spaces
   - Plots (parcels)
   - Streets

2. Urban form can be understooed at different levels of resolution:
   - Building/lot
   - The street/block
   - The city
   - The region

3. Urban form can *only* be understood historically since the elements of which it is comprised undergo continuous transformation and replacement.

Therefore, to Moudon, "*form, resolution and time*" constitutes the three fundamental components of urban morphology research. Moreover, we should qoute his emphasis on *the parcel* as the cell of the city, since this idea constitutes the essence of the analysis in Chapter 4. Moudon states that "**the smallest cell of the city** is the combination of two elements: The *individual parcel of land* together with *its buildings and open spaces*." Then, he notes three crucial arguments for the cell:

1. The characterisics of the cell define the urban form's shape and density, as well as its actual and potential use over time.
2. Attributes of the cell and its elements reflect not only a time period of history, but the socio-economic conditions present at the time of land development and building.
3. Over time, these elements are either used differently –for example, by different social classes– transformed physically or replaced by new forms.

The different aspects of urban blocks defined under normative approaches and these principles of the substantive approaches will provide the morphological basis of our study together with and the idea of cell. However, in our opinion, the literature of urban morphology still has a lack of unitary and comprehensive theoretical framework; and hence, most of the recent studies remain in the realm of particular (local) and empirical and the theory appears as an accumulation of common approaches and findings.

In this respect, Mugavin (1999) proposes *a philosophical base* for urban morphology, saying that morpohological research tends to operate in the Euclidean materalist space (that is the absolute space) ignoring social and mental spaces. According to him, urban morphology should be defined as a study that posits the space has a morphogenesis and is not a fixed entity; space and place are ever-changing historical entities. Then, he argues, such a study can be based on the philosophy of two French phisophers; Foucault and Lefebvre.

On the one hand, *Foucauldian* morphology focuses on the identification of *isomorphic* patterns between physical fabric and institutional regimes, owners and occupants, useful to urbanists, and needs to rely on valid spatial codes that integrate physical, mental and social concepts.

On the other hand, *Lefebvrian* morphology is based on his idea that *social space is a social product*. In this respect, M.P. Conzen's is akin to Lefebvre in relying on the basic proposition that "each society produces its own *landscape*." In this respect, he offers the use of Lefebvre's famous triology; spatial practice, represenation of space, spaces of representation.

Since the integration of morphogenetic approach with a relational conception of space is the main direction of our study, Mugavin's search for a philosophical base within the Marxian perspective (either in a Foucauldian or a Lefebvrian tone) is also relevant for us. In this respect, we need to evaluate the general potential of Marxist approaches in spatial studies and so in urban morphology.

2.3. CONCLUSION: MARXIAN APPROACHES AND URBAN MORPHOLOGY

We saw that urban morphology is mainly based on the absolute conception of space thanks to the physical nature of its research object. Thus, there is a strong tendency to limit itself in the boundaries of descriptive empirical research. This indicates the lack and so the need for an approach based on relational conception of space. In this respect, the tradition of urban morphogenetics has an important potential and strength, which still waits to be actualized efficiently. And we agree that actualization of this potential requires the integration of morphogenetics with a Marxian perspective.

Actually, this is also the case of urban design. As Cuthbert (2006; 43) criticizes, in urban design, discernible approaches to history appear as an eclectic anarchy of discourses. They do not share any substantial theoretical position. "Somehow the vast powerhouse of economic production that underpins social life has become mysteriously detached from the production of urban form." The physicality of urban space then comes about as a result of utopian wish fulfillment, normative spatial concepts, professional influence or a random aesthetic choice. Nevertheless, he writes,

> A small but significant number of scholars have recognized this omission, adopting the standpoint that indeed the symbolic and material production of urban space and form which results in the totality of our 'designed' environment must relate in some substantial manner to social life as a whole. Most of these scholars are, in one way or another, influenced by the Marxian dialectic. (Cuthbert, 2006; 43).

Indeed, when we look at the Marxist literature, it is seen that Marxist studies in 1970s (especially by Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey) has marked a new epoch in spatial studies. They provoked the geography, history and economics to come across under a total framework of spatial sciences.

However, inasmuch as the influence of these approaches increased in spatial studies, they became subject to serious criticisms. And the main source of these criticisms is their tendency to functionalism and determinism. As Keskinok (1997; 19) states, this tendency is based on a *reflection* (or manifestation) view. Here the spatial forms and patterns are seen as a deployment of social processes and the social causes are explained by their spatial effects. Thus, they come to be seen as fully functional for capital accumulation as in Harvey's 'capital-logic' argument (1981), for the reproduction of labor power (Castells, 1977, 1978) or in Scott's argument in which land-based interests are seen as the replicas of capitalist interests.

Therefore, reflectionism is a general tendency in Marxian approaches and results in the reassertion of *relative* space conception just in the moment that it is tried to be avoided by a

relational space perspective. For example, Harvey, who is subjected frequently to such criticisms, also criticizes this tendency;

> The belief of some Marxian approaches that the processes of capitalist development are materialized in space, almost through a one-to-one correspondence with the actual forms of the built environment. This is very much like mainstream reflection theory and is even closer to the belief of ecologists that sociospatial patterns are direct manifestation of sociobiotic drives. Thus, the features of space are little more than epiphenomena. (Harvey; 1989; 74)

It means that, reflectionism-functionalism in spatial studies is a cost that has to be faced; the cost of the search for totality. Besides, in urban morphology, which is interested in inevitably contingent category (i.e. the form), this problem becomes more urgent. At this point, we argue that focusing on *the property* and property relations provides an important and necessary ground for avoiding the vulgar reflectionism. Because, space and property are the two sides of the same 'coin', especially in capitalist society. They share similar attributes and concepts as Günay emphasizes. For example, like property, one of the indispensable debates on space has been, whether it is a substance (thing) or a system of relations as Günay emphasizes;

> Space, like property, is a relationship among the subjects and objects; in a way, it is a product evolving upon the labour and utility put into it, and an extension of the self or a tool of political power. Property is absolute when the individual has total *dominium* on the thing or the object. Space is also absolute when it is merely a relationship between the owners and things, as space is relative when it is perceived as a system of relations among events. (Günay, 1999; 62)

It means that this correlation between space and property is more than a linguistic overlap; rather it is a correlation that arises from their ontological roots. As Lefebre states (social) space is a (social) product; and production is at the same time a relation of property. In a sense, we can even refer to a metaphor such that "the property is the 'projection' of production onto produced space". Thus, property becomes a key to conceive the space in a relational manner.

In conclusion, with the mediation of property, we can shift from the question of "what is urban form" to the question of "*how do the diffrent social formations produce different spatial forms*". Thus, in the next chapter, we will take up this question focusing on the relation between property relations and urban space, and thus we will define a structural framework in which we can locate the elements, principles and levels of urban morphology, which were discussed above.

CHAPTER 3

A STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK
FOR THE RELATIONAL CONCEPTION OF URBAN FORM

3.1. INTRODUCTION

If we were interested in the ordinary objects that we consume in our daily life, we would not have much difficulty in dissociating their form and content (i.e. their function or how they are shaped). But, when the question is a collective product like urban space, this transparency becomes illusionary. Urban space also has functions but its content cannot be reduced to its function. A street can be an access channel, as well as a play ground for children, or the public space of a political protest. Besides, these functions change in time and come into conflict with the form of space.

Therefore, if the aim is to go beyond *the descriptions* of the *form of urban space* and *to understand* the *formation of urban space*, then we need to go beyond the absolute conception of space and to conceive the space not only as a physical context but also as the coexistence of social relations. In this conception, with Harvey's expression, "spatial forms are there seen not as inanimate objects within which the social procss unfolds, but as things which 'contain' social processes in the same manner that social processes *are* spatial". (Harvey, 1973; 10)

As we outlined its general frame in the former chapter, the departure point of this relational conception is the comprehension of space as a social product. The conclusion of this comprehension is Lefebvre's famous proposition: "Every society –and hence every mode of production with its subvariants– produces a space, its own space" (Lefebvre, 1991; 31).

Then, we should add that, *every mode of production produces its own spatial forms*; in other words, *every mode of production gives a 'form' to urban space according to its own 'content'*,

which is the social relations of production, and more definitely, the property relations. And while it produces its own space, it also produces its own mode of forming the space.

Since we focus on this proposition in the current chapter, starting from the definition of *form* and *content*, our initial problem is to understand the relationship between ***the form*** and ***the content*** of urban space. Then, we should connect this relationship with the *property relations* of capitalist society in order to draw a *structural framework* through which we can analyze the general characteristics of the formation of urban space. In this framework, we will focus on *the role of planners* as the major agents of planning process. In conclusion, this chapter aims to outline the structural determinations for 'the production of urban form', which will be focused in the next chapter.

Of course, we cannot intend in this study to make a sophisticated structural analysis of the whole urban process. We only seek to draw an overall conceptual diagram that shows the implications of urban process on the formation process of urban space. This diagram will help, in the second phase of the study, to evaluate our empirical findings for the case of Ankara-Yenişehir.

3.2. URBAN SPACE AS A WORK AND AS A PRODUCT

> *The poet's reflections are always directed towards the form. The world already grants him the material generously. The essence stems from itself in its intrinsic substance; the two meet unconsciously, and finally it remains unknown to which the substance belongs to.*
>
> *Goethe– Divan*

According to Hegel, form and content (or the essence with Goethe's term) are a pair of terms frequently employed by the reflective understanding, especially with a habit of looking on the content as the essential and independent, whereas the form as the unessential and dependent. In this case, form is conceived as *External Form* which is "not reflected into itself; and then it is external existence, which does not at all affect the content". Against this, Hegel (in his Logic) notes that both are in fact equally essential. In this case the form is conceieved as "reflected into itself; and then it is identical with the content". Therefore, "the content is what it is only because the matured form is included in it, just as real ***works of art*** are those where content and form exhibit a thorough identity"; The Illiad is made an Illiad by the poetic form, in which that content is moulded. Content and form are so merged that, as in the poet's work mentioned by

Goethe, "*it remains unknown to which the substance belongs to*". In such a case, form and content is *inseparable and identical*. (see Diagram 3.1.)

Then, what is the implication of such a correlation between form and content in respect to a '*product*', particularly for *urban space*? (see Diagram 3.1.) Different from a work, which is *created* by an individual activity as a '*unique*' object in particular conditions and in a peculiar form, a product is the outcome of a '*repetitive*' process. It is *produced* in a division of labor via the instruments of labor, like technology, knowledge etc. This repetition needs a homogeneous form that serves to a function. Thus, in contrast to works, products are not unique. The reciprocal relation between content and form is broken by a transparency. Now, the 'richness' in a product belongs to the content, to the productive activity itself, rather than form. In this case, the question is *whether the city is a work*[1] *or a product*?

As a reply to this question Lefebvre (1991; 75) gives the example of Venice, a highly expressive and significant space, just as unique and unified as a painting or a sculpture. In this respect, it is truly a work. But is it possible to adequately deal with such a city solely by reference to the notion of a work? It is an outcome of a unitary code depending on the dominance of a merchant oligarchy. Even in Venice, production and reproduction of social space is determined by the forces of production. Therefore, as he notes, "there is no good reason for positing a radical separation between works of art and products. Rather, there is *a dialectical relationship in which works are in a sense inherent in products, while products do not press all creativity into the service of repetition*. Creation and production, difference and repetition, the unique and the reproducible take place together."

Therefore, he argues that "*the city is both a work and a product*, but it is a result of production rather than creation; the repetition and homogeneity are supreme in the form of urban space. However, it is not an ordinary product among other products; rather it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity". (see Diagram 3.1.)

[1] In this study the concept of '*work*' is used as the outcome of creative activity, like as in the 'work of art', but not in the meaning of effort or labor process.

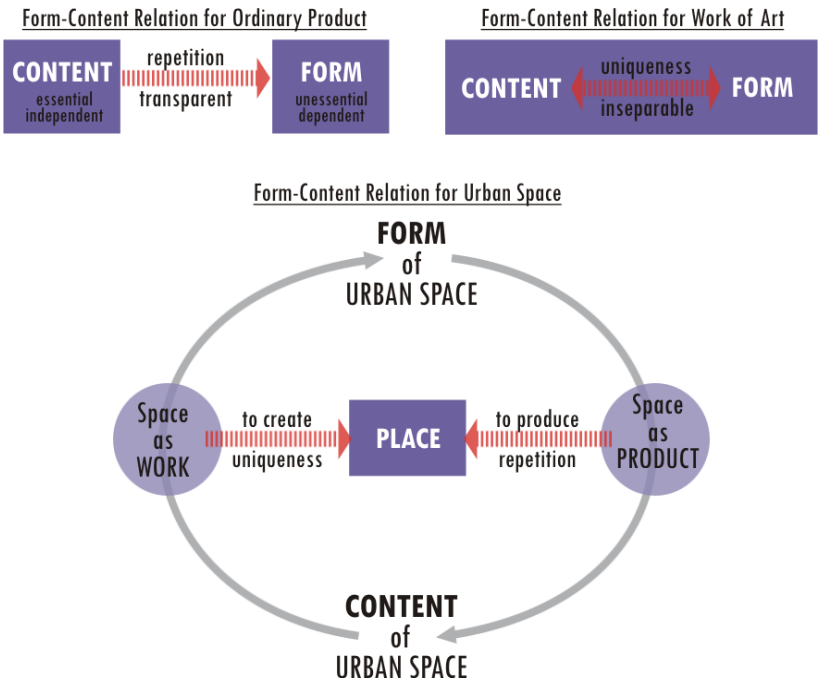


Diagram 3.1. Form-Content Relation

As Lefebvre (1991; 81) concludes, social space is a social relationship that is *inherent to property relationships*, *especially the ownership of the earth, of land*. Social space is closely connected with the forces of production which give a shape to the land. It is composed of diverse objects, such as the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such 'objects' are not only things but also relations and as objects, they possess discernible peculiarities, contour and form.

This *relational* view of space transcends the view of *absolute* space in which space is seen as a neutral container or a physical medium containing objects. However, in relational view, space is defined and redefined according to changing positions of social objects. Lefebvre summarizes this view with his famous proposition; *every society produces a space, its own space*. But it doesn't mean that space can be reduced to a mere contingent outcome of social relations. As depicted by Harvey (1996), relative stabilities occurring in the interactions of objects or substances constitute a certain space in a certain time and so they define a "*place*". Thus, *formation* of place is a *relative permanence* in the processes and relations that constitute spatio-

temporalities. The maintenance or removal of these permanences is the subject of *power relations* in society. Therefore, once the "places" which appears as a relatively permanent order of social relations, are produced, they start to determine the social relations that create them.

Harvey (1985) concretizes this view in his theory of "urbanization of capital" which explains how the capital accumulation processes produces the built environment in modern cities. Harvey states "... the *produced* geographical landscape constituted by fixed and immobile capital is both the crowning glory of past capitalist development and a prison that inhibits the further progress of accumulation precisely because it creates spatial barriers." He introduces the term of "spatial fix" in order to conceptualize the formation of relative permanence where a certain amount of capital is fixed to a certain space through the production of built environment. In respect to our purpose, the crucial point is that this fixation or the relative permanence is realized by *the mediation of property relations*. When a certain capital is invested to produce a part of built environment in a particular form, it can come into being only in the frame of property relations, with the embodiment of new property assets on the land. In other words, every capital investment on urban space results with a change in ownership patterns, just as every planning attempt ends up in an arrangement of land ownership and building rights (i.e. a composition in the *property aspect* of urban blocks).

Furthermore, the relative permanence which defines a particular place implies a resistance; the resistance of existing characteristics of that place, such as the existing property pattern, the existing codes (legal codes, planning decisions, etc.), the existing infrastructure and of course the existing urban life. Consequently, for some actors, urban space can be a work, subject to their creativity; for others, a product subject to exchange; and for some others, their living environment, their home, their territory. At the (relative) end, urban space, either as a relation or as a fabric, will gain a concrete 'form', i.e. a certain pattern of blocks. But the question is '*a form for whom'*, or '*a form in accordance with whose interests'?* This is the subject of power relations that are represented in the place with the mediation of *property relations*, the essential *content* of urban form.

Now, we can turn back to the question above; what is the implication of a correlation between form and content in respect to urban space? On the one hand, obviously there is not an absolute correlation as in the work of art, where the form and the content are quite identical and inseparable. On the other hand, urban space is not simply a product, but it is the condition and concentration of the production relations. For this reason, the relation between its content and

form is not as transparent as in an ordinary product, form of which is in the service of its function and repetition. Moreover, form of urban space is also inseparable from its content like as in *work* but it presents itself as a *pure form*, independent from content (the situation which can be called 'form fetishism'); and at the same time its form seems transparent like as in *product* but it presents itself as a *pure content*, that is the reality itself (the situation which can be called as 'space fetishism').

In order to overcome this illusionary character of urban space and its form, we should conceive it in the dialectical relationship of work and product. This might be possible through conceptualizing a reciprocal relationship between its form and content in which the correlation of form and content is defined 'relatively'; relative to the agents that play a part in the production (or formation) of urban space and relative to the historical contest. Then, we need to a focus on the connection between property relations and formation of urban space as a historical process.

3.3. URBAN FORM AS THE HISTORICAL OUTCOME OF PROPERTY RELATIONS

3.3.1. Property Relations and Space

> At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing **relations of production** or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the **property relations** within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure.
>
> Marx (Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 1859)

In the one hand, when Marx defines the property relations 'merely as a legal expression of production relations', he refers to the immediate connection between the ownership of the means of production and the way that production is socially organized, including the division of social classes and their interests. On the other hand, his definition of property relations –merely as *a legal* expression of production relations– should not be considered as an emphasis on the indifference between production and property relations. On the contrary, it refers to a distinction,

which renders the property relations as a part of the superstructure as much as the economic foundation. In other words, the economic foundation is not a complex which is external to the superstructure but it is a complex immanently related with the superstructure.

For this reason we should comprehend the *property relations* as a part of the superstructure and as an extension of production relations (that is the economic foundation). In this context, the superstructure of society corresponds to certain "legal and political forms of social consciousness" (with Marx's terms), which include the *ideologies* and the *permanences* of certain relationships and institutions. Consequently, the transformation of superstructure (and of property relations) is not directly coherent with the transformations in the economic foundation, since property relations as a legal, institutionalized and ideological expression of production relations have a (relatively) permanent and stabilized character.

This is the key point where the role of (social) space takes part in the scene. If we repeat Lefebvre's definition; "social space is a social relationship, *inherent to property relationships (especially the ownership of the earth, of land)* and also closely bound up with the forces of production (which impose a form on that earth or land)" (Lefebvre, 1991; 81). Therefore, we can argue that when we talk about social space, in fact, we "merely express the property relations in *spatial* terms" and it is based on the treatment of *land as an object of property*. Space (in its 'relational' conception) exists, just as the property relations, in a (relatively) permanent *form* based on the property of *land*.

Günay outlines this ontological connection between space and property:

> "Like property, one of the indispensable debates on space has been, whether it is a substance (thing) or a system of relations… Space is an object of property relations. Since space evolves within specific production relations bound to productive forces including technology and knowledge, depending on the social division of labour, the power of the state and prevailing superstructure of the society, it bears similar attributes with property. Therefore, because space is an outcome of production relations, like property, it is also subject to the practice of possession and ownership". (Günay; 1999; 60-61)

In this context, we can conclude that space is evolved as the practice of possession and ownership (basically on land). Then, we should continue with the *property* aspect of urban land, explaining firstly the concept of ***property***, which is briefly explained by McCrone and Elliot as follows:

> … it has to be stressed that *property is an institution*. It must not be confused with mere objects. **Property is not a thing, but a right.** It is the right or title which is the property, not its material outcome… Like other institutions, property serves to **specify and confirm certain relatively durable social relationships**, though, as with other institutions, **its form and content can vary quite widely between cultures and historical periods**... Property rights

> specify the categories of persons who shall have access to or use of an object... They establish too the conditions under which the object may be alienated –given away, exchanged, sold, or passed to heirs. Most importantly, property rights confer the capacity to *exclude* others from the object, or to dictate the precise conditions of any limited and conditional access. Property, then, has to be seen as a '**bundle' of rights**'; and ownership is part of a wider scheme of social responsibilities and relationships. (McCrone and Elliot, 1989; 3) (Boldface added)

As seen, they ***firstly*** stress that property is not an object but a bundle of rights. This is also an emphasis on the relational character of *property* which is parallel to the relational conception of *space*. Space is constituted relative to the relations between property subjects. But when the property of *land* is in question, that is, once space is constituted as a set of rights over land; it gains an absolute character; property rights is fixed and materialized on a piece of land and its assets. Thus, absolute space of land becomes the 'form of property', the materialized form of a set of relations. And in this way (with reference the ***second*** emphasis of the authors), these relations gain a relatively durable character, not only as an institution but also as a fixed absolute space. Lastly, their ***third*** emphasis (the *historicity* of the form and content of property) connotes that the relation between property and space (and so the relation between work and product) changes through the history depending on the transformation of property relations. Of course the historical evolution is a very general aspect of all social relations, but a historical assessment of the subject is necessary in order to understand the specificness of the content of urban form in capitalist society.

3.3.2. Historical Evolution of Property Relations and Urban Form

Günay (1999) evaluates the whole history of urban form and design in Western cities with a focus on the relation between property relations and urban space. His focus reveals the property factor underlying the design rationalities of different periods. According to him, for example, the grid of Miletus is not simply a rational geometric pattern, but rather a complex type of property relations, which predetermines the spaces of private and non-private realms of life through a spatial code. Hippodamus' *work* is in fact a rationalization and legalization of the division of urban space into three: "sacred, public and private" which corresponds to the division of goods in the Roman Law. While the first two are not subject to individual ownership, the third is the recognition of the private appropriation of land.

We have seen in the previous chapter a corresponding approach by Conzen as regards the pattern of the medieval town, explaining how the rising merchant class transformed the free burgage tenure gradually into free ownership of burgages, while dissolving the medieval townscape.

Günay also comments in a parallel way, adding that the townscape evolved gradually within the rules of possession that is the actual enjoyment of property. According to Günay, the common argument of many authors on the uniqueness of the physical harmony of medieval town arises from the concepts of communality and possession, and a slow evolution of new property relations where the individual built his own environment.

In this respect Rossi's critique for the use of the terms *rationalist* and *organic* in the design literature is significant. For him, "to say that the medieval city is organic reveals an absolute ignorance of the political, religious and economic structures of the medieval city… To say, on the other hand, that the plan of Miletus is rational is true even if it is so general as to generic and fails to offer us any real idea of Miletus' layout" (Rossi, 1982; 56).

Lefebvre points a similar critique for the use of the term *organic*: "Owing to a substantialistic or naturalistic fallacy, the space of the Renaissance town has occasionally been described as 'organic' as though it had a coherence akin to that of an organism, defined by a natural goal-directedness, with the whole governing the parts" (Lefebvre, 1991; 272). Then, he emphasizes the reason behind the quality of Renaissance town with a moment of the relation between work and product. According to him, in the Renaissance town, with the rise of mercantilism and the rise of commodity production space and time were urbanized;

> …in other words, the time and space of commodities and merchants gained the ascendancy, with their measures, contracts and contractors… Throughout these conflicts, despite and because of them, the towns achieved a dazzling splendour. As the reign of the ***product*** began, the ***work*** reached the pinnacle of its achievement. These towns were in effect works of art themselves, subsuming a multitude of particular works: not only paintings, sculptures, but also streets, squares, palaces, monuments –in short, architecture. (Lefebvre, 1991; 278)

In brief, as Gallion and Eisner (1963) states, "the concept of land ownership has gradually moved from that of possession – the act of presence on the land as a place to live and cultivate or capture food for survival – to that of land as property; in this latter concept the land becomes a commodity and we associate it with private land ownership".

This was the stage of the development, which is expressed by Marx, where the material productive forces come into conflict with the existing relations of production and of property and lead the transformation of the whole immense of superstructure (including the property relations and the way that space is produced). At the same time, it is the stage in which the way of formation and design of space has transformed into a new path, the way of modern planning and capitalist market.

3.4. PROPERTY RELATIONS AND URBAN SPACE IN CAPITALISM

What was the substantial change with respect to definition of 'property' coming with the emergence of capitalism? As we discussed above, property, by definition, is a right to the thing rather than the thing itself. However, the *reality* of property as a social fact is not the same thing with its *realization* by individuals, with the way it is conceived. Until the capitalist stage, property has been realized by individuals as their 'possession' that is the real enjoyment of the property object. It was the immediate right of 'use'. On the contrary, in a capitalist market society, individuals become the subject of market as the property becomes the object of market. Actually, this was also a change in the conception of property:

> …the spread of the capitalist market economy brought the replacement of the old limited rights in land by virtually unlimited rights … As rights in land became more absolute, and parcels of land became more freely marketable commodities, it became natural to think of the land itself as the property… It appeared to be the things themselves, the actual parcel of land … not just rights in them, that were exchanged in the market. In fact the difference was not that things rather than rights in things were excahanged, but that previously unsaleble or not always saleble rights in things were now saleble (Machperson, 1975; 110-111 cited in Massey and Catalano, 1978).

McCrone and Elliot (1989; 7) stress on the same point. According to the authors, the change of property institution is not only a change of laws and sanctions but it is also a change of common conceptions in daily life.

> It is no coincidence that in western societies property has long been thought about not as a right but as a 'thing'. The tendency was to consider property as things developed along with the emergence of modern capitalist systems precisely because land and other productive resources became items that could be bought, sold and rented with increasing ease in a market economy. Property which became more individuated was more readily alienable. It was the parcel of land, the house, the factory, the stocks and shares that one thought as the property rather than the rights which these conferred. And, of course, that remains largely true today.

Therefore, the crucial point about property in capitalist societies is its absolute character which refers to the domination of private property with its virtually unlimited rights. Since Marx's analysis of capitalism, it is known that the general domination of private property arises from the *commodity production* which is based on the exploitation of labour power by capital via the private ownership of the means of production. As the source of the class struggle between capitalist class and working class, this domination of labour by capital is also the source of the domination of urban space by the interests of capital accumulation. Therefore, urban space, in capitalism, has to be taken both as the means of and the product of capital accumulation.

3.4.1. Urban Space as a Means of Capital Accumulation

As Lojkine (1976; 127) remarks, the capitalist city itself appears as a direct affect of the need to reduce production and circulation costs in order to speed up the capital accumulation process. Not only the infrastructure and transportation network as the direct needs of production cycle, but also the place of social reproduction of labour power serves to capital accumulation.

At this point, Gottdiener, along with Lefebvre, goes further and claims that the spatial arrangement of the city (and region, country, etc) increases productive forces just as the equipments in a factory. "One uses space just as one uses a machine." Then, he adds,

> …space itself must be considered as one element of the productive forces of society, especially through the operation of form or design. Traditional political economy merely recognizes the importance of land as a means of production alongside that of capital and labor. According to Lefebvre, however, spatial design itself is one aspect of the productive forces of society. (Gottdiener, 1985; 123)

In this respect, as a part of the productive forces, urban space itself functions just as a means of production. Nevertheless, we think that this point needs a reservation. Although urban space (as a form of centrality) functions as a means of production that speed up capital accumulation, it is such a means of production that against the grain of capitalism. Because capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of production, whereas urban space has an inherently collective character, which can never be appropriated completely.

Short (1996) expresses this contradiction as a paradox "at the heart of the capitalist city": There are antithetical elements implied by the two words: capitalism implies private property and the private appropriation of wealth; city, in contrast, in essence, a shared space where people come together for mutual benefit. This collective aspect of urban space creates an insuperable tension in the design and production of urban space and so it may lead to non-functional results for the accumulation of capital. Similarly, spatial design or planning cannot be seen simply as a tool for the capital accumulation, since it is open to the influence of class struggle (as we will discuss below). It might be a productive force, but the one that is contradictory in itself.

3.4.2. Urban Space as a Product of Capital Accumulation

Urban space is not only a part of the productive forces, but also a *product* of the same relations. McCrone and Elliot states, accepting the validity of general Marxist insight of 1970s: "cities in their physical structures reflect the nature and character of capital at various phases of its

development. Space *is* commodified and constantly reshaped in the interests of capital", just as in the aphorism by Mies Van der Rohe: "*architecture is the will of the epoch translated into space*" (McCrone and Elliot, 1989; 203).

Then, (with a reservation to the problems of reflectionist attitude) what might be the 'will' of the epoch of capitalism that is translated into the form of urban space? For us, it is the *contradiction* between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production. According to Marx and Engels this is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism and constitutes the basis of the commodity production, so does the production of urban space as commodity. The basic 'quality' of commodity is its abstract form as 'quantity' which renders all commodities exchangeable in market. This quality is also valid in the production of distinct urban spaces, as Lefebvre (1991) depicts;

> Are these spaces interchangeable because they are homologous? Or are they homogeneous so that they can be exchanged, bought and sold, with the only differences between them being those assessable in money –i.e. quantifiable– terms (as volumes, distances, etc.) At all events, repetition reigns supreme. Can it really be described as a work? There is an overwhelming case for saying that it is a product strictu sensu: it is reproducible and it is the result of repetitive actions.

Therefore, homogeneity and repetition dominate the formation of urban space in capitalism. Space of capitalism, Lefebvre says, is the *abstract space*, infinitely fragmented into parts, reducing space to the reproducible, homogeneous building blocks. Moreover, these building blocks are not only abstract social forms but also absolute spaces based on 'land'. In other words, the abstract space of capitalism cannot be separated completely from the absolute space of land. And that land is subject to private ownership, which includes the manipulation of property in the market as a right to its revenue, rather than the thing itself.

3.4.3. Land and Urban Space

Then, the question is the relationship between abstract space of capital accumulation and the absolute space of 'landed property'. Günay (1999; 63) summarizes the substantial point in this relationship as follows:

> At the basis of this abstract space lies the absolute space, which was essential in the creation of monopoly rents. Accordingly, absolute spaces were constructed by dividing space into parcels and segments, each of which could then be regarded as a 'thing-in-itself' independent of other things, because then they became objects of property, each having a different owner and living different events.

Therefore, the relationship between abstract and absolute spaces is actualized by the formation of urban space as land parcels and brings forth the issue of *rent*, which is the substance of the contradiction between the private ownership of land and capital.

On the one hand, land occupies a critical position in the production process. As Harvey states, under capitalism, the land becomes a channel for capital flow and so a form of fixed capital: "When factories and houses are placed on the land, then that land functions as a *condition* of production (space), though for the building industry that puts them there in the first place land appears as an *element* of production." Thus, land can variously function as an element, a means, or a condition of production (Harvey; 1989; 91). This multi-faceted role of land makes its ownership a crucial and strategic issue and leads to the appearance of land rent in different ways, such as differential and absolute rents (that will be elaborated in the next chapter, in terms of their influence on the spatial formation).

On the other hand, as Massey and Catalano states, the common aspect of all the types of rent is that all of them are the ways of intercepting a portion of surplus value. Since rent is not a necessary component of capitalist production and hence it is technically unnecessary, it is a contradiction for capitalism and leads to a struggle between landowners and capitalists (Massey and Catalano, 1978). Therefore, the private land ownership cannot be abolished because capitalist interests itself is based on the *private appropriation* of surplus based on the absolute private property.

Consequently the contradiction between abstract space of capitalism and the absolute space of property is not only an outcome of the basic struggle between labour and capital but also an outcome of the struggle between market agents composed of landowner class and different fractions of capital. As Lojkine (1976) explains, the need for cooperation among the different agents of production in urban space is not only contradicted by the laws of capitalist competition but also by the parceling out of urban space into independent fragments which are private property of land-owners – the cause of land rent. Similar to Lojkine, Lamarche (1976) also analyzes the role of land rent through a distinction between *land market* and *property market* that corresponds to the distinction between the development of land and its assets. Finally, Scott (1980) introduces the term '*urban land nexus*' in order to depict the internal contradictions of capitalist land market.

The common aspect of these approaches is their emphasis on the role of land rent in the inherently anarchical operation of land market which results in dysfunctional and contingent

land uses. While the private ownership gives the opportunity all agents to exert their control over the urban process, the aggregate outcome of their individual control leads to an uncontrolled process. It is not only related with the market problems, such as land development bottlenecks, spillover effects, externalities, speculation and booms but also with the dilemma between disorder and variety in the morphology of urban space.

In the process of land production, it is possible to mention some *general tendencies* in the formation of land and buildings. According to Lojkine (1976; 139), the major spatial manifestation of land rent on urban form is the phenomenon of *segregation*, which is characterized by three dominant tendencies:

i) an opposition between *the centre and periphery* in terms of decreasing land prices as a result of the agglomeration effects.
ii) a growing *separation* between housing areas of affluent strata and working class.
iii) a generalized *dispersal* of urban functions.

Further to these general tendencies, production of urban land also preconditions the housing production. For Short (1996; 174), housing production is a function and reflection of the nature of land-use legislation. The nature of landownership affects the type, scale, and cost of housing. In this respect, especially the building cycles are frequently investigated phenomena in urban morphology. With Short's brief definition, "building cycles are the physical embodiment of the dominant architecture, location, and mode of transportation. Each building cycle thus has a specific character, and individual 'feel' and 'look' which marks it out from all the others, whether it be the straight lines of modernism, the whimsy of postmodernism, or the elegance of the neoclassical." (Short, 1996; 385).

3.4.3.1. Transformation of landed property

This short review on the relation between capital accumulation and (private) land ownership, and its spatial outcomes denotes only to some general characteristics. In addition to these, we should emphasize the changing nature of the private land ownership. As we mentioned before, private ownership in capitalism is characterized by its illusionary conception which renders the property as the thing itself rather than its real social being as a 'relationship of right'. However, this illusionary conception of private property is actually specific to consolidation period of capitalism. The inherent tendency of capitalism is to reduce the land into a *pure financial asset*

and this condition dictates the pure form of landed property under capitalism" (Harvey; 1989; 96). Marx points to this condition and concludes that land has to become a form of 'fictitious capital' that amounts to a property right over some future *revenue*. (Harvey; 1989; 95). Therefore, this conclusion denotes to a tendency in the determination of ground rent; "anticipated future excess profits (due to future capital flows and future labor) affect the price of land in the present insofar as land becomes a pure financial asset, a form of fictitous capital" (Harvey; 1989; 96).

However, this tendency, which is asserted by Marx, for the treatment of land as a pure financial asset would find its complete form only in the monopoly stage of capitalism in which financial capital and ground rent is merged. Whereas this merge was far from eliminating the contradiction between capital and ground rent, may on the contrary develop it by linking it with the wider contradiction between the parasitic, speculative tendencies of capital and its tendency to increase the rate of surplus value by increased investment in production" (Lojkine, 1976; 137). For this reason, Lojkine asserts that "any serious historical study of property developers shows the gradual shift from an urban ground rent fragmented among a multitude of small independent developers to a ground rent monopolized by the large international financial groups which dominate the land and property markets" (Lojkine, 1976; 138). As we will discuss in the case study, this fact and its spatial repercussions in the formation of urban space would be seen in Turkey only after 1990s with the consolidation of free market policies.

Consequently, as explained by Günay, the conception of property as the ownership of the thing prevails until mid twentieth century in Western countries. However, in the last decades property is again being seen as a right to a revenue – which is the result of the predominance of corporate property. In this way, Günay (1999; 33, 34) says, "this change in the attitude towards property also marks a change in the production of urban space. The 'modernist tradition' devoted itself to the thing was simplified and purified. The recent postmodernist space, specifically in western capitalist society, turned its focus to the built-up area, where corporate capital searches for revenue from the property, which ends up in the conspicuous architecture of the last decades."

Günay takes up this transformation of absolute property in a conflict with another tendency that is the state intervention. For a political ideology supporting the absoluteness of property, common or public things, such as land, space, urban services, might be subordinated in favour of the private realm via privatization. A political ideology considering property as relative would tend to nationalize more property in the hands of public, which was the case in the emergence of

modernism at the wake of the 20th century (Günay, 1999; 36). Therefore, the *predominance of corporate property* was at the same time a domination of the former ideology on the latter. In other words, although the state intervention in property relations and the urban development is an indispansable for capitalism, it is an outcome of the ideological and political struggle between different social classes, and this struggle also determines the way of State's intervention to the formation of urban space via the planning institution. Thus, the influence of the capital accumulation on the formation of urban space cannot be comprehended without the mediation of state intervention and planning.

3.4.4. State, Planning and the Formation of Urban Space

We have seen briefly how the transformation of property relations determines the changes in both property conceptions and the role of the state. However, the crucial point is that this determination does not occur as a uni-directional effect from the market to the state but a contradictory interaction between them. Scott (1980) explains this interaction through his concept of *urban land nexus*.

On the one hand, the system of private decision making, which is based on the absolute property rights, engenders its own self-paralysis. *On the other hand*, the State is obliged to intervene when the problems and dilemmas produced by this self-paralysis begin to threaten the overall viability of the urban lend nexus. However, the State intervention, while solving the urgent problems of the nexus, re-creates them on a higher level. Therefore, he argues, *the structural logic* of the urban land nexus is that "the fundamental contradiction in the urban land nexus between the imperatives of private and collective action is continually re-created at successively higher levels of complexity, and the contradiction thus feeds on itself in a never ending spiral of escalations (Scott, 1980; 227).

This is an efficient formulation since it explicitly depicts the essential antinomy of the capitalist market society. This antinomy indicates the basic contradiction of capitalist society between labor and capital and between private appropraiton of surplus value and the socialization of production. As Keskinok (1997; 73) states this contradiction *structurally limit* the state. In his book "State and The (Re)Production of Urban Space", elaborates the role of the State in the production of urban space, through defining the mediations, structural limitations and

contradictions. In this context, he defines the socio-spatial matrix of urban space as a "structure" that limits the mobility of capital in space;

> As do the economics of agglomaration facilitate the movement of capital, diseconomies of agglomeration as a spatial form and resulting spatial problems may pose barriers to the movement of capital within urban space. These restrict the profitable utilization of urban land. Like every structure, capitalist relations of production require mechanisms for stabilization and their own prolongation. However, these mechanism for stabilization, themselves altohugh reproducing these structures may become bottlenecks in dynamic processes of capitalist accumulation. This shows the basic contradictory characteristic of capitalist development: the need for both *stability* and *dynamism.* (Keskinok, 1997; 64)

The need for stability arises from certain institutional arrangemenets for the consolidation of the private ownership. However, the same instutionalization and consolidation of conception of property poses *barriers* and *bottlenecks* to the movement of capital on urban space, because of the fragmentation of property. Moreover, *the State restriction* on landed interests in order to eliminate the barriers of capital accumulation cannot go beyond the substance of capitalism, that is, the absolute rights of private property. Thus, the restriction of the private property in the name of *public interest* cannot violate this *kernel* of the system (Keskinok, 1997; 67).

Similarly, Scott (1980; 28) also puts emphasis on the land development bottlenecks as a result of the fragmentation of ownership. The problem becomes more complicated especially in the peripheral zones of the city where landowners withhold their land from the market in the expectation of a higher rent. In this way, the atomized pattern of private landownership limits the pace of urban expension. In this sense, the capitalist logic of urbanization comes into collision with itself.

In addition, the contradictions of property relations are not only limited with the inner conflicts of the market. The state also contains contradictions in-itself, since it is not a monolithic entity but divided into a institutional hierarchy. And in this hierarchy, local structures are not passive operators of the decisions coming from the center. Indeed, the local institutions are more sensitive to the pressures of the private interests, since they are in a position that directly facing with local forces. This fact, as we will see in Yenişehir case, has been a major determinant of the formation process of the cities in Turkey.

Lastly, together with institutional hierarchy, the legal framework also internalizes the contradictions summarized above. And these are especially important to understand the role of planners in the production of urban form, because of the fact that basic function of planning in the determination of urban form is the adjustment of property rights and it is managed by legal tools.

3.4.4.1. Legal framework of urban planning

The role of the state realizes mainly by its institutional and legal structures. As mentioned above, these are necessary for stabilization and prolongation of the basic contradictions characterizing economic structure. However, it never means that this legal framework is a direct extension of the economic structure; because, according to Keskinok (1997; 80), the legal framework is also a *production* on the basis of the relations of production.

Thereby, he indicates that the mediation of the class struggle affects the creation of legal framework. That is, the law and legal tools are not neutral and technical frameworks but they are inherently ideological. In this respect, these can be seen as an arena of class conflicts, just as the urban planning legislation. In this way, the legal framework as a *structure* limits the context of urban planning. Decisions of planning and design are restricted by their own tools.

It means that the existing legal framework may not be always functional for capital accumulation; urban planning can be manipulated for individual interests or by class struggle or other influences such as the concerns for historical conservation, environmentalism or place-oriented oppositions. Besides, as we already noted, *state is not a monolithic totality*. State apparatus has different levels, with varying degrees of politization, and these may be in competition and conflict with each other (Keskinok, 1997; 81).

In respect to the *political content of planning legislation*, Scott gives the example of zoning regulations, which are the main planning tools to control land use and densities. In fact the aim of zoning is to to rationalize the land-development process by segrating types of land uses that are incompatible with one another, thus reducing negative spillover effects. In addition, by encouraging the formation of homogeneous districts, zoning helps to streamline the processes of production and reproduction. It also helps to make more efficient the provision of public services such as transport, utilities. *However*, in practice, there has been another function of zoning; to exclude working class and ethnic groups from middle-class communities by means of discriminatory zoning ordinances. The main method of using zoning for discrimination is to define *zones for large parcels*, and so maintain a minimum threshold on the price of any property. Another way is to *define zones for single-family* residences, thus preventing low-income families from clustering on individual residential parcels and so to prevent them from reducing rental payments per family (Scott, 1980; 211).

As a result, the power of planning legislation in the control of urban form is not used only to enhance capital accumulation but also to control social pattern of the city. For this reason, the definition and criticism of planning by many authors as the instrument of market forces is not a coincidence. For instance, according to Lefebvre, the state does not only intervenes *in* space, it helps produce it; it creates the 'abstract space' of capitalism, through such *intellectual and bureaucratic practices and urban planning*, which then becomes an legal framework of social control aligned against the uses of space by the working class in everyday life (Gottdiener, 1985;107).

Then, serious questions appear here: Is it true to define the state and its planning institution detached from the influence of working classes? If planning institution is a direct tool of capitalist interests, then what about the planners, their principles, theories and ideologies? Furthermore, is the ideological content of planning legislations is still the same with the 19th century health legislations, which are invented to control the formation of workers' cottages. If it is not so, this is just because of the mediation of class struggle in the state and institutional framework. So, in order to consider these questions, we must consider firstly the question of how urban planning is manipulated as a contradictory mechanism; as an arena of struggle.

3.4.4.2. Urban planning as a contradictory mechanism

Scott (1980) criticizes the idealism of planning theory that reduces urban planning to a system of socially indeterminate norms or to some *a priori* conceptions or methods (like system analysis, or mathematical programming, or organization theory). He points out that urban planning is comprehensible only as a historical event that grows organically out of basic contradictions in capitalism; *on the one hand* the purposes of commodity production, *on the other hand*, the functionally defections of private decision-making system of the market (Scott, 1980; 172). Although his criticism is justified by the changing theories of planning by 1980, this criticism has a lack in defining the contradictions that determine the content of urban planning; the lack of class struggle and the interests of *users*, demands of daily-life, etc..

Actually, the instrumentalist attitude that detaches urban planning from *the political realm of class struggle* and confine within *the political realm of state-market interaction* is a frequent tendency in Marxian approaches. It is true that the latter realm is explicitly *dominant* in usual conditions, but it does not mean that the former is not important. Therefore, we are going to

focus firstly on the realm of market-state interaction and than we will consider the position of planners in respect to the class stuggle.

Urban Planning in the Realm of Market-State Interaction

According to Keskinok (1997; 78), the framework of urban planning is structurally limited by uncontrollable and anarchical dynamics of capitalism and by their socio-spatial context, "which is constituted of the interaction of the existing spatial forms and patterns with the activities of the agents". The limitation can be so much that, urban planning itself can become a problem, as Scott writes;

> Urban problems are not just the by-pruduct of private decision making and action in the urban land nexus; they are also the outcome of foregoing planning interventions which have helped to steer the urban land nexus into configurations that are pregnant with those very problems… The social and property relations of capitalism give rise to a form of urban planning which, in resolving one set of problems, triggers off yet more. (Scott, 1980; 189)

Keskinok, referring Tekeli's behavioral model, explains the interaction between planning and market agents. Tekeli (1992; 52-58) suppose that tendencies of the agents such as builders, industrialists, etc., are dependent to the planning decisions, in the sense that the existence of the restrictions of planning decisions arises certain '*deviations*' in behavioral patterns of the agents.

> In this model, spatial outcomes are produced through interactions of the 'behavioral tendencies' of the agents with restricting planning decisions. Here the pre-supposed … 'planned action leads to deviations in behavioral patterns. The final planned action is realized through the interaction of the deviant forms of behavioural patterns with the restrictions of the planning decisions that are reconsidered under the influences and manipulations from these agents. In sum, in this case of the existence of plan decisions, behavioural patterns would considerably be different than the ones in the case of non-existence of any plan decisions. (Keskinok, 1997; 78)

This model presents us an efficient conception of the interaction of planning decisions and behavioural patterns. However, like every 'model', it represents an abstract situation composed of abstract individuals. In a concrete case, comprising real individuals, we need to consider the matter of *class positions*. And this brings to the front the class struggle.

Urban Planning in the Realm of Class Struggle

Short (2006) mentions the private sector's need for the notion of public good. Under this notion, land-use planning, impact assessments, etc. continues to guide developments and investment decisions. However all these planning processes are tied *less* to public end-point plans and depends *more* on to meeting the immediate needs of private sector investments. Thus, the private

sector continues to rely heavily on a planned city. Then, she states, "*the real issue is not whether urban planning is a good thing, but who is planning, for whom, and who benefits*" (Short, 2006; 168).

It means that urban planning functions not only as an operational tool but also as an ideological tool that conceals the state's dominant tendency for private interests. Similarly Lefebvre views planning as an *ideological mask* serving to seduce the working class into believing that state intervention in the environment actually promotes the representation of their interests in society, although this is not the case (Lefebvre; 1973, 74).

Therefore, in both cases, the ideology of planning comes into front, together with Short's question *who is planning, for whom, and who benefits*. It means that in order to understand the connections between the contradictions of urban planning mechanism and the formation of urban space, we need to locate planners with their ideology into the structural framework that we have drawn up to here.

3.4.5. The Role of Planners in the Formation of Urban Space

If we look at the history of planning we can see that transformations in prevailing planning approaches have been realized together with changes in the ideologies that are utilized to legitimize the outcomes of these approaches. Is it possible to explain these *changes* in planning ideologies as a process that is formed by the *intentions* of planners who are the primary actors in planning process or should we think that *structural* conditions in which the plans are applied determines the planning ideologies?

We have already mentioned Lefebvre's instrumentalist approach to the role of planners, which eventually comdemns the planners to destroy the diversity and richness of urban life. He asserts that in order to legitimize their interventions, planners are equipped with an ideology depending on a "*science of space*". Lefebvre (1978) defines this understanding as "*scienticism*" that deals with space as a scientific object that has a *neutral* character. The result of this is an *apolitical* view of space. Similar to Lefebvre, Harvey (1985) calls this aspect of urban planning as "*scientization of social science*". The general aim of planning is to achive a formation of "useful and better" space. But the critical question is that "*useful and batter for what and to whom*".

Harvey (1985) analyzes the change of planning approaches with respect to their functionality in sustaining the conditions for balanced growth. According to him, different social classes and

class divisions (factions) that are labors, capitalists, capitalists that invest to built environment and landowners, have different needs and interests in relation to built environment, and the struggle between these classes and factions lead to crisis in the development process of built environment.

In this context, as Harvey emphasizes, the planner requires more than a basic understanding of how the system works from a purely technical standpoint. The planner *adapts a role* that is appropriate to achieve the balance that provide suitable conditions and decrease social strife. *This does not mean that the planner is a mere defender of the status quo. The whole tradition of planning is progressive.* Hovewer, the limits of this progressive stance are clearly set by *the fact* that the definitions of the public interest, of imbalance, and of inequity are shaped by the requirements of the reproduction of capitalist social order.

Therefore, *the planner's world view*, which is the necessary knowledge for appropriate intervention and necessary ideology to justify and legitimate action, alters with changing circumstances, mainly in the crisis situations. In conditions of civil strife, planners act as *advocating* for the poor and the concepts like social justice, equity, ecological balance come into fore. However, in the crisis period, the cry for social justice and beautiful environments as in *City Beautiful* leaves its place to commitment for "efficiency, productivity, rational distribution of investments" as in *City Efficient*.

Thus, Harvey asserts that since there is not a harmony but a domination of capital over labour, the task assigned to planners is, beyond planning urban development, "*to plan the ideology of planning*".

According to Closterman (1985), such a perspective has obvious limitations *as a guide to planning practice*. In such a framework, there is no significant role for planners. Thus, the instrumentalist state analysis of Marxism and its functionalism reduces the state to a direct tool of capital and in this direction; planners are defined as a group which is in the service of capitalist class, just as in Lefebvre's view.

However, especially in the second half of 1970s, the Marxist critiques to planning can also be seen as "self-criticism" especially for functionalist and instrumentalist explanations in Marxist theory (Şengül, 2002). Setting out from Marx's own writings, these evaluations emphasize the concept of "*relative autonomy*" in the definitions of state. The state is always relatively autonmuous: it is neither compeletely autonmuous (i. e. free from active control by the capitalist

class) nor simply manipulated by members of ruling class (i. e. free from any structural constraints). In addition, the institutions of the state, as well as the planning legislations are the objects of class struggle (Ersoy, 1978).

Therefore the relative autonomy of the state makes possible for planning institution to take decisions conflicting with the interests of capital and defending. At this point Fainstein's provides an explicit formulation for the role of planning. The logic of the market and the economy establishes "*narrow criteria*" for rationality, whereas State planning "*broadens the evaluative criteria*" including social values to the decision-making. Since social equity inevitably conflicts with the economic rationality of growth, capital can therefore impose its narrow criteria on planning mechanism only if democratic influences do not impinge too strongly on the planning process (Fainstein and Fainstein, 1985;490).

Acccording to Keskinok (1997; 94) Feinstein's arguments provide a framework for concentrating on both functional and dysfunctional aspects of state planning for capital. He stresses that *capital formation process at the economic level provides a base for state planning and determines the range of alternatives for decision making which in turn might be dysfunctional for that process*. For example, the framework of functionalist comprehensive planning that assumes a spatial equilibrium for a certain period of time, contributes to the spatial side of crises in capital accumulation. Although the rationality defined in comprehensive planning does not radically negates the narrow market rationality, the former broadens the scope of the latter by adding new criteria to the agenda, such as the notion of public interest, social services, environmental values and these criteria might be tolerated by the market rationality.

In conclusion, the relative autonomy of the state is also the relative autonomy of planners; and *the broadened criteria of planning are at the same time the broadened citeria for urban design.* In other words, the structural conditions that makes planning inevitable for the survival of capitalism, creates also a *structural capacity* or opportunity for planners to attach priority to the formation of urban space as a living place. That is, urban planning does not necessarily serve to homogeneization and abstraction of space. But this is only a potential that can be actualized only if political struggles challenge the narrow criteria of the market. Therefore, urban planning in capitalist societies has a contradictory nature and it is an arena of struggle for classes and factions rather than a direct tool of capital.

3.5. CONCLUSION: FROM PRODUCTION OF SPACE TO PRODUCTION OF FORM

> *The permanently revolutionary character of capitalist society perpetually tears down the barriers it has erected to protect itself. The constant reshaping of urban environments and of the structures of residential differentiation are testimony to this never-ending process.*
>
> (Harvey; 1989; 123)

The creative destruction –the nature of capitalism revealed by Marx– arises from the dynamics and contradictions of capitalist society and descends on urban space. This is the essential and peculiar aspect of the formation process of urban space in capitalism; "constant reshaping". It means that, *the relational conception of urban form* first of all means to conceive urban space as a *product of its own content*; that is the property relations of capitalism based on the absolute private property.

Thus, this chapter started with the analysis of the relation between *the form* and *the content* of urban space and analyzed this relation as the dialectical relation between *work* and *product* in capitalism, which is elaborated with reference to changing context of property relations.

In this context, this chapter exposed as represented in ***Diagram 3.2.***, the structural determinations of the production of urban space and defines the tension between the work and the product as the production of urban form. Then, it can be asked that *what is the difference between the production of urban space and the production of urban form*? Is it really necessary to make such a distinction?

The answer is that the distinction between production of space and production of form is not a conceptual distinction coming from a mental abstraction. This distinction is *a 'real' distinction perpetually produced in the capitalism*. Because;

Firstly, the content of capitalism is so dynamic that the form of its space with its solid and permanent character cannot come up with this perpetual change. Eventually, this distinction becomes a barrier for capital accumulation and it is destructed, just before it is recreated.

Secondly, since inherently anarchical character of capitalist market *produces* urban space in its own image (that is contradictory, uneven and chaotic), it necessitates an overall control to give a *form* its chaos; that is the state control and planning. Therefore, in capitalism, in contrast to previous periods, the relation between the production of space and the formation of space becomes *mediated*. This mediation is planning. As Feagin writes:

> The character of spatial design can limit or speed capital circulation and thus affect the realization of surplus value… Individualized investment decisions create a chaos in urban space accompanying the economic prosperity. Urban planning has been developed in part to cope with this chaos of urban socio-spatial development. (Feagin, 1989; 250) (cited in Keskinok, 1997; 79)

Moreover, the need of capital accumulation to be controlled has caused to the emergence of another conflict; it is between *the planners and the architects*. The role of planning in the structural framework is explained in detail, whereas the role of architect and their conflict will be the subject of the next chapter.

Thus, the structural framework drawn in this chapter set the scene for a detailed analysis of the production of urban formation as the reproduction of property relations. Harvey (1985; 79) writes that "the private property relation is the most basic institution by means of which absolute spaces are *formally created*". In fact, absolute space of private property demands such a terminology, as we will elaborate in the next chapter.

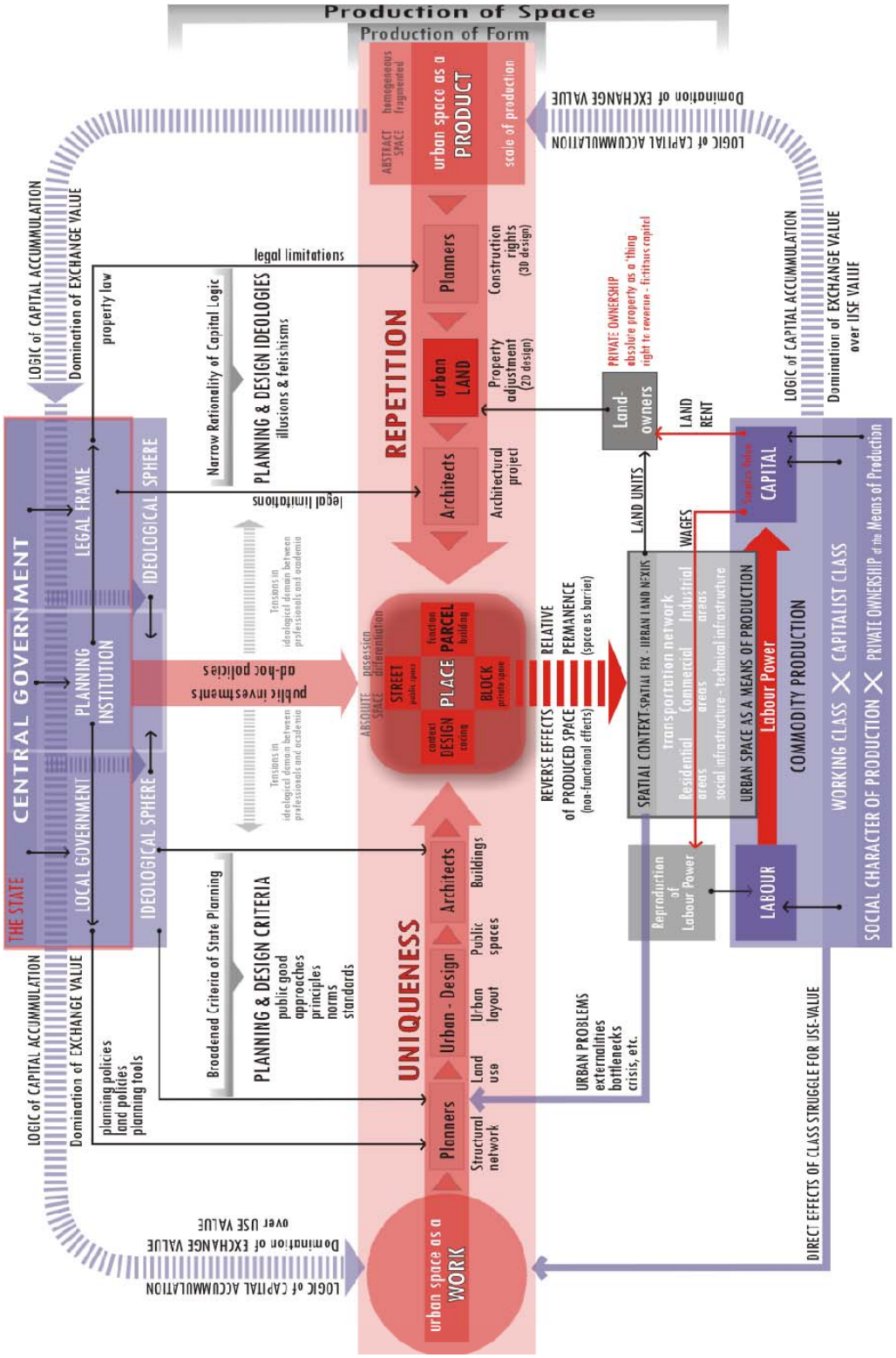


Diagram 3.2. Structural Diagram of the Production of Urban Form in Capitalism

CHAPTER 4

PRODUCTION OF URBAN FORM IN THE CAPITALIST CITY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

> *Land became nothing more than a particular kind of financial asset, a form of 'fictitious capital'. Or, put the other way round, land titles become nothing other than 'coined land'.*
>
> (Harvey; 1989; 177)

In this statement, drawing upon Simmel's expression in "The Philosophy of Money" (Simmel, 1990; 514), Harvey indicates the essential aspect of the relation between property and land in capitalism. As discussed in the previous chapter, this relation determines not only the way space is produced, but also the practices of giving form to urban space. However, the question that "how the structural relations embodies themselves in the elements of urban form" is still waits for answer. Can we reconstruct 'urban form' in terms of 'coined lands' so that we can specify the nature of urban form in the capitalist city? In this respect, how can we conceive the interaction of necessary and contingent aspects of the formation of urban space?

Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to elaborate our analysis on urban form with a perspective, which focuses on the dialectic of work-product. This dialectic will be conceived as a production process of the elements of urban morphology from the parcel towards the urban block and the block patterns. Here, the production process does not only refer to the actual production of 'coined lands' but also subsumes their formation by planning and design practices.

4.2. FORMATION OF PARCEL AS A PRODUCT

Marx starts his analysis of capitalist society in *Capital* with this statement: "*The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as 'an immense accumulation of commodities', its unit being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity.*" As Harvey (2006; 1) indicates, this starting point is not an arbitrary choice but the result of a long voyage of discovery: "to unlock the secrets of the commodity is to unravel the intricate secrets of capitalism itself. We begin with what is in effect a conclusion."

Therefore, Marx shows that *commodity* is the essential unit that conveys the basic characteristics of capitalist society. Since we take up urban space and its form as a social product, the commodity should also be the kernel of our analysis. In this case, we can propose that urban space in capitalism, beyond a container in which the commodities are produced and circulated, presents itself as "an immense accumulation of commodities", and its unit is a single '***parcel***' (both as a land and as a property)[1]. In other words, parcel does not only contain literally building blocks of the city, but also it *is* 'the building block' of the capitalist city, as distinct from pre-capitalist cities.

It means that the parcel is an embodiment of the essential characteristics and contradictions of the capitalist city; it is the basic spatial unit in which the general social relations that produce urban space (the content) are moulded in particular morphological units (the form). Thus, it is the place where *necessary* relations and contradictions spatialize as the *contingent* forms, through a fixed unit of landed property. In this way, parcel is the distinctive morphological unit that differentiates the formation of capitalist city from the cities produced in the previous periods[2]. Consequently, we are going to focus on the parcel as a unit of commodity and explain the morphological implications that come from its production as commodity.

[1] This accumulation of commodities can be seen as of buildings but each building has to ground on a land and cannot be taken as independent from this land. Therefore in the title deed, buildings are registered as a 'kind' of landed property. Thus, here we mean by 'parcel' not only a 'land plot' but rather a spatial entity which is appropriated by owners together with the buildings and 'rights' on that land plot. Moreover, we prefer to use the term 'parcel' rather than 'plot' also because of the use of the term parcel in Turkish language and legislation (parsel).

[2] Certainy, we do not imply that the parcel does not exist in pre-capitalist cities. Either as private property or as a morphological unit, parcel exists in the former periods too. Whereas, in those periods commodity production had a limited realm and the production of space and land was out of this realm.

4.2.1. Parcel as a Unit of Commodity

If a parcel is a unit of commodity, then we must assume that the fundamental elements of the commodity also valid for the parcel. Marx, defining the commodity as an embodiment of both ***use-value*** (qualitative aspect) and ***exchange-value*** (quantitative aspect), demonstrates the way that use-value and exchange-value is incorporated in production process as the ***value*** (that is the *real* abstraction of labour). Therefore, a parcel is a product of labour just as other commodities, in spite of the fact that it seems to be based on a natural asset; the land. However, this natural asset is also an insuperable condition of its production and renders the parcel as distinct from all other commodities. The land makes the parcel a special commodity through providing its spatial dimension. Thus, we are going to discuss the use-value and the exchange-value of parcel with respect to its special aspects.

4.2.1.1. Use-value of parcel

As Marx calls, use-value is the 'commodity's material side' and use-value of a commodity stems from its *utility*. The qualities that serve to a certain *need* make the thing a use-value. Then, use-value is limited by the physical qualities of the commodity; it cannot exist apart from that commodity. According to Harvey, "in relation to exchange value, which is seen primarily as a quantitative relation, Marx stresses the qualitative aspects of use values" (Harvey, 2006; 5).

This point is also significant for the form of urban space in capitalism and for its substantial cell – parcel. Use-value as the material qualities of things corresponds both to the form and function of urban space. The design activity exists just because to determine use-values; *the domain of the fields like architecture and planning is constituted by use-value*; use-value is their reason of existence. However, apart from other commodities, the parcel has certain peculiarities, especially in capitalist societies.

At first, parcel as a piece of land is a necessary condition for the production and consumption of other commodities and besides, it has a *constant, unchangeable position*; cannot be moved into market. Therefore, the realization of the use-value of parcel depends on the circulation of users between parcels. This condition provides to its owner with monopolistic privileges which is the foundation of urban rent phenomenon. In this respect, Scott defines the use-value of land as its *location (relative to other locations)*. For him the location as a use-value is produced in a social relation that is contained within the wider system of capitalist social relations. He writes that

"any plot of land that has some locational value –in the sense that it provides access to other locations– will command a rent representing a periodic payment to the landowner for the usufruct of that plot of land" (Scott, 1980; 28).

Secondly, a land parcel cannot be 'consumed' and its assets –buildings– are consumed only in long durations. Ambrose (1994; 38) calls this feature as the 'semi-permanent' life –and it spans 80-150 years in the case of most buildings. This feature of the parcel involves a significant tension in respect to its formation. In the one hand, while repetition and standardization is a 'rule' in the forms of other products, a building cannot be isolated completely from its quality as a 'work'. In other words, the peculiar aspects of parcel generate some opportunities to create peculiarities in its form too; every building can be shaped as distinct *works of design*.

Furthermore, the relative permanence of parcel leads to resistances in its transformation and certain conflicts between the changing needs and existing forms. This resistance of parcel-building makes possible to convey certain meanings, symbols and ideologies via its form. While a parcel-building belongs to certain people, people also belong to certain parcels as parts of certain *places*. Consequently, this is the main point that defines the ontology of parcel; a parcel does not exist by itself but can only exist in a context of a place. This is the source of the third and the major peculiarity of the parcel; its collective use-value.

Therefore, ***thirdly***, a parcel is the parcel *in relation to other parcels*. It exists in a context and its peculiar characteristics gain their meaning in this context. We might say that a parcel is not consumed only by its own users but also by the people walking in front of it. Or a building is not consumed singly but consumed together with its context. Thus, use-value of parcel is determined by the *collective use-value* of parcel and this point needs an elaboration.

Collective use-value of parcel

Lojkine mentions that housing, in spite of its individual appropriation, cannot be dissociated from the urban environment today, "in so far as it has become an integral element of an entity which cannot be consumed other than collectivity: the city" (Lojkine, 1976; 123). Then, he extends this view as a general characteristic for the use-value of 'land': "its capacity for *concentration*, i.e. for socially combining the means of production and means of reproduction of social formation." However, he argues, the *fragmentation* of this use-value as a result of the private appropriation of land becomes an *obstacle* to the development of social productive forces within the capitalist mode of production (Lojkine, 1976; 135).

Gottdiener, drawing upon Scott, emphasizes the same point as a contradiction between *the market* and *the state*. On the one hand, the use-value of land depends on the aggregate effects of innumerable individual activities (most of which are motivated by the exchange-value rather than use-value). On the other hand, it is bound to the state intervention and planning, which provides for infrastructural improvements and public services. He concludes that "because the overall process of development is driven by the first, privately controlled phase, state intervention cannot rescue the use-values of space from the externalities of private expropriation" (Gottdiener, 1985; 101). Then, the formation of parcel as a use-value is basically a collective process and its comprehension is not possible without a focus on its exchange-value.

4.2.1.2. Exchange value of Parcel

In terms of use-value, each commodity might have different qualities and satisfy different needs. Each one is produced as a result of the certain working process, by particular individuals who have distinct capacities and capabilities. Therefore, each commodity has an *individual aspect*. However, in terms of exchange-value, all commodities, irrespective of their specific qualities, are taken into account as the equivalent of each other and thus, they represent the same unit in spite of the differences in their forms. But what is the *common* measure that makes possible to correspond different use-values each have different specifications?

For Marx, this common measure is the needed quantity of '*labour time*' for production. It means that, as exchange-values, commodities represent a ***general abstract labour*** in which the individual differences of their producers are obliterated. Therefore, the exchange value of commodities is determined by their ***value***, which is measured by the average quantity of *socially necessary* labour time to produce them.

> To measure the exchange-value of commodities by the labour-time they contain, the different kinds of labour have to be reduced to uniform, homogeneous, simple labour, in short to labour of uniform quality, whose only difference, therefore, is *quantity*… This reduction appears to be an abstraction, but it is *an abstraction which is made every day in the social process of production*. (Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy) (Italics are mine)

In other words, the abstraction of commodities from their qualities as use-values and from the individual labours needed to produce them is not a mental abstraction, but it is a ***concrete abstraction***, which is continuously realized in the social relations of production and exchange.

This is the *core* of the production of space in capitalism and determines the production of its form. As Lefebvre denotes, abstract space corresponds to *abstract labour* and hence the general form of the commodity;

> …abstract labour is in no way a mental abstraction, nor is it a scientific abstraction in the epistemological sense (…); rather, it has a *social* existence, just as exchange value and the value form themselves have. If one were to try and enumerate the 'properties' of abstract space, one would first have to consider it as a medium of *exchange* (with the necessary implication of interchangeability) tending to absorb *use*… It is in this space that the world of commodities is deployed, along with all that it entails: accumulation and growth, calculation, planning, programming. Which is to say that abstract space is that space where the tendency to homogenization exercises its pressure and its repression with the means at its disposal. (Lefebvre, 1991; 307)

Thus, Lefebvre sees urban planning as a direct *tool* of commodity production. In the dialectic between social space of use-value and abstract space of exchange-value, the role assigned to planners is to become a tool of pressure and repression for homogenization. Although we have criticisized this functionalist approach in the previous chapter, Lefebvre's emphasis is still important to focus on the formation of abstract space. This makes the way to the question that how the abstract space of exchange-values is imposed on the concrete space of use-values.

At this point, we assume that the parcel as commodity (in spite of its peculiar aspects coming from its use-value) is subject to abstraction and its form is produced as a unit of abstract space. In other words, it is the unit by which the pressure of homogeneization is deployed over urban form. For this reason, in the course of Lefebvre's analysis, we need a detailed elaboration for the relationship between characteristics of the parcel and of the abstract space.

4.2.1.3. The role of parcel in the abstract space of capitalism

According to Lefebvre, homogeneity of abstract space is a deceptive appearance. Because, space is not an unkown substance; insomuch as it is too apparent. But the appearance leads to an illusory *transparency*. Actually, he says, "abstract is *not* homogeneous; it simply *has* homogeneity as its goal, its orientation, its 'lens'. And, indeed, it renders homogeneous. But in itself it is multiform" (Lefebvre, 1991; 287). Thus, abstract space is by no means simple; it contains contradictions, which the abstract form seems to resolve. Then he asks: "How is this possible? How may a space be said to be at once homogeneous and divided, at once unified and fragmented?" (Lefebvre, 1991; 306) For him, the answer lies in the fact that '*the logic of space*' with its apparent coherence, conceals *the violence inherent in abstraction*".

Therefore, homogeneity is an appearance; it is the appearance of the *concrete abstraction* intrinsic to capitalist production process. It gives a unified form to fragmented pieces. This form comes from *the logic of capital* in the production of space. Just like the *abstract labour*, which reduces the individually distinct labours into a socially abstract quantity of value, *abstract space* also imposes a homogeneous appearance to individually distinct parcels. Space is mobilized as exchange value; becomes a space that is disrupted from its historicity and particularity and reduced to the 'titles of coined lands'. This logic also imposes itself to the design, to created forms. Created space becomes an extension of produced space.

The mobilization of space as exchange value begins with the land and then extended to space, including space beneath the ground and volumes above it, so that the entirety of space is endowed with *exchage value*. And exchange implies interchangeability; to be exchangeable, space must be comparable with other goods. Thus, the commodity world and its characteristics, which formerly encompassed only goods and things produced in space, now govern space as a whole, which thus attains the autonomous (or seemingly autonomous) reality of things, of money. Space is also expressed in terms of money. With Lefebvre's words: "…in the past one bought or rented land. Today what are bought (…) are *volumes* of space: rooms, floors, flats, apartments… Each exchangeable place enters the chain of commercial transactions –of supply and demand and of prices." (Lefebvre, 1991; 337)

In this way, the need for comparability is met by the production of virtually identical '*cells*'. Although this is a well-known fact and seems natural, it has hardly ever been explained. As Lefebvre denotes,

> This is the triumph of homogeneity. From the point of view of the 'user', going from one 'cell' to another can mean 'going home'… Space is thus produced and reproduced *as* reproducible. Verticality, and the independence of volumes with respect to the original land and its peculiarities, are, precisely, produced. (Lefebvre, 1991; 337)

Furthermore, exchangeability and its constraints apply not only to surfaces of volumes but also to the *paths* that lead to them. In this way, not only the parcel but also its context is justified on plans and drawings in architectural projects. According to Lefebvre, the graphic elements of design serve "as *reducers* of reality –a reality that is in any case no more than a modality of an accepted (i.e. imposed) 'lifestyle' in a particular type of housing" (Lefebvre, 1991; 338). Thus, the *needs* of urban life are not the causes but the results of exchangeability. In other words, the requirements and constraints of exchangeability are presented as *norms of life and of design*. At this point Lefebvre has a significant assertion:

> For all that architectural projects have a seeming objectivity, (…) the fact is that volumes are invariably dealt with in a way that **refers the space in question back to the land**, to a land that is still privately (and privatively) owned; **built-up space is thus emancipated from the land in *appearance only*.** (Lefebvre, 1991; 338) (Boldface added.)

Therefore, the characteristics of land parcel as commodity extends into the third dimension and subsumes the buildings. On the other hand, buildings are treated as an empty abstraction, at once geometric and visual in character; they are reduced to 'forms'. As Lefebvre denotes this attitude is not only a practice but also an ideology:

> …an ideology whose practitioners are unaware that their activity is of an ideological nature, even though their every gesture makes this fact concrete. The supposed solutions of the planners thus impose the constraints of exchangeability on everyday life, while presenting them as both natural (or normal) and technical requirements –and often also as moral necessities (requirements of public morality). (Lefebvre, 1991; 338)

The result of the spatial interchangeability is a powerful and inevitable tendency towards **quantification**. Besides, this tendency is not limited with the parcel but it also extends outwards into the surroundings of the housing itself –into those areas represented as the environment, transitional spaces, means of access, facilities, and so on. In this context, *quantification* is "technical in appearance, financial in reality, and moral in essence" (Lefebvre, 1991; 338, 339).

However, quantification –that is the imposition of exchange-value and its abstract space– is not independent from the absolute space of use-value. Exchange may happen everywhere thanks to its social networks, but consumption occurs only in a *particular place*. For this reason, use-value constitutes the only real wealth, and this fact helps to restore its significance. The opposition between exchange and use, between global networks and the determinate locations of production and consumption, becomes *spatial* in this contradictory process. As Lefebvre concludes,

> Space thus understood is both *abstract* and *concrete* in character: abstract inasmuch as it has no existence saved by virtue of the exchangeability of all its component parts, and concrete inasmuch as it is socially real and as such localized. This is a space, therefore, that is *homogeneous yet all the same time broken up into fragments*" (Lefebvre, 1991; 342).

This detailed summary of Lefebvre's conception of abstract space is needed to understand the role of planning and design practices and their ideologies in the formation of parcel. His conclusion on the contradictory nature of space as both abstract and concrete, and as both homogeneous and fragmented constitutes the main tension in the production of urban form. We can sum up the discussion on abstract space with Harvey's comment on Lefebvre;

> The homogeneity of space is achieved through its total 'pulverization' into freely alienable parcels of private property, to be bought and traded at will upon the market. The result is a permanent tension between the appropriation and use of space for individual and social purposes and the domination of space through private property, the state, and the other forms of class and social power. This tension underlies the further fragmentation of otherwise

> homogeneous space. For the ease with which both physical and social space could now be shaped –with all that this implies for the annihilation of the absolute qualities of place…– poses a serious challenge to social order. **In whose image and to whose benefit is space to be shaped?** (Harvey; 1989; 177) (Boldface added.)

This should be the point where planning and design is engaged to the problem. Rather reducing them along with Lefebvre to one side of the contradiction between abstract and concrete spaces, that is to the side of abstract space, we must conceive these practices as the integral element of the contradiction. In order to develop such a conception, we should turn back the collective use-value of parcel and conceptualize the production of (land) parcel as the contradictory *unity* of use-value and exchange-value. Then, we can shift our focus on the *works* of design.

4.2.1.4. Production of parcel as the contradictory unity of use-value and exchange-value

We have seen how the building –the vertical dimension of morphology– is characterized by the requirements of exchangeability of land –the horizontal dimension of morphology. However, this characterization is not uni-directional but it is a reciprocal process, which is based on the collective use-value of parcel.

As we introduced above, collective use-value of parcel arises from a contradiction in the production of parcel as 'urban land', which is explained by Roweis and Scott as such:

> Urban land is clearly a noncommodity in the sense that its intrinsic use value –differential locational advantage– is produced not by individual capitalists, but through the agency of the State and the *collective effects* of innumerable individual social and economic activities. Specifically, urban land is produced in a complex collective dynamic where the state provides major infrastructural services as well as various public goods which cannot be adequately produced in the commodity form; in addition, land finally becomes urban only when its private utilization consummates the 'useful effects of urban agglomeration. (Roweis and Scott, 1981; 142)

However, we think that this conceptualization of urban land as *noncommodity* bears the risk to fall into an illusion that equates the land and the property; that is to say, the property here is seen as the *thing itself* rather than the *rights* on the land. Although urban land as a 'thing' is produced as a result of public investments, it is not produced only as a physical bundle of land pieces (e.g. a pattern of parcels) but it is also produced as a *bundle of rights*, which contain the *construction rights* in the third dimension. For this reason, the characteristics of commodity (in the appearance of construction rights) stamp the parcel at the very beginning of its production; they are produced to be bought and sold. This is a result of the contradiction between collective production of urban land and its private ownership; so the *parcel* is nothing other than the

embodiment of this contradiction. In fact, Roweis and Scott come to the same conclusion drawing attention to the intensification of land use;

> …while urban *land* is definitely a noncommodity, urban *floor space* is a true commodity in the strict sense, produced whenever private owners intensify the use of their land. The possibility of intensification, however, presupposes the *prior* existence of urban land. Intensification only gives access to an existing and socially given use value represented by urban land in the noncommodity form (i.e. a set of differential locational advantages). At the same time, and paradoxically, any increment in urban floor space in the commodity form inadvertently produces as an externality an increment in urban land in the noncommodity form. That is, any increase in the quantity of floor space generates for all *other* urban activities an increase in the supply of differential advantages. (Roweis and Scott, 1981; 142)

Here, there is a significant point: The urban *floor space* is determined as a *right*, before it is produced as a *thing*, through planning and design processes. However, the decisions of planners and designers are already limited, contested or oriented by the market tendencies which are based on the exchange-value of the commodity. In conclusion, the parcel is the object that contains this paradox.

Therefore, the collective use-value of parcel as a *work* of planning directly determines the exchange-value of parcels in a reciprocal way. This reciprocity is the basis of the urban rent phenomenon. Thus, exchange value of parcel cannot be understood without referring 'urban rent', because the exchange-value of a parcel is not determined only by the specific labour exerted for its production but also by the surrounding parcels and eventually by the whole matrix of parcels.

This is an outcome of the relational character of urban space and Gottdiener notes (1985; 178), it is based on *the real estate market* as the mediating mechanism which translates the use values produced by the spatial matrix of capital accumulation activities into commodity exchange values reflected in the price of real estate (Gottdiener, 1985; 178). And as Harvey (1973, 186) says, "from this arises the 'important sense' in which the value of any one parcel of land 'contains' the values of all other parcels at the present time as well as the expectation held of future values."

Consequently, the parcel gains its meaning only in its spatial context and it is actually produced as an outcome of the formation of urban block, which is at the same time the basic unit by which planners control the formation of urban pattern. For this reason, we must shift our standpoint from the formation of parcel to the formation of urban block. At the same time we are shifting from the products to the *works* (of planners and designers), but now it is the work which is

already determined by the contradiction between use-value and exchange-value and specifically by the fact of *urban rent*.

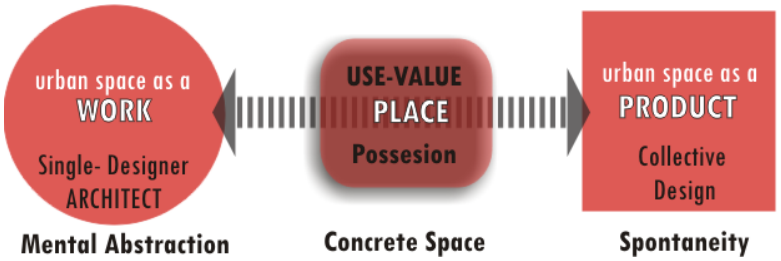
4.3. FORMATION OF URBAN BLOCK AS A WORK

> …there is usually less perfection in works composed of several parts and produced by various different craftsmen than there is in the works of one man. Thus we see that a building started and completed by a single architect will usually be finer and better organized than one that several people have tried to patch up by adapting old walls that had been built for other purposes. Again, these old cities of Europe that have gradually grown from mere villages into large towns are usually less well laid out than the orderly towns that professional architects lay out as they wish on level ground; so much less that from the way the buildings are arranged in the old cities - a tall one here, a small one there - and the way they make the streets crooked and irregular, you would think they had been placed where they are by chance rather than by the will of thinking men. (This is not to deny that if you look at the buildings in the old cities *individually* you will often find that at least as much skill has gone into the making of them as into those of the planned towns.) And when you consider that ·this is how things stand in old cities *although* there have always been officials whose job is to oversee private buildings so as to ensure that they add beauty to public places, you'll grasp that it's hard to achieve something perfect by working only on what others have produced.
>
> (Descartes, Discourse on the Method)

This long qoutation from "Discourse on the Method" is so interesting that it shows how the built environmnent of Reneaissance impressed and oriented the Descartes' thought. Moreover, it is particularly interesting for us; because Descartes, whose philosophy of Cartesian Cogito is generally assumed as "the starting point of modernism" (Bumin, 2003) presents in 1637 a strong analysis of the modern urban design even relevant for today.

Nonetheless, if we read this passage of Discourse in its historical context, we see that Descartes' analysis depicts a completely different kind of urban space and design process, since it is a *product* of a different social formation, and hence, of different property relations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Renaissace Town represents a peculiar moment of the relation between work and product; it was the product of a transitional period between feudalism to capitalism and between the *possession* to *private property* on land. The commodity production together with its exchange-value was emerging as the dominant vector of space production, while the *work* was reaching the pinnacle of its achievement. (see Diagram 4.1.)

Diagram 4.1. The relation between Work and Product before capitalism



Before that period, as explained by Lozano, design of urban space was within the exclusive domain of craftsmen, artisans, villagers and peasants, who were the designers, builders, and users of their own settlements. The roles of designers and builders were merged and "there is close feedback between the process of design and production" (Lozano, 1990; 16). Therefore, the production of space was the immediate production of urban form. It is even possible to say there was no such thing as 'the architect'; according to Short (2006; 161), the profession developed in the nineteenth century (The Institute of British Architects was established in 1833).

Therefore, in Renaissance, either as a product of the rationality of single designer or of a collective design, urban space was not yet dominated by the *abstract space* of capitalist commodity production. However, in the nineteenth century, the relation between work and product evolved into a dichotomy, in which the domains of work and product separated and the architect-designer has emerged as a profession 'in-between'.

4.3.1. Parcel: The Domain of Architects

Lefebvre describes the in-between situation of architects as an uncomfortable position. In the one hand, the architect, as a scientist and technician, is bounded to produce within a specified framework; he has to depend on repetition. On the other, as an artist, he/she searches for inspiration, and as someone sensitive to use and to the 'user', he/she has a claim for *difference* and *uniqueness*. This is a contradictory position, "forever being shuttled from on of its poles to the other". Thus, architect has the difficult task of bridging the gap between work and product (Lefebvre, 1991; 396).

This position is a result of the commodity production as the abstract space composed of interchangeable parcels. The parcel constitutes architect's *given* frame of reference. This is not simply a piece of land to be used. As Lefebvre concludes this is a piece of space cut from larger wholes and the architect works on it according to his tastes, technical skills, ideas and preferences. In short, he deals with his assignment in complete freedom in the boundaries of parcel. In other words, the parcel is the domain –the territory– of architect in which he has *autonomy* of giving shape to his *work*. However,

> That is not what actually happens… The section of space assigned to the architect –perhaps by 'developers', perhaps by government agencies– is affected by calculations that he may have some intimation but which he is certainly not well acquainted. This space has nothing innocent about it: it answers to particular tactics and strategies; it is, quite simply, *the space of dominant mode of production* and hence *the space of capitalism, governed by the bourgeoisie*. It consists of 'lots' and is organized in a repressive manner as a function of the important features of the locality (Lefebvre, 1991; 360).

In other words, his autonomy is only a *relative* one, which is predetermined by the requirements of exchangeability; by homogenization and repetition. This restriction does not only refer to demands of his client, to construction technology or to the dominant style of a current building cycle. Further to that, his labour becomes a portion of the surplus value, and his individual *work* becomes an object of the concrete abstraction of production process; translated into money, into 'coined land'. Therefore, in fact, he has to deal with the *quality –the use value of parcel–* for the sake of the *quantity –exchange value of parcel* (which is 'priced' as relative to other parcels). This might occur in two opposite ways.

In the one side, the architect might be so restricted that he cannot have an option other than repeating the surrounding parcels. This is the situation where the parcel is too small and the envelope provided in parcel (that is the three dimensional framework determined by codes) is too close to the construction rights (that is the floor space). The ratio between building envelope and construction rights, which we can call "*the exploitation ratio of parcel*" is approximates to one in this situation.

On the other side, the architect might have an extensive flexibility for shaping his design due to a large parcel size and extensive building envelope relative to construction rights. Besides, the formal uniqueness of his work might be particularly demanded by the client. In this condition, the work of individual architect may come into conflict with its spatial context.

If we express more simply, *the autonomy of architect is in direct proportion to the parcel size and in inverse proportion to the exploitation ratio of parcel*. As a general rule, the larger the parcel size, the more autonomy the architect has.

In conclusion, morphology of parcel as the basic cell of capitalist city is shaped as the *work* of architects. However, we have argued that the parcel exists in its spatial context and it is actually produced as an element of urban block, which is shaped by planners as the basic unit of control. For this reason, the relationship between architects and planners can be read as an outcome of the relation between parcel and urban block.

4.3.2. Urban Block: The Domain of Planners

In Chapter 2, we have discussed the properties of urban block both as an element of objective and subjective morphology of urban space. Urban block was defined by surrounding streets; and in turn, the streets are shaped by urban blocks. In addition, we have made an abstraction as such the streets are the elements of *public space*, while the urban block constitutes the territory of *private space*. As an extension of this territorial categorization, we can infer that urban block comprises *the areas of private property*, while streets comprise *the areas of public property*. Of course, such an abstraction is a simplification. Public and private property pattern does not necessarily overlap with the pattern of blocks and streets, but this abstraction allows us to see the role of urban block in modern urban planning practice. One of the main functions of urban planning in the modern society is *to arrange property pattern as public and private*, and transform it in accordance to the changing dynamics of society. This is a process of drawing boundaries between private and public properties and urban planning realizes arrangement this by means of urban blocks.

Whatever planning approach is applied, the most concrete result of every planning practice is a pattern of urban blocks that is a pattern of property. The division of urban blocks into sub-parts as parcels, and design and production of the buildings are realized as the application process. In other words, urban blocks can be seen as the medium or stage where planning process turns into the construction process and where *urban planning* turns into *architectural design*. Therefore, in the modern planning practice, which is based on functional zoning through development control regulations and design codes, urban block is the main unit of controlling and shaping urban space. One of the basic responsibilities of urban planners is to decide the attributes of urban

blocks, such as their size, shape and density. It is both the tool and the product of planning decisions.

These aspects of urban block make it as an area of conflicts; it becomes a transitional element in which different scales and relations intersect and create certain conflicts and dilemmas. These can be taken up under three headings.

I. The dilemma between Public and Private

Public spaces, such as streets, squares and parks can be considered as use-values for collective consumption and public-life. At least theoretically, they are open to use of everyone and in this respect they cannot be subjected to private interests of certain individuals because of their public ownership; they are not commodities. Whereas, private spaces, although they also contain use-values for individuals' private life, depend on private property and so they include the right to revenue. In this respect, private spaces which constitute urban blocks as a cluster of parcels are subjected to domination of exchange-value. Therefore, there is an inherent tension between the formation of urban block and streets; because public space exists through controlling and limiting private spaces, whereas private property aims to maximize its rights.

This is a major tension that planners have to tackle with. Because private property with its absolute rights obstructs the constitution of transitional zones (e.g. semi-public and semi-private spaces) between public space and private space. This problem harms both public life and private life in living environments. As a matter of fact, constitution of transitional zones and achieving the integration of public and private spaces occupies a major place in urban design theories.

II. The dilemma between Urban Block and Parcel

This dilemma arises from the opposition between the tendency of market dynamics to produce urban form as *the aggregation of parcels* (so to reduce the urban space into title-deeds and construction rights) and the tendency of planning agencies to produce urban form as *the composition of urban blocks* (so to reduce the urban space into rational standards and functional units).

Because of their deductive methods, planners attempt to impose certain criteria in accordance with the planning decisions coming from the upper scales. In this way they aim to achieve a

continuity and unity thorugh determining the function and form of parcels; that is, they attempt to create a work that organize collective use-values of urban space in a *spatial context*. The design of urban block and design of streets are the basic tools to create their works. However, for market agents collective use-value is important inasmuch as it contribute the exchange-value of their values. Thus, in the logic of market, there is no room for the norms such as contunity, unity or context, but there is only externalities and spillover effects.

Consequently, it is assumed that formation of urban blocks by planners determines the morphology of parcels. They impose both the size and density (i.e. the construction rights) of land parcels and the qualities of buildings on parcels through codes and regulations at the block level and hence they aim to create certain fields of blocks consisting certain types.

However, this is only the procedure. In fact, these are already pre-determined by the necessities of exchange-value. On the one hand, from the level of parcel, every field of urban blocks is subjected to an average size of capital and so the size of parcel imposes itself to the shape of urban blocks. On the other hand, from the level of urban pattern, a certain price of land is imposed on parcels and hence pre-determines the function and construction rights of parcels. In this way, the morphology of urban block proposed by planners is imposed to them by the market tendencies. If the planning decisions does not consider the tendencies of market, they might become *irrelevant*, planning decisions are actualized via the production of parcels by the market as commodities.

Nevertheless, we shoud not overlook the structural framework defined in Chapter 3. Planners have *a relative autonomy* from the market, and the planning process has the potential to restrict and determine the market tendencies, not only due to the legal power of its procedure, but also due to its contradictory structure, which is open to the intervention of the class struggle and so to the influence of use-value oriented ideologies. Therefore, the dilemma between block and parcel needs to be seen as an extension of the dialectical relation between planning and market.

III. The dilemma between Unity and Diversity

This can be seen as a mophological outcome of the second dilemma. Every design process has a certain claim of its own unity. However, urban space is shaped, in contrast to Descartes' preference, as an interaction of different design processes at different scales each of which is controlled by different designers. But then, how can be the unity of the whole obtained in spite

of the claim of its parts for their own unity? How can the diversity and unity can be achieved simultaneously? In fact this question is a source of contradiction between planners and architects.

On the one hand, planners, setting out the upper scale decisions about the whole city, attempts to determine the formation of urban block patterns. Thereby, planners impose a certain form to the parcels and to the buildings from top to bottom. On the other hand, architects aims to create their individual work in the boundaries of parcels. Thus, the planners' work comes into conflict with the architects' work.

In this condition, the 'unity' at the block-street scale threats the uniqueness of the building-parcel, while the uniquness of parcels endangers the unity of block-street. Here, architecture and planning, as depicted by Günay, are in conflict with each other because "it is in the nature of planning to bureaucratize and socialize, while architecture tends to individualize and liberate" (Günay, 1999a; 75). In this contradiction, architects favor uniqueness, whereas planners are interested in unity and functionality. Furthermore, architects are responsible mainly to the individual users or cilents, while planners are responsible to various groups. This also reflects their way of rationalization. While planners tend to deduction, architects tend to induction. In consequence, the architect and the planner are in conflict with each other and this conflict is represented in the morphology as a tension between the block scale and the parcel scale.

As a result of this tension between two professions, the field of *urban design* emerges. It is both a field of cooperation and of conflict between them. On the one hand, their approaches separately cannot be sufficient to comprehend urban form totally; in fact they need each other. On the other, since it is not possible to divide the formation process of urban space into strict segments, there is not clear boundaries and territories for these professions. There appears 'transitional zones' between their territories. Urban design theories occupies these transitional zones.

For this reason, the definition of urban design has been a major debate, as depicted by Madanipour(1997) in his paper "Ambiguity of Urban Design". For example, for many architects, urban space is also an object to be designed, just like buildings. So urban design is seen as a large scale architecture. However, this definition does not say anything about designing the majority of urban development, because of its ignorance of property relations and its dilemmas we mention.

Günay's (1999b; 42) expilicit definition overcomes this ambiguity of urban design in the respect of the puspose of this study. He argues that the rearrangement of property as the basic task of urban transformations is where the distinction between architecture and urban design starts. He says "designing in one property is architectural design, whereas design for many property is urban design". This argument can be commented as such: In the boundaries of parcel that is in the territory of owners and investors architects have a piece of absolute space and dominate the formation process (As mentioned above this autonomy is already relative). However, once the process goes beyond the boundaries of parcel and includes many properties, we are now in the contradictory realm of social space. And this is the realm that requires the agency of planners. Thus, we argue that the relationship of planning and architecture (so the definition of urban design) is not limited with a conceptual debate or with the disputes between the members of these professions but this relation is limited and determined by the changing context of property relations.

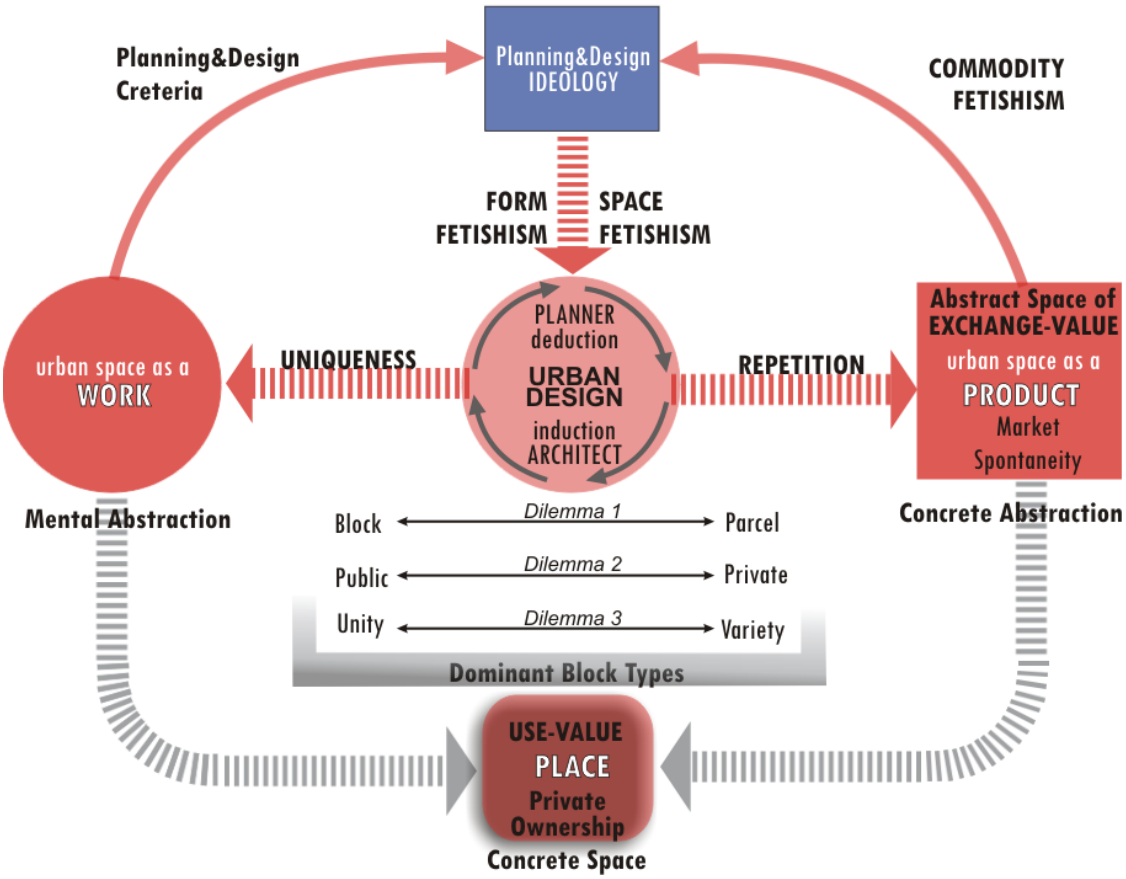
In that case, Lefebvre's definition for architects' contradictory position between work and product is also relevant for planners. Besides, planners do not have a relatively autonomous territory in which they can exercise their creativity. In Chapter 2 we have concluded that urban planning institution cannot be reduced to a mere tool that is functional for capital accumulation; but rather, planning approaches and the underlying ideologies are inherently bound up with the collective use-value of the city and they are open to the influence of labour-centered ideologies.

Therefore, planners and architects are both in a contradictory position between work - product, and between use value - exchange value. Planning and design ideologies arise from this contradictory position. However, as Keskinok states,

> … The capitalist mode of production is based on the domination of exchange values on use values. (…) For the reproduction of capitalist relations of production, and of the conditions for capital accumulation and its legitimation, use values are to be subsumed by the exchange values via market mechanism, via the relations of production, the state intervention and ideology. (Keskinok, 1997; 109)

It means that, exchange-value and its abstract space do not only dominate the production of urban form *but also* dominate the ideological sphere. Then, production of urban form cannot be comprehended without considering the role of ideology in the course of planning and design approaches. Here, the ideology is mainly used in its negative meaning containing illusions and fetishisms. In the following heading, we are going to demonstrate the manifestations of such ideologies and fetishisms on the content of urban design approaches.

Diagram 4.2. The "in-between" position of architects and planners.



4.3.3. Space Fetishism as a Form of Commodity Fetishism

> Whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labour, the different kind of labour expended upon them. *We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it.*
>
> Marx; *Capital, Volume 1*(italics are mine)

In his analysis of commodity, while Marx explains how the *value* of commodities emerges, he refers to the fetishism of commodities. It may seem strange to come across with such a concept as *fetishism* in the center of an economic analysis. However, this is not an arbitrary choice. On the contrary, this is the very theme that Marx attracts attention: 'production' is not only an economic process. Its contradictions can sustain inasmuch as it conditions the social

consciousness in the way that it conceals truth. This happens via certain types of alienation or fetishes that penetrate into deep levels of human consciousness in the form of ideology.

Since we conceive urban form as a social product, and its formation as a production process, it cannot be exempt from the ideological connotations of commodity production. In this case, we need to investigate the relation between the commodity production and the production of urban form.

4.3.3.1. Commodity Fetishism

A commodity appears, at first sight, as an ordinary thing and easily understood; it is *transparent*. As long as it is a value in use, there is nothing mysterious about it; it is a product of human labour. But when it becomes an exchange-value, its transparency gains an illusionary character that conceals the truth. This is the truth that a commodity gains its value through an abstraction of individual labours into a *quantity* of socially necessary labour time. Finally "the mutual relations of the producers take the form of *a social relation between the products*." If we refer Marx's celebrated passage;

> In order, therefore, to find an analogy, we must have recourse to the mist-enveloped regions of the religious world. In that world the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities. (Marx, Capital V.1)

To put another way, products of human labour emancipates from their producers and start to exert a kind of dominance over them. Their value is seen as if inherent *in* the nature of commodities rather than created by the labour of certain individuals. And the *money* –the common measure for the values of all commodities– becomes a real independent power over people. Then, the question is the implications of commodity fetishim for urban space and its formation process.

4.3.3.2. Urban space as the object of Commodity Fetishism

Urban space cannot escape from the alienating power of money. With Harvey's term, the effect of producing space as commodity is to bring all space under the *single measuring rod of money* value (Harvey; 1989; 177). In this respect, since the city is "an immense accumulation of commodities", its unit being a single *parcel*, each parcel can be translated into a quantity of

money; into Simmel's 'coined lands'. As a consequence, urban space is abstracted from its lively and differentiated structure. As Şengül states, two places that are completely different from each other in respect of their historical and social qualities, are only abstract parcels or buildings to be exchanged in the market (Şengül, 2001b:15).

Therefore, the parcel becomes an object of *fetishism* just as other commodities, so that it is recognized as an independent being. Furthermore, the peculiar aspects of parcel as a commodity makes it even more enigmatic. So much that it might have a 'value' even when it is 'vacant' and this value seems to be changed by itself in the name of *rent*.

Eventually, the users alienate to their living places and they may even perceive their city as a '*rentscape*' rather than 'landscape'. And then, domination of exchange-value becomes a *hegemonic project* over the city as explained by Şengül (2001b; 34). In this respect, the conflict between abstract space – concrete space appears as the expression of a struggle between the projects which give priority to use value and the projects which give priority to exchange value.

This struggle is a part of the major contradiction between bourgeois and working class. On the one hand, the actors, whose primary aim and condition of existence is to make profit (such as contractors, land speculators, banks, firms), shape urban space with the projects and investments that give priority to exchange-value. On the other hand, urban space gains importance as a place of living for the working classes and so the use value of space is in the foreground and they seek for a real enjoyment of property that is the property as possession (Şengül, 2001b; 34). (Of course, it does not mean that labourers do not act with the intention for exchange value.)

Moreover, the state is a very important determinant of this struggle. Because it is also an expression of the relations between classes and it is contradictory and divided in itself as parallel to the class conflicts (Şengül, 2001b; 49). The state tries to control the production of urban space by planning mechanisms and by its investments. Therefore, planning process is also a political realm and determined by the class relations. For this reason, urban design as the process of controlling "the formation of urban space", cannot be conceptualized sufficiently without considering its political background.

As a result, we propose that the fetishistic perception of urban space – the fetishized space– is weakened inasmuch as the use-value centered approaches gain strength against the domination of exchange-value, or vice versa. This is the arena where commodity fetishism penetrates into the territory of planning and design practices and turns into space fetishism.

4.3.3.3. From Commodity fetishism to Space fetishism

> The perspective on the communal living space as commodity is, of course, one further expression of what Marx defined as the fetishism of commodities: the tendency to view social relations as relations between commodities… More particularly the perspective yields to what James Anderson has dubbed 'the geographer's particular conceit'; the fetishism of space. Social relations –between developer and labor in the communal living space, for example– come to be viewed as relations between areas; between city and suburb, between one suburb and another, and between redlined and non-redlined areas (Cox, 1981; 448).

If we express Cox's argument in strict terms, space fetishism is the extension of commodity fetishism. It is the epistemological version of commodity fetishism internalized in the representations of space by the professions like geography, planning and architecture. Likewise, space fetishism can be divided into three variants according to their impact on the approaches of planning and design.

I. Passive Space-Fetishism

In this type of space fetishism, the formation process of space is reduced to a relation in-itself. That is, the relations that produce space are conceived as independent from producers; as absolute, natural and ahistorical relations

The most known example of this approach is the human ecology of Chicago School and the classical urban economics. As outlined by Keskinok, spatial patterns and forms are conceived as the outcomes of socio-biotic forces. Whereas in ecological perspective these forces are manifested at the structural level of society, in urban economics theories they manifest themselves of individual who are act rationally. In conclusion, social forces are *reified* as the relations between spatial forms and patterns. Their emphasis on the 'adaptive processes' (such as re-adjustment, self-regulation) and on the concept of equilibrium ends up in a neglection of the intervention of state in space (Keskinok, 1997; 14).

Similarly, we have mentioned the tendency of complexity theory in urban morphology for reducing capitalist system into a *chaotic* natural system. In this case, space as the immediate outcome of the market is assumed as indispensable and legitimate. All we can do is to incremental interventions. Thus, space turns into an independent being that is impenetrable, and that forms itself spontaneously. Passive space-fetishism ends up with the acception of the abstract space of capitalism as an ultimate fact arising from the 'nature' of human society. Its main manifestation in planning discipline has been the *incremental planning*. This is the result of

passive space-fetishism in the realm of *theory*. So, what about the implications of this tendency in the *practice* of planning and design, on the planner and the architect?

In respect of **architects**, this tendency may come out as an attitude to accept the parcel assigned to them as a separate entity. An architect, who gives way to this kind of space fetishism, has the tendency to create his work as the private property of his client. That is, he/she *neglects the collective use-value* of his/her work, and focuses only to the satisfaction of client's own use-value. The 'work' is not considered as a part of the whole – the city–, but it is thought as *a whole in-itself*, which serves to a *function* demanded by the client; actually the requirements of *product* prevail in the design process. In this way, he/she isolates in the boundaries of parcel not only his/her 'work', but also his/her identity as an 'architect'.

Similarly, in respect of **planners**, this tendency comes out as an attitude to accept the parcel as the *end* of planning rather than as a *tool* of planning. That is to say, defining parcels and construction rights becomes the aim of planning. In this way, market tendencies seem to be overwhelming and planning is reduced to a mere property adjustment in accordance with market tendencies and the 'notion of urban design' is excluded from planning process. Eventually, organization of the *collective use-value* of parcels is reduced to an issue of functional zoning, while the requirements of *exchange-value* (that is homogenization and repetition) become the primary concern. And planners' responsibility to *public* is reduced to their service for decision-makers in public authorities. Therefore, a planner, who gives way to passive space fetishism, has the tendency to form urban space only as a *product* rather than a work.

In conclusion, under the domination of passive space-fetishism, planners and architects *alienate to the essence of their profession* that is the creation of use-value. The result of such alienation is the erosion of legitimacy and it is compensated with a technicist attitude to urban process, which is in fact political and mainly normative. Therefore, passive space-fetishism means to *internalization* of the characteristics of *commodity* in both theory and practice.

II. Active Space-Fetishism

In this type of space fetishism, a *causal* force is assigned to space which is in fact an outcome of social relations. Thus, design of space becomes the design of society. This includes a space conception, beyond the manipulation of space as a strategic factor, as *a force to be used* in order to create a certain ideal of society or to solve a certain problem. In this way the relationship of content-form is turned inside out; and space, which is indeed the *product* of social relations,

becomes a *constitutive* element of social relations and utilized for this aim. This tendency is the most dominant characteristic of the tradition of modernist planning and design, from utopian socialists until CIAM and comprehensive planning.

Eventually, social space is reduced to absolute space through '*reification*' of social relations. Thus the active space-fetishism ends up in the same conclusion with passive space-fetishism, but in an opposite attitude; that is the treatment of space as a neutral object that can be measured, predicted, controlled and hence *shaped*. This attitude can result in two opposite poles.

Active space-fetishism in Urban Planning: Here, the aim is to solve the urban problems created by market and to get rid of the barriers that obstruct the way of capital accumulation by the total control of space. However, as Scott emphasizes in his analysis of urban land nexus, while these problems are solved in one location, they are re-created at successively high-levels of complexity in other locations, because of the inherent contradiction of commodity production in capitalism. This has been the dilemma of rational comprehensive planning and resulted with its negation by flexible planning approaches.

Active space-fetishism in Urban Design: Here, the aim is to surpass the social problems via the invention of new kind of spaces. This includes elevating the 'work' against the 'product' but it is achieved at the expense of *subordinating content to its form*. In other words, contradictions of the abstract space of capitalism may be contested but without touching its *roots* in the absolute *private property*. This has been the dilemma of modernist urban design and resulted with its negation by postmodern urban design approaches.

In conclusion, under the domination of active space-fetishism, planners and architects *alienate to the object of their profession* that is urban space, because of their neglect of its content, which is dominated by the characteristics of commodity production and private property.

III. Space-Fetishism as Form-Fetishism

In the third kind of space-fetishism the *design* of space becomes an ideal in-itself. Ignoring the *content* of space, it is reduced to *pure form*. This is the attitude that we name as '*form-fetishism*' and it is intentionally eclectic and stuck into the superficial. Harvey (1989) defines this attitude, which is especially peculiar to postmodernism, as 'contrived depthlessness'.

Form-fetishism can be considered as a further stage of active space-fetishism and it assigns the causal forces (assigned by active space-fetishism to space) directly to the *form* of space. *Form*

becomes an independent power imposed on urban space and besides in this imposition, the unity and context may not be cared about or completely negated.

Like as in the active space-fetishism, the aim is still to solve the social problems through transforming social life by the means of space. However, in formalist attitude, 'work' is conceived just as a *work of art* which is abstracted from its 'product' aspect. Its uniqueness and difference is designed as a form without content. For this reason, in contrast to modernist urban design that attempts to invent new forms for a new social society, the formalist attitude turns its face to the past and attempts to adapt the traditional forms of historical towns to modern society, in order to revive the nostalgia of old lively towns.

4.3.3.4. A brief on the ideology of planning and design

For Lefebvre, the fetishized space, elevated to the rank of mental space by epistemology, implies and embodies an *ideology* –that of primacy of *abstract unity*. "It is reinforced not only by administrative subdivision, not only by scientific and technical specialization, but also –indeed most of all– by the retail selling of space (in lots)" (Lefebvre, 1991; 355). In this respect, the production of urban form as an accumulation of parcels is contained within the planning and design approaches through certain ideologies and fetishisms of space as depicted above. However, it should not be overlooked that against such ideologies, the use-value disseminates its own consciousness as a counter-ideology.

Then, we can infer that the production of urban form as an outcome of property relations is at the same time the production of fetishisms, ideologies and counter-ideologies for planning-design approaches and these are determined by the characteristics of commodity production including its use-value. Actually, each of these three kinds of space-fetishism is emerged as a reaction to the problems caused by the abstract space of capitalism in the course of urban planning and design.

In the next section, we are going to present a historical excursus on the evolution of modern urbanism via a review of prevailing urban block types. Such an excursus is needed to elaborate the implications of these different kinds of space-fetishism on the morphology of urban space and to evaluate the production of urban form in a historical perspective.

4.4. PRODUCTION OF URBAN BLOCK IN THE CAPITALIST CITY

Under the theme of "the formation of urban block as work", we analyzed the three distinct *dilemmas* of urban design and the three kinds of *space-fetishism* in the approaches of planning and design. Every approach has faced with these dilemmas and fetishisms. Thus, the history of modern planning and design can be read either as *the ways of maintenance or reproduction* of these dilemmas and fetishisms or as *the challenges to overcome* them through proposing new kinds of spaces.

We can discuss the role of urban block and its changing characteristics along this dual theme. It is evident that such a discussion exceeds the limits of this chapter. Thus, only the breaking points creating new moments in the formation of cities and so in the formation of urban blocks will be discussed.

4.4.1. Urban Design Approaches and Urban Block in 19th Century

Kostof (1991; 148) explains the changing characteristics of urban blocks through the rise of capitalism as a transition from so-called 'burgage' plots to blocks of row houses. However, in the 19th century, the pressing need was to supply *rental housing for the industrial workers*. In England, "speculators busy exploiting this need for quick profits put up *thin blocks of row houses* on the cheap land at the city edge which create a skewed patchwork of grid patterns. They were usually 'back-to-backs' – double rows with no intermediate space". (Kostof, 1991; 148) For him, this formation is an early manifestation of the abstract space and absolute property.

> The urban landscape was fundamentally transformed when urban land came to be seen as a source of income, when ownership was divorced from use, and property became primarily a means to produce rent. It was this 'land-rent gradient' ended the idea of the ordered city and economically encouraged the segregation of uses (Kostof, 1991; 27).

Similarly, Roebuck (1974, 129) relates the emergence of this new type of urban block with its way of production. Many industrialists made arrangements with a building contractor for the construction of an appropriate number of houses at as low cost as possible. In many cases, independent speculative builders constructed houses for renting to workers. The net result of this kind of housing development was "block upon block of bleak, mean, little houses that provided basic shelter". Then, like as Engels (1997; 107), Roebuck gives a detailed explanation of the poor conditions of living in these worker blocks. According to Benevolo (1993; 196), these

conditions of "the liberal city" were the evidences of the long distance between the ideals of liberal ideology and the reality. Thus, it is possible to say that this contradiction lead to the emergence of modern planning.

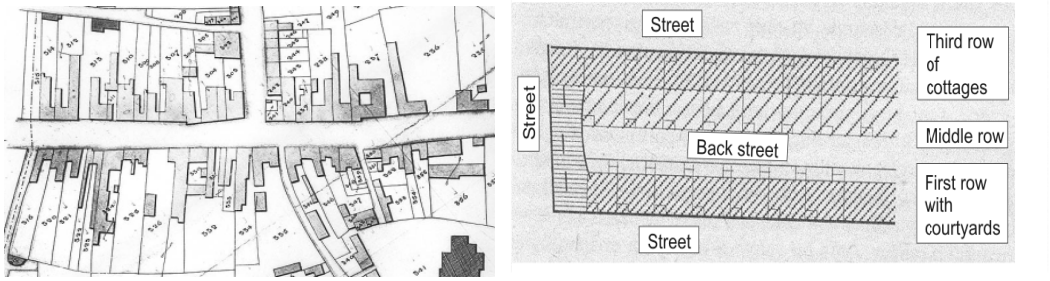


Figure 4.1. a. Burgage plots in England; b. Engels' drawing for the urban block of worker housing in Manchester.

Therefore, emergence of 'urban planning' can be seen as a reaction to the problems of the industrial city, where the contradictions of the commodity production lead to inhumane living conditions for workers. Although the first generation of planners arised among the architects, it does not mean that the ontological origins of planning came from architecture. On the contrary, planning emerged as a necessary outcome of the processes that architecture could not cover. Thus, when we look at the roots of modern planning, we see direct interventions to the class conflicts. These can be grouped under three headings;

1. The pragmatic approaches which forms the origin of modern planning legislation.
2. The Haussmanian approaches forming 19th century cities as the space of Bourgeois.
3. The utopist approaches trying to overcome existing social relations.

I. The Pragmatic Approaches

These are based on the control and regulation of urban development through municipal administration. The roots of modern urban codes are established by these regulation attempts, which mainly aim to improve sanitary conditions of the industrial city. So-called Public Health Acts (1832, 1848, 1875) brought detailed prescriptions including the properties of parcels,

blocks and streets. Their shape and size were determined in accordance with minimum standards through regulation in a strict mechanical manner (Broadbent, 1990;114).

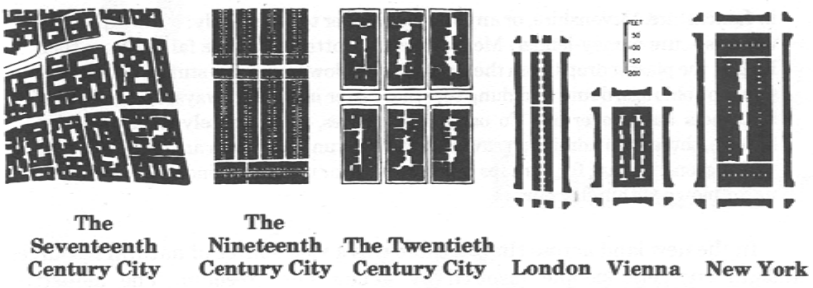


Figure 4.2. Eisner's comparison between 'bye-law blocks' (Gallion and Eisner, 1980; 59).

However, according to Kostof (1991; 149) the obligatory open space between rows coded in this act gave speculative builders the excuse that they needed to fix on standardized formula of broad straight streets and monotonous rows of identical houses separated from their back neighbours by small gardens. These were the pinnacle of *product* with its repetitive and homogeneous characteristics. The street layout was shaping by the developer's decision, and hence the length of terrace block only limited by the size of his estate and his common sense. There were rows of 250 meters and even more, especially along railroad tracks.

In addition to these health legislations, the first *expropriation laws*, which would play an important role in the control attempts of urban development after 1850s, were put out in 1840s. Tekeli (1980; 13) emphasizes that the protection degree of the landowners by these laws is determined by the power of the landowner classes. The expropriation law of England in 1840s was protective for landowners, so it delayed the great development operations through which the traditional pattern of blocks is transformed radically. However, the effective French expropriation laws in 1841 made possible the Haussmann's operations in Paris, where the organic patterns of blocks and streets were demolished towards the boulevards.

II. Haussmannian Approach and Emergence of 'Modern' Urban Space

Haussmann, depending on the power of Napoleon III's central state, created a network of boulevards on the complicated medieval pattern of Paris by means of large scale expropriation and demolition operations. According to Spreiregen (1965;27), although a popular conception of Haussmann's reasoning is that he thought boulevards could be used by troops against the barricades of proletariat, the main reason for boulevards was *financial speculation*. As Günay (1999; 130) emphasizes, it was the intervention of bourgeois which is growing as a new powerful class, by using the power of the central state in order to dominate the central area of Paris. The new prevailing class, the bourgeouis society was creating its own space. Thus the basic function of boulevard was the transformation of the older city ownership patterns for the development of capitalistic functions.

Haussmann's influence on modern planning was not only limited with the design concepts but also comprises its application tools. He constituted a very strict and detailed regulation system to control the construction process. These codes brought strict restrictions to facade variations and strictly restricted individual designers. The unity had an absolute domination over variety. Autonomy of the architect was strictly limited because of the parcel size and by means of the design codes.

Haussmann's urban codes proved the influence of a powerful legislative system on the formation of urban space up to its smallest details. The block type produced through boulevards, and their characteristics determined by these codes became a predominant type in many European countries (Kostof, 1992; 228).

Figure 4.3. Aerial view of Haussmanian block pattern in today's Paris

The Haussmannian approach can be seen as *the beginning of the domination of the modernist production of space* over urban space. The health legislations were not comprehensive interventions that could transform the image of the city as a whole. In those interventions, planning emerged as a pragmatic tool to keep up the exploitation process. Likewise, the utopian approaches were only partial projects. Thus, the prevalence of capitalist relations over the cities and the fundamental transformation of the traditional urban space into the "abstract space of capitalism" started with the operations of Haussmann in Paris. Besides, urban design, function of which is to shape 'use-values', emerged paradoxically as a powerful tool of the domination of exchange-value, of *money*.

Therefore, we can assume that the *dilemma between public space and private space* appeared in the 19th century Paris. Most of the criticisms of modernist urban planning, such as the monotony of urban space, loss of variety, erosion of public life, and loss of identity or character of the cities, are related somehow with this issue. Thus, the tension between public space and private space would express itself as a tension between individual expression and overall harmony or as a dilemma between unity and diversity.

Another, important example of this period in terms of the creation of new block types is Cerda's plan for Barcelona in 1858. As described by Kostof (1991; 151) Cerda left the old city of Barcelona intact, and spread an unvarying grid across more than 26 sq. km. of flat land outside the medieval city walls. Most blocks were to be built up on only two sides; the unbuilt remainder of each block was to be landscaped in order to create a kind of 'garden city'. But Cerda did not take into account the forces of private ownership and the speculative market. Although, he had set a four-story height limit for his blocks, and a 28 per cent surface coverage for parcels, today some of the blocks contain structures of twelve stories over 90 per cent of the surface area. Thus, the ideal diagram, which reflected Cerda's hopes for social egalitarianism, was distorted: the middle class colonized the great grid, banishing the working class to the city's industrial area (Kostof, 1991; 152).

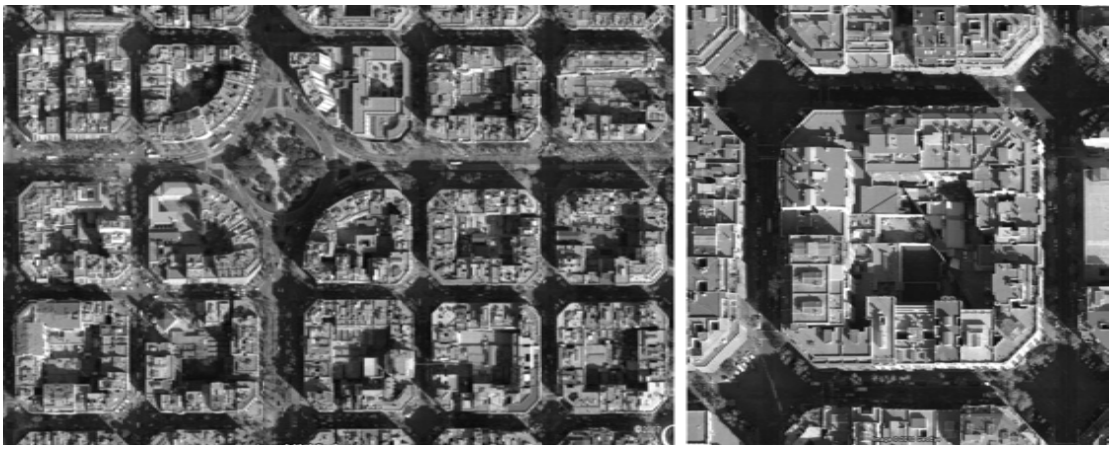


Figure 4.4. Aerial view of Cerda's square blocks in today's Barcelona

III. The Utopist Approaches

The common aspect of the utopist approaches is their attempt to overcome the problems caused by capitalist city with the mediation of space. They were radical reactions to the abstract space of capitalism. So they are not only an idea of new ways of life or societies, but also proposals for new forms of settlement. In this respect, their approaches can be attached to the active space-fetishism, which is called in literature as "spatial determinism". As Tekeli (1980;12) argues, after the failure of the revolution of 1848 in Paris, the socialist ideology was turning towards to a revolutionary content, rejecting the partial solutions of urban utopias and separating from the planning tradition. This was also a rejection to space-fetishism. Nonetheless, the leftist ideologies have always been influential in the course of planning and architecture.

Although there have been some attempts to establish the ideal cities proposed by utopian socialists, we cannot see the direct physical outcomes prevailing in the form of industrial city. Rather than their applications, they are important for us because of their influence on the urban design approaches of 20th century. Two of these utopian socialists had significant influence on later urban design approaches. Robert Owen in England is the herald of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City of the late 19th century. And Charles Fourier in France would inspire Le Corbusier's Unite'd'Habitation in the 20th century.

A brief on the property relations and urban design in 19th century

Through the 19th century, when capitalist mode of production consolidated with its contradictions and institutions, capitalist society has created its own space with its own property relations. Now, property was not conceived as a *right to possess* but it was seen mainly as *private property* and this fact was an extension of the commodity production. Inasmuch as property is institutionalized as an *absolute right*, it was conceived as an *absolute thing* to be dominated, bought and sold. That constituted the origins of *space fetishism*.

On the one hand, the power of central state was concealing the chaos of property market; the destructive and creative power of Haussmannian operations and its shining straight boulevards caused to the cognition that urban space is a transparent object to be measured and shaped. This was the cognition underlying the *active space-fetishism* and its inspiration was arising from the power of capital accumulation.

On the other hand, as Engels criticized, these operations did not solve the real problems of working classes, but shifted them to the outer parts of cities; Moreover, in many places, although the block patterns could be adjusted by means of street layout in accordance with planning decisions, market actors were creating their own space, especially in their parcels, just as in Barcelona example. Thus, urban space was appearing as an idependent and uncontrollable being. It seems as if the city has its own free will.

Therefore, this unamenable character of capitalist market was the force underlying the *passive space-fetishism*. In other words, we can infer that, the devastating power of capital accumulation caused to the active space-fetishism, whereas its contradictory and chaotic nature caused to the passive space-fetishism.

Actually, it is not a coincidence that the first and most powerful theoretical implication of passive space-fetishism –human ecology of Chicago School– appeared in USA, where the market forces are much more uncontrolled than Europe, which has a long standing tradition of public control and central governance. Consequently, the first steps of a separate and *scientific* planning discipline were taken in the beginning of 20th century, together with its illusions and fetishisms.

4.4.2. Urban Block in the Modernist Urban Design

In the turn of 19th century, the prevailing approach in urban planning-design was the City Beautiful, which developed as a synthesis of the Ecole-des Beaux Art's romanticism and Haussmannian approach in USA. In fact, at this period, urban planning is still a branche of architecture. Since these architectural approaches put emphasis on the creation of civic centers, urban parks and boulevards, they failed in solving the problems of rapidly growing cities.

Therefore, "City Beautiful" was succeeded by the movement of "City Efficient" that focuses on the functional problems of health, housing, transportation, and infrastructure. Planning instruments like land use planning, zoning, urban standards were improved in this period, in the frame of the principles of Patrick Geddes summarized as "survey, analysis, plan" which constitutes the scientific basis of urban planning. New York Municipality issued the first zoning regulation in 1916. Now, urban planning was consolidating as a separate discipline from architecture. Especially after the 1929 crisis, the "comprehensive planning" took the place of planning method of 19th cc. that is based on architectural design (Tekeli, 1980; 17).

As parallel to the development of comprehensive planning, the garden city movement was shaping the urban design approaches. As mentioned by Eisner, especially, in United States, suburban development with the spread of automobile transportation led to a new kind of urban space formation; The Clarence Stein and Henry Wright's famous Radburn plan became synonymous with the town of motor age. In this plan the cul-de-sac residential streets became service roads rather than traffic ways and the rear gardens with pedestrian paths leading to the continuous park space (Eisner, 1980; 144). This is a new type of block so-called 'super block'. For Kostof, its claim was to promote social intercourse in superblocks designed as self-contained neighborhoods, each with its own shops, schools and community facilities (Kostof, 1991; 154).

Moreover, in these years, the functionalist movement (or the rationalist with the term of Lang) starting with Mies Van der Rohe, Gropius and Le Corbusier, would establish the basis of the modernist tradition in architecture and urban design with the Athens Charter of CIAM in 1933. Attoe outlines the basic principles of the functionalist movement;

> In early functionalist thought the city was characterized as a machine, in later thought as a complex organism and as a network of community centers linked to and directed by a central core. A functionalist city is equitable; it does not favor or neglect social groups. Everyone benefits from adequate sunlight, fresh air, and access to open space. Functionalist theory treats residence, work, and leisure as discrete elements. Activities should not mix; hence zoning is a key element of the functionalist city. Orthogonal forms characterize most functionalist urban design (Attoe, 1989; 2).

Therefore, the progressist space understanding of CIAM and the approach of comprehensive planning were overlapping. Both of them suggest a space production type under the total control of state, and domination of public property. In this context, master plan was the basic instrument of comprehensive planning which was supposed to control all land use decisions, densities and circulation. *Functional zoning* was the main tool to apply these planning decisions. In this manner, urban block became a key element of urban planning as a tool for the application of zoning.

However, the implication of the progressist approach on the design of the urban blocks became in the opposite direction. The basic attitude of progressists towards the dilemmas of modern urban space, which can be summarized as the rationalization of space and abstraction of individuals, was to overcome those dilemmas through creating new spatial forms which were completely different from the past and based on *the domination of the state and public ownership* in the production of space. Thus, the basic claim of the progressists was to *break apart from the past*. And one of the most important targets of this claim was *the street*. Instead of the street, which is the place of unhealthy and chaotic life, they proposed a new urban space, which is composed of *detached, tall blocks* (in terms of the building) in completely separated *functional zones* surrounded by large green areas. Public spaces were designed either as open spaces in green areas or as the inner spaces of the large buildings. That is, both the private spaces and public spaces were organized inside the buildings, which meant "*the disappearance of the street*". And the disappearance of the street meant "*the disappearance of the urban block*".

In this context, Carmona (2003; 60) states that traditional urban space consists of buildings as constituent parts of urban blocks, where the blocks defined and enclose external space. Buildings are normally sited adjacent to one another and their facades form the 'walls' of open space. While complete in itself, the facade is also a constituent part of the larger system of the 'street' and the 'urban block'. Whereas, during the modern period, the morphological structure of the public space network has changed in two important ways: from buildings as constituent elements in urban blocks (i.e. connected terraced masses) defining 'streets' and 'squares', to buildings as separate free-standing pavilions standing in an amorphous 'space'; and from integrated and connected small-scale finely meshed street grids, to road networks surrounding segregated and introverted 'enclaves'. Thus, buildings became sculptures, 'objects in space', their exterior form –and therefore the relationship to public space- merely a by-product of their internal planning. The desire for separation was reinforced by public health and planning standards such as density

zoning, road widths, sight lines, the space required for underground services, street by-laws and daylighting angles.

Therefore, according to Carmona (2003; 68), the fundamental problem of 20th century urbanization has been the multiplication of 'objects' and the neglect of 'fabrics'. When freestanding buildings were built in traditional urban space, they challenged and broke down the urban block system. Because urban block system had an inherent discipline that relies on each individual property owner/developer abiding by certain 'rules' in order to achieve a collective benefit. And if it can no longer be assumed that adjacent structures will be similar in size and style (i.e. if the stability of the context can no longer be relied upon), owner/developers become motivated to design and build structures that can stand alone. Consequently, with a proliferation of freestanding buildings, the interface between buildings and the public spaces adjoining them increasingly shifts form 'socially active' to 'socially passive'.

For Lefebvre, the modernist urban design is also a part of the repression of homogenization and abstract space. In this respect, for him, "the outcome has been an authoritarian and brutal spatial practice, whether Haussmann's or the later, codified versions of the Bauhaus or Le Corbusier; what is involved in all cases is the effective application of analytic spirit in and through dispersion, division and segregation" (Lefebvre, 1991; 308).

Nonetheless, in spite of such crituques, modernist urban design was an outcome of a period in which use value is relatively dominant. Castells' emphasis on the *collective consumption* as the basic function of urban space is also relevant for the approaches of urban design. The Keynessian policies of the State intervention constituted a ground for planners and architects to create *urban space as a work* that is designed to provide 'everybody' with sun, space and greenery. That is to say, their 'work' was based on an ideology that poses the social justice and equity as a primary concern of urban design. However, their spatial determinism was limited with the determination of exchange-value and the inherent contradictions of capitalist society.

Actually, the critiques against this progressist type of urban space started at its most influential period, in 1950s. The design manifesto of Team X, **t**he design manifesto of TEAM X in 1954, instead of the "progressist model", which "looked to the future and inspired by a vision of social progress" proposed the "culturalist model" which is "inspired by the vision of a cultural community". Against the progressist model defending a hygienic city separating functions and putting the accent on "air, sun and greenery" in a geometric setting, the culturalist model defended the integration of functions, accentuating the culturalist urban space of spontaneous

urban patterns (Günay, 1988). This was also a demand for the reappearance of the street and the urban block.

4.4.3. Urban Block in the Postmodern Urban Design

The postmodernist reaction in planning and design against modernism found its one of the first and most strong expressions in the study of Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. The great reconstruction operations, huge infrastructure projects, suburban settlements, functional zoning etc., all of these products of "modern orthodox city planning" were kept responsible of the problems the modern capitalist cities. She accused the modernists for the creation of monotonous and boring environments and destruction of the diversity liveliness of urban life. Like Team X, she supported the revitalization of the street as a space of vital public life in a diverse and dense setting of activities (Jacobs, 1963; 2).

As mentioned in the previous section, the intension to liven up public space and regain the richness of urban life through revitalization of historical urban contexts, mainly their pattern of streets and squares would constitute the starting point of postmodern designers. Both the neo-rationalists Leon Krier, Rob Krier, Aldo Rossi, Taffuri and the neo-empricists such as Christopher Alexander, Edmund Bacon, Gordon Cullen turn their face to the past.

Trancik states that "according to Leon Krier, the size, pattern and orientation of the urban block is the most important element in the composition of public spaces (Trancik, 1982; 102)" and "Krier's mission is to reconstruct the traditional urban block as the definer of streets and squares. (…) As a leading exponent of contextual design, Leon Krier has looked intently at classical spatial structures to derive principles for linking old and new, high and low, and diverse materials, colors and textures" (Trancik, 1982; 116). Similarly, Kostof states that the crusade of the last two decades to bring back the historic city, conserve what is left of it and rehearse its lessons, also entails the recovery of traditional block (Kostof, 1991; 154).

Therefore, in these approaches, urban block has played a new role. In the modernist period, urban block was used as a tool of "zoning" and it has a homogeneous structure in terms of the density, height of the buildings and their functions. However, in the recent period, as a tool of the "flexible design control" systems, it has gained a heterogeneous character. This new coding approach which includes mixed use, variety and qualitative standards and provides more autonomy to architects has been the core of urban design in recent decades.

Carmona (2003; 80) describes this transformation in design approaches as 'The Return to Streets' According to the new approach, instead of –or perhaps in addition to– treating the street as a 'channel for efficient movement' (as in the Modernist era) or as an 'aesthetic visual element' (as in the City Beautiful era), urban design should rediscover the social role of the street as a connector that stitches together and sometimes penetrates the disparate downtown realms. Thus, as a result of the reaction to the transformations of the morphological structure of public space networks has led to a shift towards a new appreciation of the qualities of traditional urban space. Many contemporary urban design projects are conceived in terms of urban blocks defining space rather than individual buildings in space.

In this condition, the layout and configuration of urban blocks is important both in determining the pattern of movement and in setting parameters for subsequent development. Conceived as a public space network, such structures open up possibilities and –in conjunction with basic typologies/codes/rules about physical parameters- can provide coherence and 'good' urban form, without necessarily being deterministic about architectural form or content. This is akin to designing cities without designing buildings (Barnett, 1982).

Thus, we can argue that, in this last period the dilemma between the public control and private space and the dilemma between unity and variety became even more important. Because, the claim of "flexibility" providing variety in the harmony of the traditional cities is itself a dilemma in terms of both the determination of the degree of flexibility, and the measuring and selecting of the alternatives (that is deciding to which alternative is good).

In conclusion, as Günay (1999) explains, in the post-keynessian period characterized by the flexible production, deregulation policies and less intervention of the state, the postmodernist production of space after 1960s appeared as a "negation" of functionalist, rationalist space of modernism and aimed to revitalize the absolute space of the traditional cities. However, their aim was contradictory with to model of production of space. As Günay (1999) emphasizes, they tried to product concrete space resulted from the possession, in the conditions that create abstract space. Actually, the attempt to create a rich communal life is also an aim of the modernist approaches and this dilemma was also relevant for the modernist production of space. But for this aim, as the postmodernists turn their face to the past, and try to reproduce urban values of the past by imitating its forms; the modernists turned towards to future, destructing the earlier values and creating new forms of expression, and new values, that is by using the creative destructive power of capitalism.

Put another way, the modernist designers were subject to the active space-fetishism, whereas postmodern urban design has been subject to the *form-fetishism*. In practice, postmodern concern for *revitalizing* the lively streets of the past is mostly resulted with superficial imitations. The movements, such as New Urbanism in USA and Urban Reneaissance in Europe, reduced to a tool for *vitalizing* the financial speculation and commodity production, which targeted mainly the luxury consumption for upper-middle classes.

4.4.4. Concluding Remarks for the Ideologies of Urban Planning and Design

The form-fetishism of postmodern urban design is conditioned by the increasing role of finance capital in the production of space. This is a result of the fact which is defined by Harvey's famous concept "secondary circuit of capital" (Harvey, 1985). As a result of the over-accumulation crisis of capital that starts in 1970s, capital investments concentrated in the production of built environment. In other words, excess capital, which previously accumulates via industrial investments, focused on the real property investments. Now, the finance capital has the central role rather than the industrial capital. Furthermore, urban rents and land speculation appears as a major investment area of finance capital. As we discussed in Chapter 3, this tendency would transform the illusionary conception of 'property' in capitalist society. The illusion of the property as a *thing* is replaced by the conception of property as a *right to revenue*.

This is the very source of form-fetishism that separates the form and the space, and endows the form with a power in-itself. At the same time, this vector corresponds to new types of consumption; with Lefebvre's terms, "the shift from the consumption *in* space to the consumption *of* space", which is provoked in its extreme by a new type of capital; that is *symbolic capital*. As Cuthbert denotes,

> Symbolic capital is not merely another form of accelerated accumulation in the form of surplus value, profit, land rent or whatever. Symbolic capital represents the added value over the material value/cost of any product, process or situation. … The *image* it generates, which attests to the good taste, alpha-corporate image of its builders, is arguably worth more in the marketplace than the cost of building it. *Ownership of the image and its aesthetic properties, the creation of difference, the unique qualities of the architecture, its command over urban form and its ability to dominate its immediate environment* and like images across the planet have generated a wealth of symbolic capital on top of accrued material value. (Cuthbert, 2006; 50) (Italics are mine)

Moreover, symbolic capital is not only an exceptional pursuit of chief corporations but it is the visual culmination of the uneven development in capitalism. And architecture and urban design plays their role in this scene, as Harvey writes;

> The pursuit of the consumption dollars of the rich has led, however, to much greater emphasis upon product differentiation in urban design. By exploring the realms of differentiated tastes and aesthetic preferences (and doing whatever they could stimulate those tasks), architects and urban designers have re-emphasized a powerful aspect of capital accumulation: the production and consumption of what Bourdieu (1997) calls 'symbolic capital'. (Harvey, 1989; 77)

In this way, design and form themselves becomes a social power. The *work* once again reaches its pinnacle, but this time it is not "the will of its epoch" as in Renaissance, but it is, in a sense, the will of the over-accumulation of capital. Gottdiener expresses the outcome of this fact as such;

> To date we have failed to carry on the Bauhaus spirit –we have failed to create a humanist postindustrial space as an integrated ensemble. Instead, capitalist relations have taken over the elements of space and fragmented the environment through the mechanism of the commodity into freestanding sculptures. This pulverization of space into cities with individual buildings designed as works of art produces the abstract space of domination and hierarchy. (Gottdiener, 1985; 130)

Therefore, the new role assigned to architecture is to create dominant images and differences, like as *works of art*. The motto of critical realists like Sayer (1985) to denote the relational aspect of space was that "space makes difference". Now this can be upgraded as "form makes difference". Short (2006, 161) complains for this new role of architecture saying that "in the past, there was a dominant image of God as architect. Today it has almost been replaced by the myth of architect as God."

For us, this new role imposed to architecture is a result of form-fetishism. It is the alienation of postmodern architecture to the city, to the spatial context of its works. In respect of property relations, this situation corresponds to the extremely increasing sizes of investments and hence huge sizes of parcels. So much that, not only a whole block but even a whole neighbourhood of the city can be produced as a single architectural *work* in a single parcel. This means an almost *unlimited autonomy* for that architect.

Now an architect can create more than a building as a totality. But the totality of his work is achieved in expense of the pulverization of the city into 'gated' sub-cities. This is a moment that breaks off the bond between the form of the parcel and the form of the city. In this moment, a parcel can subsume both the blocks and the streets, both private spaces and public spaces. In other words, a private property can dominate not only its private space but also a whole hierarchy of spaces including transitional spaces and public space; the street and the square becomes a commodity. Can such a street or square be a real public space? This is the question that poses the role of planning in this context.

Especially, after 1980s the concepts like collaborative planning, participatory planning, governance and communicative rationality prevail in the theory of planning as the critiques of rational comprehensive planning. However, in the practice of planning, in respect of market actors, these all amount to the same meaning: the flexibility of private property, increasing role of private sector and decreasing role of public control; in short privatization. In this comprehensive privatization process, not only the content of planning is subordinated to private sector but also the planning activity itself is 'privatized'.

According to Cuthbert (2006; 170), the privatization of planning has been consequent upon the deconstruction of welfare state, the rise of neocorporatist state and its relationship to the built environment professions as a whole. Increasing number of government operations are commodified and packaged for sale to the private sector, a process that further integrates state–capital interests. State planning products are then marketed to the private sector like any other good. As written by Mike Dear in *The Postmodern Urban Condition*,

> …privatisation portends a fundamental, even irrecoverable change in the way in which planning is conducted… e.g. the growth of planning personnel in private sector positions, the packaging and marketing of planning services for sale, and the prominent trend in planning education towards a development oriented curriculum. (Dear, 2000; 125 cited in Cuthbert, 2006; 170)

In conclusion, the changing property relations of capitalism also alter the relation between planning and architecture and assigns new roles for them in accordance with its necessities. If we continue with Cuthbert's assessment,

> In their professional symbiosis, architecture, urban design and urban planning constitute exacting ideologies of form, both social and physical, which underwrite the prevailing ideology of power. As the requirements of the capitalist system are transformed over time, professional organizations and their supporting structures are modified to mirror necessary changes in the forces and relations of production. (Cuthbert, 2006; 244)

Nonetheless, concluding the discussion at this point means to repeat the reductionism of Lefebvre and Harvey who evaluates the planning and its ideology as the direct functional tool of capital accumulation (discussed in Chapter 3). Because, production of urban form is not limited with a contradiction between work and product, but it is reproduced by the reverse effects of the *place*. In this respect, place is not only a physical barrier for capital accumulation but also a source from which counter ideologies of planning and design is motivated and inspired. Then, the discussion needs to be continued with *the place* as a dialectical synthesis of work and product. And considering the place means considering a context; that is, the overall pattern of urban space rather than its blocks and parcels.

4.5. FORMATION OF DISTRICT AS A PLACE

> The form of the city is always the form of a particular time of the city; but there are many times in the formation of the city, and a city may change its face even in the course of one man's life, its original references ceasing to exist. As Baudalaire wrote, "The old Paris is no more; the form of a city changes more quickly alas, than the heart of a mortal." We look upon the houses of our childhood as unbelievably old, and often the city erases our memories as it change.
>
> *Aldo Rossi,* The Architecture of the City (1982; 61)

According to Berman (1982; 27), Haussmann's operation on Paris is one of the first and most important examples of the "creative destruction" of capitalism. The old streets of medieval period are demolished and a new space is established. It is the boulevard, which is a scene of new social relations, new ways of life and new conflicts. Baudalaire's aphorism, which defines *modernism* as "a tension between the one is ephemeral and the other is universal", is justified continuously by the "creative destructive" nature of capitalism.

At this point, Lefebvre's critique for the modernist planning, which is the *"abstraction of space"* that destroy the diversity and richness of urban life is repeated by Sennett in a different context with the terms "*neutralization of space"*; For Sennett (1990, xii) "modern culture suffers from a divide between subjective experience and world experience, self and city" and planning functions as a tool of this division. He says, "neutrality", as a space of social control, emerged firstly with the Haussmann's reconstruction in Paris (Sennett, 1990; 62). In fact, the Haussmannian boulevard excited Baudeleaire, because he expected that the modern city might have given birth to a new form of subjective life.

> Baudelaire saw in the modern city the possibility for transcending the cultural forces. The modern city can turn people outward, not inward; rather than wholeness, the city can give then experiences of otherness. The power of the city to reorient people in this way lies in its diversity; in the presence of difference people have at least the possibility of step outside themselves (Sennett, 1990:123).

However, *the diversity* of modern industrial city did not give the result that Baudelaire expected. In fallowing decades, people would turn inward –the fear of exposure; cities would become more neutralized. In other words, the personality of each individual became his/her basic

consideration since the balance between public and private life upset. Sennett (1977; 16) defines this problem as "the fall of public man". The public realm lost its life when it lost its rituals.

Therefore, Baudelaire has foreboded the two main problems of modern times; the first is the continuous and overwhelming *change* that prevents the formation of collective memories and the second is the loss of public life that leads people to turn inward. And both of them indicate the same point: The need for '*places*'.

4.5.1. The Need for Place

This need presents itself in urban planning and urban design in different ways. *On the one hand,* the place appears as a basic concern in urban design approaches, mainly by a demand for the return of the street. Barlas (2006; 13) argues that "the street is an indispensable component of the urban fabric as regards the process of socialization and the development of self". The street conveys collective symbols and memories that combine the self and the society.

On the other hand, the place concern appears in urban planning as the development of *conservation planning* for both natural and cultural beings. Günay (2006), utilizing Heidegger's concept 'Da-Sein' (being-there), shows that the increasing significance of conservation is an outcome of the ontological need for *belonging* to a place.

Norberg-Schulz's famous book (1979) elaborates the concept of place in this respect. The author states that "place" as the concrete manifestation of man's dwelling [in the world], and his identity depends on his belonging to places. A place, more than abstract *location*, is "a totality made up of *concrete* things having material substance, shape, texture and colour". These *qualitative* elements together determine an 'environmental character', which is the essence of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1979; 6,7). Thus, a place is "a lived space which has a distinct character". Since ancient times the *genuis loci*, or *spirit of place*, has been recognized with this aspect.

In this context, place can be analyzed in two aspects. *Firstly*, it is a three dimensional space composed of morphological elements. *Secondly*, it is a lived space loaded with memories, symbols and meanings. It is the outcome of a historical accumulation; of a collective *existence*. The first aspect is clear and it is the subject of descriptive urban morphology. But the second one is an ambigous aspect mainly about existence and belonging.

Norberg-Schulz also refers Heidegger's Da-Sein (being-there) to handle this second, ambigous aspect. He states that,

> the existential dimension is not 'determined' by the socio-economical conditions, although they may facilitate or impede the (self-) realization of certain exitential structures. The socio-economical conditions are like a picture-frame; they offer a certain 'space' for life to take place, but do not determine its existential meanings. The existential meanings have deeper roots. (Norberg-Schulz, 1979; 6)

Of course, we cannot discuss this issue here. Nevertheless, we think that the deeper roots of human being cannot be detached from his/her roots in socio-economic conditions. On the contrary, for us, "being-there" means "being-in-relations". As declared by Marx, "…the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is *the ensemble of the social relations.*" Place is a *produced context* and the man, producing his environment, also produces himself. And production is necessarily a socio-economic relation. Thus, the concepts of belonging and place should be defined in the context of socio-economic relations, mainly property relations.

4.5.2. Definition of the Place with Respect to Property Relations

In this respect, Barlas' definition of place, which is grounded on the concepts of *attachment* and *territory*, is more convenient for the purpose of this study. For him, space turns into a place only after its territorial identification by individuals. And identification of a territory is first of all a process of *possession* (Barlas, 2006; 30). However, territorial identification suffers from the characteristics of the production of urban space in capitalism. As Barlas notes, the *encroachment of private space into the public space* as a result of the economic pressure and speculation inhibits the formation of intermediary spaces that are needed for clear territorial definitions.

Moreover, even if the territorial definitions are produced as a form of space via urban design, the way of its production has inherent contradictions that paralyze the need for belonging. Since we have discussed in detail the implications of space production as commodity, we will not turn back; yet the three points below can be repeated briefly with respect to the problem of 'place'.

I. Domination of exchange value: The possession –the actual enjoyment of property– is the realization of use-value, whereas exchange-value erases the qualities that gives a place its character, and reduces them to a mere quantity of money. The abstraction of places as a kind of

money or rent is internalized by its inhabitants. Furthermore, the logic of capital accumulation demands a continuous destruction of places in order to recreate them as a new set of exchange-values, so that "the form of a city might change more quickly, than the heart of a mortal." Thus, the collective memories are erased before they consolidate.

II. Commodity fetishism: As a form of alienation, commodity fetishism penetrates to the every niches of daily life and to the perceptions of individuals. In this way, even if urban space is used collectively, the individuals are alienated to each other. Rather than conceiving the place as the product of our collective labour, we perceive it as "an immense accumulation of commodities". Thus, the sense of belonging is distorted. Because, we cannot completely belong to a thing, which is not the product of our labour; which is *given* as it is.

III. Absraction of Space: The abstraction of space into quantities does not only influence our perception but rather it influences the way space is formed. The requirements of commodity production imposes on urban morphology both homogenization and fragmentation. Homogeniezation becomes a barrier on *difference*, whereas fragmentation disrupts *continuity*. And these are the main components of *legibility* that is the basis for a city to have an identity and character; to become a place. Further to that, the abstraction of space does not only fragment urban space but also the social relationships, as Gottdiener writes;

> The action of abstract space fragments *all* social groups, not only the least powerful, so that local community life loses the street and public areas of communion to the privacy of the home. Neighbours become increasingly estranged through a lack of common experiences, despite the superficial appeareance of civility btw them... The new areas of communion are encapsulated within social worlds engineered by the logic of consumption –the malls, shopping centers, amusement parks, and suburban backyards. (Gottdiener, 1985; 272).

In conclusion, for the purposes of this study, we can elaborate the definition of place based on property relations. In Chapter 3, depending on Harvey's definition, we have mentioned that place is a *relative permanence and stability* in the dynamics of property relations. Although urban space is produced as commodity, its peculiar aspects results in a counter tendency of stabilization.

In this respect, place is a (relatively fixed) *context* in which the market dynamics are restricted. For Roberts (2006), the relations and repressions that produce abstract space can reproduce itself only by the *mediation of place*, which in turn has *reverse effects* on those relations of abstract space. Abstract space has to inscribe itself on *land* via property relations. Then, place is a contradictory context through which the abstract space is materialized.

4.5.3. Place: The Context of Relative Permanence

Materialization of abstract space – the context of relative permanence– occurs in a dual context, which can be defined as the contradictory unity of the physical context and the context of urban rents.

On the one hand, there is *the physical context* of urban landscape as a bundle of use-values which is composed of parcels and urban blocks. Thus, the physical context corresponds to the *collective use value* of urban space. It is the *qualitative* aspect of place, composed of territories and differences. As a bundle of use-values, the physical landscape is produced so that it serves capital accumulation. However this is not the case in practice, as Harvey writes,

> Capital represents itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, created as use values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital. The geographical landscape that results is the crowning glory of past capitalist development. But at the same time expresses the power of dead labor over living labor, and such it imprisons and inhibits the accumulation process within a set of physical constraints. And these can be removed only slowly unless there is a substantial devaluation of the exchange value locked up in the creation of these physical assets. (Harvey; 1989; 83)

On the other hand, therefore, "commodity exchange challenge, subdue, and ultimately eliminate the absolute qualities of *place* and substitute relative and contingent definitions of places within the circulation of goods and money..." (Harvey; 1989; 175). At this point, we think that Scott's concept of "*urban land nexus*" is strategic to represent the spatial context of the exchange-value;

> The urban land nexus: the dense, embedded system of practices by which private and public decision making interact in a pattern which is contingent in nature… This *contingency* of land-use outcomes in capitalist cities is the direct result of the existence of private, legal control. In brief, precisely because urban land development is privately controlled, the final aggregate outcomes of this process are necessarily and paradoxically out of control. (Scott, 1980; 137)

In this respect, the relative permanence of place is an outcome of the interaction between physical landscape and the urban land nexus. In this interaction, urban land nexus is dominant in the formation of place and we assume that urban land nexus finds its spatial representation in the phenomenon of *urban rent*. Thus, we will continue to the discussion of place with the issue of urban rent.

4.5.4. Place as a Context of Urban Rent

As we discussed at the parcel level, the use value of parcel is mainly an outcome of its context; that is any plot of land that has some locational use-value relative to other parcels –in the sense that it provide access to other locations; hence, its exchange value is again determined by its

context of collective use-value, because it gives a power its owner to command a rent for the usufruct of that parcel (Scott, 1980; 28). Thus, rent can be defined simply as a payment made to landowners for the right to use land and its assets (the buildings).

However, as discussed in the block level, the context of parcel is shaped by the decisions of planning and design. It is a part of the block which is a work of design. Planning decisions determines both the size of parcel and its construction rights; in other words the size of capital that will be invested on that parcel is determined in planning and design processes.

Thus, in the first instance, it seems that urban rent is determined by planning decisions. But, this is not the reality in practice. Because, planning decisions are already conditioned by the existing context of land nexus. Planning process can conduct urban rent efficiently inasmuch as it is parallel with the tendencies of land nexus.

Therefore, we need to analyze the role of rent in the formation of parcel and block patterns. Here, we will mainly depend on Lamarche's analysis (1976), since his conception of rent is significant in terms of posing spatial and formal deductions. Of course, even though each rent payment is a portion cut from the surplus value of commodity production, land rent appears as not a homogeneous relation but it differentiates into several branches. These are;

1. Differential Rent I
2. Differential Rent II
3. Absolute Rent
4. Monopoly Rent

4.5.4.1. Differential Rent I

This is the rent arising from the relative advantages offered to a parcel by its context. This rent is termed *differential* because the situational advantages are not evenly distributed throughout space. The urban pattern is inevitably heterogeneous, even in the strict grids of American cities. Thus, the owner demands a 'rent' in exchange for the situational advantages of his/her parcel; but the main point is that these advantages, actually, are *not offered by the owner*. Therefore, Differential Rent I (DR-I) has two sources;

1. Derived from other *private* investors (for example, an owner who has an apartment constructed in the vicinity of a shopping centre, benefits from its proximity to the shopping facilities)

2. Derived from *public* investments. (e.g. the proximity to transport facilities or collective facilities; so the size of DR-I is mainly proportional to the amount of public investments in collective facilities.

Therefore, both the *functional organization of land use* and the *arrangement of construction rights* are the main determinants of DR-I. However, since these decisions determines the situational advantages that cause DR-I, there occurs an extensive pressures by the market actors on planning authorities to direct the investments and concentration into specific places.

At this point, it is evident that the more property capitalism develops on a large scale, the more its ability increases to exert pressure on planning process and to increase its own advantages. Not only the construction densities but also the quality of environment is manipulated. Because the size of DR-I is greater in office and shopping uses and luxury developments (a resident might be led to pay an excess rent due to the prestige or status of living in such an environment).

In conclusion, Differential Rent I (DR-I) is effective in the overall organization of the city. It supports to formation of the spatial differentiations via distinct morphological districts composed of certain block types (that is the composition of certain dominant fields of urban blocks) *constitute its own context*. Then, each morphological district takes role in the totality of the city with its overall characteristics. In this way, the morphological districts do not only define distinct *places* in the city but also determines a specific *rent basis*. This is the reverse effect of the place with its characteristics on the distribution of DR-I across the overall surface of urban land nexus.

4.5.4.2. Differential Rent II

In contrast to Differential Rent I, this type of rent is not about the location of parcel. It is based on advantages contained *within the limits of parcel*. Thus, Differential Rent II (DR-II) arises from the advantages offered by the *proximity* between the tenants of the property. In order to benefit from the advantages of clustering, the tenants accept to pay more rent. Especially, functions like commerce and office economically profit most from their mutual proximity and hence increase the profitability of property capital.

Therefore, developers prefer to invest in *mixed-use* projects particularly including commerce, administration and finance. (Housing is the secondary option, if it addresses to privileged residents who have the ability pay more. This is why the luxury dwellings are more profitable

investments for developers.) So, it seems that, the functional zoning of the modernist planning was not only rejected by designers due to their concern for diversity, but also rejected by the rising role of property capital due to their concern for rent and flexibility.

In this respect, Lamarche notes that the more capital becomes concentrated in a small number of hands and extends its control over urban space, the more it is in a position to plan the organization of its property so that to maximize its profitability due to DR-II. At this point, his explanation is remarkable:

> …if this property increases in size, so do advantages it contains. For example, an apartment block or a small commercial building can offer few situational advantages of themselves; the rent obtained by their owner is primarily a function of the characteristics of the environment over which he has control. But if he also owns *the entire group of buildings* of which they form part, some of what appeared before as *differential rent I now becomes dif II*; what was previously an external advantage is now within the limits of the property. (Lamarche, 1976; 102)

In conclusion, Differential Rent II (DR-II) is directly related with the parcel, and it indicates that how the design of the parcel as a work supports its exchange-value. In this respect, the role of architecture comes into front. Since the autonomy of an architect is proportional to the size of parcel and to the size of capital invested; the developer benefits from the architectural design in the organization of its property. Thus, the autonomy of architects increases inasmuch as the property capital develops and concentrates. So that, the architect can be assigned to design a skyscraper, a residence tower or an entire group of buildings comprising urban blocks, streets and squares in itself.

In this way, DR-II encourages not only the diversity of uses, but also the production of urban form as the accumulation of entire blocks and even of districts. Since these are developed and designed as a one property, they can have a complete totality in themselves. Moreover, their *uniqueness and image* can be a component of the advantages contained in the parcel; the advantages that are the source of DR-II.

4.5.4.3. Absolute Rent

In order to analyze the role of absolute rent, Lamarche makes an important distinction between *land market* and *property market*.

- Property market is mainly concerned with *floor-space*; the *use* of parcel.
- Land market is mainly concerned with *parcels of land*.

In this distinction, land market is prior to property capital, because property has to be fixed to a parcel of ground which can acquire a price independently of what is built on it. Actually, the profits of land market are based on the *anticipated profitability of property capital*. That is to say, ownership rights of the land-owner enable him to obtain a rent for the *potential* advantages which the property developer will actualize.

Therefore, the legal right to withhold the land from market makes possible to obtain anticipated profits in the form of *absolute rent*. Thus, unlike differential rents, this third form of rent does not yield actual and immediate profits to the land-owner. It is based on *time* and results in fact from the action of the owner who, by withholding his land from exploitation, encourages the increase in expected differential rents. In other words, absolute rent may be regarded as corresponding to the portion of differential rents (DR-I mainly) attributable to the land-owner's action in withholding land.

The investments in the immediate environment which as it is developed, increases the number of possible uses of a given piece of land or, to be more precise, makes it a more and more favorable site for profitable property investment. This is why the land-owner *speculates* on urban dynamism and the provision of facilities by the community, and takes today the value expected tomorrow. Thus, it is most active in the areas suitable for commercial, office or luxury residential development, since it is in this type of development that property capital maximized its profits. Specifically, the land-owner will find the most favorable sites for speculation on urban redevelopment and profitable future investment in the areas surrounding the city-centre and the secondary centers, and along the principal roads.

Consequently, absolute rent is a result of the *socially created scarcity*, depending on the right of withdrawing land from the land market; it means that absolute rent is provoked by *speculation* that inhibits the development of vacant lands or the transformation of existing patterns. In this context, absolute rent leads a basic dilemma in the urbanization process; the dilemma between concentration and dispersal.

On the one hand, the landowners in the *existing* districts, where there are parcels demanded by property capital, withdraw their parcels. They wait until the profitability of the current use of parcel falls in relation to the growing opportunities offered by surrounding developments. Furthermore, this tendency of waiting might prevail in a whole neighbourhood and landowners ceases to invest money for the maintenance of their property. The result is the excess decay of a whole district.

On the other hand, the landowners in newly developing areas in the periphery that are demanded by property capital also wait for opening their land to development and leads to a scarcity. Thus, the rising land prices leads to uncontrolled dispersal towards the outer parts of the urban area.

In conclusion, absolute rent is the major source of the manipulation of planning decisions by market actor and it constitutes a crucial barrier for the capital accumulation. In respect of its influence on the urban morphology, it can be inferred that absolute rent distorts the tendencies of the property market and delays the influences of DR-I and DR-II on the parcels and on the morphological districts, which are favorable for (re)development.

4.5.4.4. Monopoly Rent

As Harvey (1989; 186) notes, spatial competition is always a monopolistic competition, simply because two functions cannot occupy exactly the same location. Thus the control over the formation of urban space becomes fundamental to the creation of new spatial monopolies. In this sense, all types of rent are monopoly rents.

However, further to a general competition in property market, there are situations in which the organization of spatial forms generates particular opportunities to obtain monopoly rents. This tendency is particularly strong in urban areas. Specific sites can command a premium land rent precisely because of their *privileged location* relative to the existing context. Indeed, Harvey concludes, *whole islands of privilege* can be constructed within which all landowners acquire the collective power to obtain monopoly rent" (Harvey; 1989; 102).

Similarly, Gottdiener defines monopoly rent as the ability of land-holders to extract payment for land when demand for it is structured by a *monopolistically produced scarcity*, as in the case of competition over *specific pieces of land in the city* (Gottdiener, 1985; 176).

In conclusion, monopoly rent corresponds to the special locations in urban pattern, such as the parcels that face a main boulevard or a central square of the city. Nevertheless, in every district certain parcels can be defined as a privileged location relative to its context. In this respect, monopoly rent is directly related with urban design processes. Actually, the phenomenon of monopoly rent also gives a monopoly power to planners and architects, because a privileged location means centrality and the centrality is one of the most *achievable* objectives in urban design.

As a result on land rent and urban form

Urban rent constitutes the connection between the spatial matrix of exchange-values and the absolute configuration of use-values. Thus, exchange-value of individual parcels amounts to an overall pattern of urban rents. But this is an extremely dynamic and contradictory pattern.

In this context, we saw that a major contradiction appears between *the property market and land market* – the economic aspect of the relation between floor space and land parcels. In this way, we can conclude that the vertical and horizontal dimensions of urban form are produced by distinct and contradictory dynamics due to the private property rights.

Furthermore, planners are at the very center of this contradiction. Their decisions of construction densities interfere to the vertical dimension that is the realm of property market; whereas their design of block-street layout (by means of public investments on infrastructure) directly produces the realm of land market. As Lamarche (1976; 113) indicates, in these conditions, urban planning can be real inasmuch as it forms part of the logic of property capitalism. The development plans drawn up by municipal planning departments can only be realized if they are subordinated to the interests of developers. Otherwise, they are subjected to gradual modifications. However, as Harvey indicates, the same conditions create a source of power for planners and architects.

> The power to shape space then appears as one of the crucial powers of control over social reproduction. And it is exactly on this basis that those who have the professional and intellectual skills to shape space materially and effectively –engineers, architects, planners and so on– can themselves acquire a certain power and convert their specialized knowledge into financial benefit (Harvey, 1989; 187).

Then the question is how this power is used; for whose interests, they intervene to the formation of urban space. This is an ideological issue which is also related with the qualitative aspect of place; that is the formation of place as a context of physical landscape.

4.5.5. Place as a Context of Physical Landscape

We have discussed above the reverse effects of place (in the meaning of relative permanence of property patterns), which comes from the inherent contradictions of urban land nexus and results in a pattern of urban rents and land prices. On the other aspect of the place, there is *the relative*

permanence of physical landscape, which is composed of the absolute space of parcels, buildings and blocks.

This is the space experienced and lived by users. It has both subjective and objective aspects, as discussed in Chapter 2. In response to abstract space of capital accumulation, which is fragmented, homogeneous and hierarchical, users' *personalized and collectivized space* asserts itself as a differentiated space with its public and private spaces and with transitional spaces –of semi-public, semi-private spaces, of meeting places, pathways and passageways.

In fact, urban landscape gains this 'social' concreteness and becomes a place in a historical process. In newly developing areas, the production of urban form is more neutral to the repression of market forces for the requirements of the product. Put another way, the tendencies of land and property markets are more free from the restrictions of existing places. However, through the transformation processes, with the consolidation of the characteristics of place, the context of urban landscape starts to impose its differential structure to the dynamics of land market and property market. This is the reverse effect of physical landscape arising from the permanences of morphological elements. At this point, we should turn back and refer Conzen's morphogenetic approach.

> The matter is complicated by the fact that the townscape is not a unitary object, but is composed of three very different, though integrated, systematic form of complexes, namely the town plan, the town's building fabric, and the urban land and building utilization pattern. These shows a differential time response to the changing functional requirements of the urban community. Town plan, and to a lesser extent, building fabric are more conservative in this respect and more resistent to change, as they tend to reflect the pattern of past landownership and capital investment more tenaciously. ... Land utilization respondsmore easily to changing functional impulses and therefore the historicity of its distribution. (Conzen, 2004; 51)

4.5.5.1. The permanence of physical elements

Following Conzen's analysis, Carmona (2003; 65) draws on the consistency of ownership patterns as the elements of physical morphology. He distinguishes between the plot patterns and cadastral patterns. For him, the Cadastral (Street) Pattern refers to the layout of urban blocks and, between them, the public space/movement channels or 'public space network'. Blocks and spaces are interdependent notions. Blocks define the space or the spaces define the blocks. Patterns of streets and spaces have often developed over many hundreds of years, and fragments and 'ghosts' of patterns from different eras can be seen in the ground plans of many cities. He argues that parcels are often amalgamated but more rarely subdivided. In extreme cases, such as

the construction of shopping centers in central areas, whole urban blocks can be amalgamated, with any intervening streets being privatized and built over. Although the parcel and block amalgamation removes most of the evidence of earlier forms, in many towns evidence of earlier block patterns persists from that period. As few of these parcels have buildings of that period, it also demonstrated that buildings change more rapidly than the pattern of parcels.

Thus, the urban landscape and its property pattern produced in a certain period becomes a determining factor in the following period of the transformation process of urban space. In this process, some buildings may be demolished, some parcels may be unified but once a layout of block-street consolidated in urban space, it remains through many periods and it cannot be transformed without a great effort as declared by Goethert;

> The pattern of land subdivision is one of the more critical planning decisions faced by those designing human settlements Once established the pattern essentially remains forever and can only be changed at great cost, effort and political will. The area and the geometric layout pattern effectively dictate the infrastructure networks, which represent the basic capital costs in the settlements constriction: water supply, sewage disposal, electricity networks, street lighting, streets and sidewalks. (Goethert 1999; 279 in Günay, 1999; 3)

In other words, as a physical form, the main element sustaining its traces in urban space is the urban block. Thus, the production and continuity of urban blocks have a determinant role in the evolution of urban form. The development of urban space evolves mainly through the tension between the old patterns of blocks and the new patterns of blocks.

4.5.5.2. The formation process of urban landscape

Therefore, it seems that there is a hiearachy between the elements of urban landsacpe with respect to *varying degrees of permanence*, that decreases from top to bottom, from the block-streets layouts to the parcels.

Eventually, at the parcel level, it is even possible to observe ‘cycles’ of formation. The phenomena of building cycles, as shown by Parker and Thrift, leads to an continuous mobility in the morphology of parcels. They claim that the size, shape, style, simplicity, or sophistication of buildings as well as their spatial distribution all depend on the circulation of investment capital. At each new building boom, building techniques will be changed and the style of architecture will also be different. The *average plot size* can be expected to vary with the building cycle, being larger in times of slump when land values are lower. Thus, each new building cycle will have period characteristics which will be reflected in urban landscape.

Then, at the level of block-street layout, it is possible to posit certain Types of urban blocks. Even if the morphology of particular urban blocks seems as contingent or random as they are taken as distinct in itself, we can say that when we consider urban blocks as the parts of the whole of a 'block pattern', it is possible to define some "Types" that constitute "*the dominant fields of blocks*". As we have discussed under the theme of 'work', the formation of urban blocks is a crucial stage where several dilemmas between architects and planners or private space and public space overlap. Thus, these Types, more than just morphological Types, should be considered as 'morphogenetic' Types, which internalize the contradictions of urban formation process.

Eventually, these transformation processes in urban form, which occur in a hierarchy in different degrees of paces leads to formation of distinct "*morphological regions*" [we will use 'morphological districts'], in different "*morphological periods*". These two terms are the basic concepts developed by Conzen (1960) to explain the morphogenetic process. It implies that every historical period contains a morphological period in the evolutionary process of urban development and in each morphological period, certain Types of the relation between block-street patterns, plot patterns and buildings constitutes certain morphological districts.

In conclusion, we can assume that urban landscape is *structured* through a hierarchical process of morphological elements, in succeeding *morphological periods*. This hierarchy from bottom to top can be summed up as follows;

1. The level of *Parcel*: formation of average *parcel sizes*.
2. The level of *Block*: formation of certain *block types*.
3. The level of *Block Fields*: formation of *dominant fields of urban blocks*.
4. The level of *Morphological Districts*: formation of *urban landscape*

4.5.6. Urban Landscape as a 'Structure'

Keskinok (1997) asserts that the the forms and patterns of urban landscape are structured within the limits set by the economic level and by the coordinating activities of the state. That is, they are *structured totalities*, like other social structures. However, similar to other structures, physical structures may limit the intra-urban daily activities and practices.

We defined above how urban landscape is 'structured'. Yet, this was a depiction of a physical and formal process. But in the end the place becomes a social structure and this 'end' needs a

socio-spatial explanation. In order to provide such an explanation, Conzen, who is the founder figure of Morphogenetic tradition, refers to the concept of *Genius Loci*. As already mentioned, this concept was used in ancient societies to express the character of a place in the meaning of "*spirit of place*".

In his emphasis on Genius Loci, it seems that he has influenced by the concept of "*spirit of a society*". This concept can be traced back to studies on the philosophy of culture by German philosophers in the 1930s but first appeared in geography in the work of Schwind (1951). For Conzen, the spirit of society is objectivated in the historico-geographical character of the urban landscape and becomes the *Genius Loci*. It enables individuals and groups to take root in an area. They acquire a sense of the historical dimension of human existence. Therefore, with Whitehand's words, "the Conzenian urban landscape is a stage on which successive societies work out their lives, each society learning from, and working to some extent within the bounds set by, what was provided by landscape experiments of its predecessors" (Whitehand, 1992; 6).

This conception of urban landscape as the 'objectivation of the spirit of a society' is more explicitly expressed in Conzen's definition of 'cultural landscape' as "objectification of social mind". It is "*a transformation of mind into matter in the form of a great, composite artifact*" (Conzen, 2004; 40).

Here, there is a historical understanding based on the characteristic unity of past and present, just like as in *Egli*'s desire for the continuity of traditional Turkish landscape in Ankara. As we quoted for the introductory paragraph, Egli imagines the development of Ankara as a unity of the past and the future, under the impact of an '***idea***' that preserve the character of 'the whole' and searches for a kind of pattern that manages this 'idea'. Similarly, Conzen aims to comprehend the genius loci –the spirit of the place– through analysis of the *genesis* of its morphology. In this way he aims to manage the urban formation ("urban landscape management" as he names) in a way that the 'character of place' would be maintained.

Thus, Conzen's conception of urban landscape implies that Conzen, who is from Germany like Egli, represents the German idealism, mainly of Hegel. Nonetheless, the principles underlying the Conzenian approach (summarized in Chapter 2) contain a *materialist core* focusing on the property relations. This is also the core of our study; depending on this core of property relations, we aim to present how Egli's imagination for Turkish cities is destructed by the planning history of Turkey, in the case of Yenişehir.

As a result, although many morphogenetic studies consider the impacts of property factor as a principle in their analysis, the role of property relations have not been yet conceptualized in a explicit and comprehensive way. For this reason, in this study, we attempted until here to construct a conception of urban form that combines the concepts of urban morphogenesis and the structural framework of property relations within a Marxian perspective.

Of course such an attempt contains the risk of reflectionism. As Keskinok (1997; 18) indicates, reflectionism comes from the Hegelian conception of structure in which spatial forms and patterns are conceived as *epiphenomenal* forms of some inner essence. In order to eliminate such a risk of reflectionism, we depended on a relational conception of urban form as a synthesis of many definitions. Now, we are going to sum up this synthesis, through a diagram that represents the production of urban form.

4.6. CONCLUSION: THE LANDSCAPE OF CONCRETE SPACE VERSUS THE RENTSCAPE OF ABSTRACT SPACE

The relational conception of urban form implies first of all that urban form, as the physical landscape of the city, is *produced* within the limits of property relations and in accordance (and so against) to the requirements of commodity production. In this context, we have concluded that, *on the one hand*, the repetition and homogeneity prevails in the formation of urban space against the unique qualities of urban space as a work. *On the other hand*, the homogeneization and repetition is maintained through fragmentation of urban space into parcels.

These basic tensions between work-product and between homogeneization-fragmentation in the formation of urban space arises out of the commodity production, and since the contradictions of use value and exchange value asserts themselves at every level of the formation of space, the work-product relation can be observed in different levels. Therefore, in this chapter, production of urban form is taken up at three different levels.

1. Formation of *parcel* as a **Product**
2. Formation of *block* as a **Work**
3. Formation of *district* as a **Place**

At the first level; as demonstrated in ***Diagram 4.3.***, commodity production lies under the production of process of urban form. In this process, the core (as the intersaction point of the sphere of urban formation and the sphere of commodity production) is the parcel. It is the

embodiment of both use value and exchange value and the basic unit that serve the abstraction of space. However, both the use value and exchange value of parcel are determined contextuailly and collectively. And this context is 'designed' or 'formed' intentionally by planning process. For this reason, the standpoint of the analysis shifted to an upper level.

At the second level; Thus, the contradictions of parcel as the core of abstract space is translated into the level of urban block, which represents the basic unit on which planning and architecture interacted. It also constitutes the medium of certain dilemmas arising from the tensions between public and private spaces. Planners and architects presents their work in their relatively automuous territories. However, as discussed under the title of "fetishisms", they are already under the impositions of commodity fetishism. Moreover, the influences like average parcel size and impacts of land rent structurally limit the design of urban blocks. However, the analysis of this limitation necessitates the shift of our standpoint to a broader context; the level of morphological district.

At the third level; "urban landscape" as the context of collective use values and the "urban land nexus" as the context of urban rents are confronted with each other. Place appears as the relative permanence of these opposing contexts. In the diagram, this confrontation is represented as the opposition of urban landscape and "urban rentscape". The term rentscape is used to emphasize the spatial interaction between the collective use-values (consolidated in the physical pattern of urban landscape) and the the spatial matrix of exchange-values. As a result of the relation between urban landscape and urban rentscape, the relative permanence of place becomes a social structure that limits both the production of urban form and space and the planning and design activities.

However, the overall conclusion of this three leveled process of urban formation is limited with a simultaneous circuit. It represents an abstract general process. Then, the question is that how can we locate this abstract formation process into a concrete historical process, without loosing the connections established in the diagram. Therefore, in the next section, we will propose a method to represent *transformation* of urban form in successive periods. This will also provide a tool for our emprical analysis in the case of Yenişehir.

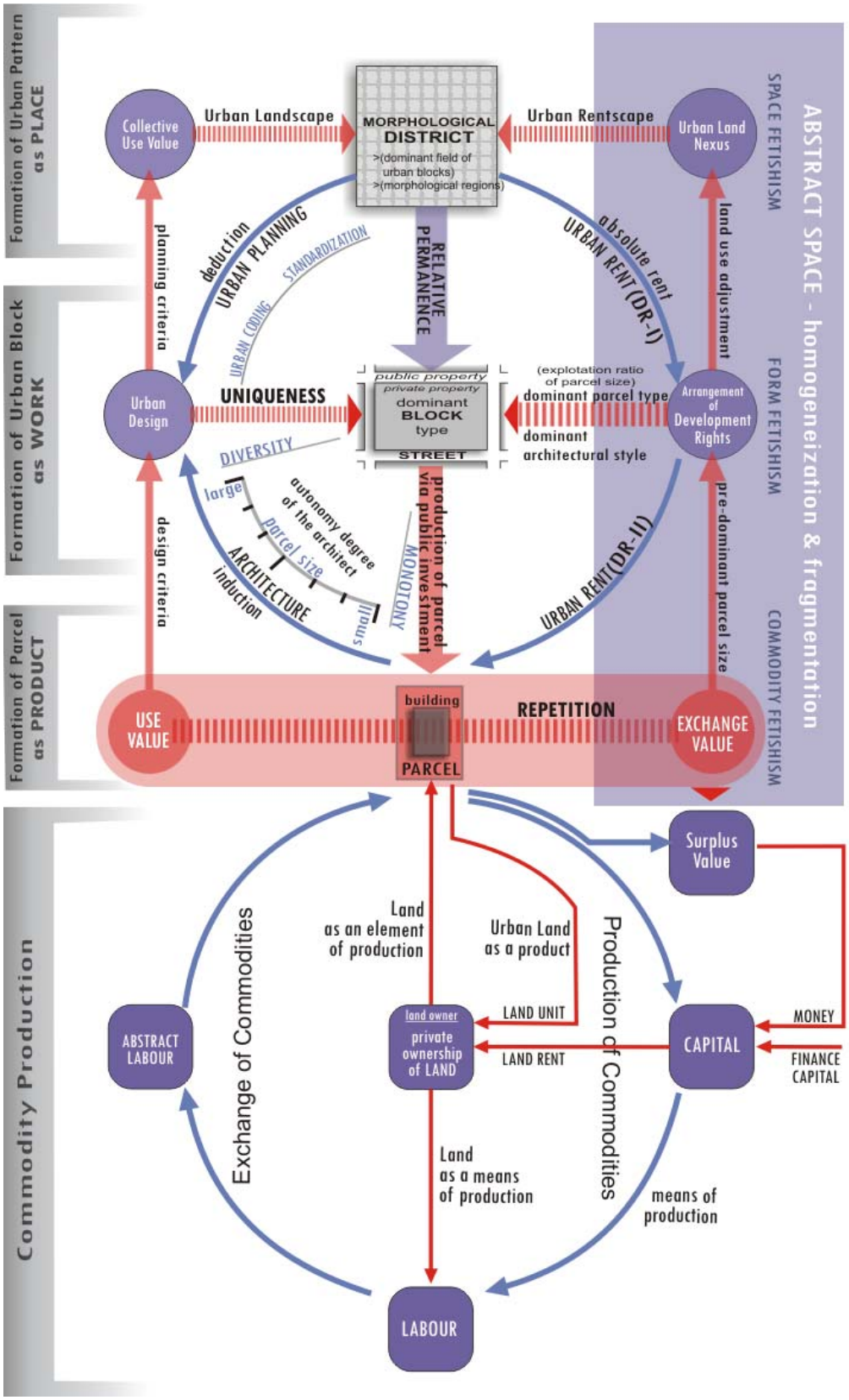


Diagram 4.3. Production of Uban Form as the Unity of Three Formation Levels

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE CASE STUDY OF YENİŞEHİR

5.1. INTRODUCTION

We have posited our primary assumption as such; "*urban form is a product; mainly determined by property relations*". Then, setting out from Lefebvre's assertion that "every society produces a space, its own space", we proposed that *every mode of production produces its own spatial forms*, *and its own mode of forming the space*. In this connection, we elaborated that while the property relations evolve, the way of the production of urban form also evolves. However, the fact of evolution does not only indicate '*the change*' but also '*the permanence*' that causes to continuity of certain traces. Therefore, the relational conception of urban form necessitates a historical conception or vice versa.

Therefore, we need a conceptual model that provides categories to handle the historical change and permanence in a unity. For this reason, the first part of this chapter aims to develop such a conceptual tool that can be used to integrate our theoretical framework with the empirical analysis for Yenişehir. Then, the second part of the chapter includes the definition of Yenişehir as a case study and presentation of database. In this connection, this chapter will put forward our method of empirical investigation.

5.2. PRODUCTION OF URBAN FORM AS A HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

Conzen, defining his principles of morphogenetic analysis, asserts that the analysis of townscape contains 'historical period stratification'. It means that on the townscape we can distinguish the traces of earlier periods in the town history. Thus, in order to represent the historical evolution of urban form, he employs a metaphor: "*the metaphor of palimpsest*".

> ...the mechanism of morphological processes accounts for the mixture of different period styles, turning the townscape into a 'palimpsest', that is, a document, as it were, on which successive historical periods have left their morphological record; later periods partly effacing the record of earlier ones. (Conzen, 2004; 43)

According to him, this palimpsest is not a simple, uniform picture, but a composite and usually complex one with contrasting elements. Because each *form-producing period has its own form style*, thus becoming a recognizable as a *distinctive period*. This is not valid only for buildings but also for town plan together with its streets, squares and its plot patterns. At this point, Conzen shifts another metaphor. He states that the succession of different morphological periods amounts to what is known figuratively as '*historical layering*' (Conzen, 2004; 49).

5.2.1. Geological Metaphor of Urban Space

The metaphor of 'layering' is not only referred in morphological studies. We can come up such metaphors also in Marxism (and Marx himself) as a necessarily historical perspective. For example, in a completely different scale of spatial analysis –the regional scale–Doreen Massey (1984) benefits from a *geological metaphor*, using the geological term of *sedimentary layers* to describe that "a new distribution of economic activity, produced by the evolution of a new division of labour, will be overlaid on, and combined with the pattern produced in previous periods by different forms of spatial division, contributing to a new form and geographical distribution of inequality in the conditions of production, as a basis for the next round of investment."

Following Massey, Şengül (2001; 61) argues that although this approach is developed to understand the impact of industrialization process on regional space, it is also possible to use such a conception in order to understand the general constitution, reproduction and transformation of a certain spatial/territorial system. Then, he uses this approach to distinguish the historical periods of the urbanization in Turkey.

In a similar way, we argue that such a geological metaphor can also be utilized in order to represent the *production of urban form* as a historical evolution. Hereby, morphological layers represent the distinct periods of formation arising from the shifts in property relations. These include not only distinct forms but also different actors, mechanisms and procedures taking part

in the control of formation process. The changing contradictions that are determinant in the production of space also should be assumed internal to these layers.

Şengül, in his analysis of layering, indicates social relations inevitably create a layer of urban development both at the regional and urban levels. While at the national level this is a structure of division of labour between cities, at the urban level, it means the emergence of socio-spatial structures and relations. When such a layer undergoes to transformation, the turn for a next layer begins. However, the next period arises through facing with the existing spatial division of labour and with the socio-spatial layering and forms a new layer (Şengül, 2001; 62).

In this process, each layer, in its interaction and merge with the old one, includes new features, changes existing ones and even erodes and removes the features of the 'old'. For this reason, we should not see the layers as solidified formations. Moreover, Şengül writes that each layer is *characterized* by a different group; in other words, there is a certain group that stigmatizes each layer (Şengül, 2001; 63). With respect to our study, the concept of characterization is particularly important, because space becomes a place when it is characterized by qualities. Yet there can be certain actors, conflicts or ideologies characterizing each period.

As a result, the metaphor of geo*morphologic* layers provides important opportunities for the abstraction and representation of complicated historical processes. However, like every analysis based on a metaphor, this one also poses certain risks. *First of all*, definition of the 'content' of the layers should not exclude an essential aspect of the process. *Secondly*, in the opposite way, an excessively broad definition of the content of layers may obstruct to capture some details and to derive specific conclusions. And thirdly, too abstract definition may prevent the practical use of the metaphor in the empirical analysis of particular cases. For this reason, the content of the layer should refer certain indicators and attributes. Therefore, we should continue with defining the content of a geo*morphologic* layer (from now on 'morphological layer').

5.2.2. Morphological Layers of Urban Formation

We have already analyzed the production of urban form as a complicated, multi-leveled process in the previous sections of Chapter 4, and defined certain interactions and contradictions between the three levels of urban formation. These were;

1. Formation of *parcel* as a **Product**
2. Formation of *block* as a **Work**
3. Formation of *district* as a **Place**

Representing all these levels of formation in one morphological layer does not provide us much insight in distinguishing the historical periods of urban formation. For this reason, in order to maintain these differentiations and interactions between the levels of formation, we will define each morphological layer as composed of three *sub-layers*. Each sub-layer will correspond to one of the three levels of formation. In this condition, the basic assumptions are explained below.

- It is assumed that each morphological layer is the *contradictory unity of three sub-layers*.
- A morphological layer is not a solidified structure but it is *a dynamic 'structure'*.
- Each sub-layer has a different *degree of dynamism*.
- Each sub-layer has a different *degree of permanence.*
- Each sub-layer is *characterized* by a distinct group, which has varying interests, intentions and powers.
- Each sub-layer has its own *inner contradictions.*
- All three sub-layers are in *contradiction with each other*.
- Finally, these sub-layers are *integrated in a general determination*, which arises from the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society.

In this context, the three sub-layers of the morphological layer are named as follows, and the content of each sub-layer is explained **roughly**. In fact, **these sub-layers should be considered as they internalize the all definitions of their corresponding levels of formation** that are explained in Chapter 4. (The diagram below visualizes the morphogical layer and its sub-layers.)

- **Produced Form**: Formation of *parcel* as a Product
- **Created Form**: Formation of *block* as a Work
- **Lived Form**: Formation of *district* as a Place

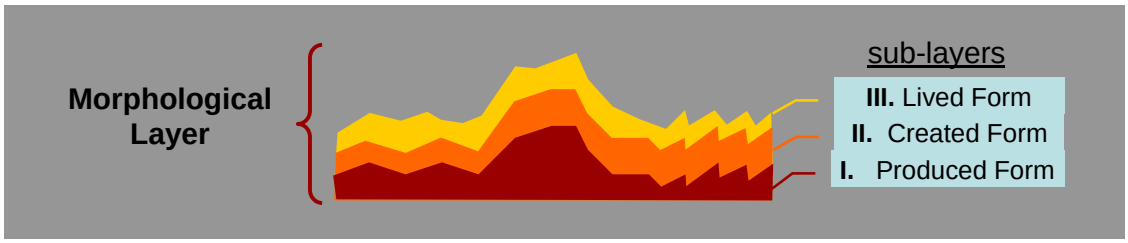


Diagram 5.1. Morphological Layer and its Sub-Layers

1. Produced form

It is the form of urban space as "*product*" which is the manifestation of abstract space and the requirements of commodity production. In this respect, 'produced form' is the source of *repetition* and *homogenization*. Its grain is composed of **parcels** produced as a commodity;

- It is the most dynamic one of the sub-layers. The relations of exchange and continuous processes of 'concrete' abstraction and continuous changes of values are the main sources of its dynamism. In a sense it is like a boiling liquid.
- The land rent is a main source of its dynamism, whereas the absolute rent might restrict this.
- It has a counter-structure of permanence, arising from the fragmentation of ownership and from the permanence of laws that provide its foundations.
- It is characterized mainly by the landowners and investors.
- It is indicated mainly in land values, property transactions and sales.
- Its main attributes are parcel characteristics, including the average size of parcels, processes of unification-division of parcels, and shareholders of the property.

2. Created form

It is the form of urban space as "*work*" which is created by the interventions of professions dealing with the formation of urban space, mainly the planners and the architects. In this respect, 'created form' includes the *potential of uniqueness and creativity* but the actualization of this

potential is undermined by the domination of repetition. Its grain is composed of **urban blocks** produced as a work.

- Its dynamism and permanence depends on the planning-design approaches and the tools of control, and the attitudes of political decision makers.
- Its main contradiction comes from the public and private spaces.
- It is characterized mainly by planners and architects.
- It shows itself in the way of designers to represent urban space or in their design approaches, principles, ideologies etc. and thus in their design and plan documents.

3. Lived form

It is the *actualized* form of urban space both as *objective morphology* and as *subjective morphology*. In this respect, 'lived form' represents the character and the meaning of places. Its grain is composed of **morphological districts** consolidated as a place.

- It is the least dynamic sub-level. Its permanence arises from the longevity of built fabric and from the belongings of its users. In a sense it is like an almost solidified shell.
- Its main contradiction is between the physical urban landscape and rentscape.
- It is characterized mainly by users.
- Thus, lived form shows itself in the physical characteristics of urban space, such as density, proportion, dimensions, materials etc. and in the subjective perception, cognition and behavior of the users. *Territoriality* as the mutual expression of property rights, physical layout and human behavior is an important indicator of lived form.

5.2.3. Determinations between the Sub-layers of the Morphological Layer

The sequence of the three sub-layers from bottom to top as 'produced, created, and lived' is only the *logical* expression of their formation *sequence*. That is to say, the produced form already exists at the beginning of a period (for example, a cadastral land pattern in a developing area). So 'created form' is constituted in a contest with the former; then the lived form becomes "actual" and "concrete" as a synthesis of produced and created forms. However, in reality, the lived form may already exist in a place and create a resistance to the transformation of that place.

In fact, such a resistance or struggle should not be seen as limited with a particular place but it already exists as an implication of power relations and class conflicts in the society. Thus, it is not possible to define a sequence between them. They emerge, change and conflict *simultaneously*.

Therefore, the simultaneous and contradictory formation of these three sub-layers constitutes "the morphological layer" as seen in Diagram 4.5. The contradiction comes from the struggle between the actors playing a part in the production of space. Thus the determination relation between sub-layers is *relative* to the interests of these actors. Therefore, the formation of overall morphological layer is determined in a power relation between the actors. As in Diagram 4.5., for the user, who is interested in the use value of space, it is determined from top to bottom; whereas for the land owners and investors, who are interested in the exchange value, it is determined from bottom to top. In addition, the professions responsible from the design of urban layout and its elements, especially planners and architects have a contradictory position. Although, they are interested in mainly the "created form", they are not independent from the resistances and repressions from the up and the bottom levels and so they tend to adapt these influences of other actors.

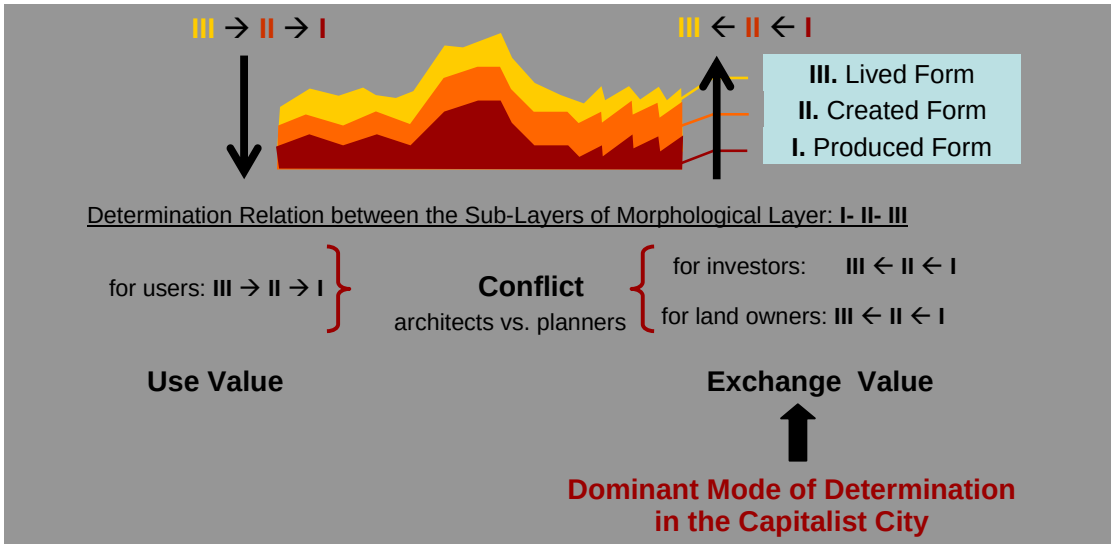


Diagram 5.2. *Determination Relation between Sub-Layers of the Morphological Layer*

Here, architecture and planning, as depicted by Günay, are in conflict with each other because "it is in the nature of planning to bureaucratize and socialize, while architecture tends to individualize and liberate" (Günay, 1999a; 75). In this contradiction, architects favor uniqueness, whereas planners are interested in functionality. Furthermore, architects are responsible mainly to the individual users or clients, while planners are responsible to various groups. As a result, the architect and the planner are in conflict with each other, as much as with the other groups.

Therefore, the 'created form' is in between lived form and produced form and it has the tendency to merge with one of them. But as a matter of fact, in capitalist city, where urban space is produced mainly as a commodity rather than living environment, the exchange value dominates the use value, and the created form dissolves into the produced form, to the repetition, rather than uniqueness and variety.

5.2.4. Succession of Morphological Layers and Morphological Periods

To sum up, each morphological layer is "produced" in the context of property relations which has a *relative permanence* in its period. In capitalist system, this production is realized with the dominance of exchange value, largely as a "repetition" that lead to emergence of certain dominant Block Types. Then, these dominant Block Types form distinct morphological districts, which are the predominant fields of blocks.

In the formation process of urban space, there are certain '*moments*' which lead to some breakings in the production of urban space. These moments can be considered as certain changes in the factors forming sub-layers (produced form, created form, shaped form). Thus, as seen in the fallowing Figure 3, a new morphological period lays down on the old one, producing its own dominant 'Block Types', which constitutes new predominant fields of blocks. In this way, we can read the formation process of urban space as an accumulation or transformation of these predominant fields of urban blocks.

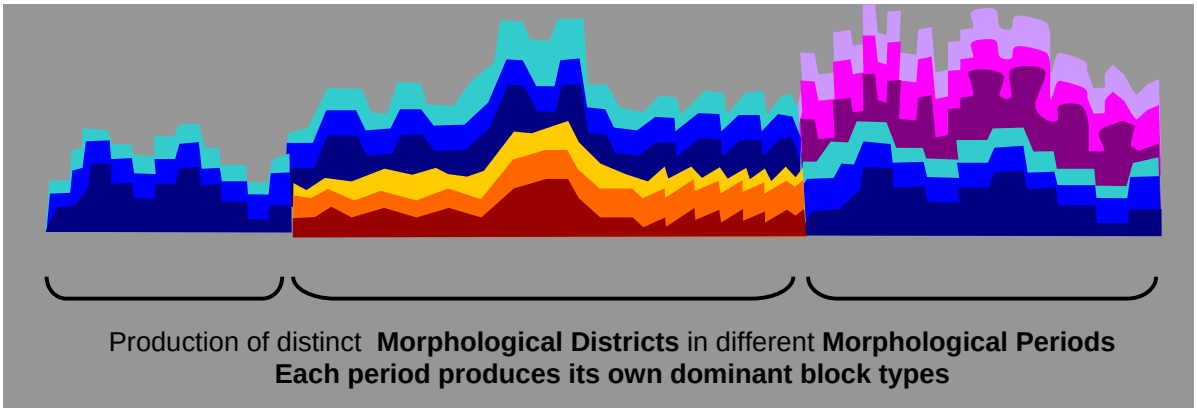


Diagram 5.3. Succession of morphological layers and morphological periods

5.2.6. As a Result on Geological Metaphor

The schematic explanation based on such a geological metaphor is of course constructed in a 'formalist' manner without looking up the actual dynamics of Turkish cities. In fact, it is not an explanation but only a conceptual construction containing a set of propositions. Therefore, the geological metaphor is a tool to interpret the historical stratification of urban form. We have analyzed the production of urban form in the capitalist city as a *simultaneous* interaction of different levels of formation. Thus, the metaphor is employed to extend the simultaneity of the formation levels to the succession of morphological layers. In this way, it helps to comprehend the complicated structure of the production of urban form as a dynamic historical process. We think that its content should not be defined conceptually in strict and complete terms as an *apriori* definition. In this way, its content should be completed through the empirical research in accordance with the available data set and with the scope of the research. Thus, following part of this chapter will include a method of empirical investigation for Ankara-Yenişehir.

5.3. ANKARA – YENİŞEHİR AS THE CASE STUDY

The empirical investigation of the study will be basically a search for the historical formation of morphological layers in the case area. In this respect, it can be seen as an excavation of the former layers that are transformed in a succession up to date. This is similar to the approach of "morphogenesis", which is a German tradition of urban morphology pioneered by M.R.G. Conzen. His famous analysis on the town Alnwick in England is presents describes the

development of Alnwick from ancient times through the mid-twentieth century. His conceptual structure is also based on three elements as *building structures, plot pattern and street pattern*.

However, Conzen's three analysis categories are taken up as physical elements rather than social relations and so his study of morphogenesis is basically a 'description' of the morphological evolution of Alnwick. Nevertheless, his study lead to a new studies of urban morphology, such as the studies of Whitehand and Knox, in which land values, production cycles are used to explain the formation of urban space. However, the property relations have been often neglected in the studies of urban morphology.

In the literature of Turkey, Günay's study focuses on the role of the property relations in the design and formation of urban space. He constructs the conceptual framework for such investigations and investigates the Western cases. But he emphasizes the lack of a detailed empirical research on the role of property relations in Turkish cities (Günay, 1999b). Consequently, this study can be considered as an attempt to lessen this lack, through focusing on the development of Ankara-Yenişehir which is originated by one of the most important planning experiences of Turkey. Besides it can be considered as the pioneer of planning system in Turkey. Therefore, Yenişehir, the new centre of the capital of Turkey, was firstly constructed as the symbol of modern republic and its development lead to an intensive transformation process.

Therefore, as shown in the Figure 5.1. below, the area comprising over 100 urban blocks in Yenişehir is *selected* as the research area for several reasons. *Firstly*, its planning process represents the all stages of Turkish planning experience. Moreover, Ankara-Yenişehir has a special history in the course of planning in Turkey since it has developed as the capital of Turkey. *Secondly*, it is very convenient to observe the succession of different morphological layers. *Thirdly*, as the centre of capital, its records were archived more vigorously, so the collection of necessary and sufficient data for such a historical study seems relatively more possible. And *fourthly*, there are significant studies about its early period in 1920s and 1930s. For example, Cengizkan (2004) depicts the preparation and implementation of Lörcher Plan, the first plan of Ankara, and shows its sustaining traces in the present layout. Similarly, Tankut's study on Jansen Plan, which is the second and the mostly determining plan in the history of Yenişehir, also reveals the planning process in 1930s in great detail. Therefore, there is an extensive literature about the planning process of Ankara. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of detailed and comprehensive morphogenetic explanation considering property relations, which is an aim of this thesis.

Figure 5.1. The research area in Yenişehir including approximately 100 urban blocks

1. 1924-25 Lörcher Plan

2. 1932 Jansen Plan

3. 1957 Yücel Uybadin Plan

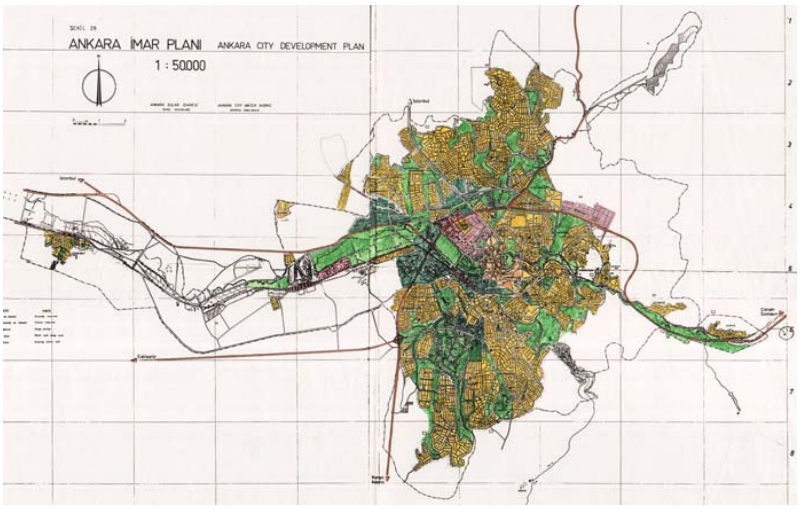


Figure 5.2. Main planning documents of Yenişehir

5.4. METHOD OF EMPRICAL INVESTIGATION

5.4.1. Two Levels of Investigation: Structural and Formal Analysis

Since the main concern of this study is to understand the interaction between the formation of space and the property relations, the method of investigation needs to comprehend the both aspects of the problem For this reason, the investigation of morphological change or the morphogenesis of Yenişehir will be constructed on two levels of analysis, which are structural and formal analysis.

These two levels are considered to conceive the relation between the general and the particular as a totality. In this way, it can be possible to investigate connections between the structural causalities and particular contingencies of urban formation.

Structural Analysis

At *the structural level*, we aim to construct a context defined by the property relations of the historical conditions, in which urban space in question has been evolved. Thus, the structural analysis can be considered as the reconstruction of the Structural Diagram developed in Chapter 2. Such a reconstruction assumes that the structural relations of capitalism do not exist in a pure form. The investigation of a concrete case requires conceiving its peculiar aspects. Therefore, the structural analysis aims to derive the essential relations of capitalism from the peculiarities of the concrete case.

Formal Analysis

Formal analyses are mainly about the evaluation of our empirical data in the theoretical framework called Production Diagram in Chapter 3, which defines the impacts of commodity production in the different levels of the formation of urban space. Empirical data will be analyzed so that to represent the relations between the production of parcel, block and district levels.

Therefore, our investigation requires the integration of these two levels of analysis. For this reason, the empirical investigation needs to be realized through continuous ***oscillation between structural and formal analysis***, so that we can keep a dialectical viewpoint. The *jeological metaphor* will help to provide such a point of view as a model that represents the interrelation

between the two frameworks that we defined in previous chapters; the Structural Diagram and the Production Diagram.

5.4.2. Major Themes of Yenişehir Analysis

Analysis of Yenişehir will be based on three main themes, which are the essential dimensions of the theoretical framework.

First one is the production of urban form within the property relations of Turkey as a developing capitalist society with respect to the dialectic between *work and product*. This investigation includes two main questions

- *how have the **requirements of commodity production** dominated the morphology of urban space and in this process*?
- how did the ***repetition*** gained supremacy against the *uniqueness* of the creation of Yenişehir as a work?

Secondly, such an investigation implies that the production of urban form is not a linear process but it is a ***historical stratification of morphological layers***. Thus, we need to represent the formation and transition of morphological layers of Yenişehir. In other words, we will examine the abstract definitions about the geological metaphor in the practice of Yenişehir.

Here the main questions are:

- What is the *interrelation between sub-layers of formation* –produced, created, lived–
- How do these *sub-layers of formation* constitute a morphological layer?
- What are the *reasons* of the production of a new layer over the former?
- What are the *indicators* of the emergence of a new layer?
- How does a new layer appear and covers up the existing morphological layer?
- How do the characteristics of the old layer continue or disappear in the new?

Thirdly, this investigation assumes that formation of Yenişehir can be located in the Structural Diagram. But the same framework, following Lefebvre, also proposes that each mode of production has its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another, must entail the production of a new space" (Lefebvre, 1991; 46); and this includes the production of new spatial forms and new modes of forming the space.

However, we cannot claim that there is a "pure capitalism" and an abstract path of capitalist development. Although the constitution of Turkey corresponds to constitution of a capitalist society, it has a particular nature differing from Western societies. We have to consider this issue when we are utilizing our theoretical framework for Yenişehir case. Thus, it means that, it is not sufficient to interpret the historical and empirical context of Yenişehir according to our theoretical diagram; at the same time we need to re-interpret our theoretical diagram according to Yenişehir's context.

Therefore, in the investigation of these themes, the main problem is to support our assumptions by empirical data. However, historical dimension of this study means that many of the required data has lost in the time or in the weakly preserved archives. In fact, even if we can reach every data, we have to limit the scope in the boundaries of the thesis.

For these reasons, there are **several limitations** of the following research. ***Firstly,*** the lack of sufficient and detailed data about the physical transformation leads us to exclude detailed morphological analysis at parcel and block scale.

Secondly, although we have evaluations about architecture in the theoretical discussions, we cannot deal with the morphological change of Yenişehir's architecture. Such an intention requires a separate study.

Thirdly, since the study aims to conceive the transition between different historical layers, its database cannot have a consistency. For example, while the genesis period of Yenişehir depends largely on visual maps and plans, the later periods have a more detailed data about planning decisions. Thus, the content of discussions and the degree of detail differs between periods.

As a result, the analysis of Yenişehir will focus mainly on the analysis of general tendencies derived from the data set explained below rather than detailed visual analysis.

5.4.3. Data Set of the Empirical Investigation

The empirical investigation of Yenişehir depends on the analysis of three main databases.

1. Analysis of the decisions of Ankara Development Management Committee (İmar İdare Heyeti)

This is the database of Committee decisions between 1933 and 1965 obtained from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. It comprises approximately 1.500 decision on Yenişehir selected among approximately 10.000 decisions, which are about the whole Ankara.

Database of Committee decisions classify the decisions about Yenişehir under four categories. These includes the dates, types, subjects and related parcel-block numbers. Therefore, these categories includes the demands of landowners and decisions of the Committee about these demands. Each demand refers to a certain parcel-block number in the database.

1. **Decisions about parcellation activities** include demands for
   subdivision,
   unification
   subdivision via unification.
2. **Decisions about construction activities** include the demands about the construction of distinct buildings for
   incease of floors numbers either attics or normal floors, and building heights
   increase of building depths
   construction of outbuildings (müştemilat)
   unauthorized construction activities
3. **Decisions about construction order (inşaat tarzı)** include the demands for
   single order
   block order
   twin order
   setback distance (generally for decreasing)
4. **Decisions land uses (functions)** include the demands mainly for
   commerce
   touristic and cultural functions, such as hotels, cinemas
   office

Therefore, analysis of the Committee decisions mainly reflects the interaction between the tendencies of the landowners and the Committee's attitudes, principles, conceptions, etc. As a fifth category we should mention the principle decisions that include the general decisions about the whole city on certain issues.

2. Analysis of the Title Deeds (obtained from Ankara-Çankaya Directory of Land Registry

This includes a large matrix of 768 parcels (54% of 1423 parcels of Yenişehir). It is derived from the transects registered in the title deeds and includes the change of the number of sales, number of shareholders and type of property for each parcel between the years 1933 and 2000 (changes according to the parcel.) Main indicators obtained from this database are

- Change of the average of number of shareholders per parcel in Yenişehir
- Change the average of number of shareholders for distinct urban blocks
- Change of total number of sales in Yenişehir

These indicators mainly express the degree of fragmentation of ownership and the activity of housing production.

3. Analysis of Landowner Profiles

This analysis is based on the registries of the 1935 cadastral maps obtained from Ankara-Çankaya Directorate of Land Registry. Since a significant quantity of the owners is defined by their professions, it provides an analysis for the distribution of landowner types at parcel scale according to their profession.

4. Other types of data

These are the available maps of existing situations for different periods, master plan drawings, certain types of coding documents, plan modifications, cadastral maps, and physical data (obtained from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality) such as available photographs and aerial photographs, maps showing existing situation in a certain time.

In conclusion, the formal analyses will provide the relationship between transformation of property pattern and planning decisions, which are the implications of the dialectical relation between 'produced form', 'created form' and 'lived form'. In this way, it may be possible to see what kind of determination relations exist between these the levels of a certain morphological layer and how the passage from one morphological layer to the next layer occurs. Therefore, we aim to understand the role of property relations in the morphological transformation of Yenişehir-Ankara through an excavation into the 'morphological layers' of Yenişehir.

CHAPTER 6

GENESIS OF URBAN FORM IN YENİŞEHİR

6.1. INTRODUCTION

> *Only when land speculation has been obviated and concentration of development procedures under a single strong authority has been achieved, an exemplary work for city planning will have been brought into being.*
>
> *Hermann Jansen*, November 14th, 1928

Jansen declares his imagination for the potential of Ankara's planning in his competition report: "**an exemplary work for city planning**". But for him, this imagination depends on two major conditions; the prevention of *land speculation* and the establishment of a powerful *planning authority*.

He would reemphasize these conditions in a well known conversation between Jansen and Mustafa Kemal – the leader of Republican revolution. In this conversation, as Atay (1968; 488) tells, presenting his awarded project to Atatürk, Jansen asks that "do you have a will strong enough to implement a city plan". This question makes Mustafa Kemal angry and he complains as saying that we have torn down a *medieval reign* and established a *modern state* against the great powers of the world; how can he ask such a question! However, thirty years later, Atay, recalling this conversation, would conclude that Jansen has been completely justified from that time to 1950s.

Then, what are the reasons that justify Jansen's concerns? In fact, Jansen gives the answer as *the fact of land speculation* and this answer is basically approved by Atay (1968), Yavuz (1952) and

the following researchers. Therefore, our aim is to reply this question specifically for the formation of Yenişehir and integrate this answer into our main question: how was urban form produced in Yenişehir-Ankara and what is the role of property relations in the formation process of Yenişehir?

This chapter takes up these questions focusing on the constitution period of Yenişehir in two phases. **Firstly**, it is interested in causes and conditions that underly the *genesis* of Yenişehir. What were the main forces leading to construction of Yenişehir? What was the meaning of a new-city (yeni-şehir) against the old-city? In a sense, we will firstly look for the ontological *roots* of Yenişehir. This includes at the same time an analysis on the first plan of Yenişehir: 1925 Lörcher Plan.

Secondly, this chapter undertakes to analyze the production process of Yenişehir's urban form as a new '*district*', which was designed as a '*place*' that represents the Republican ideals for a modern way of life. What were its main characteristics as a *work* of design and how was this work actualized (and distorted) through the production of urban form? In other words, this chapter is about the construction of the first *morphological layer* in Yenişehir. Understanding of this construction requires an analysis on the passage from the implementation of 1925 Lörcher Plan to its reformation by 1930 Jansen Plan.

These two phases of Chapter 6, as described in the method of investigation, will be based on the implications of *the geological metaphor* defined in Chapter 5. In this respect, we need to analyze the dialectic between *work and product* in the production of Yenişehir's urban form, and to represent this production process as the formation of a *morphological layer* that render Yenişehir as a '*place*'.

In conclusion, this chapter will include the *genesis* period of Yenişehir, which is also the constitution period of new production and property relations and of a modern capitalist society – Republic of Turkey– on the ruins of a 'medieval reign' – the Ottoman Empire. Evidently, this *shift* as a passage from the property relations of a pre-capitalist society to a capitalist one is characterized mainly by the constitution of *private property* institution. However, we cannot assume that private property relations of the Republic appeared suddenly on a *tabula-rasa*. If there is a "shift" between two periods, there are also continuities. According to Şengül (2001), from whom we barrowed the geological metaphor in the previous chapter, some elements of the former period must have prolonged themselves into the latter. Thus, we have to see these

elements of Ottoman period in order to conceive the basis on which the *layers* of Republican period arise.

6.2. PROPERTY RELATIONS IN OTTOMAN PERIOD AS THE UNDERLYING LAYER

Social formation of Ottoman Empire has been a wide area of debate, starting from the concept of Asiatic mode of production to questions such as whether Ottoman Empire can be reduced to a feudal society in its western meaning and whether there was a private property in Ottoman system. Of course, we cannot intend to discuss these issues here, so we can only derive some basic points.

Primarily, Ottoman Empire, different from the feudal European states, is defined as a centrally controlled system. However, as Şengül (1999; 67) indicates, this fact causes a common delusion in which the periphery and its cities are assumed as totally dominated by the distinguished power of the center, that is İstanbul. In fact, the periphery always had certain autonomy. It means that local authorities were not simple servants of the central authority. Inasmuch as the power of center weakened, local authorities gained a tendency to feudality. With respect to property relations, this mistake of 'over' centralism leads to another common mistake as mentioned by Timur (2001; 199): the reduction of whole Ottoman property system to "*miri arazi*". It means that the whole land is assumed as the state property and it ends up with the claim that "there was no private property on land in the Ottomans".

However, following Barkan, many authors such as Avcıoğlu (1969; 19), Kılıçbay (1992; 51) and Timur (2001; 200), have emphasized that ***Ottoman property system includes major dimensions of private property***. On the one hand, *rakabe* (dominium) of land belongs to *miri* land (state property), and as an extension of the central state *Sipahi*, similar to English property system (Günay, 1999b; 234), was entitled to a fief (*tımar*) in land rather than the land itself *in contrast with the Roman Law system*. On the other hand, in turn for a lease paid to *sipahi*, *Reaya* (peasants) has the right of *possession* depended on land titles that can be *inherited* to his sons, as different from Western feudalism. There are two significant implications of this point:

Firstly*,** this can be seen as ***the root of the fragmented property pattern in Turkey. The right of inheritance in possession through land titles has enabled the formation of a fragmented cadastral pattern and prevented the total domination of 'feudal' lords on land. This fact would determine

the development way of cities towards periphery in the Republican period as will be seen in Yenişehir-Ankara case.

***Secondly*,** as Acar (1975) depicts, there is an actual private property in Ottoman society and these assert themselves even more strongly in *urban land*. According to Akdağ (1974), in the Ottoman cities, urban land has been divided as use areas (that is possession units) rather than property units. The *rakabe* (bare ownership) is owned by the state, while buildings on land belong to private property. However, Acar argues that inasmuch as the central authority loses power, possession rights on land turns actually into private property. For him, *emergence of urban rent and land speculation by local notables (eşraf)* can be observed in Ottoman cities. In this context, he makes an analysis of the Ottoman urban patterns including Ankara and depicts how the transformation of the property patterns is related with the change of functional and circulation patterns and how the flexible urban pattern that is enabled by small and reversible investments turned into a solid and static pattern created by dense and permanent investments as a result of the strengthening private property. These were the early implications of the emergence of absolute private property.

Nevertheless, the first legal recognition of private property in Ottoman society occurs with the 'deed of agreement' (*sened-i ittifak*) in 1808 between the emerging local feudal lords and the state. Then it was reemphasized with the Tanzimat Edict in 1839. But the first comprehensive real property legislation was the 'land law' of 1858. This process was a result of the initiation of capitalist production in agriculture that emerged in the domination process of western industrial production on eastern production goods (Günay, 1999b; 235).

Therefore, it is seen that private property starts to gain an absolute character through legal arrangements in the development process of capitalist production relations. However, as explained by Çavdar (2003) capitalism has entered to Ottoman society as a process of semi-colonization; it was not based on the development of industrial production but on the agricultural production and the export of raw materials. This fact would lead to the rise of a commercial bourgeoise who are dependent on western capital, rather than to the rise of a contradiction between capitalist and labour classes as seen in the western societies. This is a crucial point in respect to the development of urban planning, since it leads to a completely different context from the structural framework that we defined in Chapter 3. Although some legal mechanisms were imported from European countries, production practice of urban space had a different character in Ottoman period and these practices would also influence the Republican period.

6.2.1. Early Planning Attempts in Ottoman Period

As discussed in Chapter 4, the emergence of urban planning in Europe was basically a reaction to solve the problems and conflicts arising from the development of industrial capitalism and it have evolved into three main channels, which are *Haussmanian, pragmatic and utopian* approaches. However, in Ottoman Empire, where the industrial production was very limited as a result of the dependent semi-colonial character of Ottoman economy, the main planning approaches of the 19th cc. western countries could not be implemented directly to the Ottoman cities.

As Tekeli (1980) explains there was no sufficient capital for *Haussmanian* operations in spite of several weak attempts such as in İstanbul and Bursa. Moreover, there was not a ruling capitalist class that could invest and speculate to create their own space as in Paris. On the other hand, the lack of a (industrial) working class prevented the possibility of the *utopian* approaches. Therefore, there was possibility only for pragmatic approaches based on health legislations.

Pragmatic approaches firstly appeared as the attempts of cartography. These attempts were basically an outcome of the development of private property institution. The same fact also caused to an attempt to prevent the 'traditional' fires in Ottoman cities arising from the wooden construction and complicated street patterns.

As a result of the planning practices in İstanbul by Moltke Plan in 1840s, the first planning legislation appeared; the enactment of building (*ebniye nizamnamesi*). The constitution of İstanbul Şehremaneti (1854) and the enactment of building and roads (e*bniye* and t*uruk*) and finally Building Law in 1882 established the institutional and legal framework for pragmatic planning attempts. Outcome of these attempts was the appearance of grid districts in contrast the surrounding spontaneous pattern of traditional cities (e. g. Boşnak neighborhood in Ankara shown in the figure below).

Another factor determining the formation of cities was the development railway lines and hence construction of railway stations. This fact also influenced the city centers, leading to new types of commercial uses in addition to traditional centers. Aktüre depicts how the construction of station and the street connecting it to the center lead to the formation of a dual structure in the 19th cc. commercial center of Ankara.

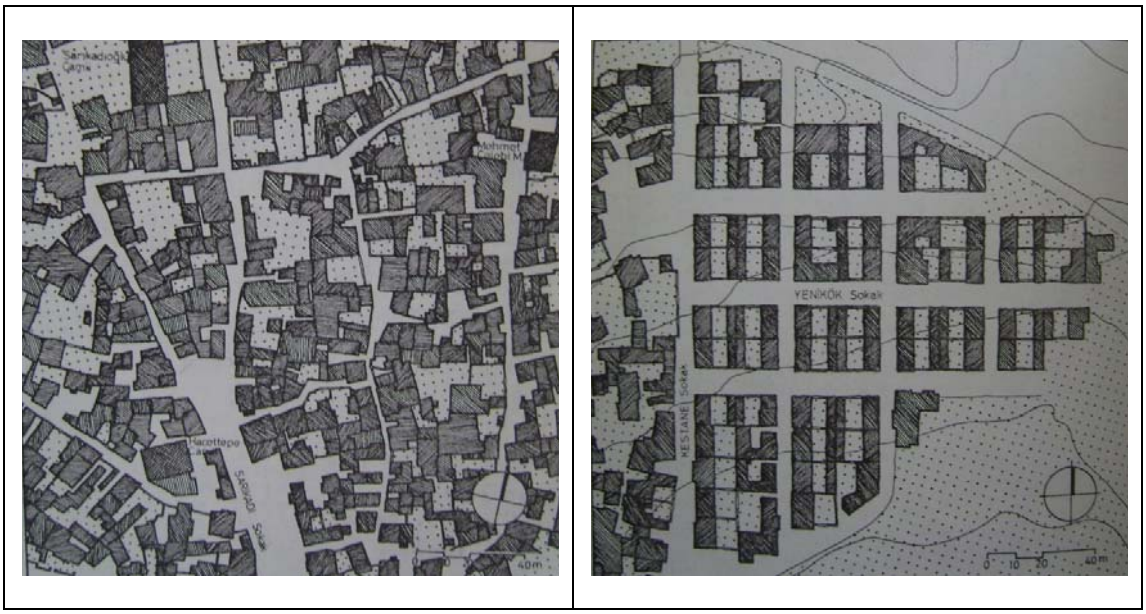


Figure 6.1. Two contrast patterns in Ankara from the Ottoman period. (Source: Aktüre; 1978)

6.2.2. As a Result for Ottoman Property Relations and Urban Planning

We have seen that although Ottoman property system contains private property as a *potential*, it has actually emerged as an outcome of the imposition of capitalist relations by western imperialism. Thus, introduction of modern planning in Turkey did not occurred as an outcome of inner conflicts arising from industrial production. In this context, main characteristics of the Ottoman *layer* that would form the basis for production of urban space in Republican period can be summarized under following topics.

1. A ***pragmatic planning practice*** based on cartography and building legislations (especially in port cities and İstanbul) and a certain institutional authority of planning called '*Şehremaneti*' was established in İstanbul and these formed a basis for the development of planning institutions in the Republican period.
2. The emergence of planning institutions was mainly an outcome of the ***recognition of private property*** in 19th century. Actually, in Ottoman system, private property has already appeared through a gradual process in a certain degree until the 19th century, and

then it has gained a legislative base and legitimacy until the 20th century. Thus, Republic has inherited ***a (relatively) consolidated institution of private property and a highly fragmented cadastral pattern*** from the Ottoman system.

3. Although there was historically a fragmented property pattern, the recognition of private property was at the same time the proliferation of *big land ownership* by newly appearing landlords who acquire peasants' lands in certain ways, benefiting from the weakening central state authority (Çavdar, 2003; 74). Nevertheless, as Günay remarks (1999a; 237), production of space in Turkey has always faced with a real property pattern which is fragmented, irregular and in many cases obscure as to its owner. He indicates that this was basically a ***problem of transition from Ottoman property system to Roman Law*** and its implications would continue as frequently reproduced ***property disputes in the course of planning practice*** of the Republic.
4. Transformation of property relations from possession to private property was based on the development of capitalist production relations, which was dominated by western imperialism. As a result of this dependency, except the commercial bourgeois of İstanbul, ***neither a working class, nor a bourgeois*** emerged as a dominant class in contrary to the western countries. This would set the scene for the ***class struggles*** in the constitution process of the Republic, and at the same time these struggles would determine the story of Yenişehir.

6.3. EMERGENCE OF YENİŞEHİR: LÖRCHER PLAN

In the *structural diagram* defined in Chapter 3, production of urban form is based on the main contradictions of capitalist commodity production, which are actualized in the class struggle between working and capitalist classes. However, production of urban form in general *cannot be seen as* a *direct* outcome of this class struggle. Nevertheless, in the case of Yenişehir, it is possible to argue that production of urban form has appeared as a direct outcome of class struggle between certain fractions of landowner and middle classes, since the peculiarity of Yenişehir as the government center of the capital Ankara makes itself an object of interest and determines its process of production. It means that the analysis of Yenişehir should start and proceed through a discussion on the role of class struggle in its existence.

6.3.1. Role of Class Struggle in the Emergence of Yenişehir

Republic of Turkey is constituted through a war of independence. This war was not only a struggle against the external forces of western imperialism but also a struggle against the Ottoman aristocracy and the 'comprador' bourgeois of İstanbul. In this struggle Ankara has appeared as the center of independence movement which was mainly organized by a coalition of *Anadolu eşrafı* (composed of merchants and large landowners of Anatolia) and military-intellectual middle class with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (Timur, 2001). In a sense, this was ***a struggle between İstanbul and Ankara***.

When the war was succeeded, this struggle would continue in different channels. Thus, determination of Ankara as the capital city of the new state was one of those struggles and even after the declaration of Ankara as the Capital on October 13rd, 1923 just before the declaration of the Republic, there was a strong tendency to see Ankara as a temporary Capital and thus a pressure for the 'revival' of Istanbul as capital was active (Şimşir, 2006). In other words, as Tekeli (1980) argues the declaration of Ankara as Capital is not only a result of geo-strategic concerns but also ***a reaction to the Ottoman identity of İstanbul, which was identified by its dependency to imperialism***.

Therefore, we can infer that planning practice of Ankara (and hence the constitution of Yenişehir) was a part of *the struggle against 'İstanbul'* in order to prove Ankara's sufficiency as Capital. Of course, inasmuch as it was a symbolic sufficiency as the center of new modern life, it was also an actual necessity to provide the required social and technical capacity, mainly the provision of housing for the new bureaucracy. Consequently, the first planning stage of Ankara would be started with the Lörcher Plan in 1924, only few months later from the declaration of Capital.

6.3.2. Lörcher Plan

> *Though a German came. He has constituted the core of Yenişehir. However, this was a district of expensive homes that can only be efforted by the rich.*
>
> *Falih Rıfkı Atay*

This comment made by Atay is now more interesting for the planning literature in Turkey. Because Atay, who had a very active role in the planning process of Ankara, uses a very ambiguous statement while he is telling about the initial construction of Yenişehir and its first

plan that is Lörcher Plan. In fact, this plan was known as a simple, temporary scheme that guided the early construction in Yenişehir, until Ali Vardar's essay in 1989. Today, after Cengizkan's detailed research, we know that Lörcher Plan was a significant plan and played an undeniable role in the planning of both Ulus (old city) and Yenişehir (new city) (Cengizkan, 2002).

Therefore, it was a *work* of design that *creates* Yenişehir as a new place in which the heart of the Republic would be constructed. It has a design approach based on a synthesis of Camillo Sitte's traditionalism and the modernism of garden city movement. It is based on a comprehensive report focusing on various aspects of the city. As Cengizkan (2002; 44) explains, Lörcher Plan includes many 'first' features of Turkish planning history. It is the first attempt to establish an ideal (örnek) city. It brings the *meaning* of space into the agenda of Turkish planning for the first time. And it introduces the coding terms, such as building order (inşaat tarzı) and zoning to the planning system in Turkey. In addition, it was the first example of the modern city planning including avant-garde elements and systematic unity of health, open space and green area. And it was the first document of design and thought for the transformation of Ankara to a modern city.

In fact, Lörcher Plan was created in two stages. Its first stage issued on 5.30.1924 included only the planning of old Ankara. At that period, Ankara had a typical traditional pattern of Ottoman city, including the early planning attempts of Ottoman period, such as the grid of Boşnak district, Anafartalar Street built in a fire zone, Station Street combining straightly the dual structured center of Ankara to the railway station. However, after being the Capital, Ankara faced with a very fast population increase and provision of housing became a crucial problem. In addition to this many administrative buildings were constructed and there was a need for new development areas.

Planning of the old city was a part of the process to develop Ankara as a capital city. After the preparation of Lörcher Plan was ordered (October 1923) to a private firm by the Ministry of Interior, the Law no. 417 (The Law of Ankara Municipality) came into effect in February 16th, 1924 to establish a control and administration authority like as in İstanbul. However, just one year later, two new plan documents would be prepared. First one of them was the 1925 Lörcher Yenişehir Plan (1/1000 scaled) and the second was the 1924-25 Lörcher Plan (1/1000) which was a kind of master plan combining the old city plan with the new city plan.

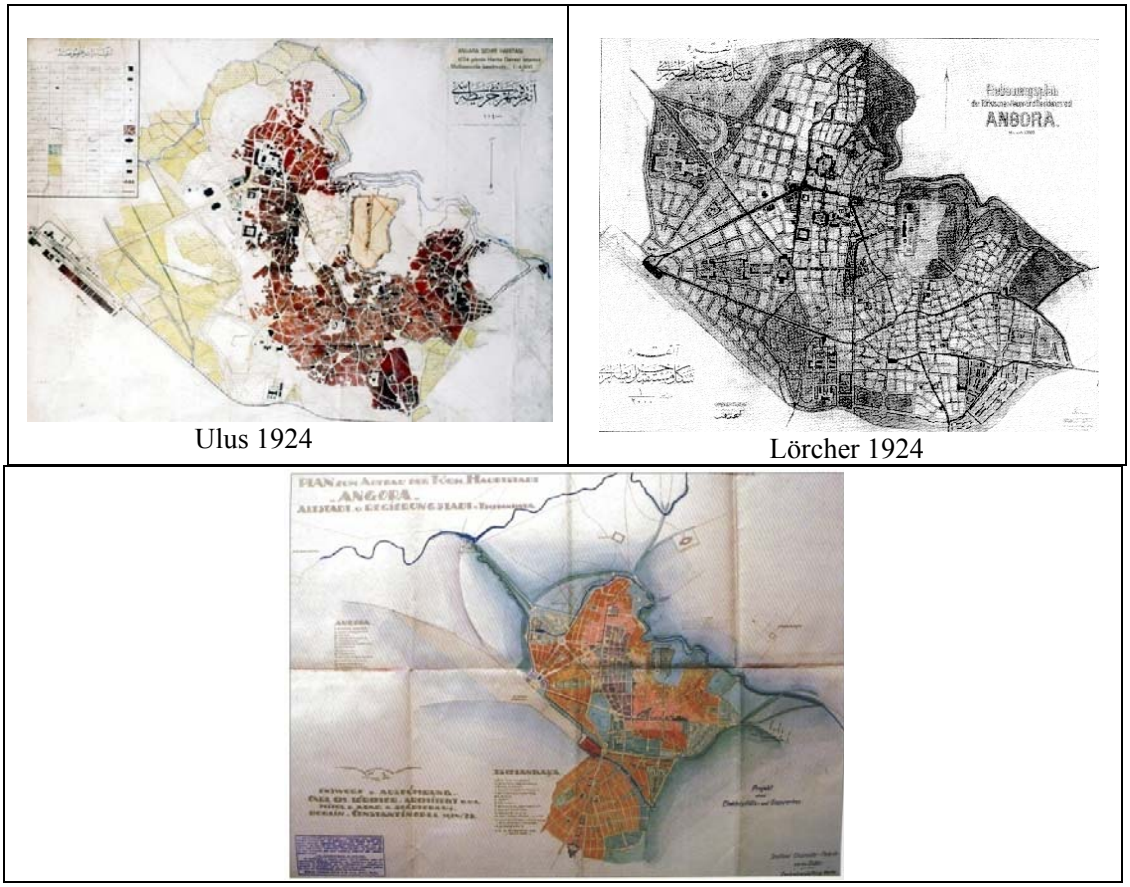


Figure 6.2. 1925 Lörcher Ulus Plan and its extension to Yenişehir in 1925 (Cengizkan, 2002)

Does it mean that the existence of Yenişehir was not an original part of the intention to turn Ankara into a capital city; or was it an idea that appeared in the implementation of the old city plan? If such is the case, we can think that the first initiative was only to transform Ulus and as seen in the old city plan it was designed as a complete city diagram bounded by the railway. According to Cengizkan (2002; 47, 57), 1924 plan prepared only for the old city turned into a comprehension that includes the new city in the course of time. For him, one reason of this might be that the attempts for modernization could come into the level of consciousness through a process. But in addition to this, it was recognized that the urban land to be produced through the 1924 Plan would not have been sufficient. This fact would be seen more apparently in the

debates for the "big expropriation" which was with Cengizkan's term the main 'generator' of the new city – Yenişehir plan.

6.3.2.1. The Big Expropriation – the Law no. 583 and the birth of Yenişehir

On March 24th, 1924, The Law no 583 came into force and Yenişehir's *initial* property basis is formed, it was a 200 ha sized single plot of public property; This fact is called as the "Big Expropriation" and it is defined (such as Yavuz, 1952 and Tekeli, 1980) as one of the significant and progressive land policies in the planning history of Turkey. According to Keskinok,

> This legal arrangement –realizing urban development via expropriated land– has much later become a model for significant mass housing applications and planning of large city parts in Turkey. (Keskinok, 2006; 45)

We can even say that its importance overshadowed Lörcher Plan. For example, Yavuz (1952) takes up the boundaries of this expropriation as independent from Lörcher Plan. He mentions that there was a scheme as an appendix of the law and this scheme became the determinant in the planning of Yenişehir. His argument, together with the ambiguities (mentioned above) about the origin of Lörcher Plan, is accepted by later authors, such as Tankut (1988) and Sarıoğlu (2001). Thus, this argument resulted with the general opinion that Yenişehir was an outcome of this law and its scheme, so Lörcher Plan was designed in accordance with this law. However, Cengizkan (2002) argues with a contrary conclusion and shows that that 'scheme' was actually a rough copy of Lörcher's Yenişehir Plan:

> It should be acknowledged now that the 1925 Yenişehir Plan ('Yönetim Şehri – Çankaya') in the same year, caused requirement for land in this southern part; (…) and expropriation has been made possible by Lörcher plan. (Cengizkan, 2002; 49)

Therefore, we can argue that Yenişehir was born as an outcome of Lörcher's 1925 New City Plan. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the reason of existence for Yenişehir comes from Lörcher's Plan. We should look at to a broader context for such a reason. This reason lies under the main debate in the making of Law no. 583, when it is discussed by the national assembly.

Debate on a 'new' city

Yavuz (1952) titles this debate as "the old Ankara or a new city". *On the one side*, some parliament members oppose the idea of new city. For example, Trabzon deputy Ahmet Muhtar [Çilli] Bey says that;

> It is not accurate to build a new city not only because it is not accurate to leave the old city neglected and build a new one with the money of this old city's taxpayers, but also it will be much more costly to build a new city instead of making the old city habitable with little amount of money, therefore it is not accurate to build a new city (Cengizkan, 2002; 176)

On the other side, the deputies, who support legislative proposal, make the necessity for a new city depend on the very high land values in the old city. In other words, they stress on the excessive land rents in the old city as the reason for a new city. Here, we can infer that the *absolute rent*, which arises from the legal right to withhold the land from market makes possible to obtain anticipated (potential) profits, caused to a scarcity of land to be developed.

Therefore, the search for a new city outside the existing city cannot be reduced to a vision of creating a modern, ideal city. It was actually a *necessity* arising from the absolute property rights on land. Together with the complicated property pattern of Ulus, increasing land rents has pushed the government to shift into a new site. This conflict emerging just two years later from the constitution of the Republic shows how much degree the Ottoman 'layer' of private property and traditional plot patterns have been consolidated and the commodification of urban land has started in the Ottoman period. In other words, Yenişehir is a direct consequence of the inheritances of the previous *Ottoman layer* of Ankara.

Debate on who should collect increasing land value

As an extension of the first debate, the second one is about the value problem: how should be the price of expropriated land determined; according to the market value or to the value registered in title deeds (title value)? Indeed, this is about who will collect the 'rent'; landowners or the public? The government claims the expropriation according to title value and states that landowners do not have a right on increasing values caused by the becoming of Ankara the capital city:

> Not in any civilized country does a rent produced in public space belong to the owners of the property. Actually this rent belongs directly to the municipality or the community…There is no right more legitimate than the appropriation of the value produced collectively by public. (Yavuz, 1952; 21)

Government's argument is opposed once again by Muhtar Bey with an interesting argument:

> He says that although the government offered expropriation based on title values for the new city on the other side claims that expropriation is not possible in the old city due to the increasing price of land. If expropriation for the new city is possible, why isn't it implemented for the old city… (Government) has never recognized the possibility of expropriation in this way in the old city as well. (Yavuz, 1952; 21)

Here, we see that Muhtar Bey, exposing the contradiction in the government's argument, provokes the parliament to refuse Government's proposal. In other words, he implies that government's proposal does not depend on a principal attitude that covers the all landowners, but it is only a pragmatic attitude just to obtain the lands for new city with a low price.

In fact, the later actions of the government in the planning process of Yenişehir would justify Muhtar Bey just because of the domination of the attitude represented by Muhtar Bey in the property relations of Turkey, although this fact does not decrease the importance of the Law no. 583 as a first attempt to appropriate land rents by public. As Yavuz complains, later land policies in Ankara would not consider the collection of land rents in the name of public but on the contrary, they would support the speculators through selling off the public lands and transferring the public resources to the landowners via land subsidies for bureaucrats. Moreover, the expropriation by title values would not be applied in other cases (Yavuz, 1952, 1980). We will see this process in the implementation of the law no. 583 and Lörcher Plan, and then in the process of Jansen Plan.

6.3.2.2. Implementation of the Big Expropriation

> *The law concerning the expropriation of the necessary areas, wetlands, and swamplands by the municipality for the construction of New District, No: 583.*

This is the name of The Law no. 583 that is noted in the proposal text. However, Yavuz (1952; 17) attracts attention to a detail: Although in the original text of the law there was the term "Yenişehir" (new city), it was changed as "Yeni Mahalle" (new district) in the presented text. According to Yavuz, this change is caused by the concern that use of the term 'şehir' (city) might be asserted by the opposing deputies as a complete negligence of the old city. That is, the term city was tried to be moderated by replacing with 'district' to avoid reactions of the opposition. In fact, such concerns and debates mentioned above indicate a strong tension. Tekeli summarizes this tension in this way:

> It was not possible to build a modern city around old Ankara where land speculation has reached to high levels. Therefore it was necessary to open up to new areas. However the owners of real property in Ankara were against this. They wanted the intensification of old Ankara. (Tekeli, 1980; 55)

Therefore, this tension cannot be seen only as a bureaucratic conflict. It was arising from a conflict in property relations; as an extension of a class struggle between the landowners and rich merchants of the old Ankara and the new bureaucrats and politicians of the capital Ankara. In fact, this conflict already appeared in the making of Law no. 417 (The Law of Ankara Municipality) in 1924. With this law, the election of the city council was democratized through the removal of a rule, which gives the right of election only to the property owners.

The tension between the old landowners and the government appears as a bargain for the price of expropriation. As explained by Cengizkan (2002; 51), the area subject to expropriation was owned by some rich landowner families of Ankara, such as Toygar-zade, Sadr-i zade, Hoca-zade and Merhum-zade. Before the enactment of the expropriation law, on 2.7.1925, these landowners presented a petition to prime ministry and object to the content of Law no.583. Consequently, the law was enacted in accordance with their demands; they would get back the 25% of the expropriated land in addition to the 15 times of title values.

Moreover, although the total size of expropriation area was 400 ha, the realized expropriation occurred as 300 ha, and 200 ha of this quantity contained Yenişehir[1]. In spite of these distortions, it is seen that the Big Expropriation has been successful in creating necessary land for the development of Ankara, which were proposed by Lörcher's plan. Below, there is *the cadastral map*[2] of expropriated area for Yenişehir. The written names on the map are the landowners that had land in Yenişehir district. There is not much evidence for the pieces of land that return to the owners as their 25% share. But we know that (as it will be discussed in more detail) Hoca-zade and Toygar-zade had cadastral parcels in Yenişehir district and the largest parcel belonged to Esatoğlu Ömer with a 21 ha area. The average of other parcels privately owned is about 1 ha. In fact, this low average can be considered as a reflection of highly fragmented pattern of Ottoman land.

Figure 6.4. below shows that how Lörcher's plan and the cadastral pattern of expropriation area overlap[3]. It is seen that only the roads of Çankaya and Dikmen that connect Çankaya with Ulus are taken as a guiding element by Lörcher in his design for the wedge (*kama*) of Government district.

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[1] Although Yenişehir's area in Lörcher Plan is mentioned as 150 ha in Yavuz (1952) and following studies on Yenişehir accepted this quantity, with an accurate calculation, it is seen that its size is approximately 200 ha. Even if we exclude the east of İncesu from Yenişehir's area, it is about 175 ha. Moreover, the boundaries of expropriation area exceeds Yenişehir district and has a size about 250 ha.

[2] This map coded as "Plan no. 6408" is obtained from the cadastral archieve of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. It is a copy prepared in 1940 from a map dated 1.8.1927 and includes the note (with Ottoman letters) that "it is consistent with the original document presented to the Ministry". Its another version was firstly presented by Şenyapılı (1985). Although that version does not contain the names of land owners, it includes more divisions than Plan no. 6408.

[3] There are inconsistencies between the cadastral map and Lörcher Plan's base map. The large difference of the watercourse of İncesu from Lörcher plan might be a result of an infrastructure investment. However, the road tracks on Lörcher's base map do not overlap exactly with the ones in the cadastral map.

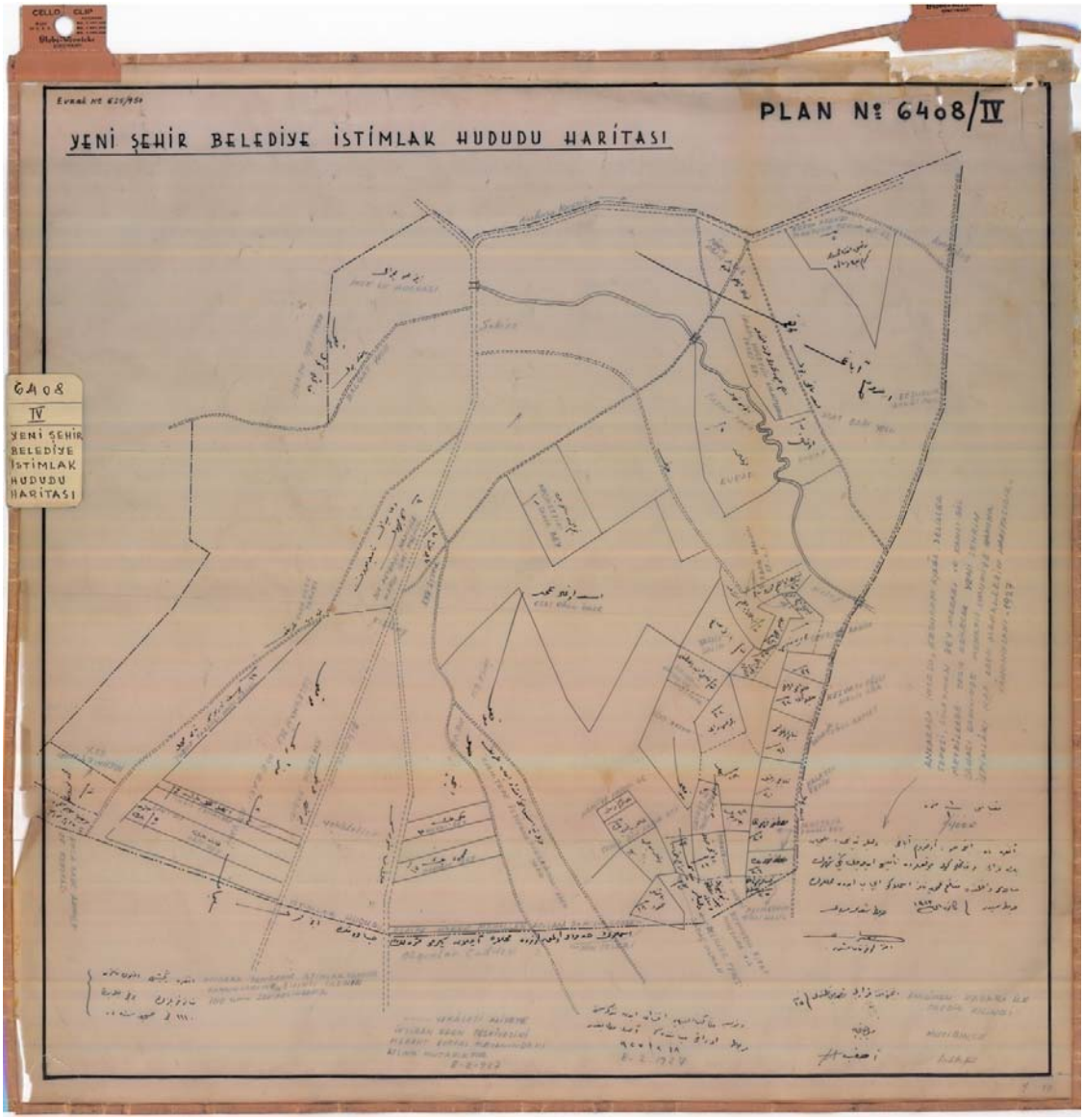


Figure 6.3. The cadastral map displaying the parcels subject to the Big Expropriation (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Map Archieve)

In addition, some lines of cadastral parcels (as in the boundary of Süleyman Bey Cemetery) seem to be taken as abstract guiding lines. Finally only the south boundary of the expropriation area is used as a reference, which forms Olgunlar Street and as the boundary of Lörcher's Yenişehir. Therefore, it is seen that, layout of Yenişehir is designed almost independently from any property constraint. Consequently, Lörcher Plan and the Big Expropriation cannot be considered independently from each other. While Lörcher determined the frame of reference for the Big Expropriation, the latter provided a property framework through the unification of cadastral parcels coming from the Ottoman layer. However, we see that implementation of the Big Expropriation was distorted by the struggles occurring in the sphere of property relations.

Figure 6.4. Overlap of the cadastral map of the Big Expropriation with Lörcher's Yenişehir Plan

6.3.2.3. Construction of Yenişehir

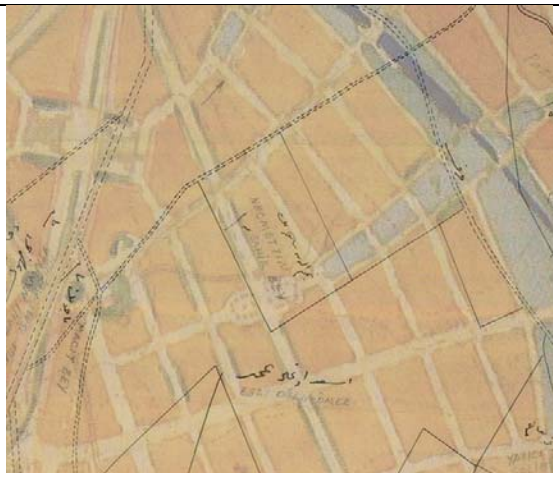
The First Building in Yenişehir

There is very limited data about the construction process of Yenişehir in Lörcher period. As an initial point, Şenyapılı (2004; 42) quotes from Velidedeoğlu that ***the first house*** in Yenişehir was built by a 'long-sighted' bureaucrat –*Necmettin Sahir Bey*– in the middle of fields without road. The cadastral map of the Big Expropriation that shows the names of landowners justifies this information (presented in Figure 6.3.).

We see that he had a rectangular parcel (approximately 3.1 ha sized) adjacent to the north of Lozan Square and parallel to İsmet Paşa Street (Mithat Paşa today). In fact, it was connected to a cadastral road that was taken as a reference by Lörcher for the design of Tuna Street. Moreover, the geometry, central position and direction of this parcel imply that Necmettin Sahir Bey, employed in paperwork office of the Parliament, *had seen Lörcher's Yenişehir Plan before the Big Expropriation* (3.24.1925) and then he *intentionally* bought this parcel, which is indeed *too* large for building a house.

Thus, it is possible to infer that construction of the first building in Yenişehir, rather than an outcome of long-sightedness, might be a 'speculative investment' of real property. However, as a result of the Big Expropriation, his parcel (which comprises the urban block no. 1052 and partly 1053) must have been reduced to its 25%. From the Cadastral Map of 1935 we see that Necmettin Sahir's 'reduced' parcel was including the parcel no. 1052/4. This is the location of the first building in Yenişehir as seen in the maps below.

Finally, January 21st, 1938 dated decision of the Development Management Committee (*İmar İdare Heyeti*) justifies this assertion. With this decision this building was demolished, since "it presents very ugly view".



Necmettin Sahir's Parcel

First Building in Yenişehir (base map: Cengizkan, 2002)

Figure 6.5. The first building in Yenişehir on parcel 1052/4

If we ignore this first attempt, construction in Yenişehir starts with the initiative of the state. *Firstly*, Aslanoğlu (1980) explains that the second development in Yenişehir was the construction of 198 houses at the east of the Ministry of Health. These were one storey detached houses in gardens. According to Tankut (1992; 53) this type of building was seen as a model that represents the living style of the national bourgeois. Thus, these houses cost expensive and addressed to high income groups.

Secondly, Cengizkan (2002; 71) denotes to a project supported by municipality and composed of 34 single houses on Kazım Özalp Street (one of them is still conserved on the block/parcel 1045/2). According to him, this was an attempt to encourage private investors to build housing and indicates that the idea of single houses with a garden was supported both by the municipality and the government.

In addition to these first attempts, the base map of 1928 Jansen Plan shows that most of the construction has been occurred at the east of Çankaya Street[1]. The west side was almost empty, except several buildings around Cumhuriyet (Kızılay) Square. We argue that this pattern of development might be related with the construction of Health Ministry in the east of Sıhhiye Square and the housing initiatives by municipality, which required the application of roads and infrastructure around these investments.

However, we can also assume that the location of these investments was already conditioned by the impacts of the Ottoman layer. Because, as seen in the cadastral map, only 75 ha of total area (250 ha) is marked by the name of a landowner and most of them lies in the east of Atatürk Boulevard. If we assume that the west part that is *not* marked with a land owner has been composed of common lands, then the first constructions in Lörcher Plan occurs in the east side, which was privately owned before the Big Expropriation. Remember that the 25% of these private parcels was returned to its private owners. In this condition, municipality's tendency to encourage private investments through housing constructions and infrastructure investments might have required the development of the east side, where there were still private lands after the Big Expropriation.

The map that shows gas network (Cengizkan, 2002) on 12.4.1928 explains how construction would go on. Nevertheless, as we will see in Jansen period, the west side of the network has been changed in 1930s. Thus, the map of gas network should be assumed as projected lines rather than built lines.

Finally, we should note that parcels around the Boulevard would remain empty until the middle of 1930s. As we will depict, these were an explicit outcomes of land speculation. Thus, only 10 of 78 urban blocks in Lörcher's design was fully developed in 1928 and 9 of them was at the west side of Yenişehir. In addition, there were partial constructions in 26 urban blocks. And most of the gas and road network of the west side was established. In conclusion, these would be sufficient to predetermine Jansen's design for Yenişehir (Figure 6.6.).

[1] Çankaya Street would be called as Gazi Mustafa Kemal Street in 1930 and Atatürk Boulevard in 1935

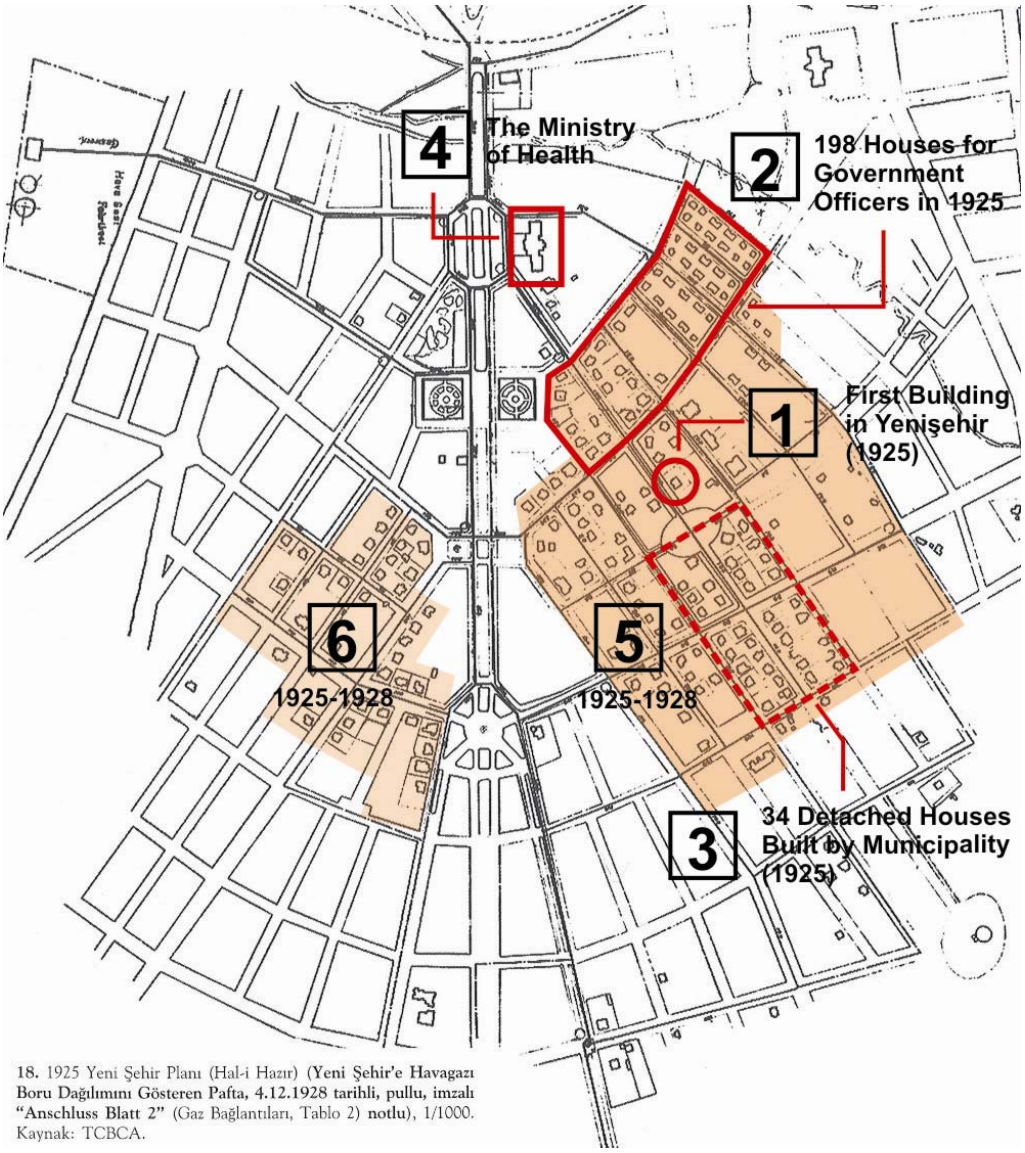


Figure 6.6. The predicted locations of the initial implementations in Lörcher' Yenişehir Plan (Base map: Cengizkan, 2004)

6.3.3. As a Result for Lörcher Period

Production of urban form in Lörcher's Yenişehir can be evaluated as a creation of a design *work* that is independent from an already *produced form*. But it does not mean that it is independent from property relations. As argued above, firstly it is an indirect consequence of the declaration of Ankara as the Capital (which is a result of a struggle between the constitutive forces of the Republic and the dominant forces of the Ottoman period, and which appeared as a competition between Ankara and İstanbul).

Secondly, it is a direct consequence of the context of property relations. This context determined the birth of Yenişehir in two respects. *i)* it was a necessity arisen from the consolidated property relations of the old Ankara, which is the source of some barriers such as speculative land values and complicated property pattern. *ii)* Yenişehir project was the object of a conflict between the rich landowners of old Ankara and the coalition of governors, politicians and bureaucrats who are new comers of Ankara.

Nevertheless, this conflict cannot be taken as an antagonistic struggle like as between capital and labour classes. They had common grounds on the capitalist development perspective of Turkey. This common ground would appear firstly in 1923 in İzmir Congress of Economy before the declaration of Republic, as a compromise to implement liberal policies in economy, based on the private entrepreneurship (Boratav, 2010). Thus, constitution of the Republic continued with a process of establishing new institutions. In fact, this was "a process of constructing new property relations to cope with the capitalist mode of production" (Günay, 1999b; 237). This process would reach in 1926 to the enactment of Civil Law. As Günay (1999b; 237) indicates, "the abolishment of publicly owned lands (*miri toprak*) and a substantial transfer of common (*metrük toprak*) and dead lands (*ölü toprak*) into private property are a part of this process".

In such a liberalization process, emergence of Yenişehir through a 'big expropriation' seems paradoxical. However, we should not forget that bourgeois revolution of Turkey was not accomplished by a 'bourgeois' class. It was the 'work' of a leadership composed of soldiers and intellectuals. This leadership was embracing capitalist development as *a required path* to create a modern society. Therefore, their attitude cannot be reduced to capitalist interests. In fact, their revolutionist attitude *enabled* the realization of the Big Expropriation.

However, we claim that planning of Yenişehir and the Big Expropriation was a product of a *pragmatic* attitude, although it was enabled by the revolutionist attitude in question. As argued above, the tensions and debates occurred in the enactment of the Law no. 583 were resulted in the crystallization of the liberal tendencies. Tekeli states,

> …these discussions did not result in measures that restrict private ownership and direct the increase in values (değer? ya da value?) back to public, because The Republic was not rejecting capitalist course of development. The rent due to urbanization of Ankara was a significant resource for the national bourgeoisie that is to be created. The law numbered 583 **has an understanding attitude with regard to** the sharing of the increased values of the lands to be planned and developed. According to this, 25% of the urbanized lands were to be returned to landowners of the expropriated lands (Tekeli, 1980; 55)

Therefore, the tensions emerged in the enactment of expropriation law would be solved partly in the implementation process with the compromise for re-privatization 25% of expropriated lands. In a longer term, through the development and transformation of Yenişehir, the conflict between landowner class and the 'new-comers' would be solved (almost) completely by means of their integration in the creation of new national bourgeois. Land rents and speculation would be one of the main channels of this integration. This was the fact that makes Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu write the novel 'Ankara', in which fading of the revolutionist attitude is told via the change of a revolutionary commander into a land speculator in the course of Yenişehir's development.

Government's pragmatic attitude in the process of expropriation can be seen more explicitly in 'privatization' of the government district that is the Lörcher's wedge in Yenişehir. Plan no. 793 (August 1st, 1929) below shows a register that includes the name of landowners subject to expropriation in accordance with a special law (no. 1352 in 1928). This law is made for the expropriation of a 20 ha. sized area in order to realize Jansen's design for the government district.

Tekeli (2009) reminds that in this expropriation process, landowners demanded too high prices from the state (so, the principle of "expropriation according to title-value in order to appropriate rising value for the sake of public" was abandoned before 1928). But some of the landowners were Atatürk's friends. Thus, the price demands were reduced and expropriation could be made possible by Atatürk's reaction to the situation.

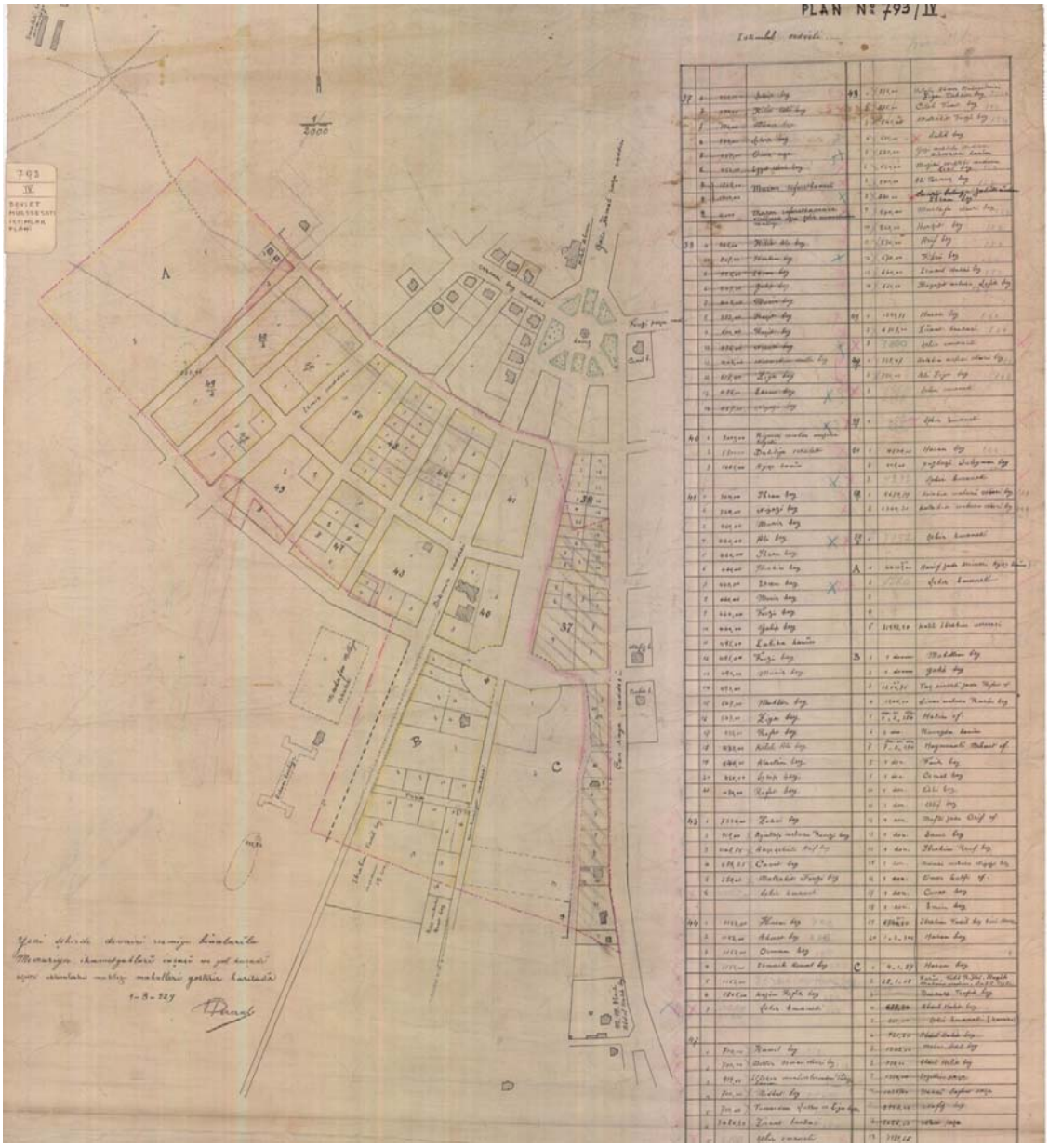


Figure 6.7. Plan no. 793 for the expropriation of the government district.
(Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Map Archieve)

But the essential problem is that the land subject to expropriation in 1928 was already expropriated by the Law no. 583 in 1925 and it was assigned as the government district in Lörcher's plan. Then, why a public property assigned to a public use (besides the government center of the country) was sold to private persons? We argue that this is the main evidence in the pragmatic attitude in the Big Expropriation. In this connection, we assume that this privatization must have occurred in 1925 or 1926 shortly after the expropriation. Because in 1926 a new moment appeared that would lead to the abandoning of Lörcher's plan via the idea of the competition to obtain a new plan for Ankara.

This moment was the assassination attempt to Mustafa Kemal in June 17th, 1926 in İzmir. It was resulted in the elimination of opposing forces connected with this incident. Thus, the conservative groups against the revolutionary politics of the new regime were defused. In other words, the struggle between Ankara and İstanbul ended in favor of Ankara; and according to Cengizkan (2002; 53) the constitution period of the Republic was completed by this incident.

In fact, Cengizkan (2002; 53) indicates that the critiques to Lörcher's plan started as early as 1925 and it was seen that it is insufficient to control the fast growth of Ankara. But he also adds that after this episode, a breaking happens from the architectural styles to the management of Ankara. 1926 is also the year when the Civil Law was enacted and Bank of Real Estate (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası) was established. Therefore, this moment gave rise to the process of obtaining Jansen Plan. This process would be operated by a more holistic attitude to have a more comprehensive plan that can cope with the dynamic development of the capital Ankara.

6.4. DEVELOPMENT OF YENİŞEHİR: JANSEN PLAN

We saw that Yenişehir was designed by Lörcher's 1925 Plan, realized as a public property through the Big Expropriation and constructed partly by the investments of municipality and individuals through the privatization of produced plots. However, the need for a new plan showed itself in a short term and the idea of obtaining a new plan through a competition was activated in 1927. In addition to search for a solution for newly emerging problems, this competition can be seen as an attempt to recharge the Republic's commitment to create a planned city that embodies its ideal of modern society.

Parallel to the organization of competition, Ankara Development Directorate (*Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*) is established in 1928 with the Law no. 1351, since Ankara Municipality has not sufficient technical and financial capacity to manage the development of Ankara. This directorate was connected to the Ministry of interior. Thus, central government is taking up the planning of Ankara through a strong organization equipped with financial and legal tools.

Moreover, in following years, a series of laws would be enacted as a consequence of the government's determination (such as the Law of Municipalities in 1930, The Law of Buildings and Roads in 1933).

There were three planners, who are Brix, Jaussley and Jansen invited to the competition and Hermann Jansen's project was selected by the jury. Yavuz (1952) and Tankut (1993) explain in detail the conditions of the competition, the reports of projects, approaches of planners and the attitudes of the jury members. Here, we cannot elaborate these issues but both Yavuz and Tankut agree that Jansen's project was the most realistic, modest and sensitive one among the three projects. Their sensitivity to historical pattern of the old city and to the meaning of Ankara Castle was overlapping. Tankut summarizes Jansen's approach as a part of the garden city approach and Sitte's principles. In this respect, it can be assumed as a continuation and advance of Lörcher Plan. (see Figure B. 1. in Appendix B)

However, Tekeli (1980; 61) notes that Jansen himself was not satisfied for his own project because of the limitations given in the competition, such as the determined population as 300.000 and the development direction in south around Yenişehir, since he prefer the slopes in the north. Thus, Lörcher's Yenişehir appeared in Jansen's plan as a limitation and this would be a source of tension in the planning process of Yenişehir.

After his 1/4000 scaled competition project, Jansen revised it by another plan in 1929. This plan has strong continuities with Lörcher's plan as described by Cengizkan (2002; 87). Especially in Yenişehir, Jansen seems to accept Lörcher's design. For example, the symmetrical structure of the government district and surrounding roads and the direction of Dikmen Street (Necatibey Street today) are the same with Lörcher's design. The figures below display the parallels and distortions between Lörcher and Jansen plans.

However, these would be changed in his 1930 revision plan. Especially the boulevard is distorted and its symmetrical relation with the government district is deformed. Moreover, the

direction of Dikmen Street was changed and in accordance with this change, the layout of the west side was quietly revised, since there was very little construction at that part of Yenişehir.

What is the reason of these changes? Cengizkan (2002; 110) quotes from Tankut (1993) that Lörcher sues a lawsuit for his royalty (*telif hakkı*) to Jansen. In this connection, Cengizkan asserts that the main reason of these changes in the formation of Yenişehir was not an opposition to Lörcher's style or approach but an attempt to abolish the evidences that might support Lörcher's royalty claim in the court. Thus, formation of Yenişehir was influenced once again by a property relation, however this time, not by a relation of real property but a relation of intellectual property. (see Figure 6.8. below)

Tankut (1993) defines the period between Jansen's 1929 Plan and 1932 Implementation Plan (Kesin İmar Planı) as the pre-implementation phase. According to Tankut, this phase is characterized by the international economic crisis of 1929. The construction activity slowed down and purchasing power was decreased. As a result, since 400 m^2 sized parcels proposed by Jansen could not be afforded, smaller parcels would be produced.

For Tankut (1993), another problem of this phase was the inexperience of the Directorate's staff. However, this inexperience was also a source of resistance to the increasing pressures from the landowners. Moreover, there was an intense criticism against the Directorate in the Parliament. Tankut (1993; 93) interprets these critiques as attempts to increase private interests through the transfer of authority to the municipality, which was more open to the intervention.

Therefore, Jansen Plan as a 'work' of design was shaped in a tension with a *created form* coming from Lörcher's Yenişehir Plan. This tension made Jansen to distort some design elements determined by Lörcher. However, his tendency to change already 'created form' was limited by a *produced form* composed of existing parcels and blocks. Thus, production of urban form in Yenişehir was determined by 'created form' and inasmuch as this created form was actualized through implementation of new parcels, it has gained its main characteristics and became a 'lived form' as we will depict in the following section.

Figure 6.8. Jansen's 1929 1/4000 Ankara Plan and 1929 1/2000 Yenişehir Plan (above) (Das Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin in der Universitätsbibliothek, http://architekturmuseum.ub.tuberlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=79&Daten=153605, accessed 19.04.2008) and Overlap of Jansen's 1930 Plan with Lörcher's 1924-25 Plan (below).

6.4.1. Implementation of Jansen's Yenişehir Plan

Developments in Jansen's Yenişehir firstly start with the Plan no. 75 (dated November 3rd, 1930), which is the precise plan of the government district and approved by Gazi M. Kemal. It would be followed by Plan no. 793 (mentioned above) in order to (re)expropriate the government district. Then, the project would be realized rapidly and function as a generator in the development of Yenişehir district. (see Figure B.3. in Appendix B)

Following implementations are mostly allotment plans at parcel or block scale in these years. For this period, we have 35 allotment plans obtained from Municipality's archive. First group of them are readjustments of block and parcel pattern coming from Lörcher Plan in accordance with the changes in Jansen Plan, like as in Plan no. 218, which distorts the direction of Kazım Paşa Street (Ziya Gökalp today). (see Figure B.2. in Appendix B)

Another group of implementations are the subdivision plans of large parcels demanded by landowners. For example, following Plan no.614 indicates the subdivision of Şükrü Kaya's 3819 m^2 sized parcel into 5 parcels. Similarly, Ragıp (Soysal), Toygarzade family, Celalettin Bey and Ali Nazmi had such adjustment plans for their parcels.

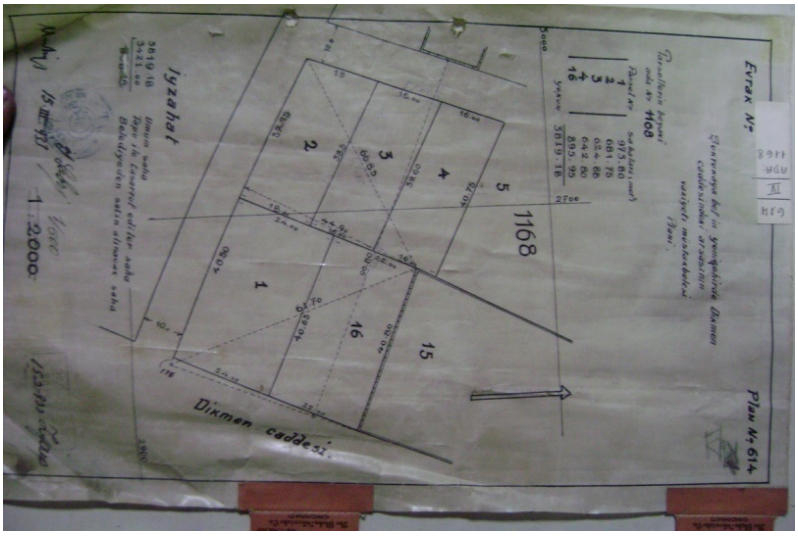


Figure 6.9. Plan no 614. that is the readjustment of Sükrü Kaya's parcel.
(Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Map Archieve)

Thus, these were the first steps of the reflections from Jansen's 'created form' to the sub-layer of produced form, which would be readjusted continuously through subdivision-unification processes at parcel scale, until they are consolidated by a new readjustment at block scale with another allotment plan. We will see such cycles of operations in various aspects of the formation process.

It is seen that until the year 1934, most of implementation plans were about adjustment and readjustment of property patterns. But there was few implementation plans for construction order (inşaat tarzı). In fact, the construction order has been controlled through zoning codes prepared by Jansen. An example for construction order plans is Plan no. 1303 (dated 9.9.1933), by which boundary of Yenişehir was extended through Telgaz district (industrial area). In this extended area, Jansen proposes a construction order composed of detached houses with garden. Nonetheless, one year later on September 8th, 1934 this order would be changed into a block order composed of 4 building types including 2, 3 and 4 storey types. Thus, the parcels facing Sıhhiye is coded as 4 storey height block-ordered buildings.

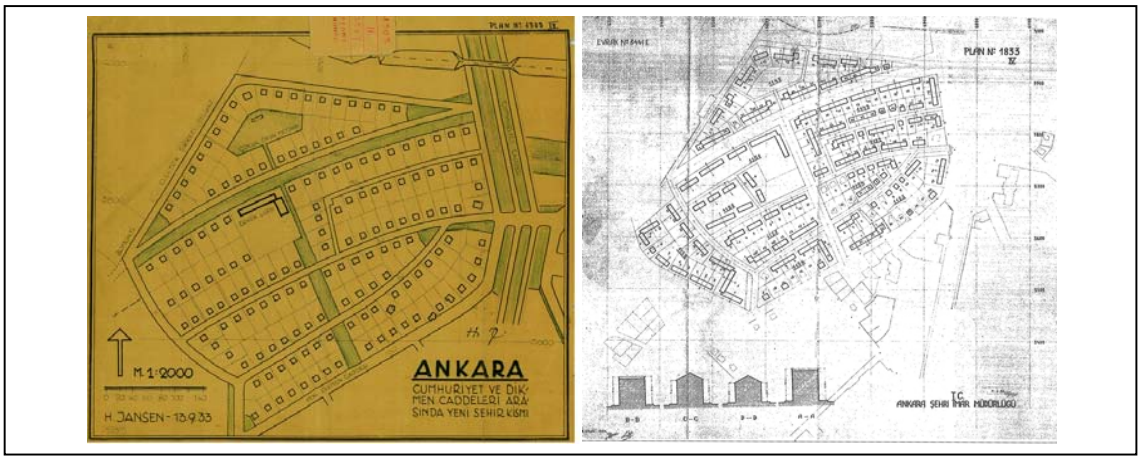


Figure 6.10. Building Order Plan no 1303 and 1833 for the same site. (Cengizkan, 2004)

Up to here, we have seen the production of urban blocks (as boundaries between private and public), through allotment plans in accordance with Jansen's total design of Yenişehir. Now we need to investigate how parcels are produced in these urban block boundaries. As explained in the previous chapter, this investigation is going to be handled through the analysis of Development Management Committee's decisions in four categories; first of which is the parcellation decisions.

6.4.1.1. Parcellation decisions

Since the decisions of the Committee are mostly missing for 1932, we cannot have a clear assertion for the beginning phase of the parcellation. Nevertheless, we know that, the decision no. 256 (7.1.1932), was a *principle decision*, which brings standards for the subdivision of parcels, about their sizes and facade width. According to this principle, minimum facade width was determined for Yenişehir as 16 m and for Cebeci 14 m, including 3 m side setback distances.

This standardization indicates to an attempt to control growing demands for subdivision of existing parcels. Thus, 60 of 234 decisions between 1932-1935 are subdivision demands and 9 of them are rejected according to the principle decision. Moreover, there are also 17 decisions for unification and subdivision through unification. However, the main tendency is towards fragmentation. (See Chart 1.1. in Appendix A)

Thus, the main issue of this period about subdivision process is about the pressures for small subdivision. Tankut (1993; 110) argues that this was the most respectful period of the committee to Jansen's decisions. The pressures on the Committee are at the parcel level rather than building level. They were resisting to the demands about parcel dimensions, boundaries and exchanges. The property owners, with Tankut's expression, are anxious but not much aggressive yet.

Another issue is about the disputes in expropriation processes. For example, on 1.1.1934, depending on the first sentence of the Law no. 583, Hacızade Ragıp (Soysal) objects to allocation of school and police department area from his parcel, which was a part of 25% returned lands in the process of Big Expropriation. The court accepts this objection. Moreover, we see that the Committee cannot finance the growing costs of expropriation for common uses such as parks, school areas etc. and they are delaying the expropriation. However, because of the reactions of landowners against this delay, they demand an alteration in the Law of

Expropriation (no. 1351) for extending the expropriation span to 7 years (May 1st, 1935). Nevertheless, while on the one hand there is a financial insufficiency, on the other hand the committee was obliged to expropriate land in Yenişehir area, which was already expropriated in 1925.

Lastly, there is the issue of subdivision demands in the outside of the planning boundaries. The Committee attracts attention to the harms of subdivision outside the planning boundaries for the implementation of city plan. However, right after this warning, they give permission for construction in the lands which have not yet a building order plan. This fact called by Yavuz (1952) as temporary subdivision (*muvakkat ifraz*) would set precedent for the 'temporary' subdivisions outside planning boundaries in 1940s as we will discuss in the next chapter.

6.4.1.2. Construction decisions

In fact, parcellation decisions reflect also the activity of construction. However, in addition to the ordinary construction activities which are in accordance with development codes, there were many demands to increase building height, number of floors, building depth and to construct outbuilding (müştemilat).

First of all, urban blocks facing the boulevard became the first source of increments in ***number of floors***. Even in January 1934, blocks no. 1162 and 1163 forming the west side of the boulevard were assigned as 4 storey. Three months later, buildings on the urban blocks no. 1048 and 1064 (owned completely by Ragıp Bey) allowed to be built at 4 storey height. And as mentioned above in September 1934, Sıhhiye square would be defined as 4 storey. This diffusion of increasing floors is not limited only with the boulevard. In June and September 1934, blocks behind the boulevard, such as 1048, 1066 and one parcel in the block 1166 became 3 storey. Another way of increase in number of floors is the addition of attic (*çatı katı*), such as in the officier houses (*memur konutları*) behind the Health Ministry in the same year. Finally, in 9.27.1935 (decision no. 169) we can see the first example of obtaining additional floor due to the high slope through acception of the basement (*bodrum kat*), in which the residential use is not allowed, as a normal floor. Finally, the decision no. 86 in 1935 is a significant sign that indicates the later serious concessions. With this decision, the Committee accepts a demand to build shops at the ground floor with a 3 m. height in spite of the previous decision that determines the heights of shopping floors as 4,5 m. This demand also includes the change of attic into a normal

floor. Thus, the height of the Boulevard increases to 5 storey and the construction of shopping floors gains a more flexible standard.

In short, the year 1934 is a breaking point with respect to number of floors. As seen in Chart 2.1. in Appendix A there were 22 demand of floor incease between 1933-35 and all of them were accepted, except the parliament member Salih Bozok's demand for 3 storey.

Signals of a similar pattern of change can be seen in the ***building depths***. Firstly, on 14.7.1934, again in Ragıp Bey's parcels on the boulevard, building depths are allowed to 15 m. instead of 10m., which is defined in Jansen's first codes. In another case, major general (*tümgeneral*) Hayrullah Fişek builds his building accidentally with 11 m. depth. Then, the committee decides to accept this situation and to increase building depth in the whole block 1082, but as *particular* only to that block. However, it would be only a precedent for the demands in other blocks. Beginning from 1936, demands for depth increase would gain pace, as seen in Chart 2.2. in Appendix A.

There are not many decisions about to construction of ***outbuildings***, since their regular demands are not taken into consideration by the Committee. However, outbuildings are seen mainly as the source of unauthorized construction activity. Outbuildings were frequently used as a residential extension through the violation of maximum height standard. Similarly basements were turned into residential uses in the construction phase or the later phases. Chart 2.4. in Appendix A displays how ***unauthorized activities*** begin between 1933 and 1935. Most of them were demolished or corrected but some of them are accepted via various excuses in return for a fine payment.

6.4.1.3. Building order decisions

Decisions of building order are about the interrelations of buildings in a block or street. Although Jansen's general attitude in Yenişehir is based on detached houses, he did not determine a design of masses for the total pattern of Yenişehir, but used some construction codes. Therefore, in process he designed block based or more comprehensively area based plans for the determination of building order. Especially on the boulevard, urban blocks were designed in a unity, composed of buildings in 'block order', as seen in the following examples. It is evident that Jansen and the Committee were attaching special importance to the definition of Atatürk Boulevard.

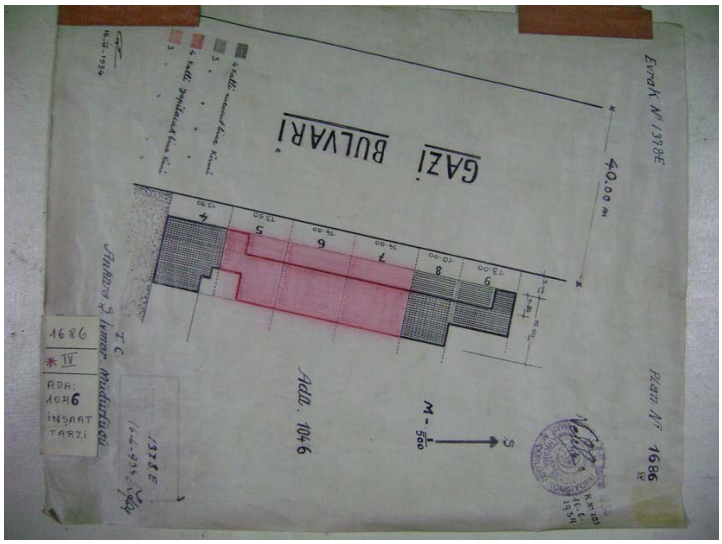


Figure 6.11. Plan no 1303 and an urban code by Jansen.
(Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Map Archieve)

However, in other parts, the building order emerged in an incremental process. Some demands were accepted, while few of them are rejected. Demands were mostly for block order and twin order (*ikiz düzen*) in order to increase the construction area in parcel. Tankut interprets this situation as such;

> The planner realizing that the basic principles of 1932 plan could not be actualized as he came to know Ankara and its citizens, made changes in the implementation plan although it was approved by the council of ministers and transformed some of the urban blocks to block-order in line with pressures. (Tankut, 1993; 146).

Thus, the result would be discontinuous and unordered urban blocks composed of detached, attached and twin houses as seen in Figure B.4. in Appendix B.

Nevertheless, in this period between 1932 and 1935, the Committee was giving importance to the harmony between buildings. There are several principle decisions that aim to ensure the unity and harmony between buildings. For example, they decide that in each urban block, the roof type of new buildings must be constructed in accordance with the existing buildings[1].

[1] The decision no. 82 of 1935: "*her blok dahilinde ilk yapılan binanın çatılı veya taraçalı olduğuna göre diğer muttasil binaların da buna tabi olmasına ve cephe renklerinin bir örnek yapılmasına...*"

Similarly, they attempt to control the canopy level, the shape of parapets, the color of walls and the features of garden walls with reference to existing buildings. Thus, the committee was trying to base its decisions on criteria based on the concept of *harmony*, which was also the base of aesthetic understanding of that period. In this respect, they were seeking for *continuity* and *unity* along street facades.

6.4.1.4. Functional (land use) decisions

Jansen's Ankara plan is frequently criticized for its undefined approach for the development of commercial center in Ankara. Although the city develops fast, he does not propose a new center. In Yenişehir, there is not a definition of a commercial center even for the daily needs of the district. Thus, as soon as Yenişehir starts to become a "neighborhood", the lack of commercial uses is felt; as an initial case, a citizen who gets the permission for a garage in Eczacı Street, builds a shop instead of garage. The committee accepts this unauthorized building and decides that in order to provide the needs of citizens, 'only particular to that street', construction of shops is allowed until the construction of the food market (*hal*)[1]. However, the food market would never be established but in many other streets commercial use would be permitted in the following years.

The next commercial use is established by the municipality at the corner of Lozan square where the food market decided to be established, as a bakery (*fırın*) in order to provide daily needs. Then, a second demand for shopping construction is rejected in June 1933. However, on 23.8.1933, parallel to the increase of building heights to 4 floors, the boulevard is defined as a commercial zone at the ground level from Sıhhiye to Havuzbaşı. Moreover, in June 1934 we see permissions for shopping on Kazım Özalp (Ziya Gökalp today) Street at the ground floor. In another case, the Committee rejects a demand for shopping "until the zones for shopping would be determined." This is actually a commitment for a provision of comprehensive commercial zone. Although, they also reject a shopping demand from Havuzbaşı to the south of Atatürk Boulevard since that part is on the face of Government District, the commercial use would determine the characteristics of Yenişehir in the next period (see Chart 4.1. in Appendix A).

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[1] In April 1933, the decision no.28: *"hal yapılana kadar, halkın ihtiyacına temin noktai nazarından şimdilik ibkası ve icabı halde sırf bu sokağa münhasır kalmak üzere dükkan inşaasına müsaade verilmesine…*"

6.4.2. The Owners of Yenişehir

The analysis above displays the dynamic tendencies of the production of parcels and buildings in Yenişehir. However, it does not explain the reasons of these tendencies. For such an explanation we have to locate these empirical dynamics into the structural context discussed above.

For this purpose, firstly the actors that take role in the production of Yenişehir should be evaluated. As we mentioned above, the constitution of Yenişehir is mainly determined by the 'newcomers' composed of bureaucrats, soldiers, various educated professionals and politicians. Nevertheless, the Big Expropriation that imposed Yenişehir to the rural lands in the south of Ulus was at the same time a ***negotiation*** between landowners of old Ankara and the newcomers. Therefore, the emergence and constitution period of Yenişehir is determined by these actors.

The cadastral maps completed in 1935 give an opportunity to us for analyzing the composition of these actors. Since these maps are prepared before the Law of Surname, it includes the *professions* of some landowners for a more precise definition.

When we bring together these maps it is seen that owners in 592 parcels (50%) of 1181 parcels are registered by their professions. As seen in the figure below, 303 (%51) of these 592 owners are composed of the parliament members (both ministers and deputies), military members (mainly military officers and commanders) and managers such as governors and district governors. Thus, Yenişehir is mainly dominated by actors of the state structures (Figure 6.12).

Chart 6.1. Distribution of the owner types in Yenişehir according to profession

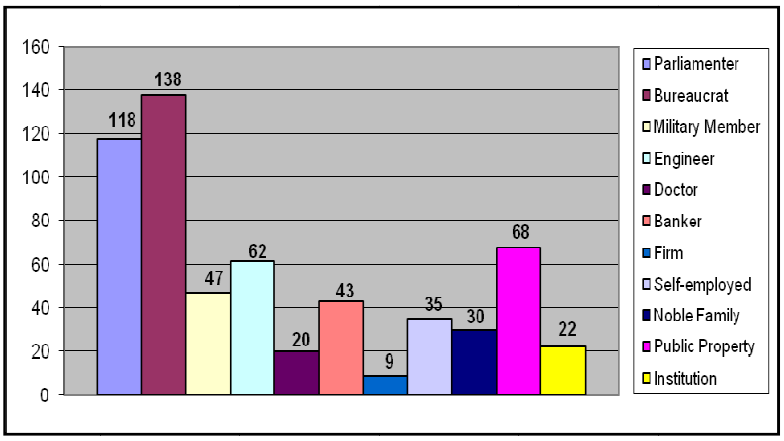


Table 6.1. Distribution of the owner types in Yenişehir according to profession

Types of Owners	Number of Property	Types of Owners	Number of Property
Parliamenter	118	Self-employed	35
Bureaucrat	138	Noble Family	30
Military Member	47	Institution	22
Engineer	62	Public Property	68
Doctor	20	*Undefined profession*	*506*
Banker	43	*Undefined property*	*83*
Firm	9	**Total**	**1181**

The ***second*** group is composed of professionals such as engineers, architects, academicians, doctors, bankers, firms and self-employed persons (e.g. lawyers and pharmacists, etc.). This group owns 169 (%28) of the defined 592 parcels.

The ***third*** group is the noble families of Ankara called '*zade*'. 30 (%5) of 592 parcels are owned by this group, who have parcels given back as the 25% of expropriated lands. However, there are certain undefined individuals who have many parcels most probably as a result of the 25% return of the Big Expropriation, such as Kabalarlı İbrahim, Hacı Yusuf Ziya, Mustafa Abdülhalik, Talat Sönmez, İsmail Hakkı and Hasan Tahsin. If we add 90 parcels of this group, we can assume that 120 parcels (20%) are owned by the landowners of Ankara. Among them, Hacızade Ragıp (Soysal) is an interesting figure who is also a member of the central state as the deputy of Kütahya. Ragıp Bey completely owned the most central two urban blocks in Yenişehir and played an active role in the formation of Atatürk Boulevard through his investments and his demands about the construction rights of his parcels.[1]

As the ***last*** group, we see 68 public property (55 of them belongs to Municipality) and 22 public institution. Therefore, only 5% of 1181 parcels were not sold by Municipality in 1935 and the privatization of Yenişehir was largely accomplished. From that time, private actors would be the main actors in the production of built environment in Yenişehir.

[1] We do not have information about how Ragıp Soysal obtained the urban blocks no. 1065 and 1047, which are two of the most central urban blocks in Yenişehir, as his 25% share given back from the Big Expropriation.

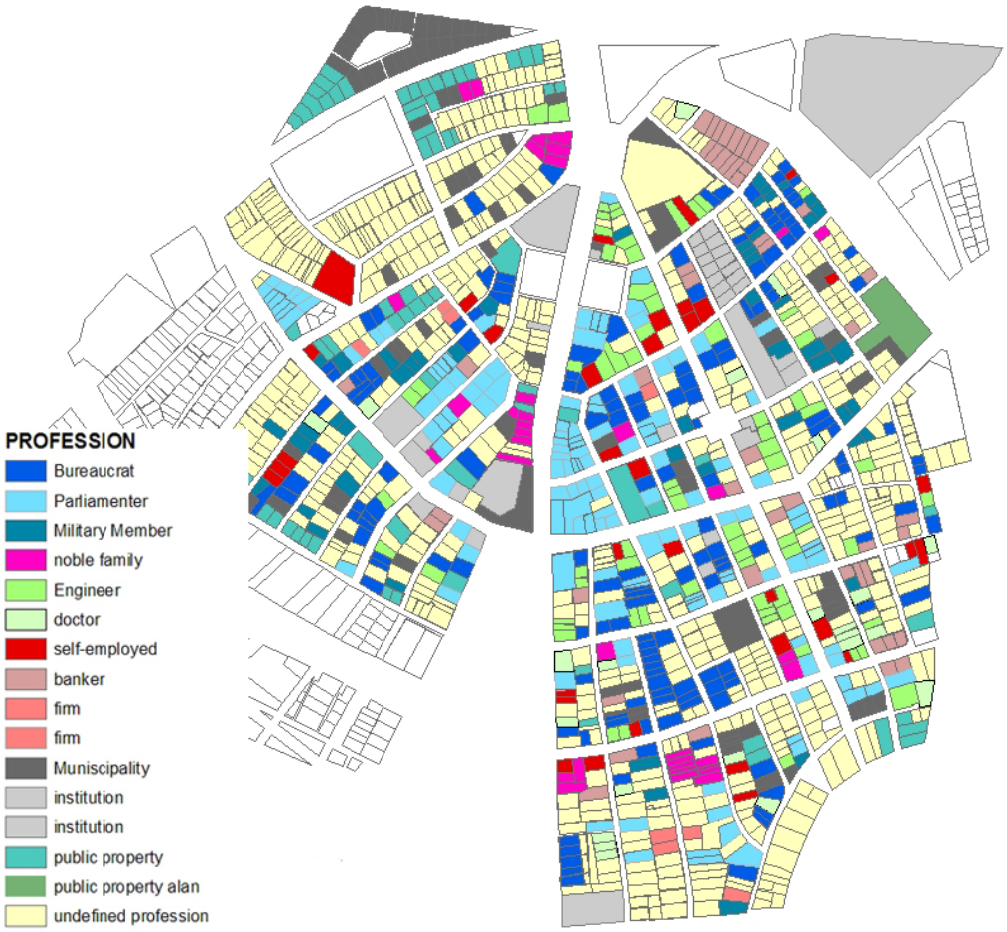


Figure 6.12. Distribution of the Landowners in Yenişehir according to their profession

6.5. CONCLUSION

Property owners in Yenişehir represent a composition determined in the emergence process of Yenişehir. The project of a new city (and hence Lörcher's Yenişehir Plan) and debates about the Big Expropriation, which is the main tool to realize this project became an arena of conflict. As Tankut (1993; 59) indicates

> The reason why the discussions could continue in an objective and scientific manner was that council members did not own real estate yet …Anyway it is the struggle for interest which is the driving force behind objectivity and rational behavior. The new citizens of Ankara are the winners of this struggle.

However, this fact should not become a reason to reduce the establishment of Yenişehir to a pure conflict of interest. Here, there is also a public interest which depends on the intentions of a revolutionary attitude, which aims to develop Ankara as a modern city that symbolizes the ideals of the new regime. Construction of Yenişehir was a crucial part of this project. Thus, the *pragmatic* side of Yenişehir's evolution was in a continuous interaction with its *idealist* side.

In this interaction, Lörcher had the chance to design Yenişehir almost on a 'tabula rasa'. The main layout of urban blocks was created according to a *work* of design. Then, Jansen Plan as a progress to handle the strong dynamics of Ankara's development is based on this layout coming from Lörcher Plan.

However, in the process of implementation, which gains pace after the preparation of 1932 Precise Plan, inasmuch as Yenişehir was *shaped* as a pattern of urban blocks, it was also produced as an accumulation of plots. In these first years of implementation characterized by subdivision activities, the Development Management Committee controlled process in accordance with Jansen's principles. Therefore, in these years the development process was determined by the Committee through an extended range of criteria, such as harmony in facades and colors, the character of a street or unity of an area.

Although within an incremental, trial-error attitude, which might be a result of *inexperience* as argued by Tankut (1993), they were trying to realize use-value centered criteria. For example, the continuity of the canopy level was a major criterion and thus the canopy level or the height of a building was determined according to height of the former buildings.

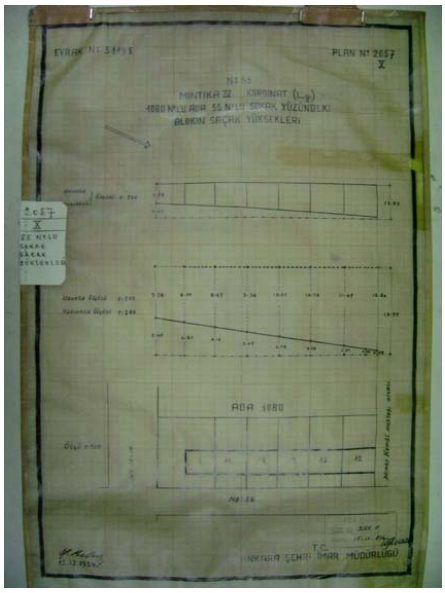


Figure 6.13. Plan no. 2057: Coding document for the control of height
(Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Map Archieve)

As seen in Plan no. 2057 (12.15.1934), it was possible to assign different heights for attached buildings in order to provide the continuity of facades and canopies. In fact, there was not even a concept of ***development rights*** (*imar hakları*) in the first half of 1930s as can be read in the hundreds of Committee decisions. Therefore, in the initial stage of implementation, *main consideration was to form urban space, not to distribute some property rights*.

Therefore, we claim that *buildings* were *not* produced as *commodities* yet at that period. But the land parcel has been produced as a true commodity, right from the beginning. In fact, as discussed above, Yenişehir itself was an outcome of this fact that causes the excessive increase of land values in the old city. It means that the tendencies in *the production of space as commodity* do not appear suddenly and totally but emerge gradually and partially. However, any moment appearing as a tendency cannot consolidate without leading to a shift. In other words, the tendency of urban land to be commodity has grown in the relative private property of Ottoman system but it exploded in the Republican era through comprising the agricultural land in the absolute property system of the Republic.

However, we should not assume that with the passage to capitalist production mode and absolute property law in the establishment of national state, the structures of commodity production schematized in Chapter 2 has suddenly spread over the country. While the production of land as commodity consolidates in the constitution period of Turkey (and hence Ankara and Yenişehir), the production of buildings have not been an extension of this process. The supply of buildings was mainly based on individual production, as summarized as Tekeli (1982);

> The housing market was not organized in a period when small scale production and ownership of single parcel prevailed and housing finance was provided by personal accumulation. In this market unorganized personal demands exist. This personal demand will either buy a house that is already supplied in the market, or will make it him/herself. There is no such thing for an entrepreneur to build a house just for the purpose of marketing and then selling it. The houses that were already being sold were built to answer someone's requirement first…The houses were built in this period not for exchange value, but rather for use value. There is no such thing as the differentiation or alienation between the requirements of the house and its owner. (Tekeli, 1982; 252)

We assert that although some attempts have been realized such as the constitution of the Bank of Real Estate (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası) in 1926 and rent subsidy for the bureaucrats has started, Tekeli's definition was relevant for the early period of Yenişehir. Even the architecture of this period, which is criticized by Karaosmanoğlu in his novel Ankara, was reflecting the characteristics of individual, small production by a strengthening middle class and their aspirations of modern life; "the castles of selfishness" were reflecting the needs of their users.

In the same way, when the production of the state apartments (Saraçoğlu District today) for the bureaucrats in Yenişehir comes into agenda in 1936, it creates negative reactions in various groups as Tekeli and İlkin (1984; 36) explain. The ***first*** group was the land and building owners in the city. They criticize the project asserting that the apartments would cause to loss of savings invested into land and lead to the consolidation of Ankara's sprawled form and the existing lands could not be filled by private investors. The ***second*** group who opposed the state apartments was the municipality, who intentionally ignored this project in the book published to introduce the development of Ankara. On the contrary, they would criticize apartment type as "multi-storey military barracks for renting" In conclusion, construction of the state apartments would be delayed to 1940s (Ankara İmar Planı, 1937).

It means that these two groups are against the intensification of the city on a certain district and they demand a spreading city. The attempts of municipality for this purpose would be effective in the following years. This was the voice of *land market* in the lack of a developed property market. Thus, we can say that Lamarche's distinction between land market and property market

as contradicting spheres was actually appearing in Yenişehir (Lamarche, 1976). It means that the land parcels in Yenişehir have different dynamics from the buildings constructed on them. The *quantification, exchangeability and repetition requirements of the commodity production have dominated land parcels but the formation of buildings had still independence in a certain degree*.

Therefore, we propose that there is a "shift" at this point. In essence, *the genesis period of Yenişehir is completed about 1935*. In this year, it is clearly seen that Yenişehir became a "*place*". Three maps arranged at the end of this chapter and the map showing the distribution of owner types above display together that Yenişehir completed a phase.

1. The map showing the distribution of owner types in Yenişehir (see Figure 6.12)
2. 1934 city map (1/25.00 scaled) showing the macroform of Ankara (see Figure 6.14)
3. 1935 official cadastral maps (combined) (see Figure 6.15)
4. 1936 aerial photo (see Figure 6.16)

Now, Yenişehir is a "place"; it has gained its "*relative permanence*". It has a pattern of private land parcels owned by a certain group, reflecting a negotiation between the landowners of the old Ankara and the governors of the new Ankara. Its cadastral pattern is registered on title-deeds and fixed on an official cadastral map. It has a macroform in a dual structure, divided between Ulus as the extension of Ottoman period and Yenişehir-Cebeci as the outcome of Republican period. Moreover, most of its parts are fully constructed in 1936, except Telgaz, which was attached later (in 1933), certain urban blocks on Atatürk Boulevard and the urban blocks on the slopes of Deliler Tepesi (Kocatepe today) at the southeast. The government district, which is the main characteristic of Yenişehir has been completed in a certain degree, Güvenpark and Havuzbaşı were serving as a meeting place of inhabitants. It has a cinema, shops, school etc; it was becoming a living place.

So, we conclude that becoming of Yenişehir a *place* and the ending of its 'genesis period' are at the same time represents the ***crystallization*** *of its first morphological layer*, which we can call as ***the layer of genesis***. At this stage, the first layer is clearly apparent with its all three sub-layers. It has firstly emerged as a "created form" designed by Lörcher and inscribed on land with the implementation of the Big Expropriation. Then, its "produced from" has started to grow on the basis of created form. And through 1930s, with Jansen's interventions on its created form, the created and produced forms amalgamated as a lived form.

However, this permanence is only *relative* one. *Inasmuch as Yenişehir gained a quality of place, it also creates a context for new tendencies, which threat its characteristics as place. Crystallization of the layer of genesis is also the source of the emergence of a new layer that will negate and cover the former one.*

We mean that Yenişehir, inasmuch as it becomes a 'morphological district' and gains a *landscape*, it also starts to become a *rentscape*. Thus, as explained in Chapter 3, the tension between the landscape and rentscape leads to certain problems.

First of all, as a rentscape, it becomes a *barrier* for the development of its own landscape, just as in Atatürk Boulevard where the parcels especially in its center are kept empty. This is a result of *absolute rent* which increases inasmuch as Yenişehir becomes a place.

Secondly, the same fact encourages the development of other districts, such as Bahçelievler and Güvenevler cooperative districts. As Tekeli and İlkin (1984) elaborate, Bahçelievler project came into agenda in 1936, by an organization of middle class who cannot afford to build their houses in Yenişehir, although there were empty parcels in Yenişehir, Maltepe and Cebeci. This was a socially created scarcity as a result of the absolute rent fact. However, such developments outside the planning boundary would not be limited with cooperative developments but it would result in a highly dispersed pattern of development in following years. This fact would prepare the end of Jansen Plan and open the way to Yücel-Uybadin Plan.

Thirdly, Yenişehir's landscape creates a *context*, in which its own differential rents and monopoly rents would grow and transform the tendencies that produce its form. In other words, Yenişehir's developing rentscape would change the characteristic elements that form its landscape. As depicted above,

- *Parcellation* demands including for smaller and narrower subdivisions,
- *Construction* demands including increase in number of floors and depth of buildings or the attempts of unauthorized developments,
- Demands for *building orders* changing towards the block-order and twin buildings that increase the lot coverage ratios (*TAKS in Turkish legislation*),
- Demands for *commercial uses*, which alter the main characteristic of Yenişehir as a low density residential district into a newly growing center as an alternative to Ulus

have been increasing since 1933. Beginning from 1936, these tendencies of increasing demands would shift into a new trend. 1936 can be assumed as a *moment* where the formation of a new morphological layer reveals itself. In this new layer, *not only the land parcels but also the buildings would also be produced as commodities*. Thus, the commoditization of parcel will be completed. By this moment, ***the layer of transformation*** in Yenişehir would start to grow from inside *the layer of genesis*. The landscape of Yenişehir would be transformed by its rentscape. Through this reciprocal relation, *produced form would gain the dominance over the created form*. The new layer would be characterized by the requirements of commodity production.

Therefore, ***fourthly***, the 'created form', that is the practice of planning approaches, control tools, design criteria and hence professional ideologies of planners would be transformed under the domination of commodity production. Tankut (1993) measures the success of Jansen Plan as 27%. And Atay (1968) as a person, who became the chairman of the Development Management Committee in those years, explains the failure of the Committee in preventing speculative tendencies by their *inexperience*. In fact, they had ideals when they did not have experience; inasmuch as the Committee gained experience, it lost its ideals. Their ethical idealism turned into a philosophical idealism in which *passive space fetishism* would dominate the planning approach of the Committee, together with *the requirements of commodity production towards repetition against the uniqueness of Yenişehir*. This will be the issue of Chapter 7.

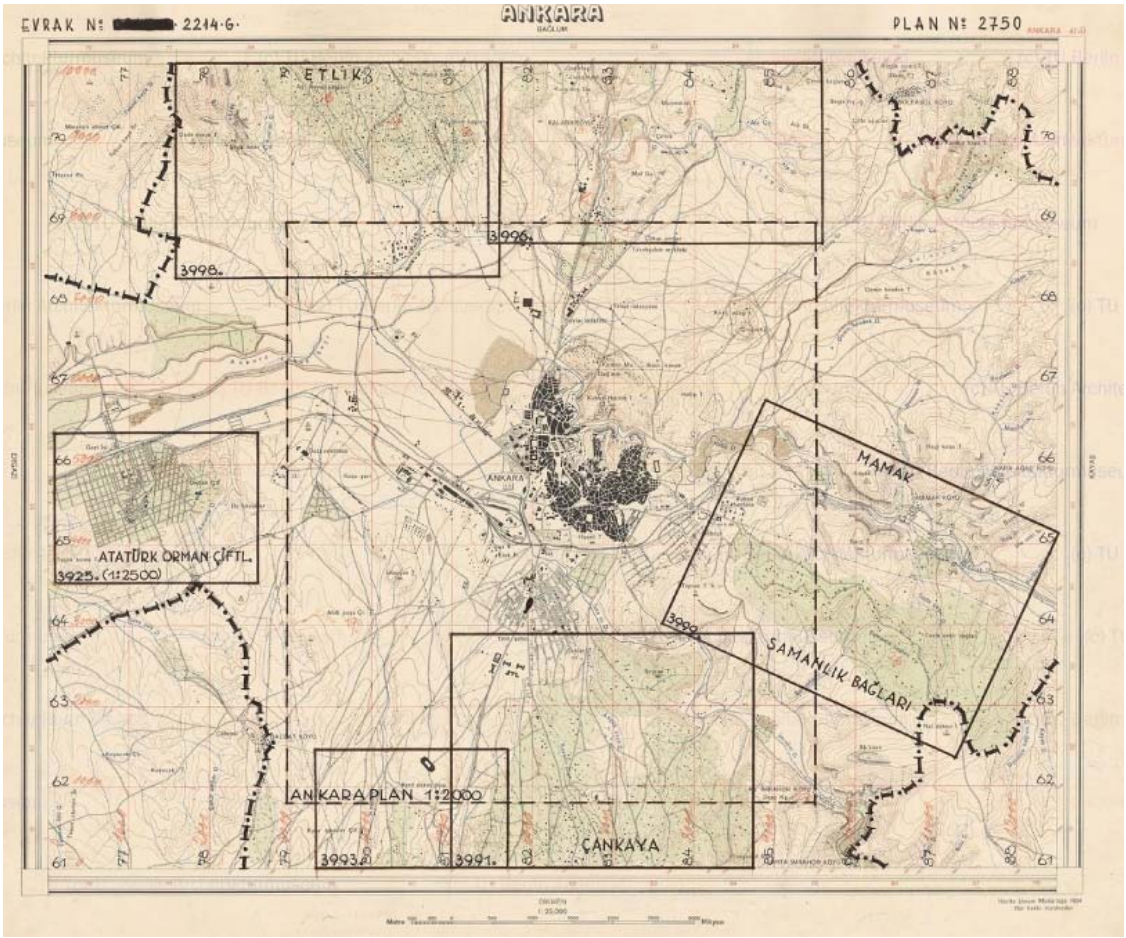


Figure 6.14. 1934 city map (1/25.00 scaled) showing the macroform of Ankara (Das Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin in der Universitätsbibliothek, http://architekturmuseum.ub.tuberlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=79&Daten=153639, accessed 20.04.2008)

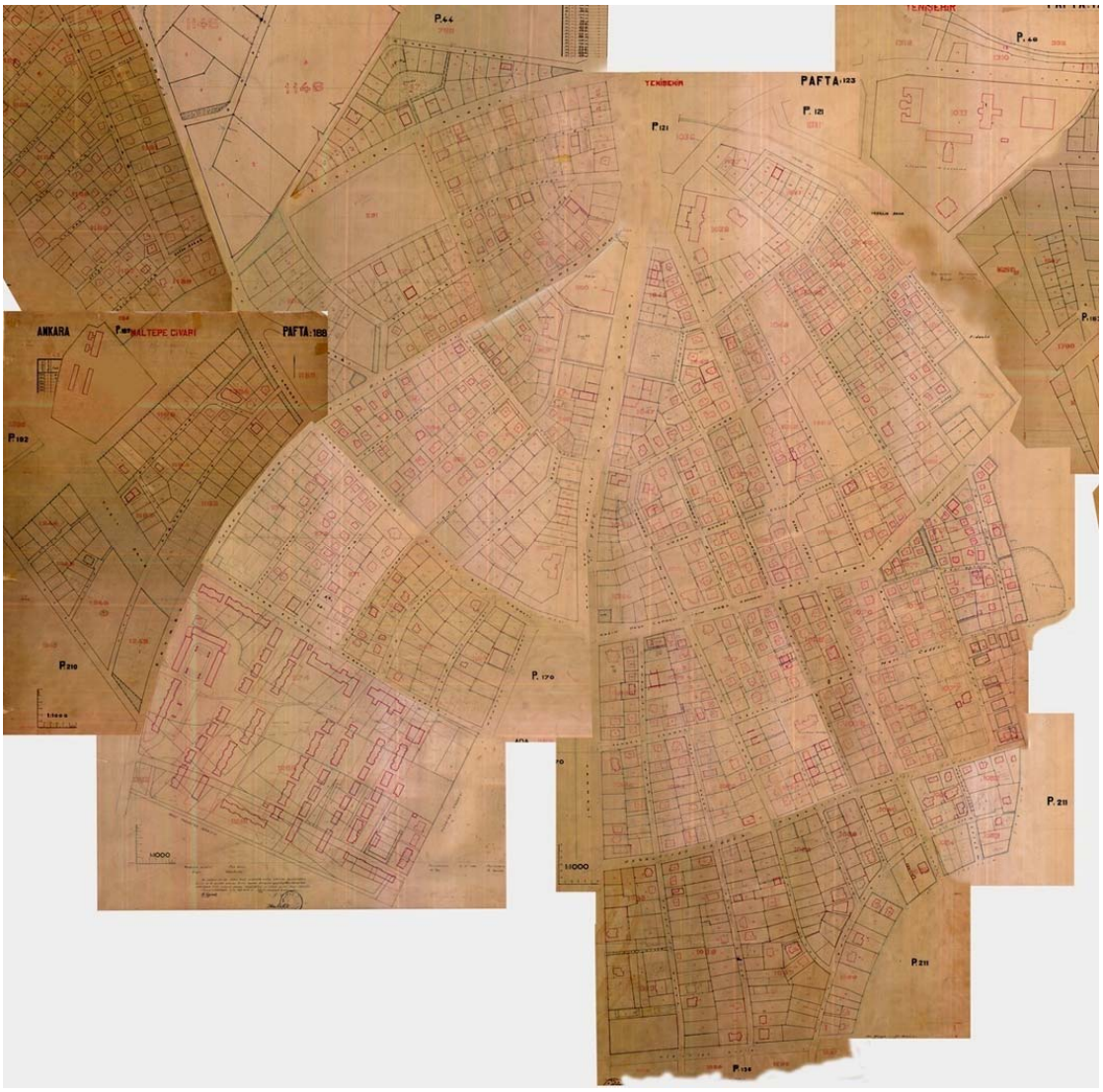


Figure 6.15. 1935 official cadastral maps (combined)

(Ankara Çankaya Directorate of Land Registry)

Figure 6.16. 1936 Yenişehir aerial photo
(Belediyeler, 1936/2, Vol.14. p. 37)

CHAPTER 7

TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN FORM IN YENİŞEHİR

7.1. INTRODUCTION

You can erase my signature from this plan

Hermann Jansen

When Jansen declared his disappointment to Atay with these words, the planning boundary was integrated with the boundary of Municipality. It was a sign for the emerging direction in the planning of Ankara and Yenişehir. Development of Ankara would be more and more a subject of rising tendencies of land market. Ankara was entering a new period of 'transformation', which constitutes the frame of this chapter.

As the conclusion of the previous chapter, the year 1935 is defined as the crystallization of the genesis layer. From this date, the characteristic elements of the genesis layer would still continue to be produced but a new layer would grow out of it after 1936. We will call this *turning point* as *the moment of 1936*. Here we use the term 'moment' not only as a time section but as a vector that indicates to a direction. Thus, after 1936, production of urban form in Yenişehir would be realized by new tendencies. These tendencies would generate mainly the characteristics of commodity in the production of the third dimension of urban landscape. At the same time, it is the domination process of *development rights* as the main design criterion over substantial design criteria coming from Jansen's garden city approach.

In this chapter, we will analyze these tendencies depending on the demands of landowners from Development Management Committee. The analysis will start with the presentation of significant facts that set the scene for a transformation in Yenişehir's landscape between 1936 and 1939. Then we will continue with the analysis of distinct periods starting from 1936-39 and

the interruption period between 1940-45 because of the War and proceeding to the first half of 1960s. So, the aim of this chapter is to reveal the dynamics that have role in the formation of Yenişehir's *layer of transformation* between 1936 and 1965.

7.1.1. Determining Facts in the Planning Process of Ankara

Remember that Jansen declared two conditions for the success of Ankara's planning. One of them was a strong planning authority and this condition was realized through the establishment of Ankara Development Directorate, which was a direct extension of central government. However, this central authority would also a source of tension between the local government (which is more open to the pressures of interest groups) and the Development Directorate. This tension was partly solved on 6.5.1937 by a law that assigns the Major of Ankara as the head of Development Management Committee. It means that the Municipality gained the control over the planning process of Ankara. From that time, Nevzat Tandoğan as both the governor and major of Ankara would dominate the decisions about the development of Ankara. This would also lead to a change in the Committee's attitude towards the demands of landowners.

As an outcome of this fact, Yavuz (1952) stresses on the extension of planning boundaries to the municipality boundaries in 9.9.1938. As quoted above, Jansen interprets this fact as a step that would completely change the macroform defined by his plan. This means the spread of Ankara towards agricultural fields. Nevertheless, Jansen himself undertakes the planning of new development areas (Ankara Peripheral Development Plan) that destructs the whole structure of his own plan. Tankut (1993; 137) claims that Jansen in fact sees this extension as an opportunity to extend his contract. But she also adds that Jansen's attitude was a result of the loss of his trust to the governors of Ankara for their respect to the principles of his plan (1993; 146). In a sense, his notice about the dangers of land speculation was becoming real. Thus, Jansen's undertaking of the preparation of peripheral plan might be considered as an attempt to sustain his control over the revisions on his 1932 Plan.

However, three months later from the boundary extension, on 12.9.1938, Jansen's contract was ended by the Committee claiming that the development of Ankara has reached to a sufficient level that makes his consultancy unnecessary. From now on, Jansen's plan would be implemented without Jansen's orientation. In fact, this decision represents the Committee's new

policy on the demands of landowners and on the new tendencies in the planning process of Yenişehir, as we will depict in the following section.

7. 2. RISE OF A NEW LAYER: DEMANDS AND TENDENCIES BETWEEN 1936 - 1939

As depicted in Chapter 6, the first morphological layer of Yenişehir was characterized by the production of urban blocks[1] as an immediate outcome of Lörcher Plan. Then urban blocks that do not contain construction were reshaped by Jansen. However, Lörcher's urban block pattern did not change essentially. Production of parcels has occurred in the frame of these urban blocks and a rapid process occurred from parcellation plans at urban block scale to subdivisions at parcel scale.

Thus, we saw in the analysis of the previous period that the tendencies in development activities are revealed by the demands, which aim generally to increase construction densities and to include commercial uses in parcels. Following the same sequence with Chapter 6, we will focus on the development activities in the transformation period under four categories. This analysis will not only depict the difference of the transformation period from the genesis period, but also the changing tendencies that the transformation period undergoes in itself.

7.2.1. Parcellation Activities

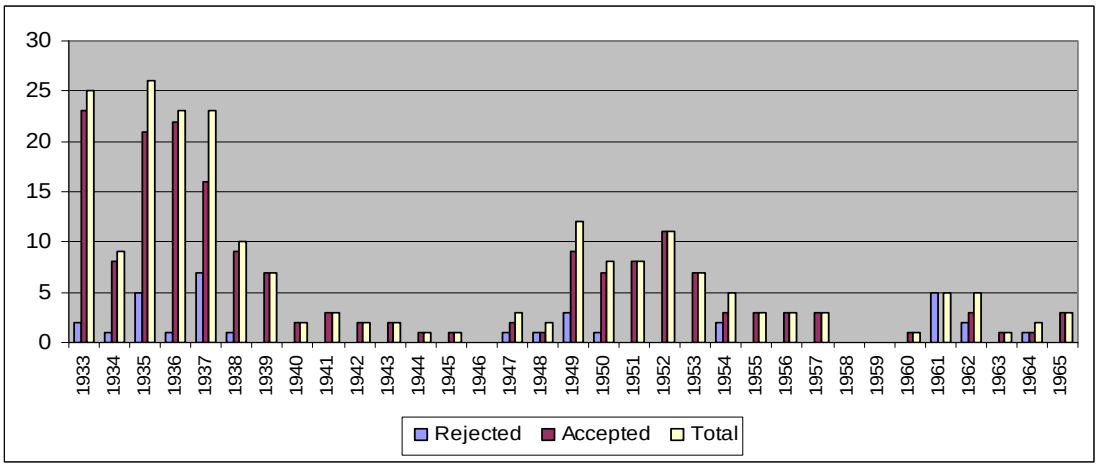
As seen in the chart below, there was not a shift in 1936 and later with reference to 1933-35 period but there is a decrease after 1937. It is evident that continuous decrease in 1940s is related with the slowdown of construction activities due to economic crisis during World War II. If this interruption is put aside, then we can infer that after 1937, parcel sizes have reached to a reasonable scale for the scale of housing production. The later subdivisions are mostly related with the construction of block-ordered or twin buildings, which are demanded to increase lot coverage and to use parcel more efficiently.

Therefore, we can infer that *on the one hand*, before 1937, urban form was mainly characterized by *created* form in accordance with Jansen's planning approach, based on garden-city movement and this approach was also overlapping with Republican image of 'modern' and supported by the governors of Ankara. In this characterization including small detached buildings in large

[1] Here we use the term 'urban block' in its narrow meaning as the two-dimensional area surrounded by streets.

parcels, buildings did not have an impact to determine urban form. The real determinant was the land parcel. Thus, in this period, there was a process of subdivision dominated by land market. However, *on the other hand*, after 1937, inasmuch as buildings were commodified and the images, approaches or visions created in 1930s undermined by the tendencies of commodity production, property market started to dominate land market. In conclusion building order became a major factor for subdivision. Land subdivision activity became more and more an immediate indicator of construction activity.

Chart 1.1. Demands for land subdivision in Yenişehir between 1933-1965



In this context, 1936 and 1937 were the years when land subdivision is the determinant factor in the production of urban form. Thus, growing demands of land subdivision either rejected or accepted required a revision of subdivision principles determined in 1932. With the decision no. 128 in 1936, the Committee brought some rules for the subdivision of empty parcels. Then on March 15th, 1937, the decision no. 80 put forward principle decisions for parcel dimensions. And two weeks later, Committee determined some standards also for the old city. In fact, these standardization attempts can be seen as a reply to the demands of construction and reflect the changing needs of housing production.

In 1937-40 period, we can also see some land unification (*tevhid*) operations, as seen in the Chart 1.2. in Appendix A. One of them is the unification of three parcels for the construction of Anadolu Club. Committee took Jansen's opinion particularly for this building since it has 4 floors. Similarly, the construction of İşbankası on the boulevard required the unification of three parcels. Jansen agreed that it does not lead to a disharmony with its surrounding. Another unification was the expropriation of Bank of Real Estate's (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası) parcel in 1938 for providing a playground. However the Council of Ministers decided to establish a school in this parcel, where the office building of SSK would be located much later. Lastly, urban block no 1036 was completely expropriated in order to create a green area, which would form "Abdi İpekçi Park" today.

However, in contrast to intention for creating public spaces in these expropriations, we see in another case that the Committee was modifying the locations of green areas, since these coincided with the lands of two deputies and rearranging green areas so that these coincide with public lands. And on 14.1.1938, a green corridor was narrowed in Jansen's Ankara Peripheral Development Plan. This would be the origin of the attitude that erases Jansen's green ways in Yenişehir, as analyzed in detail by Burat (2008).

Lastly about parcellation, a crucial subject is the temporary subdivision. Since Jansen's Peripheral Plan was not applied yet in these surrounding areas of Ankara, increasing demands for subdivision and construction leads to Committee to take a decision (no. 301 on 7.1.1938) to 'solve' this problem. Then, a rapid subdivision activity was starting in these areas.

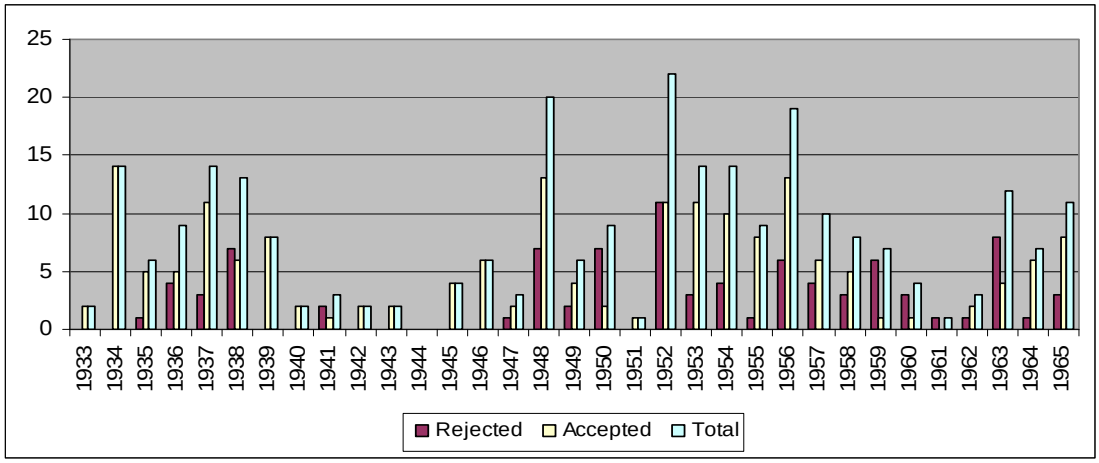
7.2.2. Construction Activities

As we discussed there was a significant increase in the demands about construction between 1933 and 1935. One reason of this periodization comes from the obvious acceleration in 1936 and after. Both rejected and accepted demands display an increase between 1936 and 1938. For example 22 of 36 demands for increasing number of floors were rejected in this time section. It means that there was an intensive pressure on the Committee to increase the number of floors. Because of this pressure, both acceptances and rejections of the Committee were serving to create new demands.

Here, we should note that the increase in number of floors do not indicate the renewal existing buildings. The increase of floors mostly occurs as an 'addition' of new floor(s) on top of the

existing buildings, except the cases in which an empty parcel is developed. However, until 1936, most of the parcels were occupied and the later developments generally occurred on existing buildings. In fact, the renewal of buildings to increase number of floors would wait for a new model of housing production in 1950s as we will discuss. So, there was an intention of increasing building heights in 1930s and 1940s but it was limited with the individual capacities of landowners.

Chart 2.1. Demands for increase in number of floors in Yenişehir between 1933-1965



Nevertheless, this intention of the landowners to increase the construction densities can be seen as cooperated attempts even though they are literally not. We can even say that as an abstraction, the demands for increasing number of floors was following a path to overcome planning authority's resistance. We will present the construction demands for increasing the floor area along this path.

7.2.2.1. Demands for increase in number of floors

Construction of attic

The first stage of this path is the ***construction of attic***. According to the regulations (i.e. the principle decisions) of Committee, construction of attic was allowed only in block order and it was forbidden in single houses and such demands have been refused. In the decisions of 1936 and 1937 we see a determination to apply this rule. However, on 9.4.1936 the Committee gives permission for attic in single houses on condition that claimant has a good attic project prepared.

In another case, with the decision no. 230 (11.6.1936) an unauthorized activity (in Ragıp Soysal's 1064/7 parcel) is taken up about the construction of an ***additional attic*** on the side facade in a block ordered building. This was a forbidden element according to former principles, however, at this time Committee does not decide to demolish the additional attic but decides to produce a formula that enables the construction of attics on side facades. This formula would be a design guide for such roofs, just as in the first formula for attics on front facades in the previous period.

Then, we see that on 3.26.1937 (the decision no.83), Esat Bey, who is a deputy in the national assembly, demands ***to turn attic into a normal floor***. Committee accepts the demand stating that "…the increase in the height of the building that the landowner requests to turn the attic into a normal floor do not cause any harm due to aesthetic and physical (safety) considerations in a land which has a distinct construction zone…" Then on 5.13.1937, another deputy Emin Bey takes the same permission depending on the former one. As a result, in 4.8.1938, the Committee makes a significant decision (no. 371): "To help to reduce the effects of residence crisis by allowing to construction of residential buildings in settlement areas as much as possible", they agree to allow turning attic into normal floors for all buildings in Ankara. Comittee states that

> It is observed that the limits that the land costs reached in Ankara increase tendency to construct buildings with maximum number of floors, which also include attics, and especially the reduced storey heights of attics lead to unhealthy residential structures as well as deteriorating the general view of the city due to lack of architectural aesthetics…

Thus, they stress on the efficient use of lands to control the demands for increasing floor numbers that is required by increasing land values. Moreover, they refer to prevention of housing scarcity, aesthetics and sanitary conditions to legitimize their decisions. So, they criticize the attics, which were already standardized and allowed by the Committee.

As a result, the passage from normal floor to attic and then attic to normal floor operates as a development mechanism. We can even see the iteration of this operation as a cycle. Attic as an

architectural element would be supported again in 1951, forbidden once more in 1968 regulations and come back in the second half of 1990s.

Construction of basement (bodrum kat)

A similar path can also be seen in another element: ***basement*** (*bodrum kat*). In 1930s, use of basements as a residential space was not allowed and its use was supported instead of outbuilding, which was not allowed either to prevent the ugliness and disorder. But majority of the negative decisions about unauthorized constructions was composed of the use of basements as rooms. However, users were continuously attempting to benefit from basements as residential space. As a result of these attempts, the Committee takes a decision (no. 355) on April 1st, 1938; the height of two storey buildings was determined in the earlier codes as 7.5 and 8 meters, which results with a basement 1 or 1.5 meters elevated from ground. Committee denotes that these basements are functionless, *aesthetically ugly* and cause many complaints among citizens. As a result of the discussions on this issue, all two storey buildings in the city are allowed to be constructed with three normal floors with 9.25 m. height.

This is the first general floor number increases in Ankara and pioneer of 1950s. However, we will see that construction of basements would be allowed actually and continue during 1940s. Thus, in 1957, Yücel-Uybadin Plan would prohibit the construction of basements and use this prohibition to legitimize its decisions for increase in floor numbers, as discussed later.

Lastly, another way of benefiting from the basement, which appeared in the previous period is based on the difference of altitude caused by ***high slopes***. In these situations (for example 1936/241) the Committee was giving permission to use the floors under the entrance level as normal floors of residential use.

Control of the canopy height

In addition to these indirect decisions for floor number increase, another path is about the ***height of canopy***. As mentioned above, this was an important criterion before 1935 and the height of buildings was being determined, not by a concept of development right but with reference to their surroundings. This is also relevant for the period of 1936-40. But we see that it appears now as a rationalization way of floor increase decisions. For example, in one decision (1936/25), a building, canopy of which was constructed lower than the neighbor buildings, was corrected according to other buildings, while in the next decision, another building is 37 cm higher than its approved project and it is decided that the surrounding buildings should be constructed

according to this situation. Such decisions indicate to arbitrary use of a design criterion in order to legitimize an attitude that focus on increasing *quantities* by means of a *qualitative* criterion. Besides, this arbitrariness becomes a general attitude in the use of aesthetics as a major criterion in the formation of urban space.

Aesthetics as a reference for legitimization

In this period, continuity of canopy level or other ***aesthetic reasons*** were used frequently to justify certain decisions for floor number increase, although in some other cases, it was used to prevent such demands. For example, in the decision no. 3/1939, it is mentioned that in three parcels, buildings are constructed with 9,5 m. height in spite of the 8 m. height permission and these unauthorized buildings are accepted as reference for the demand of another parcel owner. In another example, a false attic is taken as reference to accept a new demand. Nevertheless, there are also sensitive decisions to ensure the aesthetic quality, especially when Gazi (*Atatürk*) Boulevard is in question. In 1938, a building, which is the part of a block series on the west side of Boulevard (in Kızılay’s urban block no. 1162), was offset from the line of facade. Committee decides to expropriate such an expensive parcel and to demolish this building so that they can provide the continuity of facade line (see. Figure 7.4.).

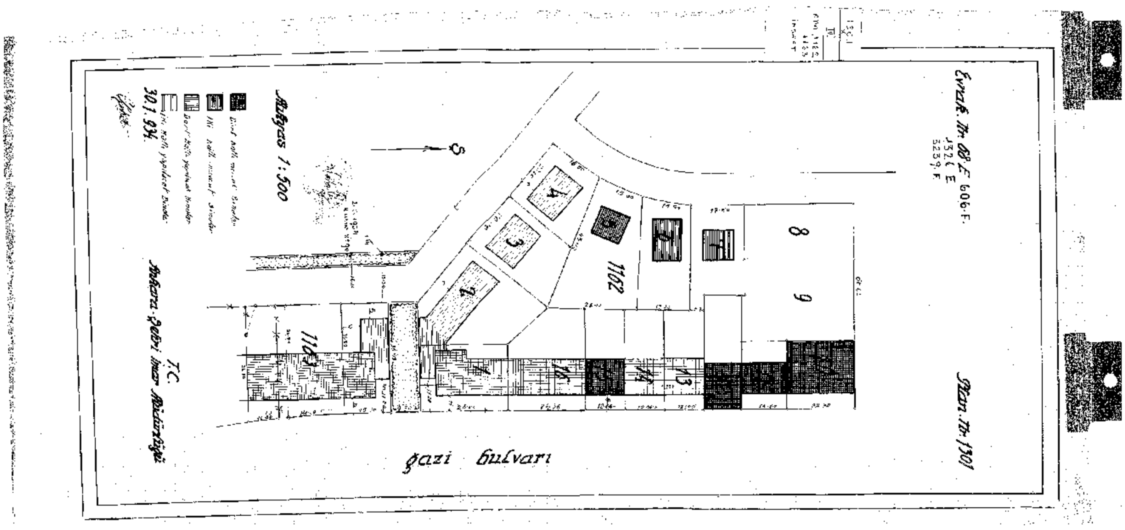


Figure 7.4. The building expropriated on Gazi Boulevard (in parcel no. 12)

Therefore, aesthetic reasons and design principles were becoming more and more an arbitrary tool to legitimize the decisions for acceptation of demands. This would continue until planners do not need a reasoning to increase number of floors, or in other words, until the value of land becomes a self-sufficient reason. That stage represents the complete domination of commodity characteristics as we will see in 1950s. This means that the *repetition* as the immediate tendency of market would totally invade the realm of *uniqueness* coming from its created characteristics by Lörcher and Jansen plans.

7.2.2.2. Demands for increase in building depth

About previous period, we have mentioned the rising demands for increasing building depths. This was a tendency to increase construction densities by extending the lot coverage ratio (TAKS) in parcels. The year 1936 includes a significant shift in this tendency which resulted in new problems and new principal decisions. There were 10 demands for increasing depths which represent a general tendency among landowners. (see Chart 2.2. in Appendix A)

In this respect, the decision no. 60 (3.30.1936), includes a general permission to increase building depths. Committee states that as a result of the evaluation in the rising complaints about the insufficiency of the depths determined in plans, it is decided to allow extensions in block-order up to 1.5 m. if it is provided that a 2 m distance is left from the boundary of adjacent buildings.

However, after this decision, on 6.12.1936, we see an *important debate* in the Committee about the depth of buildings. Because of its significant implications, we will give details from this meeting. In this debate, Committee was divided into two opposing arguments. In the one side Sabri Çıtak – the chairman of the Development Management Committee– states that land owners are demanding to construct deeper buildings in accordance to the locations and high land values of their parcels; thus, the committee should provide flexibility for these demands depending on certain principles and standards.

As a counter argument, according to architect Semih –the development director (*imar müdürü*) of Ankara– leaving such flexibility would result in unhealthy buildings that include the production of rooms that cannot get sunlight. In this respect, he states that,

> It is an obligation for today's decision makers to make sure that our cities consist of buildings that are neatly and consistently constructed so that scenic beauty of our cities should be observable from both inside and outside, in other words when dwellers of these buildings look through the windows of their garden side rooms, they should see a view as beautiful and harmonic as one sees while walking through the streets. It should also be possible to turn the

> gardens of these blocks into parks for the future buildings that will enclose these gardens. It is our duty to make sure that each and every building benefit from the sacrifices made by the government and municipality in our capital city. With increased value and credit of buildings, again for the benefit of the public; it is our duty to ask property owners to, and make them obliged to provide such neatness for the citizens who will rent their apartments.

Thus, he was basing his argument on the collectivity of increasing land values and implying that high land values cannot be a reason for constructing unhealthy buildings; besides there are also tenants who have the right to live in healthy places. Then, he attracts attention to another problem:

> Our commission has been preserving 10-meter block depth for two years. This time, by increasing block depth on some urban blocks, you will be legislating different provisions to other lands with the same attribute. This will lead to formation of bad odor and air shafts at the numerous zones, which previously had enough air ventilation due to previously set construction depths.

Therefore he supports his arguments by public interest and the ideals of modern Ankara project:

> The decision of 10-meter block depth and enforcement of the same construction lines at the rear façades that has been in effect until today has prevented all these harmful effects, ugliness, and drawbacks for the benefit of public, and for the beauty of Ankara, without causing harm to anybody and set the construction style and structural culture of the capital of our government to that of all modern cultures and countries. By deviating from this understanding, it is our fear that this differentiating style will move our architectural culture backwards.

Opposing architect Semih, engineer Fuat, who participates the debate on behalf of the governor and major of Ankara Nevzat Tandoğan, supports the chairman Sabri Çıtak:

> It is favorable to set a block depth that enables land owners to build larger and easier to divide structures... Denying permission to a land owner that requests a couple of meters more depth for the reason of preserving the rear façade view prevents that land owner from constructing a building that has larger and healthier rooms. This should also be considered harmful. It is a moral necessity to choose between the lesser of the evils, which, in this case, means letting the land owner to have "a few" meters more depth.

In conclusion, the committee, by 3 votes against 2, decides to allow land owners to build their buildings between 10-11 meters. We think that this debate reflects once more the clash of idealist and pragmatist sides of the modern Ankara project. Although the concession is small, it would be an opening of new problems and encourage land owners to insist on their demands.

On 1.15.1937, a demand for 14 meters depth is rejected by the Committee. However, in another case, a rejected landowner takes the case to court. Thus, with the decision dated 11.12.1936, the court decides that the authorization granted to the Development Directorate (*imar müdürlüğü*) by 12th article of the law no. 1352 to determine building order (*inşaat tarzı*) does *not include* the control of building depths.

Just after this court decision, the Committee would be obliged to accept a 16 meters depth for a detached building. Following this case, another land owner takes the permission for 34 meters depth for his detached building. At the end, the Committee refuses another demand for 34 meters depth in spite of the court decision. This would be a conflict between the Committee and the Court, and the Committee would take the issue to the national assembly, mentioning that building order includes the control of building depth and it is important for aesthetic and healthy development of the city. As a result of this conflict, the committee decides to allow 12-20 m. depth in detached order and 10-15m. depth in block order. We can say that these increments would end up with the typical apartments of the development planning system.

7.2.2.3. Unauthorized construction activities in Yenişehir

We saw that unauthorized constructions started as early as 1933. Nevertheless, in 1936, which we defined as a starting point of a new moment, a significant shift occurs in the unauthorized activities that continue until the slowdown of construction activities in 1940s. As seen in the Chart 2.4. in Appendix A, the Committee decides in most of the unauthorized cases to demolish. Unauthorized construction can be seen in various types.

1. Since there was the rule to provide outbuildings (*müştemilat*) in the basements (bodrum), the construction of outbuildings at gardens was forbidden. However, in many cases, outbuildings were constructed in the gardens and the basement was used as residential rooms, which was also forbidden.
2. When the outbuilding in gardens allowed in gardens, there appeared cases in which garages and outbuildings were constructed higher than standards and used as residential rooms or shops.
3. Unpermitted garages (especially in front gardens) or outbuildings.
4. Construction of buildings with small light holes or with balconies extending the standards etc. was also seen in Yenişehir.
5. Construction higher, deeper or broader buildings than plan decisions or unauthorized attics (*çatı katı*) were frequent cases.

Although the committee was deciding for the demolition or correction of these structures, some cases were overlooked. These would become reference to other cases in later situations.

7.2.3. Building Order Decisions

The period 1936-40 attracts attention with the attempts of defining more unitary building orders (*inşaat tarzı*) in Yenişehir. Plan no. 3302 (8.28.1936) as seen below comprises the most of the west side of Yenişehir. Plan no. 3200 includes 9 blocks (6.10.1936) and plan no. 3629 (1.15.1937) comprises 18 urban blocks, while plan 5282 and 5364 in 1939 comprises 18 urban blocks.

These plans as seen in the example (plan no. 3173 in Figure B. 6 – Appendix B) denote to a more technical drawing language than the beginning of 1930s. Moreover, they reflect how much dynamic processes were going on in the planning of Yenişehir. The abundance of plan changes at parcel and urban block scales was solved through displaying all of them on the same plan. Therefore, these plans do not reflect only their preparation year, but also includes a process, composed of Committee decisions. Plan no. 3173

The bar charts presented in Appendix A display this dynamic. All of these different types of decisions were noted on these plans. We think that such flexibility arises from the lack of a concept of *construction rights* (*imar hakkı*), which is integrated with a strict zoning understanding so that to prevent judicial disputes. Therefore, the lawsuits in this period were generally about the parcellation, boundaries of parcels and removal of sharing (*izale-i şuyu*) rather than construction rights. As discussed before, the building depth also becomes a subject of judicial intervention but the variety of construction conditions and building orders did not result in an abundance of lawsuits against the planning decisions. Consolidation of a more static concept of development rights is a process which develops in parallel with the domination process of commodification in urban space. This process brings forth the *quantity* aspect of development control against the *quality* aspect of urban space.

Chart 3.1. in Appendix A in Yenişehir. We think that the decrease in demands for block-order in a period, in which all types of activities accelerated, arises from the unitary plans controlling building order. These plans include block-order decisions for existing detached buildings. In this way, they preempt possible demands through including them.

On the other side, demands for "twin order" (*ikiz düzen*) has a more irregular activity. We think that this might arise from its parcel based quality, which can be realized in itself of any parcel (in condition that its facade has enough width) by the demand of landowner. (see Chart 3.2.)

When we look at the content of the decisions about building order, we can indicate to certain points. For example, with a decision in 1937, front setback distance of 10 m. is changed without any discussion. In fact, 10 m. setback distance was a norm of Yenişehir's characteristic gardened houses aimed by both Lörcher and Jansen plans. However, such a big distance becomes a barrier for new tendencies in construction, especially in the streets where commercial activity is allowed.

In another case in 1938, an owner who has the parcel 1085/1 applies for a demand to bend the corner of his building, which forms the beginning of a blocks series. Committee accepts the demand and states that such a form is not only appropriate to the regulations but also a good aesthetic idea. Then, they decide to implement this idea also for the beginnings of the facing parcel 1323/10.

Moreover, in a decision in 1939 (no. 28), including a demand for twin-order in a parcel that has narrow facade, the Committee recognizes that they do not have principle decisions to control the demands for twin order buildings and starts a study to develop some principles and standards for this type of buildings.

Therefore, it is seen that unordered flexibility at parcel scale results in a dynamic change in the interrelations of buildings and hence in the formation of urban blocks. This would result in an uncontrolled variety in building order with a tendency towards attached buildings. Here again, we see the increasing influence of the quantitative aspect of development rights.

7.2.4. Functional Decisions

In 1936, we see a striking shift for the demands of commercial use. As mentioned before, this is one of the main tendencies that appeared gradually in the genesis layer and revealed in 1936 as a new trend that threats the characteristic structure of Yenişehir proposed by Lörcher and Jansen plans. The decrease of this demand after 1936 is not about the weakening of this tendency, but it is related with the determination of commercial zones, which comprises the most of potential demands. Especially, in 1950s, when Yenişehir has started to become a new "center" as alternative to Ulus, the low profile of commercial demands reflects in fact the domination of

commercial activity in Yenişehir. The exceptional situations that requires the decision of Committee decreases more and more. (see Chart 4.1.)

Therefore, the sudden shift in the number of commercial use demands in 1936 leads to rejections rather than acceptances. This is a result of a decision on 1.10.1936, which approves the plan prepared for depicting commercial zones of the decision no. 6 in 1934. As a result of this decision, many demands are refused since they are outside the zones, while the others are accepted. As mentioned above, these rejections as the indicators of pressure on the Committee are the pioneer of new principle decisions which aim to control these tendencies through allowing them. As a matter of fact, with decision no. 31 on 2.2.1937, the Committee decides to make a general analysis for the construction of shops in Yenişehir after the demand of Ankara police chief (*emniyet müdürü*) Nazım Toker for commercial use in his parcel. Thus, in a later decision about the streets, which were previously allowed to develop shops for only one facade, the Committee would allow to construction of shops in the other facades of these streets.

In another case on 3.18.1938, on parcel 1065/7, the Committee, only particular to the parcel in question, allows to construction of shops in order to conceal the ugliness of existing gas station. Thus, once again, we see an arbitrary reference to aesthetics as a legitimization of the acceptance for a demand.

7.2.5. As a summary for the period 1936-1939

As a turning point, the year 1936 represents the beginning of a new morphological stratification in the formation of Yenişehir. This is a product of the increasing impact of exchange-value based demands (made by property owners) on the decisions and attitudes of planning authority. These decisions include two dimensions of *distortion* in the formation of Ankara and Yenişehir.

Firstly, there is the formation of legal framework. Decisions of the Committee function as a mechanism that generates new standards, procedures and legal tools. However, as seen in the decisions about parcellation, construction and building order, the main source of these decisions are the demands of landowners. Thus, beginning from 1936, formal design considerations are increasingly excluded by and replaced with the concerns about balancing the pressure of landowners.

Secondly, the *language* of planning authority, or the planning 'discourse', reflects the distortion in the principles of design and planning. On the one hand, we cannot see strong references to the

unitary vision of Jansen Plan, except the debate about building depths elaborated above. On the other hand, we see an arbitrary use of design concepts like aesthetics, harmony, continuity and beauty. That is to say, such concepts start to appear as a discourse that legitimizes to give up the principles of Jansen Plan.

Therefore, the following process of spatial formation in Yenişehir would rise as a distortion of Jansen Plan and through incremental additions in the formation of parcels, which in turn lead to gradual changes in the inner structure of urban blocks. In this way, the formation of a new morphological layer starts to cover up the previous one. However, this process would be interrupted by the period of War.

7.3. INTERRUPTION OF WAR: 1940 - 1945

The period 1940-1945 can be described as an interruption because of an external factor: the economic and political limitations of the World War II. We can assume that this interruption delayed the culmination of market tendencies explained above to 1950s.

Although development activities have slowed in Yenişehir in these years, there was a new activity in the development of Ankara, which is the implementation of Ankara Peripheral Plan (prepared by Jansen). As a result of the decision, Committee gave permission to land subdivision on the fields where building order and cadastre has not been implemented yet. According to this decision, many demands of land subdivision and construction are accepted since they coincide with a housing zone in plan and they have a connection to a cadastral road. Thus, the cadastral parcels were becoming actually development parcels. It means that the "temporary subdivision" was not in fact temporary but it inscribed some cadastral parcels on future development sites of Ankara.

In connection with this issue, we should quote a commission report from the national assembly about the rising land values and undeveloped lands of Ankara:

> It is being claimed that some parts of the city are too expensive as a result of the development plan's restriction concerning the banning of construction outside the settlement zone and as well as social and economical properties. Although it is possible to accept the existence of large cost differences considering their reasons, it is also apparent that these large costs make it difficult to construct buildings and residences in settlement zones such as the one that is stated by Interior Minister of which three-fourth of the land block remains as empty area.

As a result of this assertion, the commission proposed a rule of *construction obligation* in these areas to prevent speculation. According to Yavuz, this proposal was applied in Yeni Mahalle project of Ankara but it would not be generalized and the land speculation would go on.

It means that the implications of *absolute rent* have outspread beyond the surroundings of Yenişehir and Ulus. The increasing activity of temporary subdivision in the years of war can be interpreted as a way to overcome this bottleneck.

Consequently, the limitations of the War nearly ceased the construction activities in Yenişehir. For example, total subdivision demand between 1940-1945 is only *12*, while it is *63* in the period 1936-1939. Similarly demands for increase in number of floors decreases from *44* to *13*. Thus, transformation of Yenişehir slowed down in these years, and in fact only by this means the lifetime of Jansen Plan was prolonged to 1950s.

7.4. REGENERATION OF THE TRANSFORMATION LAYER: 1946-1951

The period 1946-1951 can be seen as the revival of pre-war tendencies which were interrupted by the external influences of the War. Nevertheless, this time they have more general qualities that go beyond Yenişehir. But since we have discussed in detail on these tendencies, here only a general evaluation will be made.

The first significant case of this period is a ***proposal for a new plan*** due to the problem of squatter housing with the Committee's decision no. 14 on 2.7.1947. In this proposal, they indicate the development of squatters and say that in spite of the existence of empty parcels in the city, these cannot be used by many citizens and also by cooperatives. Thus, they propose to open an extensive area for development, which can be defined as a 'ring' that surrounds Ankara. In this respect, this proposal can be seen as the messenger of Yücel-Uybadin Plan.

However, in the same they year, the Committee takes a ***contradictory decision*** against the sprawl intention. On 4.4.1947 (no.73) they decide to allow one additional floor and to increase in building depths in the major streets of Ankara (including Yenişehir) and send their proposal to the Ministry. Their reasoning for this decision as follows: "…in order to prevent Ankara from expanding its settlement zone unnecessarily by constructing larger buildings in large streets and adding more floors to existing buildings". Thus, they declare their intention to increase the densities in the city. At the same time they took certain precautions to accelerate the construction activities (Decision no. 182, 8.26.1947).

Of course, our focus on a planned district should not make us to underestimate the impact of squatter housing. As Şengül indicates, the prime stroke to "the endeavor of Kemalist project to cover Ottoman layer through creating a new socio-spatial layer" came from the poor. (Şengül, 2001; 75) He argues that the state accepted the squatter housing as a cheap housing supply method for labor without cutting from the resources directed to industrial development. Thus, the government recognized the unplanned development in Ankara for the first time with the law no. 5218 in 1948. Consequently, although the planning authority concerned about the spread of squatters, their solution attempts remained ineffective. The provision of cheap parcels for the poor was used to legitimize the opening of new areas for middle class. The consequence of squatter housing with respect to Yenişehir was its strengthening central position in the growing macroform of Ankara. The map in Figure B.7. – Appendix B indicating the squatter areas also shows that Ankara now is rather than a part of a duality with Ulus, it was becoming a core area together with Ulus, surrounded by Etlik, Keçiören, Dikmen, Yeni Mahalle, Bahçelievler and Küçükesat. This is a precursor of the new tendencies that transform Ankara from a garden city to a central business district.

In this context, we see in 1948, Committee decides ***to cover up İncesu*** and allow for construction on it. Thus they were completely erasing the main green element that defines the boundaries of Yenişehir. At the end of 1948 and the beginning of 1949, in the same direction with the intention of accelerating and intensifying the construction activities in the city, Committee was declaring certain decisions to ease the construction of twin buildings. Thus, we can see the sharp increase in the demands of twin order in Yenişehir as a result of these decisions.

In conclusion, between 1946 and 1951, the tendencies that appeared at the end of 1930s shift into a new level, which does not include any consideration about the formation of space but focus on to encourage development. The culmination of this shift would be a new moment in the formation of Yenişehir, which can be dated as 1952, as we will explain. This moment can be considered as an outcome of the crucial changes in the political context of Turkey in 1950.

7.5. CULMINATION OF THE TRANSFOMARTION LAYER: 1952-1959

According to Boratav (2010; 94), beginning from 1946, the etatist economic policies applied since 1930 and based on a closed, protectionist and balanced growth were replaced gradually with liberal policies opening to foreign markets, especially in agriculture sector, in which productivity has increased by mechanization. However, in 1950, the liberalization in economic policies gained a different scope in 1950 with the rise of Democratic Party to ascendancy. This would lead to major changes in the political and ideological orientations of the Republic, including the ideal of constructing Ankara city as a representative of modern Republic. Çavdar (2003; 38) depicts this change in his essay comparing İstanbul and Ankara as "the triumph of İstanbul bourgeoise against Ankara". Thus, as Çakan and Okçuoğlu (1977; 42) states "…Ankara development plan was not sharing the success of the Republic Regime anymore, on the other side, the administrative staff, whose world view have been changing, were paying their attention to development plan of İstanbul."

At the national scale, liberal policies would cause to a strong wave of migration from rural to the major cities. Thus, in 1951 Ankara reached to the population of 300.000, which was assumed in Jansen Plan for 1980. Thus, accommodation of the migrating labours had to be a primary concern for planning authorities. In fact, this problem is 'solved' through squatter housing, while this growth was creating new pressures on the planned districts of Ankara. As a result, beginning from the end of 1951, '1952' became a year when crucial decisions that determine the development of whole city were made.

As Çakan and Okçuoğlu (1977; 43) indicates the decision no. 308 on 10.20.1951 allowed to the construction of attics (it was criticized in 1937) and to addition of one floor in certain major streets of Ankara. Moreover, in 15.5.1952, Ankara Municipality asked Ministry of Public Works (*Bayındırlık Bakanlığı*) for increasing number of floors in certain districts to 4 and in Atatürk Boulevard to 5. The Ministry replied this question mentioning that "although this issue is out of the Ministry's authorization, it is considered as an appropriate decision"

Then, the Committee's decision no. 48 on 2.8.1952 came as a continuation of the policy that aims to accelerate, to increase densities and to ease the construction activities. According to this decision, increase of building depths is allowed, while block buildings at the corners are allowed for 20 meters depth. In addition, the construction regulations of attics are made more flexible. However, in the next phase, the Committee would strengthen its control over the construction of attics through new regulations, and thus, on 10.27.1952 they prohibit completely the

construction of attics at detached buildings. Nevertheless, they would retreat from this decision on 11.7.1952.

Moreover, with the decision no. 257, the authorization to give permission for commercial use is transferred to the Development Directorate from the committee, in order to increase the flexibility in the provision of such permissions. Then, with the decision no. 492 (on 10.17.1952), the Committee increases the number of floors in Yenişehir for all 3 storey buildings to 4 stories. Moreover, they authorize the Development Directorate for giving permission in commercial zones to extend the depths of ground and basements floors until 3 meters left to the rear boundary of their parcel. With this decision, Yenişehir is defined as a "core" for Ankara, although it is not assumed as a business district yet.

Finally, the decision no. 569 dated 5.27.1955, increases the number of floors in Yenişehir's Gazi Mustafa Kemal and Ziya Gökalp streets to 5. The significant point in this decision is their reasoning:

> Due to high density and increased land costs at the parts of Ziya Gökalp Street and Gazi M. Kemal Boulvard that are close to Kızılay Square; in response to continuously increasing extra floor requests, and also taking wide streets in front of these blocks and additional 5m free spaces into consideration, it has been decided that addition of one floor is convenient and that it does not cause any harm.

In other words, they explicitly express the reason of their decision for floor number increase as the rising land values and thus the rising demands for floor increase. We can say that *this is the point on which land values – the exchange value– becomes a self-sufficient reason to shape urban space* as independent from any considerations of use value, aesthetics, traffic, etc. Now, the Committee does not need any design or planning criteria about use value to legitimize their decisions. The domination of exchange value appears as the ultimate criterion at this point. Thus, not only urban land but also buildings are seen as commodities to be exchanged in the market. Now, parcel is a commodity with all of its components; the land, the building and *development rights* and planning decisions are the complementary means of the production of these elements as a commodity.

As a matter of fact, in such a viewpoint, the approach and principles of Jansen Plan completely loses its relevance. So, the emergence of the need for a new master plan in the beginning of 1950s did not arise only to cope with increasing population or the problem of squatter housing. Rather it arises from the disparity between the ideology of Jansen Plan and the viewpoint of the planning authority to the production of urban space in 1950s. The intention of increasing

densities in existing districts cannot be explained only with the attempt of handling population increase. In fact, it should be seen as an attempt to realize increasing urban rents. Therefore, ***Yücel-Uybadin Plan*** appears as the outcome of this process and its content is predetermined by these tendencies. It is an awarded project in the master plan competition like as Jansen Plan.

7.5.1. Yücel-Uybadin Plan

The competition for a new master plan came into Committee's agenda at the end of 1952 with the decision no 629. Meanwhile, several important decisions were being made. Firstly, on 12.19.1952 (decision no. 631) the Committee decides to authorize the Municipality for allowing block-order in the most of urban blocks in Yenişehir. Such a particular treatment for Yenişehir can be seen as the evidence of its becoming a business center during 1950s rather than a housing district. For this reason, a sharp increase in block-order demands is observed after 1952 and most of them are accepted (besides these can be considered only as controversial cases, which could not be decided by Municipality and asked to the Committee). Furthermore, there are increasing demands for commercial uses such as hotels, cinemas and offices, which indicate to the development of a business district rather than local shopping needs.

Actually, these cases indicate to the fact that transformation of Yenişehir was resulting in a new '**place**', which has been formed as a business center of Ankara. The landscape of new Yenişehir was dominated with multi-storey apartments, in small parcels about 500-700 m^2 with a very limited open space. While the order of buildings were transforming gradually from detached order to attached (block) and twin-order, the depth of buildings were increasing. There are Committee decisions both about addition of floors as well as total renewal of buildings. Thus, Yenişehir as a distinct 'district' was becoming a new 'place'. But the problematic point is that this place was not produced as a '*created form*' determined by a unique work of design. The Committee was giving a direction to the production process through its certain limitations and incremental decisions but it was not designing or *creating a 'place'*. So, the emerging product appeared as an accumulation of commodities, which are composed of commercial apartment parcels. In this process, the old Yenişehir composed of houses with gardens was only *a barrier* to be erased. For example, in a decision of 1951, the Committee gives permission to a new building with a 5 m. setback distance in spite of the existing buildings with 10 m. setback, stating that the old existing buildings will be demolished sooner or later.

This incremantalist attitude of the Committee seems to change in the second half of 1950s, since the planning competition for a new master plan is concluded in 1955. Thus, referring the ongoing process of competition, some demands are directly refused. For example, the Development Directorate demands to reduce the minimum size of land subdivision from 1000 m^2 to 500 m^2, because of the demands from Çankaya, Küçükesat, Ayrancı, Dikmen and Etlik for smaller parcels. But the Committee refuses the demand since the competition is not concluded yet (decision no. 649 dated 12.24.1952). However, just 4 months later, as a result of increasing demands, they would retreat from this decision and decides to examine this issue. These inconsistencies reflect that the end of competition in 1955 and the selection of Yücel-Uybadin Plan as the new master plan of Ankara would not change the Committee's incrementalist behavior.

In fact, we can even say that the reason of Yücel-Uybadin's success in the competition was the accordance of its basic policies with the intensification policy of the Committee. In this connection, Cengizkan (2005) makes a detailed analysis on the discourse of Yücel-Uybadin's plan report and reveals the main intention that focuses on to increase the density of Ankara. He explains how the discourse of the report is written in a way that *legitimizes* extensive increases in numbers of floor. Authors of the report base their policy firstly to the economic efficient of compact development. However, they ignore the cost of renewing existing buildings and infrastructure. Secondly, they refer to aesthetics and states "The benefit obtained when multi-storey construction is allowed is not only economic but also is an achievement of an aesthetic beauty of the city" (Cengizkan, 2005; 34). However, they do not comment about how this aesthetic beauty can be obtained. Thus, they need to refer a problematic element of urban form: the basement floors.

> The principal of this system is to prioritize the interests of individual and society. And to do this, before all, it is necessary to take the necessary measures so that people don't have to live in basements... Property owners try to push the extra floors into downstairs that they are unable to build on top, generating too many basement floors. This bad situation can only be prevented by giving permission for construction of as much floor as possible. For the sake of public service, municipality has to fight against basement floors, not the extra (regular) floors added to top.

Here, Cengizkan attracts attention to the quick shift from the concept of public good to the basements and then to the increase in number of floors in the whole city. Discussing on such passages, Cengizkan (1935; 38) argues that such discourses of this period represent a naive intimacy in contrast to the implicit malignancy of today. We think that this "intimacy" arises

from a viewpoint that naturalizes capitalist property relations that shape urban space and assumes them as unressistable. This is in fact an ***alienation*** that we have called in Chapter 4 as "*passive space fetishism*", which assigns a spontaneouity to the formation of urban space. The result of this alienation appears as a search of form that fits to the tendencies and demands of property owners.

Consequently, planning authorities do not consider waiting for Yücel-Uybadin Plan necessary. As denoted by Çakan and Okçuoğlu (1977; 43) just two months later from the submission of competition projects in June, 1955 and before the approval of Yücel-Uybadin Plan (in January, 1957), the Committee brings up *the Zoning Floor Order* (*bölge kat nizamı*) with the decision no. 650. Although it is canceled 8 months later due to the reactions of Yücel and Uybadin, process would end up with a new plan in December, 1960: ***Zoning Floor Order Plan***. This plan would determine the future of Yenişehir until today. It represents the moment in which new morphological layer of Yenişehir crystallized over ***the layer of transformation***. We can call this new morphological layer, which would cover the layer of transformation, as ***the layer of consolidation***.

7.6. TOWARDS THE THIRD LAYER OF YENİŞEHİR: 1960-1965

According to Çakan and Okçuoğlu (1977; 43) enforcement of Zoning Floor Order Plan (ZFOP) in 12.3.1960 just after the May 27th Military Coup is not a coincidence; in the ambiguous atmosphere of the Coup, local demands that benefited from the extensive alterations in the staff of central administration reflected to the Ankara Development Directorate, which argues to add one floor to whole city, except several districts. Thus, the Ministry applied to the opinion of Nihat Yücel as the author of 1957 Master Plan. Although he strictly opposed to the proposal, ZFOP would be approved by the Ministry. In fact, this event seems to be inconsistent with the general orientation of Turkey's national policies in 1960s and 1970s. The Coup provided the most democratic Constitution in the history of Turkey, which provides a suitable context (until the September 12th Military Coup in 1980) for the generation of leftist movements. As Tekeli (1998;15) states, 1961 Constitution claimed the principle of social welfare state and rational use of resources in a centrally planned economic development. Furthermore, emergence of city planning as a distinct discipline occurs in these decades. The reflection of these developments in Ankara is the constitution of the Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau. 1990 Master Plan prepared by the Bureau would be defined in the literature as a successful planning experience.

Once more after Jansen Plan, Ankara presents a guiding experience for the planning institution of Turkey.

However, in spite of the success of 1990 Master Plan at macroform scale, the tendencies coming from 1950s would continue at the lower scales of urban formation. Actually, this should be conceived as a result of the continuity in the reproduction of property relations towards the commodification of urban land and space. In spite of the balanced growth policies at regional and national scales in the statist period of 1930s and planned period of 1960s, urban space has left to the dynamics of private property. Therefore, enforcement of 1960 ZFOP cannot be reduced to the impacts of the May 27th Military Coup. We need to turn back to the years of Yücel-Uybadin Plan between 1955 and 1960 to understand ZFOP.

7.6.1. Background of Zoning Floor Order Plan

Actually, we should regard ZFOP as a logical end of Yücel-Uybadin Plan. They are the products of the same moment, which can be dated as 1952. This moment represents, as we will elaborate, the completion of commodification process of urban space. Here, we will elaborate legislative dimension of this process, through a description of the path from Yücel-Uybadin Plan to ZFOP.

We mentioned the decision no. 650 issued in 6.17.1955 in spite of Yücel-Uybadin Plan and canceled 8 months later due to the reactions from Yücel and Uybadin. However, in this time span many demands for floor increase were accepted as can be seen in the Chart 2.1. in Appendix A[1]. So, these approvals would constitute a precedent for the later demands. As a matter of fact, the decision no. 553 (4.6.1956) was defining a new type of zoning with the introduction of the Temporary Building Regulation – TBR (Muvakkat Yapı Talimatnamesi) but adding that the acquired rights (due to the decision no. 650 and previous codes) will be in charge. This is an evidence for that building heights or number of floors have been subsumed by absolute private property rights. The third dimension of urban landscape is now a subject of property rights rather than a subject of urban design.

Furthermore, the zoning map of TBR brought into agenda two new concepts, which define zones for floor numbers: *road of density* and *road of commerce*. These two concepts imply that not only building heights but also the *street* as total elements of urban morphology were being

[1] Since we have only the first six moths of 1955 decisions of the Committee, we predict that the graphic displays a very small part of accepted demands due to the decision no. 650.

subsumed by the concept of development rights. In fact, this is in the *subordination of urban planning* by the characteristics of commodity production. We can say that ***parcel is now a complete commodity*** including the buildings on it. Then, we see the adaptation of planning tools and concepts according to the production of required parcel types by market demands. In other words, market tendencies are being internalized by planning mechanism. Thus, following decisions of the planning authority would consolidate this orientation, which would be resulted in the issue of ZFOP. In fact, the definitions of "road of density" and "road of commerce" would lead the way for, if we refer Cengizkan's terms, "*the gutter (oluk) streets*", which are the outcomes of ZFOP that shape the present Yenişehir. As Cengizkan (2005) denotes, this form was coming from Yücel-Uybadin Plan; so, Yücel and Uybadin's approach was preparing the way for the abolishment of their own plan.

The reflections of these new inventions of planning tools in the side of landowners are the rising and insistent demands for floor increase. However, this time, the mode of demands are changing from individual demands to organized collective demands; now their demands are depending on zoning types, mainly on the base of street scale. Decisions no. 602, 606, 741and 863 in 1956 includes such types of demands.

As a result of this course, decision no. 679 in 8.25.1959 introduces the Zoning Floor Order Plan. This decision criticizes the use of precedent (emsal) tool in the Temporary Building Regulation. Thus, it is canceled and replaced by Development Regulation (imar talimatnamesi). That is, ZFOP is firstly comes into effect as the part of this regulation. However, this preliminary ZFOP would be rejected by the Ministry, stating that "increase of floors will cause negative consequences".

In conclusion, the period between 1955 and 1960 leads to significant changes in planning process and results in the enforcement of ZFOP. In this period, Yenişehir's landscape also changes rapidly. There are decisions about many implementation plans for the extension of roads in almost every street of Yenişehir. These plans reflect the becoming of Yenişehir a central commercial area. Moreover, proliferation of office buildings, commercial passages etc. can also be observed from the Committee decisions. For example, it is seen that Sosyal Apartment that was built in 1935 is demolished and the Soysal Office Block (which still exist today) is constructed by the decision dated 1.27.1956 with a right of 3,5 emsal[1]. Actually, this is the first time that the concept "emsal" is used in the Committee decisions and as already mentioned it

[1] "Emsal" is the equivalent of KAKS, that is the Floor Area Ratio (FAR).

was a tool defined by the Temporary Building Regulation. In addition, the construction of Meek İşhanı (office tower at the center of Yenişehir) with the decision no. 632 (9.20.1957) and the construction of the office block by Institution of Worker Insurance (SSK İşhanı today) with the decision no. 725 (9.4.1959) strengthened the image of Yenişehir as the new central business district of Ankara. It can also be considered as the loss of the old image of Yenişehir as an ideal garden city surrounding the Government District. Thus, enforcement of ZFOP would accelerate the increase of densities and proliferation of apartment blocks, which would reach to a new qualitative shift with the enactment of the Law of Flat Ownership no. 634 on 6.23.1965

7.6.2. The Law of Flat Ownership and its Impact on Yenişehir

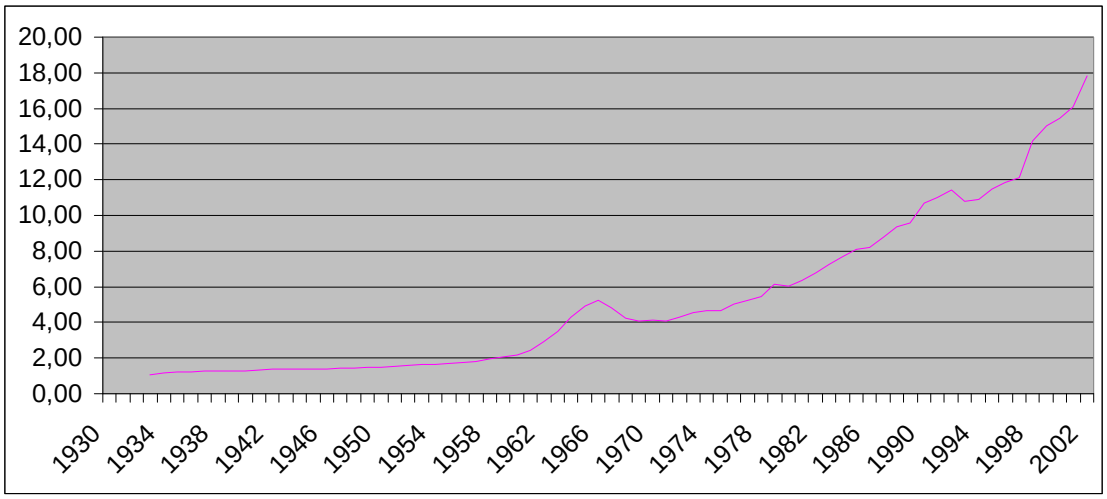
The enforcement of a new master plan in 1957, enactment of the Development Law no. 6785 on 1.17.1957 instead of the Building and Roads Law no. 2290, which was enacted on 6.21.1933, and consecutively formulation of new regulations are all the indicators of the interaction between urban planning and the increasingly growing construction sector. Urban planning institution in Turkey was adapting itself to the market tendencies, in order to cope with pressures. Therefore, here there is mainly a new moment in property relations. The Law of Flat Ownership should be seen as a state intervention to regulate the new relations, to solve newly emerging problems and hence to provide a secure and functional legal base for the production of urban space.

These new relations were basically transactions between the landowners and contractors that come together in the housing sector. In fact it is an invention of a new kind of ownership that is called "*flat ownership*"; fragmentation of ownership into independently usable parts. Balamir (1975) analyses in detail the emergence process of this phenomenon. According to him, concurrent with the ever existing high demand in housing, scarcity of capital resources sufficiently large to undertake independent construction work required to incorporation of many small landowner. Thus, the solution of capital scarcity became possible via the sale of *independent flats* during the construction.

Before the Flat Ownership Law, the smallest spatial unit that can be subject to an independent ownership was the land parcel; now parcel is being fragmented in itself in the third dimension. Thus, the actual condition of fragmentation emerged through 1950s in parallel to the increasing density of cities gains a legal base with the Law.

Our ***analysis on the data obtained from the title deeds*** of 768 parcels (54% of 1423 parcels) evidently depicts this process of fragmentation and its consequences on the formation of Yenişehir. As mentioned, the fragmentation of ownership was realized by means of land unification and creation of smaller parcels. Although there was increase in the floor numbers of buildings, production of such buildings were mainly individual investments, and generally occurred as an addition of a floor on existing buildings. Thus, as seen in the following chart, there is a slow increase in ***the average number of shareholders*** per parcel by 1950s. However, since 1960 it accelerates and fragmentation of ownership continuously increases until 2000s.[1]

Chart 5.1. Change of average number of shareholders per parcel in Yenişehir



Furthermore, ***the change of total sale numbers*** (Chart 5.2. in Appendix A) shows that there is a shift in 1952 in the increase of total sales in Yenişehir. That is why we defined the first emergence of consolidation layer as the *moment of 1952* (concurrent with the attitudes of planning authority and other tendencies discussed before). Then, in 1960, there is a much more

[1] In graphic, the maximum number of average shareholders per parcel is seen as 18. However, this is misleading, since the data obtained includes only the old title deeds comprising registers until the parcels pass to the status of Flat Ownership. That is, the numbers after 1965 reflects only the parcels that are still out of the flat ownership status. And we can assume that these are the parcels that includes smaller numbers of shareholders. So, the average number of shareholders possibly is much more thatn 18 for the whole Yenişehir. There are even parcels having more than 50 shareholders.

sudden shift in total sales, which reaches to a peak in 1965, in the year of Flat Ownership Law. In addition, the fluctuating decrease after 1965 might be caused partly by the lack of data mentioned the footnote of the previous page. But we argue that it rather reflect the tendencies slowing down due to the consolidation of urban form. Thus, the fragmentation and consolidation created by market tendencies, has become a ***barrier*** for its further dynamism.

Finally, this barrier effect can also be observed in the transformation of the buildings inherited from the genesis layer. In this connection, Chart 5.3. (in appendix A) displays the change of average number of shareholders in each urban block of the sample area composed of 39 urban blocks. As a generalization, we can say that the earlier rise of average shareholders occurs in the peripheral blocks, while the stable ones are more central blocks, in which multi-storey buildings were constructed 1930s.

In conclusion, the flat ownership as a consequence of the changes in the production of space accelerated the construction activities in Yenişehir and resulted in a highly fragmented pattern of ownership. Thus, Yenişehir has consolidated in the form regulated by the Zoning Floor Order Plan, which is in fact nothing other than a direct manifestation of the market tendencies.

7.7. CONCLUSION

Transformation of Yenişehir from a low density garden city type to a high density commercial center is the story of the emergence of abstract space together with the development of capitalist relations in urban space. However, peculiar conditions of Turkey that are discussed have led to peculiar problems and solutions in the formation of urban space. These peculiarities have been characterized by the property relations of Turkey that has continuities with the Ottoman layer, and formed by the gradual rise of commodity production in the formation of urban space. Thus, morphogenesis of Yenişehir that started with the ***creation of a work*** of design reflecting the ideals of the young Republic has resulted in the reign of ***produced form***, which is determined by the *repetition, homogenization and fragmentation* tendencies of the commodification process.

Urban planning has also become the part of this process. In fact, commodification was completed when it has subsumed the approaches, concepts and tools of planners. In Yenişehir case, this subordination occurred in 1950s and we can say that Yenişehir experience of urban planning represents the Turkish planning in general, because of Ankara's determinant role and

early urbanization. Thus, we should continue with a discussion that summarize the whole process analyzed in the empirical case study of Yenişehir and derive general assertions for Turkey. This is the subject of Chapter 8, which contains a reevaluation and synthesis of theoretical discussions and the practice of Yenişehir case, as the conclusion of this thesis.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1. INTRODUCTION

> *The designers, if they want to play a more active role in the production of urban space, should realize that urban design is in fact the design and redesign of real property relations.*
>
> Günay (1999; 57)

Our point of departure was the question "how urban form is produced". Here, the emphasis is on the "production of urban form" rather than the "description of urban form". In a sense, it can be said that this is not a study *of* urban morphology; but immediately adding that this is a study *on* urban morphology. We limited our interest in urban morphology with its connection with property relations. The main concern here is to understand the formation of urban space as a city planner, who is responsible for the design of urban space as the *place* of users, of the actual producers of the city. And as Günay indicates,

> The first step in the process of making a **place** is the formation of a new subdivision pattern and the acquisition of individual places. Although this feature of the urban land is known, those approaching urban design from the psychological point of view, that is, the behavioral sciences, have not considered the importance of property and ownership patterns with regards to the terminology they have generated. There is a lot of discussion on the concepts of power in the community on the one hand, and the basic notions of community, privacy, territory, character, identity, etc. on the other. Surprisingly the role of property is not manipulated as the main element making both the physical and behavioral aspects of the urban environment. (Günay, 1999; 16)

In this connection, this study focused on property relations in order to understand the way (and the failure) of urban planning in Turkey in making places and to explain the roles of planners in this failure. Of course the failure of planning in making places and hence the creation of alienating environments is not only the problem of Turkey but of the modern society in general. The literature is full of the analysis on this issue. As Gottdiener writes,

> In modern society, abstract space –a homogeneous, fragmented, hierarchical space– has come to dominate social space... and the very productive potential of the latter has itself been attenuated. Consequently, social space has lost its organic unity in the cities of modern societies. (Gottdiener, 1985; 126)

Consequently, this is a problem arising from the roots of capitalist society; its roots in the absolute private ownership of the means of production (including the land) and in the commodity production, which imposes its requirements of homogenization, quantification and repetition to urban space in the name of *abstract space*.

Nevertheless, the production of urban space as an accumulation of commodities has gained a peculiar course in Turkey, since we claimed that urban space of a certain society is shaped within the dialectic of work-product and this dialectic is rooted in the property relations of that society. Therefore, empirical research of this study focused on the 'formation' of our mode of forming space – the planning institution with its tools, procedures, approaches and hence ideologies – in its peculiar context of property relations.

Ünlü (2005) in his study on the planning control mechanisms, analyzing the plan modifications in Mersin, asserts that urban planning in Turkey is focused on *the production of parcels* rather than the organization of a built environment. This is the core of urban planning in Turkey and the phenomenon that underlies the dilemma of homogenization-fragmentation of urban space.

In fact we proposed that there is a basic tension in the capitalism between the tendency of market dynamics to produce urban form as *the concentration of land parcels* and the tendency of urban planning to produce urban form as *the composition of urban blocks* (so to reduce the urban space into rational standards and functional units). Therefore Ünlü's assertion shows the excessive degree that urban planning has been subordinated to market dynamics and internalized the requirements of commodity production.

The case of Yenişehir is significant, since it represents this subordination of urban planning and its visionary roots *in* the constitution of the Republic. Its genesis includes both the intentions for making of *place* as a '*Genius Loci*' and the attempts for (self)undermining of that place. Lefebvre's basic assertion was that "*each mode of production has its own particular space, the shift from one mode to another, must entail the production of a new space*". The Republic entailed the production of its own particular space with the Jansen Plan of Yenişehir. And the Republic's emerging mode of production –the capitalism–, while it was consolidating its own property relations, entailed the production of its own space, as the negation of Jansen Plan.

Therefore, analyzing the (morpho)genesis of Yenişehir is not to analyze a particular place but it is also an inquiry on the origin of main contradictions of Turkey's planning process and on the underlying relations of property. In this way, we attempted to present the story of the origins of 'imar planlaması' derived from the spatial (and special) history of Yenişehir, through the analysis of the changing context of property relations.

Thus, in this concluding chapter we will derive the essential points of Yenişehir case, so that we can summarize and reevaluate the theoretical framework in the light of Yenişehir practice. Starting with the general assertions on the connection of property relations and urban form, we will continue with an evaluation on the layers of urban formation.

8.2. PROPERTY RELATIONS AND URBAN FORM

This thesis has started out by a critical review of urban morphology literature in order to derive the definitions and elements of urban form. It was seen that due to the nature of its object of study –urban landscape, urban morphology tends to deal with the city as an *absolute* space, as stated by Mugavin (1999). Although it includes several disciplines, descriptive and normative studies comprise the main body of the literature on morphology. The explanatory studies generally remain in a reflectionist attitude that conceive the formation of space as a *manifestation* of social relations, despite the significant potential of the morphogenetic school focusing on the historical change of urban patterns.

Nevertheless, the literature of urban morphology still has a lack of unitary and comprehensive theoretical framework; and hence, most of the recent studies remain in the realm of particular (local) and empirical; the theory appears as an accumulation of common approaches and findings, in parallel with Cuthbert's critique on urban design literature. He claims that urban design theories do not share any substantial theoretical position, since they "mysteriously detached from the production of urban form" (Cuthbert, 2006; 43).

Of course, we did not claim to fill such a gap in this thesis but we claimed that "property relations" is the key subject to take a step towards the filling of this gap. This intention requires a definition of urban form depending on a *relative* and *relational* space conception rather than *absolute* one. In this connection, Harvey's proposition provides a significant insight:

> These three spatio-temporal frames – absolute, relative and relational – must be kept in dialectical tension with each other in exactly the same way that use value, exchange value and value dialectically intertwine within the Marxian theory" (Harvey, 2006; xx).

To give an example, a land parcel as a fixed form in urban space is an element of absolute space but the value of a parcel appears in its relation with its relative position among all other parcels in the city. A development right assigned by planners to a parcel is not a 'thing' but it is still 'real' as a potential form for the future of that parcels; besides this "future" might influence its current formation.

However, we think that Harvey, while he is focusing on capital accumulation, overlooks the role of property relations and its connection with urban planning. Thus, urban planning and hence planning ideologies appear substantially as a tool of capital accumulation. For this reason, *the role of property relations* in the formation of urban space, which is emphasized by Günay (1999a) with the formulation that urban design is basically an arrangement of ownership patterns in two dimensions and of development rights in the third dimension, cannot find an adequate place in Harvey's framework.

In connection to this point, Lefebvre's insight is his recognition of the historical connotations of property relations for the production of space in capitalism. Lefebvre presents the roots of property relations that cannot be reduced to the framework of capital accumulation. Ideological and legal forms, which come from the historical 'layers' are subsumed by capitalist relations and by spatial forms historically inscribed on land have to be taken into consideration for a relational conception of urban form. Property disputes in Turkey and Yenişehir practice represents the historical impacts of property relations. In fact, planning system of Turkey still suffers from the implications of Ottoman 'layer', which cannot be erased completely yet. This problem can be defined as the pains of transition from the Ottoman Law to the Roman Law (Günay; 1999a).

However, there is a problem in Lefebvre's approach with respect to our subject. His emphasis on the ideological and political content of urban space leads him to confine the planners to the negative meaning of the term 'ideology'. Thus, planning appears, like as in Harvey, as a tool that function for the legitimization and abstraction of urban space in accordance with the needs of the capitalist state. Although he states that abstract space of capitalism carries within itself the seeds of a differential space; he does not seek any potential in urban planning as a struggle arena to generate the seeds of differential space.

Nevertheless, Lefebvre's conceptual framework provides important opportunities for a relational approach in the studies on urban form as recognized by Mugavin (1999). However, in order to construct our structural framework for the production of urban form, we focused on the concepts of "work and product", which have been rarely emphasized, rather than his popular trilogy of

perceived, conceived and lived space. Therefore, setting out from Lefebvre's "dialectic of work–product", we proposed at the end of Chapter 3, the Structural Diagram that represents the structural relations in the formation of urban space in capitalist society. Yenişehir's analysis was handled in this framework.

8.3. STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK AND THE GENESIS OF YENİŞEHİR

Evidently, analysis of Yenişehir assumed that formation of Yenişehir can be located in the theoretical diagram in question. But the same framework, also proposes that peculiar aspects of Turkey have produced spaces peculiar to its own. This includes the production of new spatial forms and *new modes of forming the space*.

Therefore, although the genesis of Yenişehir corresponds to the construction of the government center of a young capitalist country, we cannot claim that there is a "pure capitalism" and an abstract path of capitalist development. The constitution of the Republic of Turkey has a particular nature differing from Western societies. It means that *it is not sufficient to interpret the historical and empirical context of Yenişehir according to the theoretical diagram; at the same time we need to re-interpret our theoretical diagram according to Yenişehir's context*. The analysis of Yenişehir in previous chapters was performed with this consideration.

At the base of the Structural Diagram, there is "commodity production" as a relation between capital and labour. It represents the *core* of capitalist mode of production. However in the constitution period of Yenişehir, this core was still on the way of emergence and production of urban space was not yet an object of capitalist relations. Furthermore, existing dynamics that take role in the genesis of Yenişehir were not simply outcomes of Republican revolutions. Although constitution of the Republic of Turkey as a turning point created fundamental changes in political context and public institutions, there were strong continuities in the property relations between Ottoman period and Republican period. Thus, neither the relations of private property nor the laws about it (including planning legislations) emerged directly in the Republican period.

Therefore, the process of the Big Expropriation via the Law no. 583 as the main generator of Yenişehir displays the impact of Ottoman layer on the formation of Ankara. The tension between the newcomers (who can be described as the governors and bureaucrats of Turkey and Ankara) and the landowners of the old Ankara, distortions in the implementation process of the

expropriation, fragmented ownership, land speculation and other problems elaborated under the heading of Lörcher Plan reflect the impacts of Ottoman layer.

However, after the consolidation of the power of Kemalist leadership, the government attempted to a new and more comprehensive intervention to the development of Ankara and this attempt generated Jansen Plan and Ankara Development Directorate, including new laws on urban planning, land expropriation and registry. Nevertheless, the implementation of Jansen Plan reflects the tension between the landowners and the planning authority. As depicted in detail, formation of Yenişehir occurs through the demands of landowners that aim to increase the value of their parcels and the attempts of planning authority to control them. Thus, production of urban form under the control of Jansen Plan develops towards erosion and distortion of Jansen's planning principles and criteria. That is, reproduction of private property relations in Yenişehir has progressed through the dissolution of development control and the production of new conflicts. The ideal of creating a modern city gradually retreats, while the requirements of private interests dominate the formation of urban space. As Şengül (2001; 74) states,

> The endeavour to produce a modern planned city has remained inactive on the one hand as an outcome of inability to create the resources to finance the proposed developments of the project but perhaps more important because of the political struggle of traditional and new middle-classes in the city against planned development based on sharing of rents, and at the end of the period came to a level where even the leaders of the project became alienated and the ideal of creating a planned and modern city has been abandoned to a large degree.

According to him, the experience of Ankara represents a general weakness in the control of urban development. State which was ungenerous in transferring resources to the cities was not effective enough at this scale in a period when the resources were transferred to industrialization. Thus, the ineffectiveness of planning combined with the fragmented landownership led to the transformation of city level to a stage where small and too many actors took place and a strong opposition has occurred towards planning tools. *Small scale interests* began to shape urban development involving the individual interests of middle classes, who defended their interests best and stamped urban development with the advantage of reaching planning authority (Şengül, 2001; 75).

In fact, even the financial advantages provided to Ankara as the capital city and direct control of central authority have not changed this fact. As observed in Yenişehir case, small property owners became influential on planning authority and since 1940s the Municipality has gradually gained control over planning mechanisms. This also shapes the path from Jansen Plan to Yücel-

Uybadin Plan, in which the *uniqueness* of Yenişehir has been increasingly dominated by the requirements of market tendencies.

8.4. UNIQUENESS VERSUS REPETITON

As already mentioned, following Lefebvre, we have defined urban space *both as a work and as a product*. He defines the *work*, which is *unique*, as "an object bearing the stamp of a 'subject', of the creator or artist, and of a single, unrepeatable moment"; and the work, which is *repeatable*, as "the result of repetitive gestures, hence reproducible, and capable ultimately of bringing about the automatic reproduction of social relationships" (Lefebvre (1991; 422).

As depicted in the Structural Diagram, this dual and contradictory nature of urban space is actualized in the production of urban form through a tension between uniqueness and repetition. While *repetition* in the formation process includes the homogenization and fragmentation requirements of commodity production, *uniqueness* includes the intended control over urban form to achieve certain design criteria and principles. Of course, spontaneous formations can also have uniqueness, as in the favored spaces of traditional towns. Thus, rather than a morphological originality, uniqueness means owning a *character*, a total and legible image. In this respect, uniqueness represents the quality of *place* that can convey certain social meanings, ideals or visions.

Both 1925 Lörcher Plan and 1932 Jansen Plan have such an attempt to *create* Ankara as a 'work' that represents the ideals of modern Republic. Yenişehir as the new government center of the Republic constitutes a major part of Ankara project. Therefore Lörcher and Jansen Plan provided characteristic elements to Ankara and achieved the uniqueness of Yenişehir as a created form.

Keskinok (2009) in his essay on Atatürk Boulevard argues that main intention of Lörcher and Jansen Plan was *to give a form* to the city, to *create* the city, without stucking in the problem of *prediction*. So, main concern was to achieve a unique spatial character representing the Republican ideals. Similarly, in her evaluation on the planning of Ankara in the Republican period, Tankut (1998; 20) gives the definition of a planning attitude that aim to create the uniqueness of place, to create *genius loci*:

> An urban environment that presents an urban aesthetics, in other words an urban image that create intensive emotions in the people of the city; such that these intensive emotions extend from pleasure to pride and citizens can claim the urban environment identifying the citizens with the city.

In contrast to Lörcher and Jansen Plan, Cengizkan (2005; 41) argues that 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan does not take a position about the morphological quality of Ankara as a designed object (that is a *work*) and aesthetic values of that quality. Similarly, as concluded by Keskinok (2009), 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan, which was also obtained via planning competition, presents a planning approach that is based on dominant economic tendencies and aim to regulate the *growth*, instead of an approach that departs from the concerns about forming the city and urban life. Now, "economic realism" is determinant in the formation of urban space.

Therefore, although Yücel-Uybadin Plan is an act of creation, if we express via the terms of morphological metaphor, its *created form* appears as an extension of *produced form*. In this respect, the path from Lörcher and Jansen to Yücel-Uybadin includes the emergence of commodity production and its abstract space in the production of urban form, and hence the erosion of the uniqueness created by Lörcher Plan and Jansen Plan. The figure below represents an abstraction of these two contrast approaches by means of the geological metaphor.

Here, main peculiarity of planners is that they attempt (either consciously or unconsciously) to determine or 'create' the formation of urban space at the beginning of the development process (shown with thin lines). In other words, *created form* is a potential form that includes the possible formation of urban space. In this respect, Yücel-Uybadin's approach supposes that 'economic realities' are 'unchangeable' and hence they adapt their projects in accordance to the existing trends of market actors. In this case, they may not face with unexpected outcomes for their plan like as Jansen but they reduce their role to a tool of property relations. This is the planning ideology that we defined as "passive space fetishism".

Therefore, when we look at Ankara today, we can still see the traces coming from the uniqueness of the work of Jansen Plan. But we cannot recognize the traces of Yücel-Uybadin, even if there are many of them, because of the reign of repetition over uniqueness in Yücel-Uybadin Plan's period and after.

In order to explain the alienation or fetishism in question and the meaning of the *domination of repetition*, we need to elaborate the geological metaphor and the succession of the morphological layers as the gradual domination of *abstract space* and hence the crystallization of commodity

characteristics in the production of urban form in a three staged process, which we called as the "layers of Yenişehir".

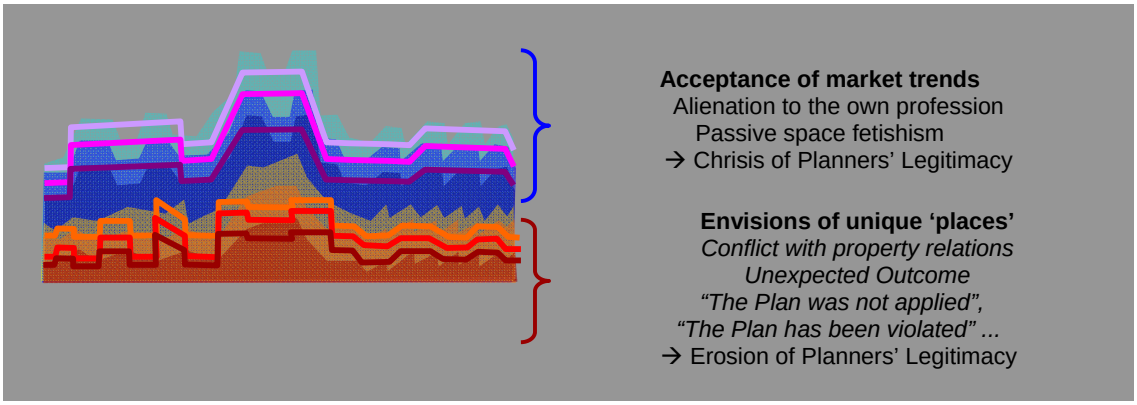


Diagram 8.1. The Role of Planners in the Layering Process of Urban Form

8.5. THE LAYERS OF URBAN FORMATION

> *Absolute spaces can be constructed by dividing space into parcels and segments each of which can then be regarded as a 'thing-in-itself' independent of other things. The private property relations is, of course, the most basic institution by means of which absolute spaces are formally created.*
>
> Harvey (1985; 79)

The main categorization of the elements of urban form in morphology literature is generally composed of plot-building, block-street and district. Of course names, functions and contents of these categories can have large differences in accordance with the approaches of different authors. But as an abstraction, these three categories can be considered as the main levels of urban formation. Thus, a relational conception of urban form that can go beyond the description of morphological types requires loading the content of these morphological categories with social determinations. Harvey's passage above refers to such a definition of parcel as a basic unit of the formal creation of *absolute* spaces by means of private property institution.

Thus, in Chapter 4, we proposed a framework represented in the Production Diagram, the core of which is the ***parcel*** *as a commodity* (and commodity is the core of Marx's analysis on capitalist society) with the proposition that urban space in capitalism, beyond a container in which the commodities are produced and circulated, presents itself "an immense accumulation of commodities", and its unit is a single '***parcel***' (including the buildings on it).

Then, depending on the structural framework that is defined in Chapter 3, we elaborated the peculiar characteristics of the parcel as a commodity. It is seen that because of its spatiality, use value and exchange value of parcel and its actual production as a commodity radically differentiates from other commodities. Therefore, as the essential unit of capitalist city, we discussed the implications of "the production of *the parcel* as a commodity" at *the block-street* and *the district* levels. We will not turn back to the details of the interrelations of these three levels. But the main point is that the requirements and characteristics of commodity production (including the contradiction between use value and exchange value, repetition, homogeneity and its fetishism dimension) embodies itself in all three levels of the urban formation. We can define the totality of these three levels as "*the production of urban form*". In short, the Production Diagram represents the simultaneous interactions of the three levels of urban formation in the production of urban form. In this framework, production of urban form is taken up as a multi-leveled process of formation, comprising many definitions. Urban form, which is the real origin of our perception and imagination is constituted in our theoretical framework as an 'end'; as a synthesis of many connections and contradictions.

As a result, the geological metaphor is employed as a tool to analyze the historical continuity and change of urban formation as the totality of three formation levels. These levels are represented in the metaphor as three sub-layers named *produced form*, *created form* and *lived form* as elaborated in Chapter 5 (see Figure 5.1. and 5.2.). However, the geological metaphor poses important questions. What is the interrelation between sub-layers and how these constitute the morphological layer? How does a new layer appear and covers up the existing morphological layer? How do the characteristics of the old continue or disappear in the new? Yenişehir case is analyzed via such questions and the production of morphological levels of Yenişehir is elaborated in detail. Here, we will only evaluate the essential points. But in order to clarify such questions we will refer to a new kind of metaphor that can be defined as a mathematical metaphor, which is shown in the following diagram, which we call "*the Layering Diagram*".

8.5.1. Transformation of Produced Form

Morphogenesis of Yenişehir is essentially a *process of commodification*, in which the *requirements* of commodity production gradually imposes itself through the changes in property relations and the *characteristics* of 'parcel commodity' increasingly show itself in the different elements of urban form.

We defined this process in the empirical analysis on Yenişehir in three distinct periods of formation, which we call as the *morphological layers*. These are the layers of *genesis, transformation* and *consolidation*. Each layer has different qualities in terms of the interrelations between sub-layer components, which are *produced, created* and *lived forms*. While the layer of genesis is dominated by the created form, the layer of consolidation mainly manifests the characteristics of produced form and the layer of transformation is a transition between the two.

As seen in the Layering Diagram, each parabola represents the rise, culmination and fall of a layer. It means that the characteristics elements that differentiate each layer from the others are produced in changing quantities through time. Secondly, the thick line climbing through the parabolas indicates the morphological change of Yenişehir as a totality, which can be seen as a cumulative effect of urban form. Then, the parallel shifts of the thick line between the parabolas indicate to the *relative permanence* emerged in the transformation of Yenişehir. We can call these relatively permanent parts as the time sections in which Yenişehir became a 'place' (it may not mean necessarily to achievement of *genius loci*). Of course we need to mention that these periodizations do not depend on precise calculations or indicators but they are abstractions derived from the structural and formal analysis.

Therefore, the *layer of genesis* is the constitution period of Yenişehir through the projects of Lörcher and Jansen, who both aimed to *create* a modern neighborhood around the government center of Ankara within a synthesis of Sitte and garden city approaches. We can say that Yenişehir was created as a unique environment in which production of urban space is determined by the created form.

We will not repeat here the impact of the *Ottoman layer* on the existence of Yenişehir but it should be emphasized that although the domination of 'created form' was achieved through the expropriation of private property, the implementation process was distorted by the commodification of land parcels.

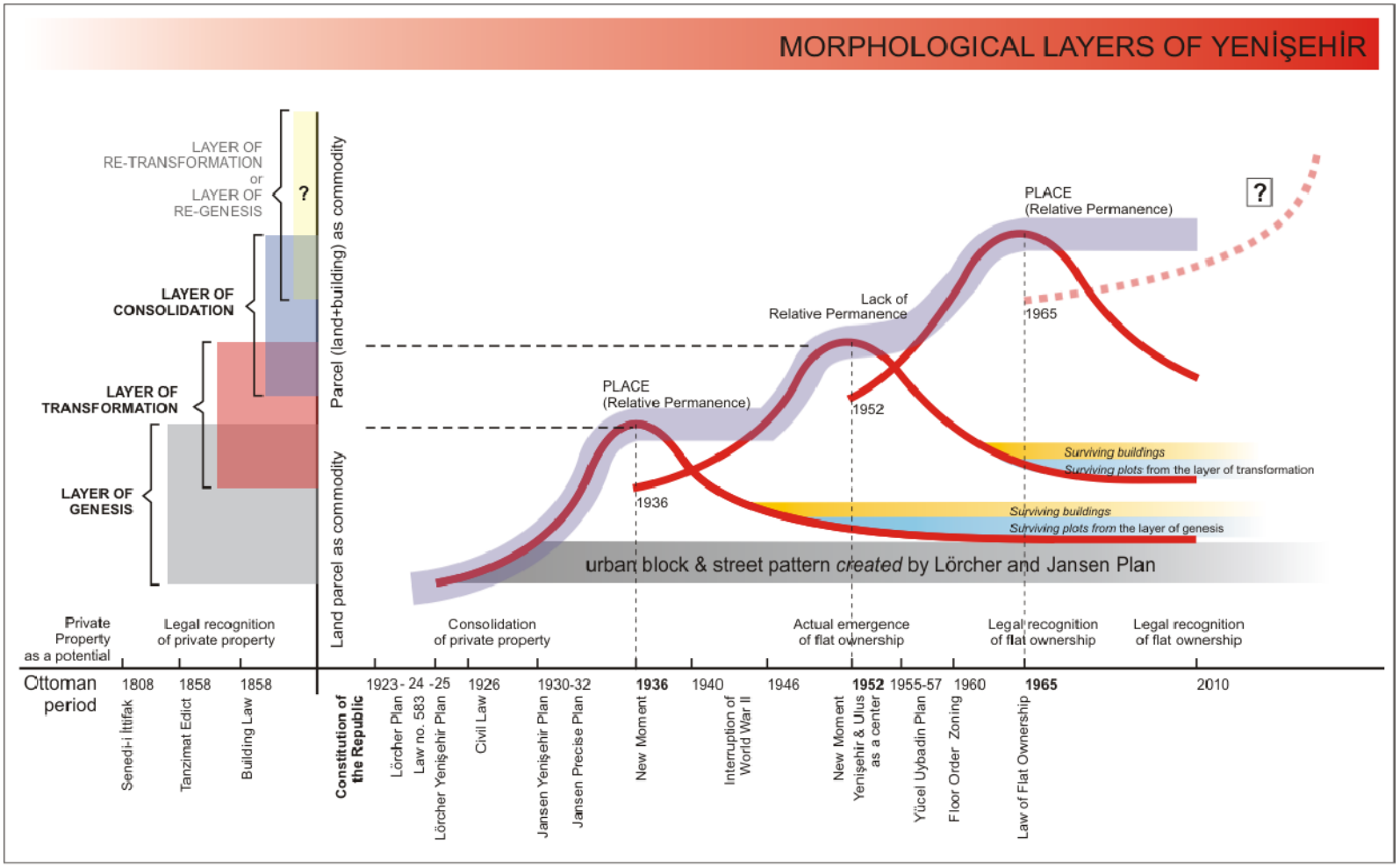


Diagram 8.1. The Layering Diagram: Morphological Layers of Yenişehir

Here the point is that in the genesis period, *'absolute' private property* shows itself only in the land which became subject to the insistent speculation of landowners. "Parcel" is not yet a 'complete' commodity and development rights (*imar hakları*) in the third dimension are not being conceived yet as an absolute private property right. It means that the buildings were not produced as commodities but as *use-values*. That is, people, mainly the bureaucrats of the Capital were producing their ***homes*** to live in and express themselves, not *houses* to be sold; the third dimension is still outside the commodity production. However, as the landscape of Yenişehir develops, it is seen that demands from landowners to increase the quantity of construction area in their parcels emerges as a tendency. And when we come to 1935 we can see an evident landscape of a district that has a totality; now Yenişehir is a *place* that has a characteristic unity in itself. And in 1936, there are quantitative shifts in the demands of landowners and distortions in the attitudes of planning authority. We call this shift as the moment of 1936: a *moment* that does not only express a point in time but a ***vector*** including new tendencies.

Therefore, we should note that *the moment of 1936* is not a certain external power that intervene Yenişehir, but it is an *immanent* moment that emanates from its inner structure. This moment was the becoming of Yenişehir a '*place*', that is, a *relative permanence* in the production of urban form. When it is formed at *district* level as a *landscape* that has its own *rentscape*, new tendencies in the formation of space were appearing. It means that the transformation layer appears where the genesis layer is crystallized. So, the new tendencies are at the same time the production of new morphological elements of a new layer. While the production of the elements (mainly the 'homes' in large gardens, continuity of canopy heights etc.) that are characterizing the old layer decreases quantitatively, the new elements increases, such as the shops, rental houses at top floors (but still individually produced not for sale), attics, 'residential' basements, etc. Parts of the parabolas below their intersections represent this simultaneity of forms. After a certain point, we assume that new elements become dominant in the appearance of cumulative effect; they start to erase the former elements and the former layer is gradually covered up buy the latter.

This ***logic of the transition between layers*** includes mainly a dialectical pattern that is the *shift from the quantity to the quality*. This pattern can be observed in the changes of landowner

demands and in the production of morphological elements.[1] For example, the demands for allowance of shops in ground floors at certain parcels turn into a planning decision that defines a whole street as a commercial zone. Commercial passages appear and office functions start to proliferate. Then we observe the approvals for the construction of office blocks (*işhanı*). In the same way, while there is the *addition of new floors* to existing buildings in large gardens or the turn of attics and basements to normal floors, then we start to observe new type of buildings which are called today "*apartman*" (apartment blocks) built by the demolition of existing buildings. Such production patterns of morphological elements constitute the layer of transformation.

In short, we should emphasize that the logic of transition between layers is also relevant for the transition from *the layer of transformation* to *the layer of consolidation*.[2] However, main difference is that the moment of this transition is not mainly an immanent moment but it is rather determined by the *rentscape* of the whole city, since Yenişehir is now a *core* district surrounded by many districts rather than a part of simple duality between Ulus and Yenişehir. But beyond this difference, the crucial point is that transition between the transformation layer and the consolidation layer is determined by the fact that not only the land but also the buildings are now subject to commodity production. *Development rights* –the third dimension– becomes a part of absolute private property. In consequence, the layer of consolidation appears where the commodification of the parcel is completed. This is what we called as *the moment of 1952*.

Now the parcel becomes a true commodity with all of its elements, like as in the Production Diagram. Instead of the production of *homes* as in the genesis layer, the consolidation layer is stamped by the *production of* ***houses*** by contractors, who would be called as *yap-satçı* (build&sale) in following decades. In this respect, the analysis of title deeds shows that the fragmentation of ownership into independent flats starts at the first half of 1950 in certain parcels and blocks. We can observe a shift in the total number of property sales since 1952. Then, a general shift is seen between 1960 and 1965 in both the number of shareholders (indicating the degree of fragmentation) and sales. And 1965 is the year of the *Law of Flat*

[1] Unfortunately we coud not obtained adequate data including historical change of physical elements at parcel scale, except the aeral photographs and plan documents. Nevertheless, the committee decisions clearly reflect such change patterns in general. In fact, depiction of physical changes exceeds the limits of this thesis and requires a separate study.

[2] Transition from the transformation layer to the consolidation layer is shown in the figure below as the shift from second parabola to the third parabola. In fact, the transformation layer does not have clear morphological unity and it does not have a clear culmination point at which we can talk about a relative permanence.

Ownership. In other words, flat ownership actually appears as a new type of property relation through 1950s and it leads to its own legal basis in 1965.[1] This qualitative change as a culmination of the quantitative increase of the 'apartments' causes in turn to an increasing trend in the construction of them, since its construction and sale is made easier by means of the law. In the following decades Yenişehir would be dominated by multi-storey apartment blocks and fragmentation of land ownership would increasingly accelerate. This is the '*consolidation*' of urban formation in Yenişehir.

8.5.2. Transformation of Created Form

Created form should not be reduced to individual approaches of certain planners and projects. It should be conceived as the totality of planning approaches, principles, concepts, tools and the attitudes of decision makers. In this condition, we can depict the change of *created form* in parallel with the *domination process of repetition over uniqueness* in the formation of urban space. In this process, we can observe several levels of transformation.

Firstly, we mentioned just above the basic difference between the approaches of Jansen Plan and Yücel-Uybadin Plan as the loss of uniqueness, as a result of the domination of economic rationality over the concerns about the form of the city and the quality of urban life.

Secondly, as observed in the decisions of the Committee, planning principles in detail are in a continuous interaction with the demands of landowners and the interaction usually leads the authority to formulate new principles, to revise the existing ones. In 1930s, we saw the attempt of the Committee to sustain the principles determined by Jansen. However, especially with the increasing pressure of demands since 1936, these principles were gradually distorted.

For example, after a series of rejected and accepted demands for the increase of building depths, the Committee takes a principle decision that generalize the certain way of depth increase. Or the allowance of attics in block-order is generalized after some resistance for single buildings and then allowed through certain limitations for twin buildings. Similar cases are observed in the analysis of Committee decisions for the turn of attics into normal floors, change of setback distances etc. Therefore, a general path appears as *the qualitative change of planning principles*

[1] Of course, we do not claim that Yenişehir's or Ankara's development lead to the flat ownership; it is a fact comprising the urbanization at national scale but Yenişehir-Ankara is an important case of the flat ownership as utilized by Balamir (1975).

as a result of quantitative increase in the demands of landowners; so the path ends up often with a "*principle decision*" (i.e. a regulation) that internalize the tendencies of the property owners.

Third level is the distortion and elimination of design criteria and concepts that are utilized to rationalize or legitimize the principle decisions. In fact, qualitative concepts that refer certain *use-values* such as health, beauty, aesthetics, continuity, harmony and character were the main criteria in Jansen Plan and the Committee were attempting employ these criteria in their decisions. However, through the transformation period, we see the arbitrary use of these criteria. Especially, "aesthetics" became an efficient tool to legitimize planning decisions. Finally, eventually, since 1950s the Committee does not even refer to such criteria for legitimization in some decision; land values became a self-sufficient criteria.

Fourthly, as a result of the changes in planning principles and criteria, planning tools that are the standards, codes and legislations are revised. The main result of these revisions is the appearance of the concept of "*development right*" (*imar hakkı*). In the decisions of genesis period, we cannot see this concept. On the contrary, Committee might make decisions that assign different rights to adjacent parcels due to provide design criteria. However, in the transformation period, development right a frequently referred concept and enters to the legislations. In 1950s, we see the appearance of the concepts like floor right (*kat hakkı*), precedent (*emsal*), zoning floor order (bölge kat nizamı), road of density (*kesafet yolu*) and road of commerce (*ticaret yolu*). Therefore main tendency towards the zoning and *standardization* which results in the prevail of quantitative criteria. And *quantification* is a main requirement of commodity production.

As a result, through the stages of commodification of parcel and its implications on the demands of the land and property market, planning approach, criteria and tools internalizes the characteristics of commodity production; standardization and quantification became the main tendency, while technical regulations and bylaws dominates planning process. Thus, planners and decision makers are subordinated by the tools that are created by them. In fact, this is the ***alienation*** of planners to their own profession. We have termed this kind of alienation as the *passive space fetishism*. Therefore "development planning" (*imar planlama*) approach is a product of such a process. While *readjustment of property patterns* in accordance with the market demands to produce parcel becomes the ultimate intention of urban planning, urban planners becomes *development planners* (imar plancısı). In a sense, this is the *consolidation of urban planning* as an institution in Turkey.

8.5.3. Consolidation of Lived Form

Yenişehir continues to develop since 1960s and 1970s through the implementation of *Zoning Floor Order Plan* approved in 1960 and thus it has taken the current form today in accordance with zoning floor order. In fact this plan can be considered as the immediate extension of market demands, which were not satisfied by the density increase policy of 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan.

However, as a result of the consolidation of urban form, existing building stock and the excessive fragmentation of ownership patterns has become a barrier for the development of urban form. As Keskinok (1997; 65) explains,

> Unintended results of the ownership fragmentation create substantial problems to be overcome for the mobility of capital. However, this cannot be done without any intervention into the legal context of the land ownership or without *de facto* utilization of the state power. (...) For him [Balamir, 1975], fragmentation of ownership rights in space causes a multitude of problems: a general inconsistency and retardation of development, and hinders the realization of higher rents. Balamir concludes that 'although it was the unintervened market that initiated ownerhip fragmentation, the market system is highly unlikely to resolve any of its consequences'.

Therefore, the fragmentation and increase of densities provided to the formation of Yenişehir a strong relative permanence. It means that as a result of the transformation layer, consolidation layer of Yenişehir has completely turned Yenişehir into a new *place*, which can be described as *a central business district*. This place is totally alien to the characterictics of its origin.

Of course, consolidation of Yenişehir does not mean that it is not changing. We can assume that a new possible layer is forming beneath the surface as a rentscape although its landscape has been stabilized. In the Layering Diagram, dashed line expresses this possibility. The new dynamics that have been rising in Turkey, especially since 1990s, leads to a new stage of commodification. It is characterized by the prevailing role of financial capital and large real estate and construction firms. The scope of the thesis does not include this issue, but it can be said that these new forces are leading to new changes in property relations and producing its own spatial forms. This can be considered as the ultimate stage of commodification, in which even public spaces become a commodity through new types of urban spaces, such as shopping malls, gated communities, luxury condominiums, plazas, etc. Now, design of urban space is a factor to increase exchange-values. As we elaborated in Chapter 4, 'form' itself becomes a power, which leads to a new type of fetishism in architecture and planning; that is the *form fetishism*.

Due to the consolidation of urban form in Yenişehir, these new tendencies cannot lead to differences yet. However, Yenişehir's public spaces are being invaded increasingly by functions that prohibit social life, such as taxi stands and bus stops, extensions of shops, cars, parking

areas, shopping malls, etc. Cultural activities are leaving Yenişehir and accumulating in 'private' public spaces and Yenişehir is turning into a *neutral* commerce center. *Alienation* of people in a growing consumption society is deepening in parallel with the production of inhuman, alienating spaces that paralyze the socialization of people. Thus, the *possible layer* of Yenişehir might be a *layer of re-transformation*, formed as the products of these tendencies. Nevertheless, we prefer to state the last words of this study about a *counter-possibility*: creation of a *layer of re-genesis*.

8.6. AFTERWORD

We cannot know the forms of a "layer of re-genesis", since it requires a revolutionary change that prevents the domination of commodity characteristics in the formation of urban space, and opens way for a production of urban space that is determined by the collective 'work' of society depending on the desires of the *real producers* of space. But we can speculate the content of such a layer as a lived form, referring to a recent happening lived in the streets of Yenişehir at the end of 2009. It is the struggle of Tekel workers, who were the staff of a privatized state monopoly. They lived in Tuna and Sakarya streets for 70 days to protect their personal rights against the privatization of their company. They *possessed* the street space, set up tents and lived there. Sakarya became a *place of socialization* between Tekel workers and tradesmen of Sakarya, peoples of Ankara. This was one of the significant experiences in the political history of Turkey. Therefore, public spaces of Yenişehir that are inherited from Jansen and Lörcher Plans became an arena of struggle and living. It was an experience that cannot be lived in the new, *alienated* public spaces of Ankara, which are in fact privately owned commercial areas; shopping malls, streets of gated districts, etc. Therefore, this experience does not only indicate the importance of public spaces. As an indicator of a 'possibility', the struggle of Tekel workers gives an idea about the content of a "re-genesis layer". With the words of Lefebvre (1991; 422), "it is an orientation that tends to surpass separations and dissociations, notably those between the *work* (…) and the *product* (…)". So, we can express this prospect with the concluding words of Lucien Goldmann (1998; 141) in her essay on the commodification of the works of art:

> *The prospect of an enlightened world beyond alienation will prominently bring individual and collective meanings of human behaviour closer and it will, to a great extent –though not entirely, transform alienated labour into creative labour, and turn product into a work.*

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APPENDIX A: CHARTS

1. PARCELLATION ACTIVITIES

Chart 1.1. Demands for land subdivision in Yenişehir between 1933-1965

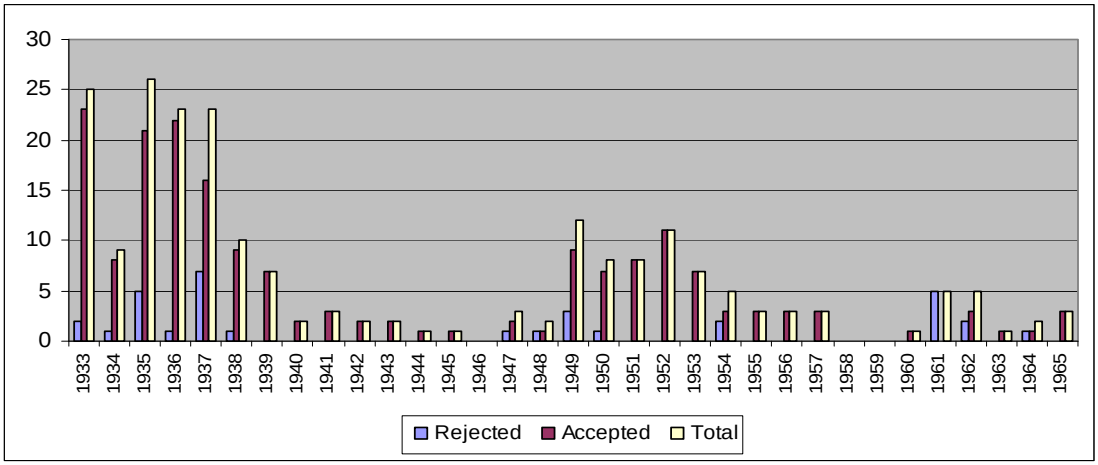


Chart 1.2. Demands for land unification in Yenişehir between 1933-1965

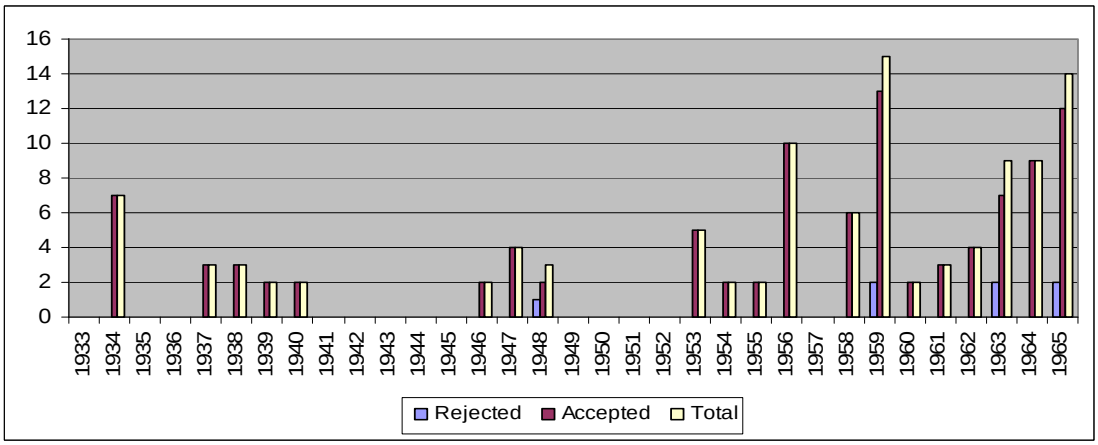
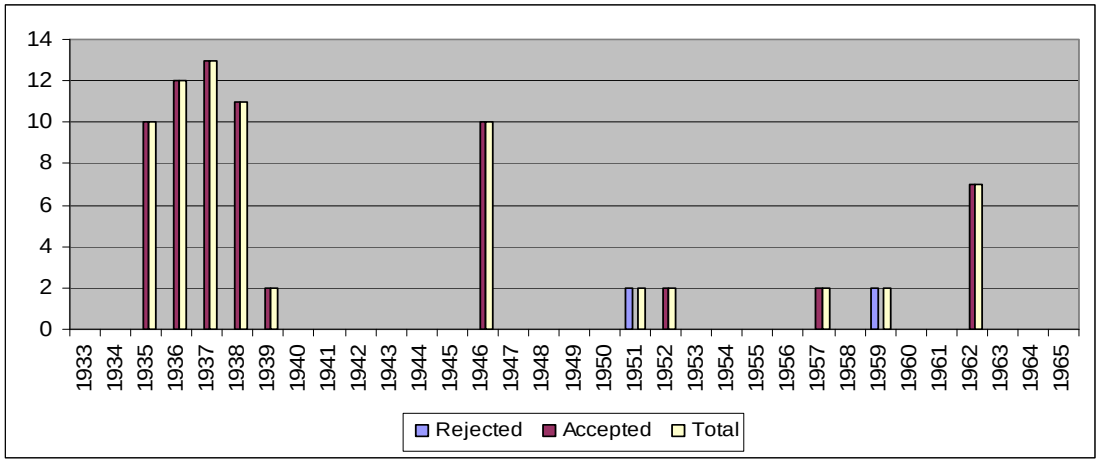


Chart 1.3. Demands for land subdivision through unification in Yenişehir between 1933-1965



2. CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES

Chart 2.1. Demands for increase in number of floors in Yenişehir between 1933-1965

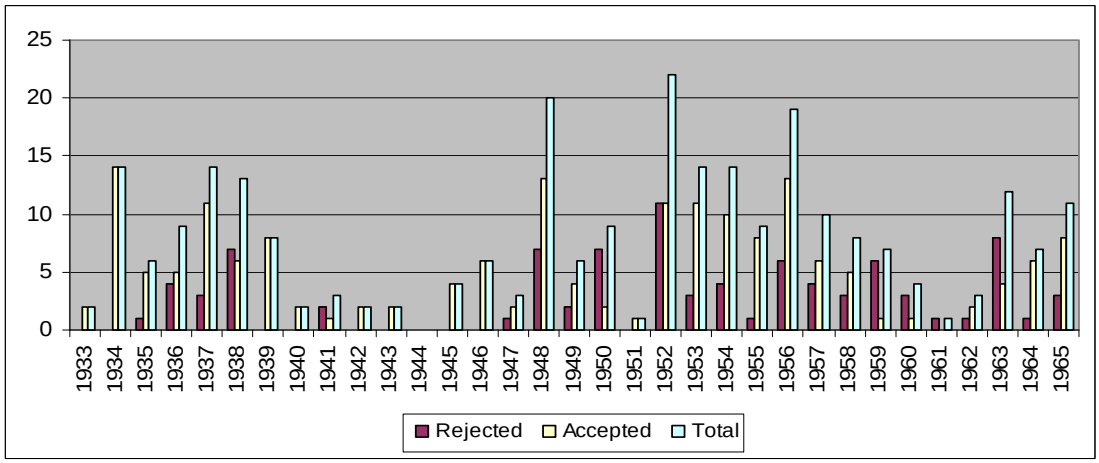


Chart 2.2. Demands for increase in building depths in Yenişehir between 1933-1965

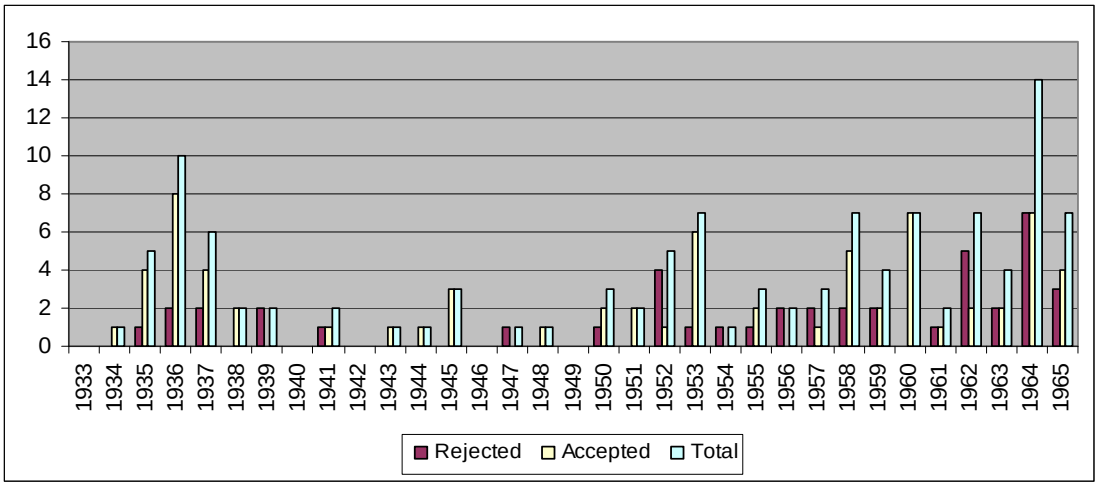


Chart 2.3. Demands for outbuildings in Yenişehir between 1933-1965

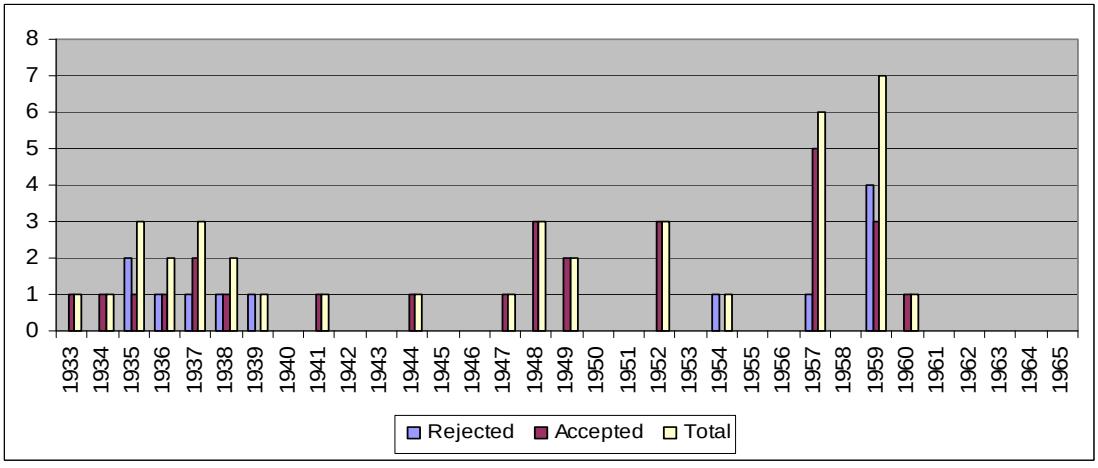
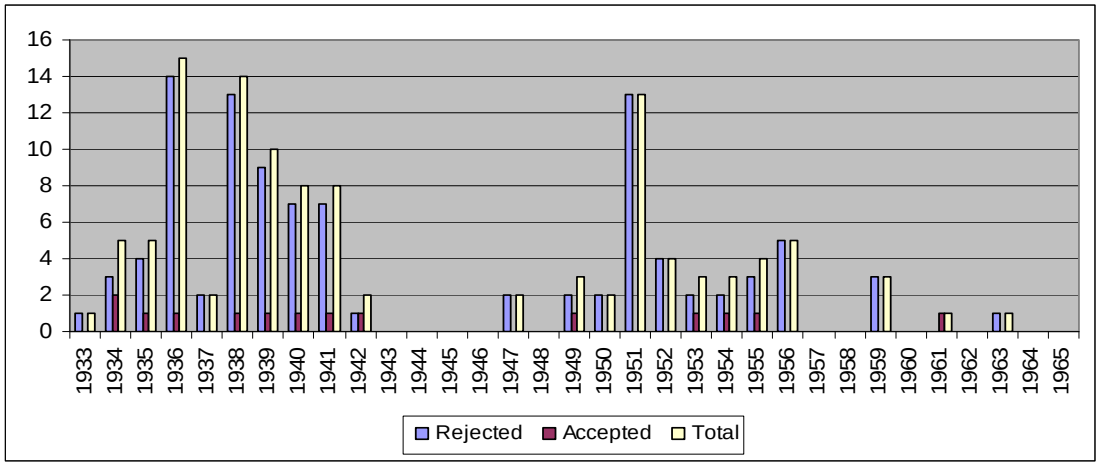


Chart 2.4. Unauthorized constrction activities in Yenişehir between 1933-1965



3. BUILDING ORDER DECISIONS

Chart 3.1. Demands for block-order in Yenişehir between 1933-1965

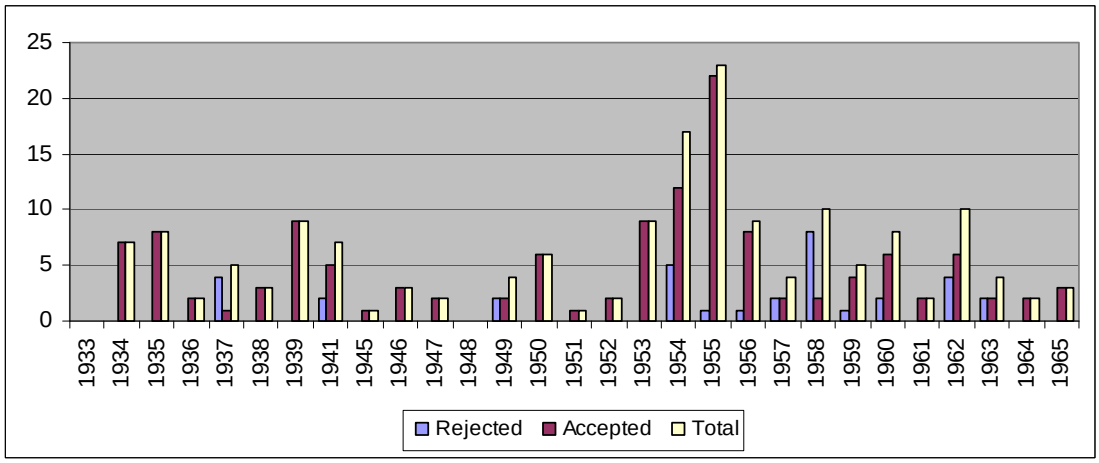


Chart 3.2. Demands for twin-order in Yenişehir between 1933-1955

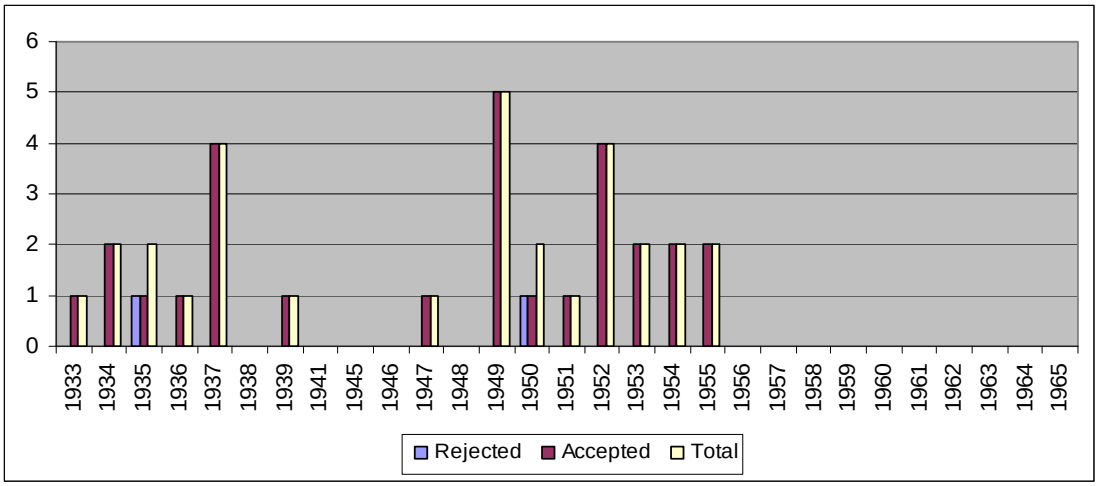
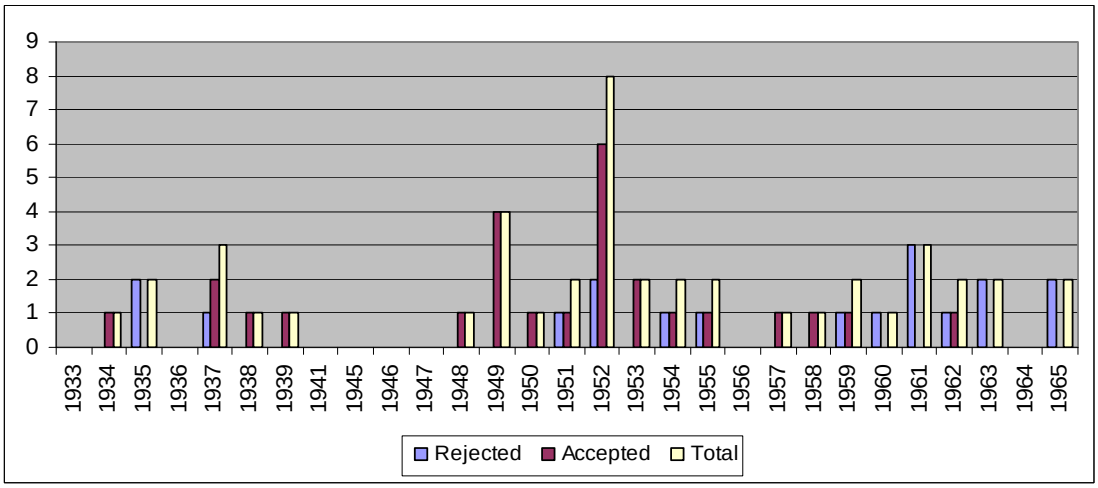


Chart 3.3. Demands for decreasing set-back distance in Yenişehir between 1933-1965



4. FUNCTIONAL DECISIONS

Chart 4.1. Demands for commercial use in Yenişehir between 1933-1965

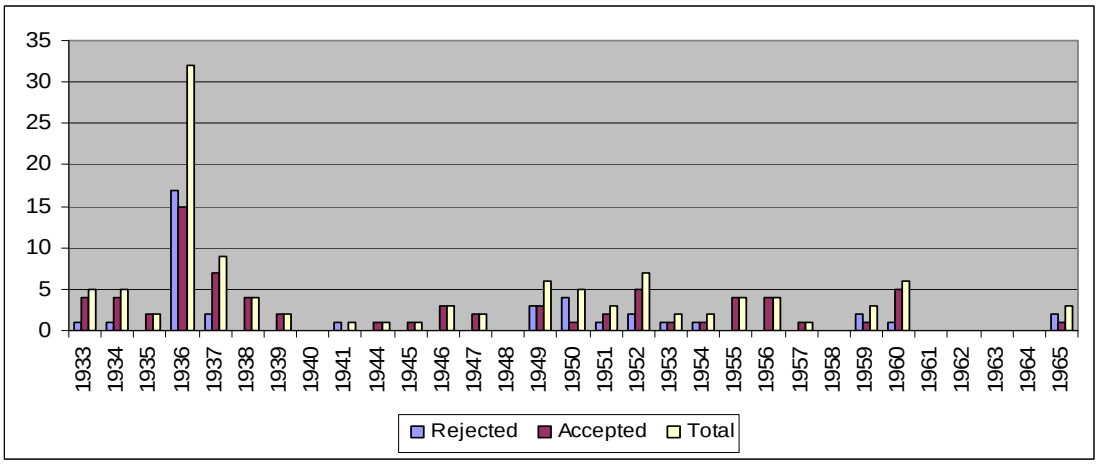
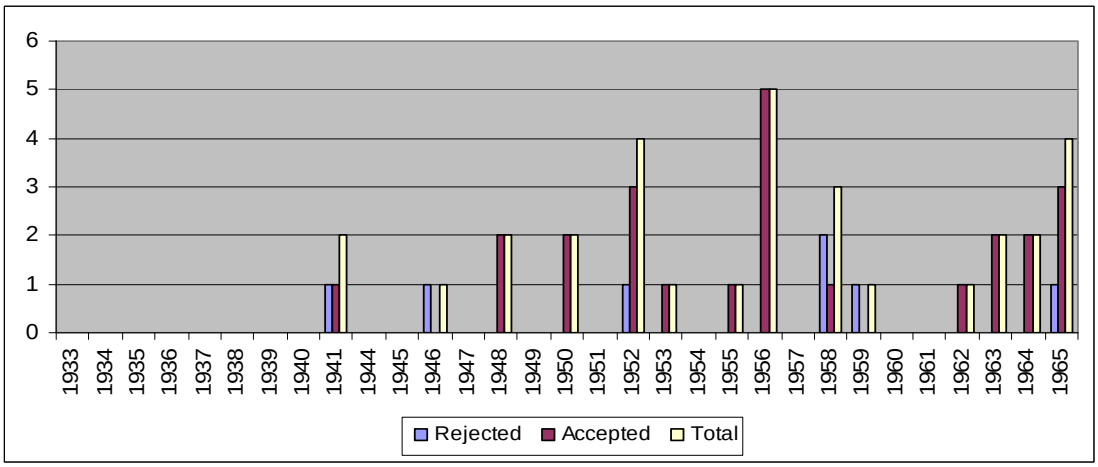


Chart 4.2. Demands for touristic and cultural uses in Yenişehir between 1933-1965



5. STATISTICS OF TITLE DEEDS

Chart 5.1. Change of average number of shareholders per parcel in Yenişehir

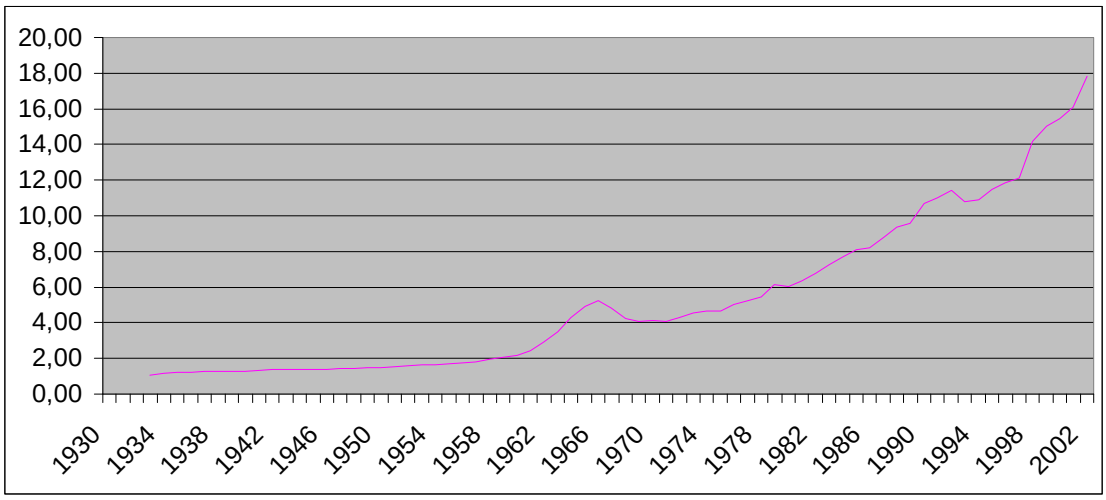


Chart 5.2. Change of total number of proprety sales in Yenişehir

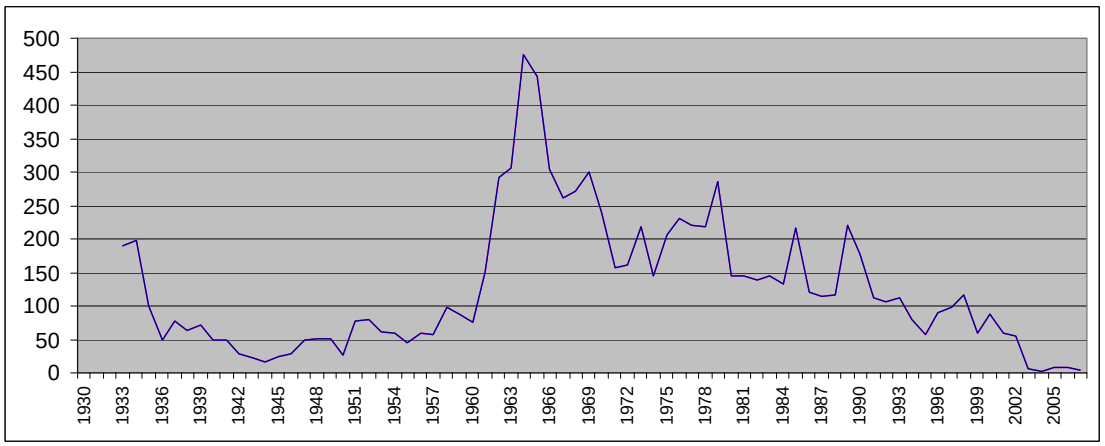
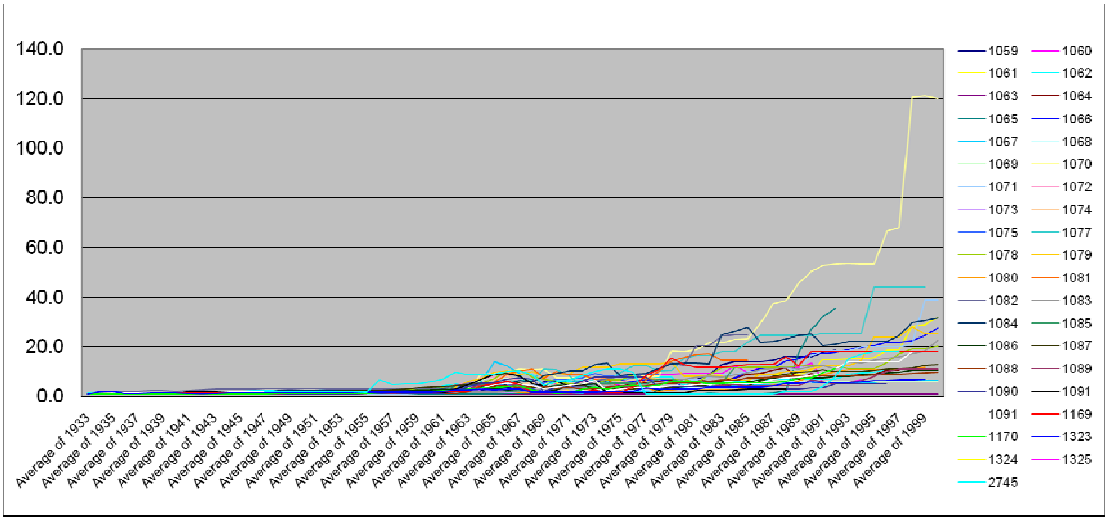
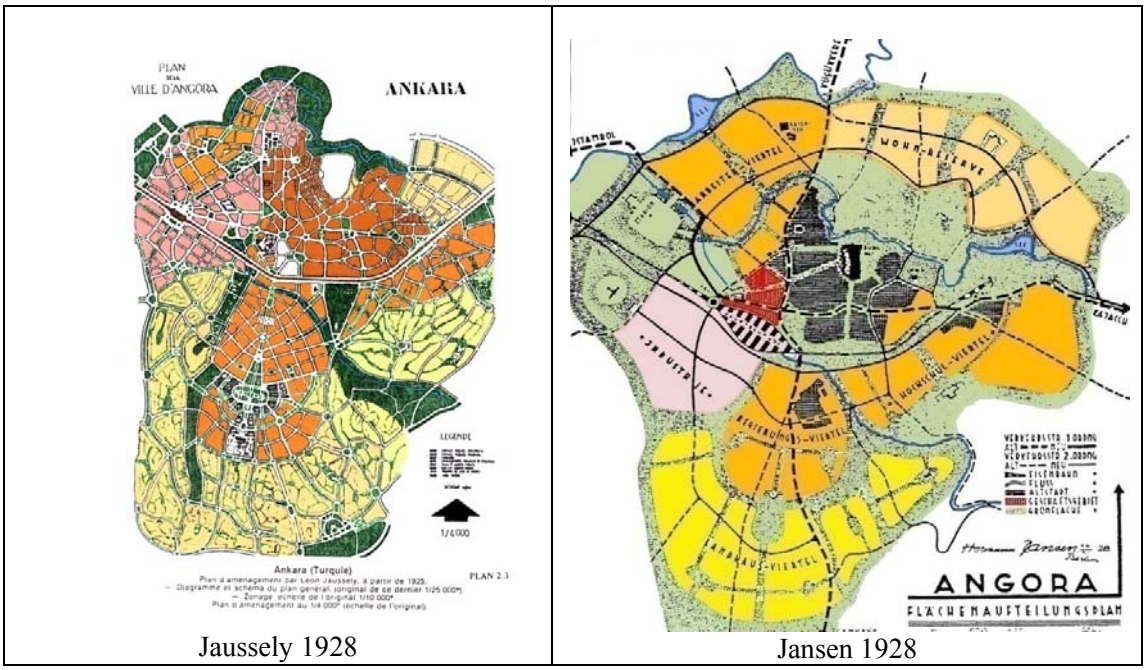


Chart 5.3. Change of average number of shareholders in each urban block in Yenişehir (including 39 urban blocks)



APPENDIX B: MAPS



Jaussely 1928 | Jansen 1928

Figure B.1. The Competition Projects of Jaussely and Jansen (colored by Baykan Günay)

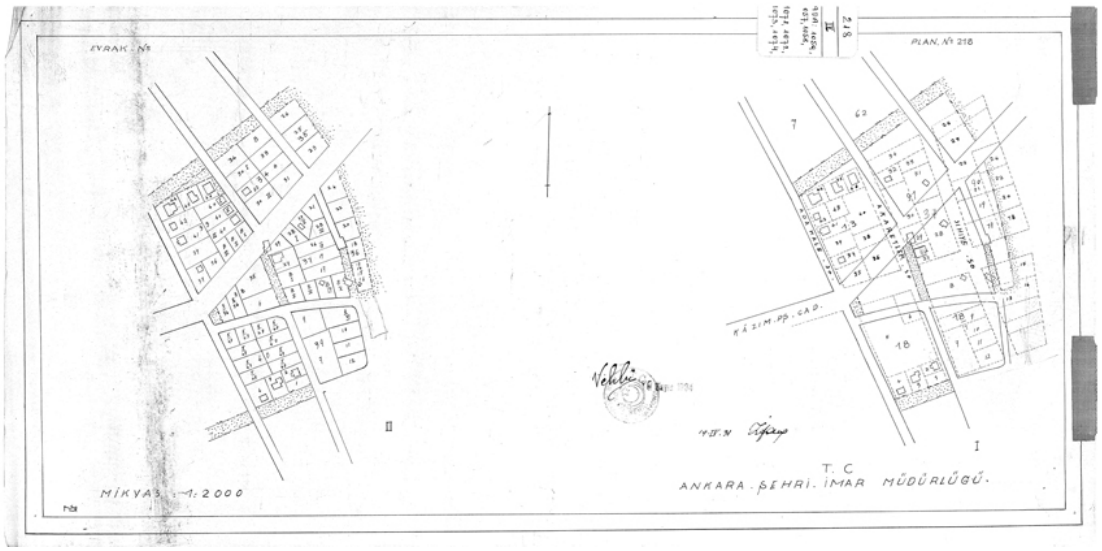


Figure B.2. Plan no 218. that determines the change in the direction of Kazım Paşa Street.

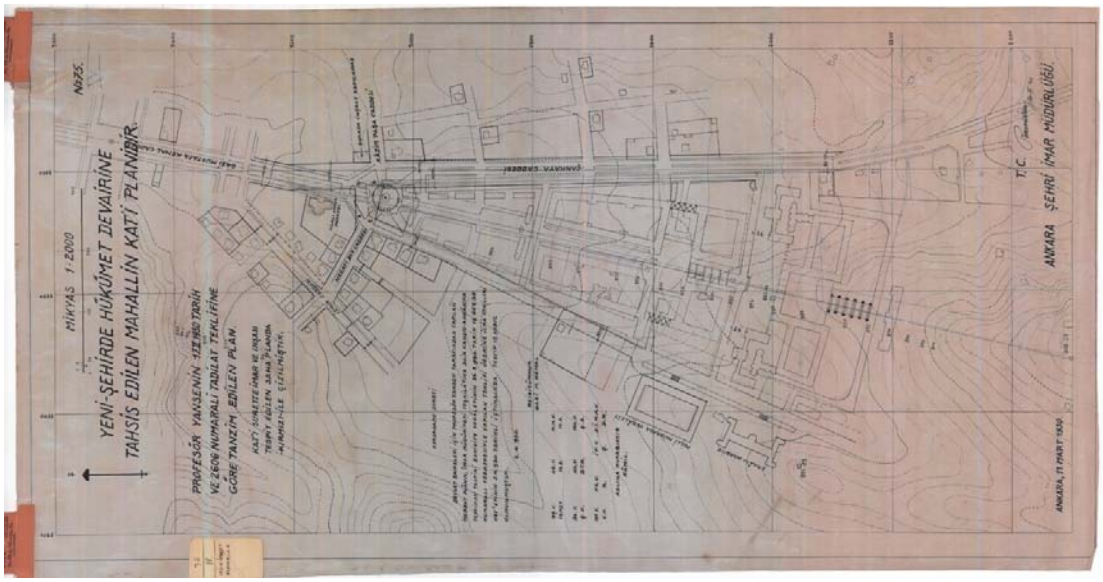


Figure B.3. Plan no. 75: Government District approved by Gazi Mustafa Kemal

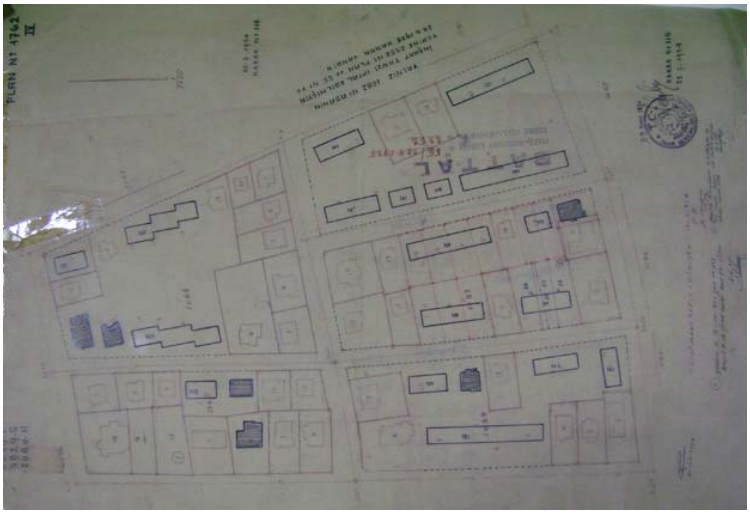


Figure B.4. Plan no 1762 as an example of eclectic building order.

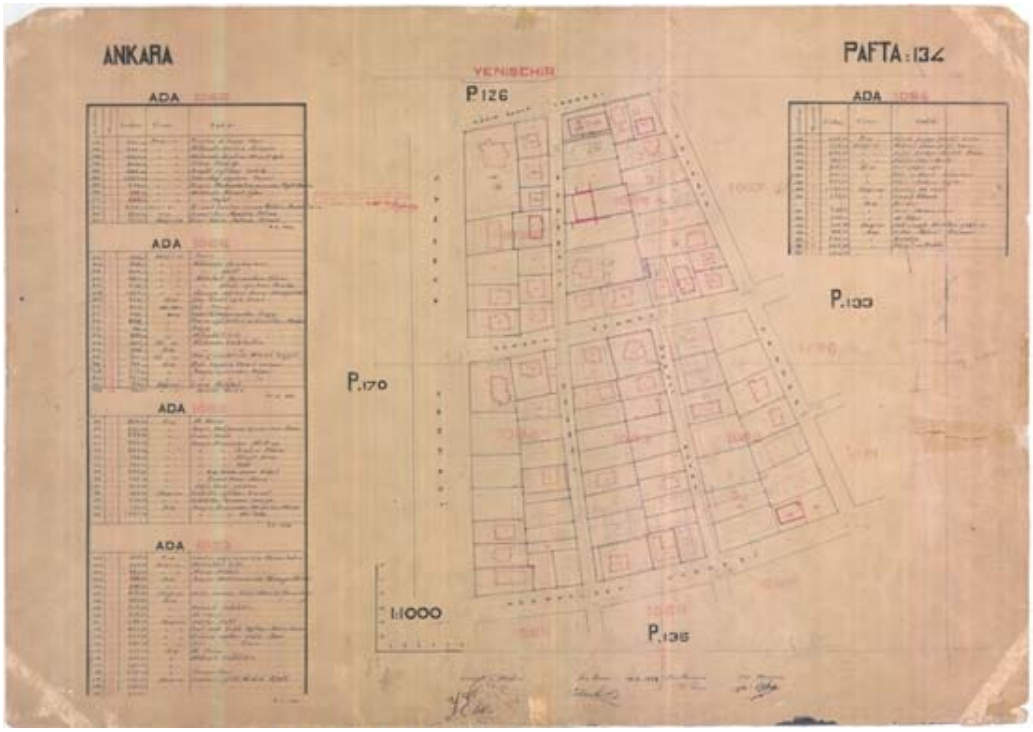


Figure B.5. An example of cadastral map 1935.

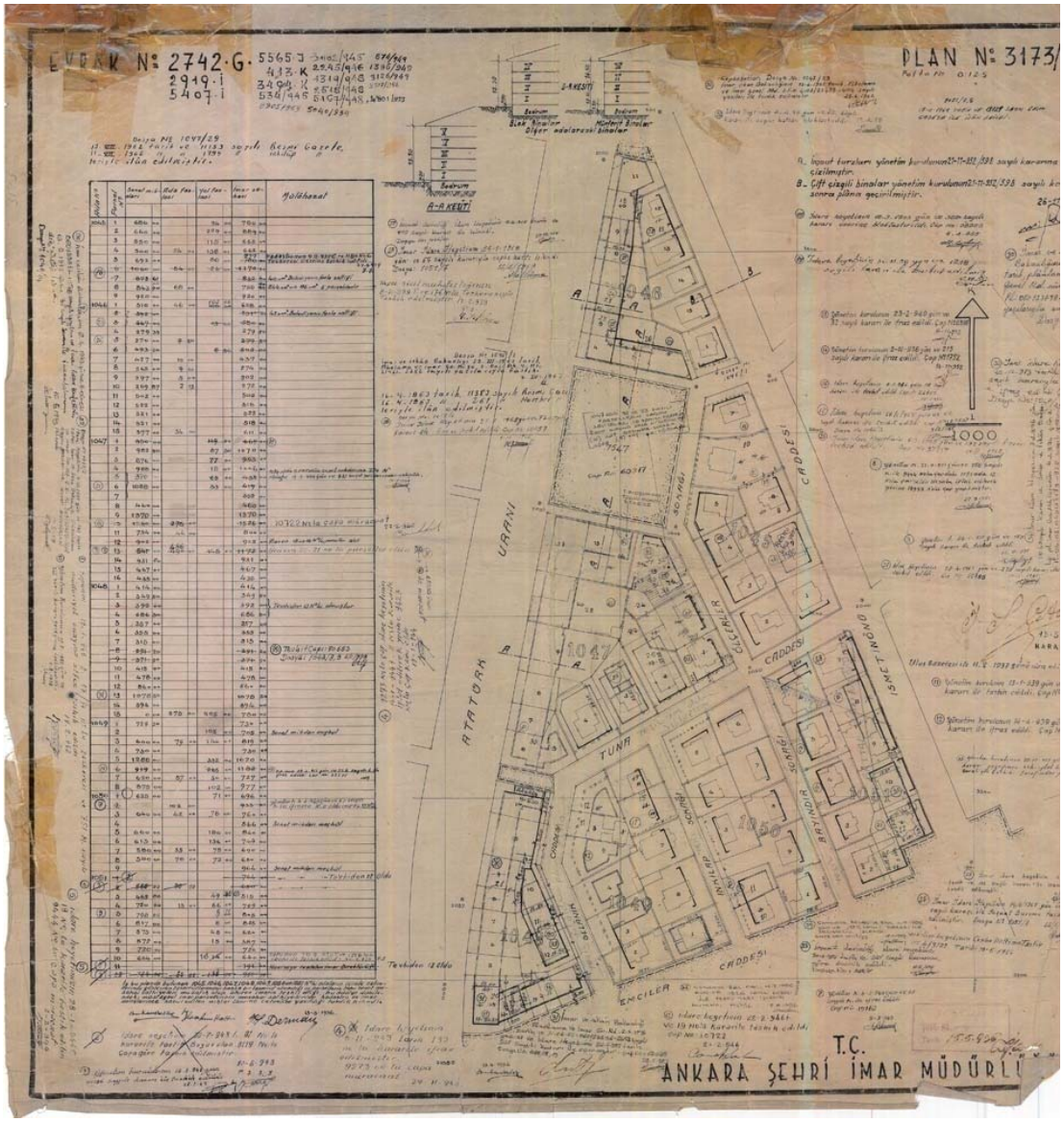


Figure B.6. Plan no. 3173

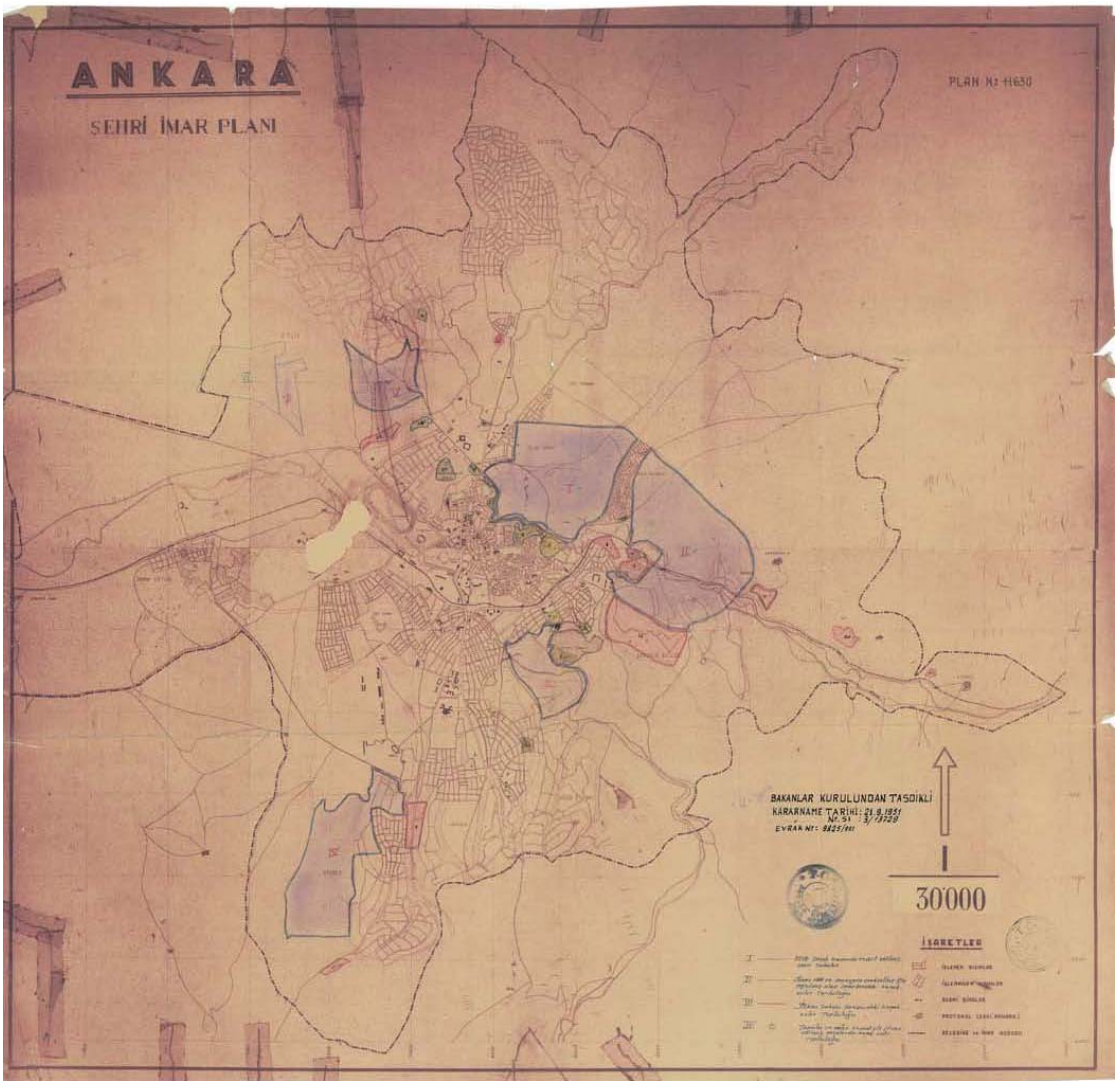


Figure B.7. Plan no. 11630, Gecekondu alanları, 1951

(Ankara Metropolitan Municpality Map Archieve)

Figure B.8. Yücel Uybadin Plan – Yenişehir section

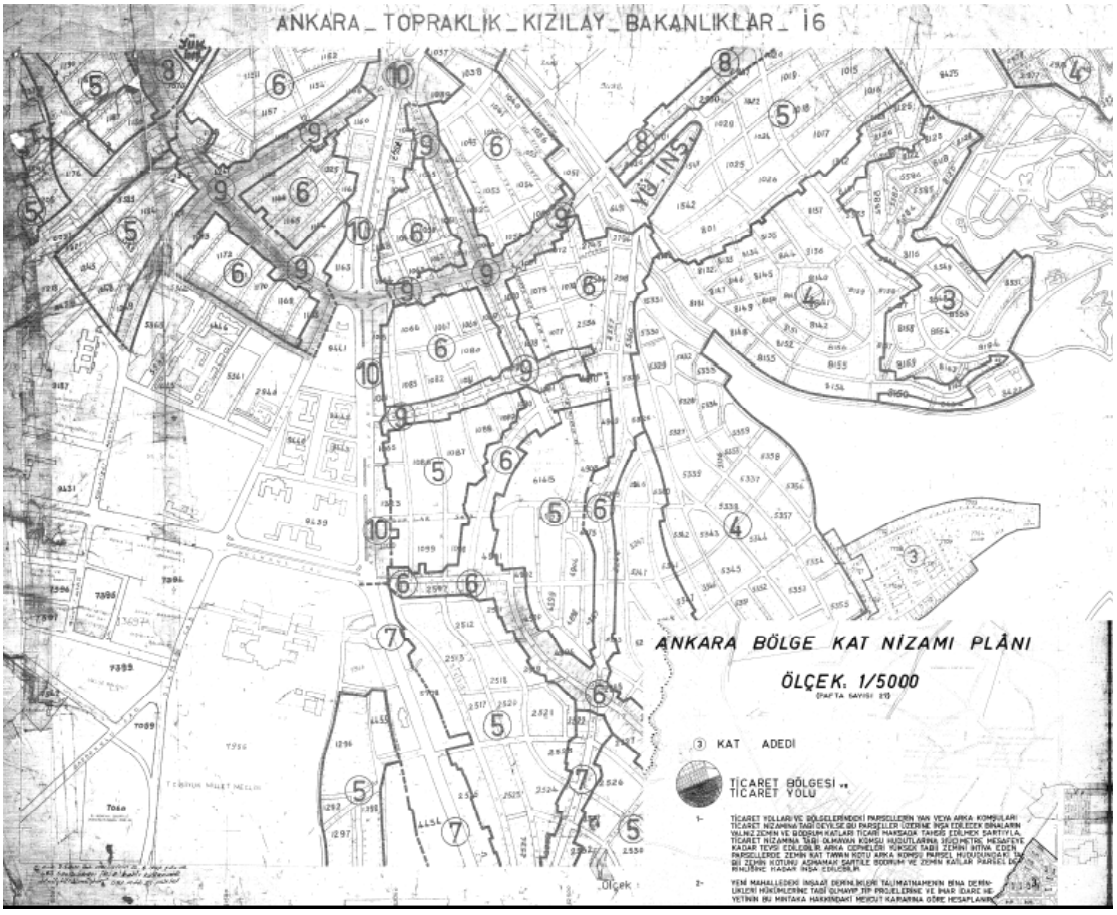


Figure B.9. Zoning of Floor Order (Bölge Kat Nizamı)
(Ankara Metropolitan Municpality Map Archieve)

Figure B.8. Change of parcels through subdivision and unification
(red parcels are the ones that have not changed since 1935)

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B.C.P.	Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning	2000

WORK EXPERIENCE

Institution	Project	
The Turkish Social Sciences Association, Ankara	"Sub-Regional Development Project for the Displaced Rural Population to Their Villages in the Southeastern Anatolia Region" (Published under 12 volumes in 2002).	2002-2001
DAMPO Planning Co., Ankara	"Revision of 1/1000 Scaled Improvement Plan in Mersin Yenişehir" under the auspices of Mersin Yenişehir Municipality (published in 2001)	2001-2000

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English

PUBLICATIONS

Baş, Y. (2006); "Planlama Mimarlık İlişkisi Yeniden Tanımlanırken", *Planlama*, no.2006/4

AREAS OF INTEREST

Urban design, urban coding, urban morphology, property relations