CONSTRUCTION OF THE REPUBLIC IN CITY SPACE: FROM POLITICAL
IDEAL TO URBAN PLANNING PRINCIPLES

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN URBAN DESIGN
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

SEPTEMBER 2010

Approval of the Thesis:

CONSTRUCTION OF THE REPUBLIC IN CITY SPACE: FROM POLITICAL IDEAL TO URBAN PLANNING PRINCIPLES

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ABSTRACT

CONSTRUCTION OF THE REPUBLIC IN CITY SPACE: FROM POLITICAL IDEAL TO URBAN PLANNING PRINCIPLES

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September 2010, 139 pages

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, urban planning was one of the main instruments for the development of national economy. In this respect, urban plans for numerous cities and towns were prepared between 1923 and 1940 in Turkey.

This thesis reveals the reflections of Republican ideology to urban planning principles. The aims of this study are to clarify the political concepts that were active in the Early Republican Period, translation of political concepts to spatial context and to reveal the relation between urban planning experiences and political ideology between 1923 and 1940 in the Republic of Turkey.

For this reason, this thesis study examines the construction of Republican ideology in city space via urban planning. The construction of the Republican Revolution in city space is examined in terms of planning practices and evolution of urbanism. The examples of cities planned at that period are evaluated in the context of political ideals and planning principles that were operative in urban planning between 1923 and 1940 in Turkey.

ÖZ

CUMHURİYET'İN KENT MEKANINDA İNŞAASI: POLİTİK ÜLKÜDEN PLANLAMA İLKELERİNE

Karakaya, Emel

Yüksek Lisans, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama- Kentsel Tasarım

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Eylül 2010, 139 sayfa

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan sonra kent planlama ulusal ekonominin kalkınmasında temel araçlardan bir tanesiydi. Bu bakımdan, 1923 ile 1940 yılları arasında Türkiye'de birçok kent ve kasaba için kent planları hazırlanmıştı.

Bu tez Cumhuriyet ideolojisinin kent planlama prensiplerine yansımalarını açığa çıkarmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amaçları; Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde, Türkiye'de etkin olan politik kavramlara açıklık getirmek, politik kavramların mekansal bağlama çevirisi ve 1923 ile 1940 yılları arasında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kentsel planlama deneyimleri ile politik ideoloji arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koymaktır.

Bu amaçla, bu tez çalışması Cumhuriyet ideolojisinin kent planlama aracılığı ile kent mekanında inşaasını incelemektedir. Cumhuriyet Devrimi'nin kent mekanında inşaası planlama pratiği ve şehirciliğin evrimi açısından incelenmiştir. Bu dönemde üretilmiş olan kent planlarından örnekler politik idealler ve 1923 ile 1940 yılları arasında Türkiye'de etkin olan planlama prensipleri bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Türkiye'de Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Planlama Pratiği, Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi, Türkiye'de Şehircilik, 1923 ve 1940 Yılları Arasında Türkiye'de Planlama Prensipleri

To my father and mother

and in the memoriam of İlhan Selçuk

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I offer my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Çağatay Keskinok, for his guidance, support, patience, encouragements and everything that he taught me. I also wish to thank for the Scientific Research Project that we launched in the context of this thesis study.

I would also thank to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Semahat Özdemir, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nil Duruöz Uzun, the examining committee members, who gave interest to my thesis.

I wish to express my thanks to İzmir Institute of Technology City and Regional Planning Department members. I owe thanks to Koray Velibeyoğlu who made contributions to my research in İzmir. I further thank to my first students at CP 301 Urla-Çeşme-Karaburun Peninsula Studio and at CP 402 Bozcaada Studio.

I sincerely thank to Ali Bor, Ebru Bingöl, Onur Mengi and Pelin Ulusoy for their motivating friendship and refreshing night activities. I, especially, thank to Eda Uçak who has been with me at home, at the office, at school, etc. and is a real "dost" of mine now and forever. I am also very grateful to Sara Züleyha Belge for her existence in my life.

I would further thank to my sisters; Saadet Yüce, Mehtap Koçhan and Burcu Karakaya, and to their spouses who have always been with me and have always supported me. I have succeeded by means of their existence.

Finally, my special thanks go to Serkan Bürken, my fiancee, for his support, patience, invaluable presence, encouragements and love.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

The main purposes of this study are to investigate the translation of political concepts to spatial context and to manifest the correlation of urban planning experiences with political context between 1923 and 1940 in Republic of Turkey. The study considers the construction of Republican ideology in city space. There were 116 cities planned between 1923 and 1940. In this frame, the study reveals the political ideals of the period, and then, it examines the urban plans produced at the period within a new methodology developed in the scope of this thesis study.

In this thesis, the Early Republican Era is defined as the period between 1923 and 1940. The year 1923 is the date of the foundation of the Republic. The year 1940 is the date that the effects of Second World War in economy started to be more definite. Planning activities and practices and industrial investment programme that started before the war were being delayed because, the budget that was allocated for defense was prevailing. The main policy became that existing investments would be saved and run instead of new investments. Moreover, 1940 was the year that "National Protection Act" [Milli Koruma Kanunu] was made. Therefore, urban planning activities were suspended after 1940.

The proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 remarks the beginning of a new era for Anatolia. Starting with the reconstruction of Ankara as the capital city, a new institutional, social and cultural environment was the target. Forming urban space for creating a new society and cultural life was the way for realization of revolution. Ankara was a symbol for the success of the Nation-Building process. However, the building Ankara as a capital city was not the only strategy for socio-spatial process

of Republican Turkey for building the Nation. According to Tekeli (2005: 7), nation-building process of Turkey is perceived as a socio-spatial process. He defines four spatial elements of Nation- Building project;

1. Ankara's declaration as capital city
2. Railway Programme to provide unity of internal market
3. Industrialization Programme
4. Community Centers [Halkevleri]

Obviously, spatial strategies of Nation- Building process can not be reduced to these four agents. This thesis reveals that there are two additional spatial strategic agents of Nation- Building project. These are;

5. Selection of agriculture and industry focal (in relevance with industrialization programme)
6. Planning programme and urbanism.

From 1923 to 1940, there are 116[1] cities and towns planned, and some are applied, in Anatolia. However, there are not many studies about the urban plans that are produced at that period. The studies in literature that focuses on the planning and urbanism in early Republican period can be distinguished into three main groups. The first group of studies is those emphasizing the construction of Ankara in the sense of the formation of Republican ideology and Revolutionary movements of Republican era. The comprehensive examples may be found in countless studies such as Tankut (1993), Altaban (1998), Uluğ (2000), Sargın (2002), Cengizkan (2004), Şenyapılı (2005), Türkoğlu (2007), Doğramacı (2007), Keleş and Duru (2008), Keskinok (2009) etc. The second group of studies is those focusing on the historiography of early Republican planning. These examples are stressing the evolution and formation of urbanism and its legislative organs. The most comprehensive example of these studies may be found in Tekeli's studies. Third group of studies are those evaluate the dual relationship between physical form and initial aim of the state or the governors. More clearly, these studies are centralizing

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[1] The search done in the context of this thesis study has revealed 41 cities planned at that period. In fact, there are 116 cities planned at the period. However, 41 plans of these could be reached. For a detailed list, see appendices 1 and 2.

the Early Republican Planning and Urbanism experiences in the context of modernism, Republican state and/or ideology. The State and its hegemony and the urban forms produced via town planning issue and relation between these two areas is the focus of those. However, the problematic of Early Republican era needs a more comprehensive and more sophisticated point of view (see Table 1). Examples other than Ankara will be useful to clarify the problematic. The problematic of this thesis can not be reduced to a historical process description or a dual relationship between the two dimensional graphic and political aim. However, all these areas should be handled together.

Within this framework, this thesis intends to answer the main question of **"what the agents used for the construction of political ideal in space, namely Republican Space, were"**. More specifically, this thesis aims at finding the responses to those questions:

- "Why is it important to bring design concepts and political concepts together?"
- "How does this thesis designate design concepts and political concepts together?"
- "What were the hegemonic agents of the State while forming space? "
- "What was the ideal city attempted to be created in the early Republican Turkish State?"
- "Were planning principles of early Republican era hybrid of the political ideal, Ottoman city and European urbanism principles? Which of the planning principles of European Urbanism were adopted for realization of political ideal in city space?"

While providing answers to these questions, various examples of urban plans of early Republican Turkey are examined. These examples are examined for clarifying hegemonic agents, planning principles, design concepts, and "the ideal city" concept.

The contributions of this thesis to the field are theoretical, methodological and professional. The study is important in theoretical level. On the one hand, this study takes various examples of all the planned cities to define design concepts and planning principles of early Republican period. There are a set of researches and their evaluation. These researches focus on Urban Plans or Development Plans and planning reports prepared between the years 1923 and 1940; Programs of the planning competitions and related documentary; newspaper archives (Hakimiyet-I Milliye and Ulus) and journal archives (Belediyeler Dergisi, Issues between 1 and 76 (August 1935- December 1941). All these plans and documentary are elaborated in a way that different examples of urban plans are examined and evaluated in a holistic approach. Their relevances and contradictions are conceived. On the other hand, this thesis attempts to develop an analytical framework for finding hegemonic agents and the concomitant of political concepts and planning principles. Here the study searches for the spatial manifestations of political intention(s), additionally, the identification of the hybrid characteristic of Turkish urbanism. For this reason, this thesis develops the methodology of Proccessive Approach and Quinary Separation. Therefore, this study is making methodological contribution to the field.

Table 1: Problematic Framework of Study
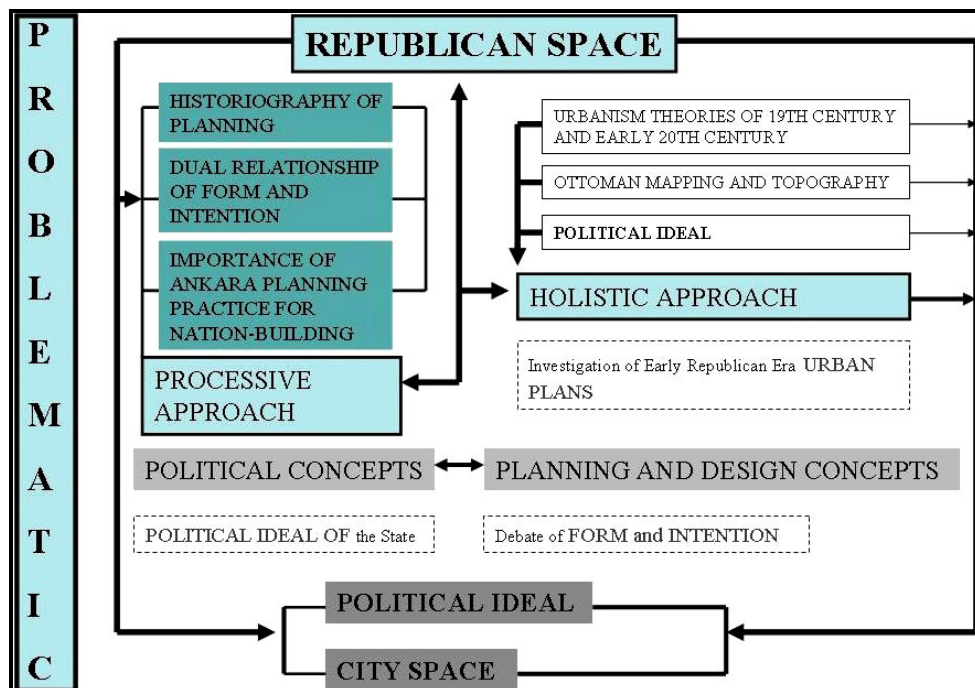
So as to answer those questions and elucidate the problematic, the second chapter identifies the hegemony of the state and its cultural and spatial agents. In third chapter, the questions of what the good city and what the modern city were discussed. After that, urbanism and "hybrid urbanism" of the era in young Republic is identified in the fourth chapter.

1.2. Scope of the Study

There are 116 cities planned between 1923 and 1940. 41 of these plans are reached in the scope of this study. This thesis study examines those 41 urban plans. This study does not promise to make a detailed exavulation of these plans. However, the analysis and evaluation is denominated as "*Holistic Approach*" and the urban plans and planning between 1923 and 1940 are denominated as "*Proccessive Approach*" in this study. The urban plans are evaluated according to these two approaches in this thesis.

Firstly, Early Republican Period Planning and Urbanism experiences are analysed in a holistic way and it is evaluated as a process of development. In this sense, all urban plans produced in this period are evaluated according to the Urbanism theories. Clearly, 19th century and early 20th century urbanism theories in the world were the theoretical basis of Turkish planning practice. However, these theories were not exact source for Turkish planning practices in those days. Therefore, the Republican space was composed of three main dynamics, namely, 19th and early 20th century urbanism theories, Mapping and Topography studies taken over from the Ottoman Empire and bureaucrats' and officials' influences in the context of Principles of the Republic. Moreover, it will be discussed that there was an intention of regional integration and national development in spatial context. In this section, **Planning and design problematic is associated with the formation of "Republican Space", regional planning and policies. Holistic approach manifests the close relationship between design concepts and general policies of the State**.

Secondly, urban plans analyzed in this thesis are selected from different regions of Turkey. These urban plans are evaluated and examined according to the proccessive approach. **Proccessive approach intends to define *Republican Space* by assembling historiography, Nation- Building process and the dual relation between political aim of the state and form of urban plans, in spatial context. Clearly, it is an analytical framework for finding hegemonic agents and the concomitant of political concepts and planning principles in the basis of urban planning history, planning practices and the relevance between political purpose and the form of urban plans.** When we come to the explanation of the selection criterion of cities and urban plans studied in this thesis, the selection is related to railway network policies of Republican Turkey. A pre-evaluation of railway network is crucial for proccessive approach. Because, primarily planned cities were chosen on existing railway routes and therefore, existing technical infrastructure was the most important selection criterion. In this respect, cities on these routes were functionally the nodal points. As it can be seen in the Figure 1, if the railway routes in Anatolia before the proclamation of Republic are examined, it is clear that there are three main routes reaching to Ankara. Ankara had connection with Western Anatolia. Starting from Ankara, there were three railway routes, that is, İstanbul- Edirne, Izmir and Adana- Mersin. These were reaching to coastal cities having ports. The aim of the establishment of these three routes[2] was to carry the agricultural products and raw materials to the ports. The importance of the railway routes for this thesis is that planned cities in the Early Republican era were not chosen accidentally. Chronologically, those cities on railway network would earlier be planned. Planned cities and industrial centers were located along these three main railroad routes.

To sum up, theoretical debate of thesis is composed of two main analyses. This study does not promise a detailed examination or a search of whole planned cities of Early Republican period. However, the frame and the scope of this study concentrate on a number of examples of Early Republican Planning experience cases in Anatolia in

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[2] The rail network of Turkey before Republican railway investments is a tree-typed model railway system.

terms of political-spatial translation of urban plans. Theoretical framework is composed of planning practices of Early Republican era as a whole.
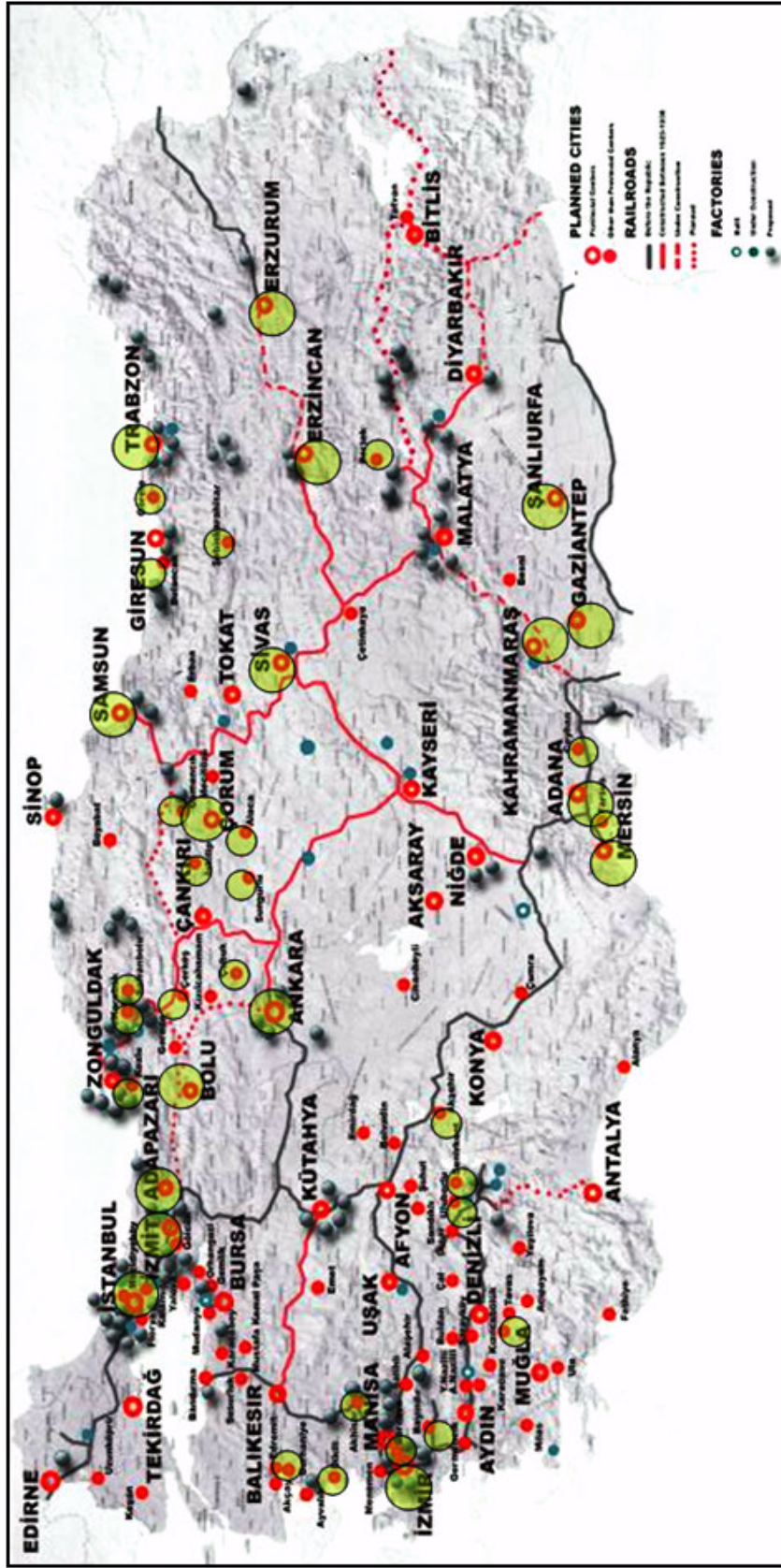
Figure 1: Railway Network, Planned Cities and Factories between 1923 and 1940
Source: Keskinok, Ç., Karakaya, E. (2010) *Türkiye'de Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kent Planlarının İncelenmesi ve Belgeliğinin Oluşturulması* [Examination of the Early Republican Era Urban Plans in Turkey and Constitution of Archive of those Urban Plans], (Unpublished) Middle East Technical University (METU) Scientific Research Project (BAP), Grant No: BAP-02-02-2010-02

1.3. Method

Most of the studies enlisted as part of Modern era (19th century and early 20th century) Planning and Urbanism experiences handle the issue as a dual relationship between *spatial form* and *political intention* behind the construction of any spatial form. The construction of the topic mainly depends on two units. The first is that there is a *physical form*; elements of urban plan, physical scheme. Its theoretical base is generally generated from a model of modernism era. The other is the *main political purpose* related to the "hegemony and power" initiated by the state. These studies focus on ideological axis of Republic of Turkey for the creation of a physical urban frame. Hereby, this study attempts to clarify some other determinants in the analysis of urban plans prepared during the Early Republican Era. These determinants are as the follows; *rationale* of urban plans, *formation process* and the *context* of the plan. These determinants in addition to *physical form* and *main political purpose* compose the five components and **quinary separation** method of the study.

1.3.1. Proccessive Approach

If we reduce the characteristics of urban plans to the ideological objectives of the Early Republican Turkey, we will miss some points. Although there is a direct relationship between the frame of Urban Planning and the ideology, there are some other agents and factors working and mediating into the production of urban plans.

As Çalışkan (2003) cited,

> "Modernism movement, standing out with the societal and intellectual transformation of 17th century Europe, which would later influence the world, has a multi-layered structure. This movement is a process formed by these layers. These layers are its characteristics of being philosophic in terms of its enlightenment, planning and rationalist abstract; institutional with its nation-state based democratic structure; economic with its massive production and consumption pattern and; societal with its fiction of citizens that have the right of private ownership".

Çalışkan redefines the headline of the most of the studies which is "Aim, Intention, Target, and/or Political Purpose" as "the philosophy of intention". Moreover, he addresses the nation-state as the institutional structure of ideology and he adds economic rationale of production, mass production/consumption as well as private ownership in terms of society. It is clear that, the urbanism and planning history of Early Republican Period should be evaluated in a context which will make these agents and factors working in the production of urban plans and urban space clear.

The cities planned in the Early Republican Era has generally been examined according to main political intentions of the officials and bureaucrats alongside of well known planning models of those times such as Garden City and Industrial City. Main political intentions of officials, Republican Administrators and bureaucrats, clearly, represent the political structure and republican ideologic context. On the other hand, plans are examined in terms of their planning elements as such boulevards, public buildings and their architectural structure, plazas and squares, green spaces, transportation network and in terms of the structure of the land use. Still, this thesis suggests an analytical separation composed of the headings below. There are five segments or a *quinary separation that are the main political purpose, rationale, formation process, physical form and context*, of analysis.

Table 2: Proccessive Approach and Quinary Separation
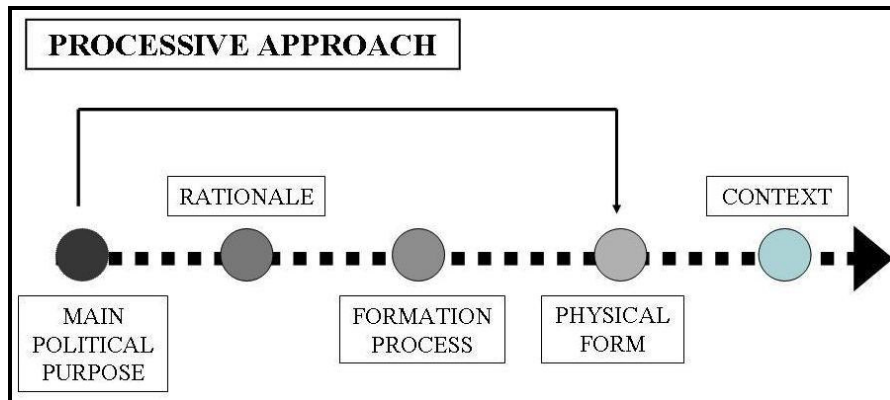
Table 3: Quinary Separation of Proccessive Approach; Five Segments of Methodology

REPUBLICAN SPACE

MAIN POLITICAL PURPOSE	RATIONALE	FORMATION PROCESS	PHYSICAL FORM	CONTEXT
•NATION-STATE AND NATIONALISM •PRINCIPLES OF REPUBLIC •IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE •DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES	•POLITICAL CONCEPTS •ECONOMIC RATIONALE •ECONOMIC POLICIES AND RURAL-URBAN INTEGRATION •SELECTION OF CITIES •REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT DECISIONS	•POLITICAL PROCESSES •HISTORICAL PROCESSES •FORMATION PROCESS OF URBAN PLAN •FORMATION OF SOCIETY AND PUBLIC •LEGISLATIVE FORMATION PROCESS	UTOPIAS AND PRAGMATIST APPROACH •CAMILLO SITTE •GARDEN CITY •INDUSTRIAL CITY •SOVIET URBANISM	•SCALE OF CITY (TOWN OR CITY) AND URBAN PLAN •OLD CITY- NEW CITY ATTITUDE •INFRASTRUCTURE - SUPERSTRUCTURE CONTEXT

Main Political Purpose

The term Main Political Purpose refers to the node of three main issues. These are;

- The concept of Nation-State and its historical dimensions in relation to Republic of Turkey
- Republican ideology which is important for the spatial strategies to be translated into political language and vise versa, and
- Relation Between Space and Republican Principles: Developmentalist and Progressionist strategies of Republic and of populism[3].

Initially, Main Political Purpose of –especially- nation state for planning is one of two key elements. However, this thesis study focuses on the universal value of Nation-States within history, economic conditions and the conjunctures in which the

[3] The second and third items of this categorization are discussed together. The principle of populism had a special intention of development and progression. However, this principle will be discussed together with other principles.

nation-states were emerged. As the content, cultural and spatial agents[4] placed by the ideology of nation-state value will be investigated. Nationalism depends directly on the integration of progressivism with Turkish Culture and Society. In the twentieth century, planning has displaced liberty as the key slogan of socialism says Rutland (1985: 9). The concept of "Liberty" here should further be evaluated in terms of the dynamics that triggered the construction of the Republic of Turkey.

Figure 2: Reception of first train carrying Zonguldak coal; in Ankara train station, 1939, "*We are an unprivileged classless coherent mass*" in the poster,
Source: http://e40003.me.metu.edu.tr/Ankara/, accessed: 28.03.2010

Secondly, in early Republican planning history, there are various examples of direct relation of urban plans with principles of the Republic. These principles have been comprised as a result of historical practices of Ottoman Empire and Western geography. **The principles are a filtered wholeness of concepts dedicated to sovereignty and liberty of Nation.** Spatial politics of Republican ideology are to be defined in terms of principles of Nationalism, Secularism, Republicanism, Revolutionism, Etatism and Populism. It is important to understand these principles.

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[4] The terms cultural agent and spatial agent are introduced in reference to the terms cultural hegemony and spatial hegemony, which are developed in the context of this thesis study in chapter 3.

Therefore, we may briefly explain the Principles of Atatürk, and then, we shall discuss the conception of these principles in urban planning discipline.

1. **Populism** depends on equality among all layers of society. All layers of society are equal and any persons, group or class have no privileges in the society. Social life depends on solidarity and division of labour (Figure 2). **It is obvious that the main principle of establishment of Turkey depends on the principle of National Sovereignty. It is possible to remember motto of French Revolution which is** *Liberté, Egalité* **and** *Fraternité.* These concepts, as important political concepts, instructed the spatial policies in the context of equality.

2. **Secularism** is mainly the scientific and rational way of thinking in educational institutions, official system and legal system. Secularism is directly related to democracy. It is the circuit of the power taken from the God by a group of people or by a person to people. Moreover, it has a crucial impact on social life and daily life of women (Figure 3). Women as a part of society gains its place within the society.

Figure 3: In 1930s; Women and a section from their daily life in Mardin- Midyat, which is a town in Southeastern Region of Turkey
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi, 1939, Issue: 43, p. 59

3. **Nationalism** is a commitment to an imagined nationhood of people living within the national pact [Misak-I Milli]. Turkish Nation is defined as people who promote

and protect the cultural, moral, spiritual and humanistic values and it depends on the principles of *Social Contract* of Jean Jack Rousseau. **Urbanism, as a new science in this sense, developed around the principles deriving from the cultural, humanistic, spiritual and moral values of Anatolian Geography.**

4. **Etatism** does not purely mean its dictionary meaning. Mahmud Esad (in İnan, 1989: 76) defines the principle as a new School of Economy in the world. In İzmir Economy Congress (1923), etatism of Republic of Turkey is defined as state enterprise in some cases and private enterprises in some other cases. Moreover, Atatürk declares that (İnan, 1989) Etatism principle in Republic of Turkey is differs from Soviet Statism by having its own programme. Turkish Etatism was defined as a public benefit based economic system of its own values. Hence, it can be said here that, urban plans of the era were a public benefit for economic development. After 1929 crisis, the etatism gained more importance in macro-economic policies. The Republic of Turkey increased the state intervention after this crisi and etatism principle was changed. The state established many public enterprises such as Sümerbank. The investment policy of the state affected the urban planning, also.

5. **Revolutionism** means that the country should replace the traditional institutions and concepts with modern institutions and concepts. The need for fundamental social change was advocated through revolution as a strategy to accomplish modern society. Turkey took her institutions from the West. Yet, there was the need to adapt these traits, patterns and rules to Turkish culture. All these strategies, institutions and their interrelation with Turkish culture could only be achieved via **spatial strategies**.

6. **Republicanism** depends on the rule of law, sovereignty and the civic virtue (Michelman, 1988). Republicanism defines Constitutional Republic in which the head of the state and other officials are elected as representatives of the people and must govern according to existing Constitutional Law. This limits the government's power over citizens. Among many forms of "republican systems," the "Turkish Republic" was a representative democracy with an elected Parliament. The Republican State (unitary state) is a state, whose organs are governed constitutionally. That is why regional even development is one of the main spatial strategies.

After briefly clarifying the Principles, we may conceptualize Republican Principles' and space relation. As this thesis introduces the term *Republican Space,* we shall conceptualize the relevance of space and principles of Republic. Therefore, it is possible to say that, there are two main groups of this conceptualization.

1. Republican State had some spatial policies and

2. Spatial policies had some political intentions.

1. Spatial Policies of Republican State:

    a. These spatial policies were crucial for some of the strategies of the Republican State. Hence, Principles of Republic are explained within spatial context. Republican State had some spatial policies. In some cases, some of the applications and discourse was pointing out the intentions of principles of the Republic. For example, urban planning was one of the main strategies to apply etatism and populism. One of the examples of these is 1923 İzmir Economy Congress. The principle of etatism constitutes the frame of İzmir Economy Congress of 1923 (İnan, 1989). The Congress emphasized the source of sovereignty. The congress defined the source of sovereignty as "human freedom". This human freedom was, in fact, composed of the bourgeoisie of cities and towns in Anatolia. It revealed an urge of "Turkish" artisans and traders. The Congress seeked for the solutions to supremacy of foreign (Jewish, Armenian, Levantine, etc.) artisans and traders to national capital. The people would become the determiner of their own faith. In this sense, the principle of secularism is also underlined. As Mustafa Kemal Atatürk declared in the congress, "the voice of the people is the voice of the God". This human freedom and its' urge would later be determiner in the formation of the city space via urban planning, too.

    b. In some other cases, urban planning had an indirect relation with principles of Atatürk. Civil Law [Medeni Kanun], for instance, was the most important element for creating a national bourgeoisie and for determining the life of this class (Tekeli, 1980: 55). This bourgeoisie living in Anatolia found place for themselves in the economy after the establishment of the Republic. The life that was aspired by them would be institutionalized by urban plans.

2. Political Intentions of Spatial Policies:

a. Politicians and officials developed a political discourse. This discourse had the implication of principles of the state while criticizing and discussing urban plans and other spatial applications. For example, Ankara Youth Park [Gençlik Parkı] plan of Jansen was changed by the decision of officials. The plan was criticized for being too much monumental and tiring. However, a city park for Ankara would have the sense of restfulness. This was explained by the modest structure of Turkish people. It is obvious that, the plan revision was pointing out the principle of populism. There are development and progression strategies. In the Opening Speeches of Parliament, 1923 İzmir Economy Congress and policies revealed with it and the 5 years Industrial Plans, railway policies, there are some urban planning and spatial strategies stressed. These are discussed in this section.

Rationale

In certain cases, economic aims were scoped under the theme of the main political purpose. For example, Rutland (1985: 10) evaluates the Soviet planning in the era as;

> "…Their objectives were primarily political- to win a share of power and planning was seized upon as an instrument to extend this power into the economic arena".

Economic success and acquired political power were the two dependants of Soviet Planning. Soviet cities were the first examples of the planning practices in the context of economic benefit. The Turkish examples followed this Soviet experience. In fact, a committee was invited from Soviet Union to Turkey in order to make analyses of industrially potential areas in 1930s[5].

After 1930s, there was a certain change in the content and the context of etatism principle. The applications after 1930s had some relevance with Soviet applications. However, Turkish etatism had a unique characteristic.

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[5] After 1930s, there was a certain change in the content and the context of etatism principle. The applications after 1930s had some relevance with Soviet applications. However, Turkish etatism had a unique characteristic.

In this section, political conception, economic rationale, economic policies and urban-rural integration, city selection for planning in the era and regional development role attainments will be discussed. According to Keskinok (2006: 15);

> "In the aspects of urbanization policies, 1930s have a crucial importance in Turkey. Important societal and economic policies of this term such as etatism and populism provided the basis of urban planning experience in Turkey. Urbanism and urban policies in the era were:
> 1. Based on the idea of National Integration (urban-rural, interregional and agriculture- industry integration)
> 2. Development of less developed regions and rural development
> 3. Central Planning, Continuous Planning [Sürekli Planlama] and Organization
> 4. Development of Public Works and Public Benefits
> 5. Urban Development in expropriated land and
> 6. The development and the Socialization of people".

This categorization lies within the scope of analysis of rationale. As Keskinok asserts; populism and etatism were important societal and economic policies of the term, Rationale overlaps with main political purpose. It is obvious that economic rationale was relevant to the national value and public benefit of a planned city. We will discuss the city plans associated with economic aims for development. After that, rural- urban integration policy in the Early Republican period will be analysed.

Formation Process

As one of the issues that this thesis will investigate is the selection criteria/criterion of planned cities in Early Republican Period and the question whether cities were selected on purpose. Formation Process scrutinizes this trough the concepts of political processes, historical processes, formation process of urban plans, restructuring the society and the state-society relationship. In terms of political processes, the formation process in quinary separation will focus on the search of spatial decision taking processes, and the influence of administrative cadres on urban planning decisions.

Historical process of cities has a great importance. The first cities chosen for planning, for example, were İzmir and Ankara. The selection of İzmir depends on its historical trade background. Ankara was evaluated as a sovereign city in history in

addition to its location and other dynamics and the strategic and military role during the War of Independence. Therefore, the selection of planners- urbanists depends on the location of city and the value of city within a sovereign economy. Furthermore, main intention was to modernize the society by its own cultural values and the assets of Nation- State, and its formation by the use of city space as a strategy is another issue. Moreover, so as to understand the formation process of urban plans, it is important to understand the evolution of legislative process and institutional formation process.

Physical Form

In this section, urbanism which was as seen as a new science and was one of the three strategies of Republic is studied. The late 19th century and early 20th century urban planning and urbanism theories were the sources of physical form of urban planning in Turkey. When Turkish examples of planned cities are investigated, it is obvious that there are two kinds of tendencies. The first one of these is factory-towns. These urban plans were focusing on the economic activity. The second type of urban plans was developed for both the determination of economic activity of city, for solving the problems of city and for creating an urban space. In chapter 3, the important urban planning theories of the late 19th century and early 20th century are identified in relation to urban planning practice of Early Republican Turkey.

Context

There are three components in this part of the methodology. These are scale of the city and urban plan, **old city- new city dilemma**, attitude toward the old city and, planning programme related to railway programme (infrastructure-superstructure context), the system of state factories, etc. At first, there was a clear differentiation of physical plans and production processes between towns and cities. In certain cases, the vision and the economic, even the political, roles attributed to city were so important in defining the context of urban plans (e.g. the case of Ankara). Secondly, for the accomplishment of vision of "some of the planned cities", old city core did

not have some qualifications. For example, as Tankut says (1993:17), it was understood just after the proclamation of the Republic that, old Ankara city core could not reach such qualifications that a capital city should have. In this sense, old city- new city dilemma was important in urban planning at the period. However, differing from the most of the revolutions, in the old core of the planned city was preserved. Thirdly, there was an order of chronology in respect to infrastructure investments of cities and regions and preparation of urban plans.

CHAPTER 2

URBANISM AND THE QUESTION OF HEGEMONY IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The word Hegemony (ἡγεμονία) is derived from the Greek word "hegeisthai" which means to lead. In dictionary meaning, it is the economic, political, cultural or ideological power performed by a dominant group over other groups. Initially the word was used to define the political dominance of ancient Greek city-states over their neighbors. In early notebooks of Gramsci, there was something new that the concept of hegemonic apparatus complemented by ideological class structure and hegemony was being understood as political and cultural hegemony of dominant class (Glucksmann, 1980: 48). Therefore, the concept of "*cultural hegemony*" was introduced by Gramsci. The reason for this is to describe the future of the working class in the building of a new society, **but it is also useful for analyzing the action of the bourgeoisie, especially in relation to space** (Lefebvre, 2004: 10). In Gramscian conception of hegemony, it can be said that it is the legitimization of the power of the state (or dominion group) on civil society. On the basis of cultural hegemony, Lefebvre (2004) introduces that the social production of space is commanded by a *hegemonic* class as a tool to reproduce its dominance. Geographical space, in Lefebvre's conceptualization, has a triple structure composed of mental space, social space and physical space. Social production of urban space is fundamental to the reproduction of society, hence of capitalism itself. Therefore, it can be said that, Lefebvre simply introduces the "*spatial hegemony*" concept as a spatial process. The term *Spatial Hegemony,* introduced in this thesis, expresses hegemonic tools placed to space. In this context, this chapter makes a discussion of Early Republican Era "Town Planning" experience in terms of cultural hegemony, spatial hegemony and the state concepts. It means that, the state places its agents to space. In Early Republican Turkey, these agents are industrial investments of the state, railway investments, and most remarkably, the urban plans. This placement

provides the formation of a new civic life, a new daily uses and life, new values and a new national identity. This is the way of organizing **consent** via spatial hegemony and its agents. In this chapter, the hegemonic (spatial and cultural) agents and concepts developed while producing the space in Early Republican State are described.

Here, it is crucial to emphasize the role of the bourgeoisie in Turkey. The state used *Spatial* Hegemony whereas the Republic was being established. Nonetheless, these instruments were not independently produced from the dynamics and the values of the society. The values and the imagined life of the citizens became effective. Civil society, in Turkey, was the former of the state, itself. The civil society, first, provided the application of national sovereignty in economic means and then the state produced the social space. The state was an instrument, not an objective. Therefore, it should be underlined that the instruments for both cultural hegemony and the spatial hegemony are analysed in this sense. The state is not defined as the main entity but the main instrument for the application of intentions of the main entity.

2.1. Cultural Hegemony and Spatial Hegemony in the Context of Early Republican Planning

As any design and planning concept is not independent from political problematic, any form is not independent from political power and authority, political power is something to keep the control of space. Therewithal, any political authority is distinct from the spatial form. The relation between production of space and authority manifests itself in the determination of urban forms.

> "Space is a social product. The space, thus, serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production, it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (Lefebvre, 1991: 26).

In this respect, in the establishment and early years of Republic of Turkey, the state was the decisive body for urban forms. Urban life or civic life (in Gramscian terms) has had always been the centre and in the centre of economy and economic power. That is why planning in the early Republican era was one of the main strategies of

the state. In the early years, Turkish State had accomplished some developments that could be defined as purely progressive. These were, in fact, main strategies of the foundation of institutional basis of the country. These were revolutions[6], railway investments, industrial investments and city planning decisions parallel to railway and industry investments. Just as the city, this organ of industry and civic life was, the instrument of capitalist economic power (Gramsci, 1994:136), planning and organization of this economic power was the way for controlling the power of the newly established space in terms of national development process and international arena. While industrial and infrastructural investments were being accomplished to form an independent economy, a new social life and urban life was being created. Atatürk defined the foundation of a new life style by the word "sosyete" (society).

The question is that whether the space is political and politics is spatial. As Lefebvre (2004: 60) quotes:

> "Are we talking about a political project? Yes and no. It certainly embodies a politics of space, but at the same time goes beyond politics in as much as it presupposes a critical analysis of all spatial politics as of all politics in general".

Although this thesis does not make the discussions of social classes and class struggles, which are in the spine of Gramscian view, there can be made an analogy between the elites[7] of early Republican era and bureaucracy of this state with political society. Then the rest of the citizens most of whom are agrarian workers and the others whom are merchants can be called as civil society. Then, it can be said that political society in the Turkish State of the early years had hegemonic power on civil society. However, as Bilgin (2009: 109) asserted that; "A Gramscian understanding acknowledges coercion and domination, yet it goes beyond coercion and indicates that ruling has (and should have) a consensual base". Therefore, it is obvious that, ruling of state is organizing consent and tolls for organizing this consent may be coercive. According to Gramsci (1971:12), Hegemony is referred to as the opposite

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[6] In Turkish, "Devrim" means revolution was being used rather than the term reform for Early Republican Period reforms. Some of these reforms were "ABC Devrimi" (Alphabet Reform) and "Kılık Kıyafet Devrimi" (Clothing Reform). These reforms were being produced and applied for the formation of a new society.

[7] The word elite here define intellectuals, administrators, deputies and so forth.

of domination in some places and in other places; it is about creating and maintaining leadership. In Turkish case, consensual base and leadership was provided by the use of urbanism and urban planning. As Bilgin (2009: 110) declares, civil society is where the existing system is reproduced and the ideology of the "public" is produced trough the apparatuses and relations of power in civil society. Apparatuses to (re)produce the ideology of the public can be matched with urbanism. In the seventh issue of Belediyeler Dergisi (Journal of Municipalities) (1936: 30), in the exhibition of Safranbolu Plan, there is the poster of urbanist architect Burhan Ongun (Burhan Arif Ongun) with the motto of "Urbanism is one of the biggest matters Republic achieved". Urbanism was seen as one of the main matters of the Republic. The strategies to apply urbanist principles to Republican cities were through a chain of reforms and initiatives. All among the country, the first spatial policy came into practice was the establishment of railway network. The second spatial policy was establishment of industrial areas and factories. For example, Alpullu sugar factory was established in 1926. Uşak, Eskişehir and Turhal sugar factories followed this. In 1926, Kayseri plane factory was established. These industrial investments were not only used for the establishment of an independent economy, but for the penetration of revolutions to rural areas via using factories as educational institutions. For instance, Alpullu Sugar Factory had a school giving agricultural education to people in addition to basic education, a social complex and a nursery (See Figures 9). According to Doğan (2009: 78), although industrialization was obligatory in etatism period due to economic crisis and market conditions, statist policies of early Republican period should be evaluated with respect to other reforms provided societal changes. Especially in some of the regions and cities, it is important to make an analysis of statist policies in terms of industrial complexes that were generators of modernism and societal change. Therefore, industrial settlements and complexes were not only spaces of production, but also places of a new social life.

Figure 4: Factory as basic education and agrarian education institution: School in Alpullu Sugar Factory, Social Complex and Hospital, 1926
Source: http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ/yuzyil/1920-1929.htm, accessed: 09.06.2010

2.2. Roles of the State as Hegemonic Agents in the Early Republican Period

As Lefebvre argued in his book *The Production of Space,* space is a social product, or a complex social construction (based on values, and the social production of meanings) which affects spatial practices and perceptions. In this respect, the social construction of railway network and industrial investments may be evaluated as a complex social construction project. Spatial practices, then, becomes urban plans and town planning actions held right after the foundation of the first factories. The foundation of civic life and the penetration of the revolution into society are achieved via spatial development and urban plans. Hence, we conclude that *the early Republican State in Turkey had a political role and a formative role*[8].

2.2.1. Political roles

This can be classified under two headings that are National Role and International role. National role and national policy is matter of industrialization efforts of the Republic and therefore parallel to economic policies. This point is taken under consideration in the second headline of methodology: Rationale. International role of the state, on the other hand, is about diplomatic prestige of the state in international arena, which is not the topic of this thesis.

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[8] The term "formative role" is a concept introduced by the author in this study. The formative role means that the state had formulated her roles in a formative manner. These roles would form a society and a civic life by the use of formation of spatial structure.

2.2.2. Formative roles

Formative roles of the state are directly related to urban planning and development. Formative roles are achieved via hegemonic agents. These hegemonic agents, who are educatory, founder, cultural and moral and productive, come into existence in space. Spatial hegemony is the key strategy for the successfully achievement of formative roles. "Gramscian thinking helps us understand the establishment and consolidation of the Turkish state tradition not as a mere act of the state imposing a new system on society by force, but rather as a process in which the state goes beyond resorting to force, and tries to form values and a collective will in civil society through the pillars of the constitutive republican ideology" (Bilgin, 2009: 112). Therefore, it is obvious that the state located and placed its agents (as her formative roles) to space and organized consent via these spatial agents. Formative role or structure of the early Republican state refer to establishment of values (cultural and moral), a collective identity depending on national and universal values, a conscious civil society via spatial elements and reflection of these policies on cities and towns. These strategic spatial elements are depending on a number of formative roles of the state. These roles can be classified as follows;

    a. Educatory Role
    b. Founder Role
    c. Cultural and Moral Role
    d. Productive (in spatial manner) Role

2.2.2.1. Educatory Role of the State

In the establishment of Republic, the revolution of education was accomplished via spatial strategies. In the early years, factories were established as social complexes. They had educative units also. In the following years, Türk Ocakları, later would be "Halkevleri" (Community Houses), Turkish Women's Union, "Köy Odaları" (Village rooms), etc. These were established as "hegemonic agents". These agents were spatially distributed. As Bilgin (2009: 112) declares, the search for establishing a society which would give its consent to be a part of the Republic. In fact, the agents

of spatial hegemony of education let the absorption of political society by civil society. The science of urbanism brought spatial equality to some extent. Urban development plans in different cities were mostly serving similar spatial contexts. The principle of populism which is not depending on a class based structure could only be accomplished by spatial equality in terms of education. For example, public houses were founded as main educatory and civic institution in 14 centers (Afyon, Ankara, Bolu, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Eminönü, Eskişehir, İzmir, Konya, Malatya and Samsun) in 1932. They played a crucial role in the creation of urban life (urban life in cities, towns and villages as a coherent mass sharing same life style). In terms of the principle of secularism, men and women came together in balls, fairs, festivals, trips and so forth. Balls were the first meetings where men and women came together. In these institutions, there were branches of library, village and agriculture, arts, courses and education, and etc. Moreover, construction of education in institutional meaning was achieved after the foundation of the Republic. The agents of spatial hegemony, of educational role of state, were "Halkevleri" (Community Houses) for towns and cities, "Köy Odaları" (Village Rooms) for villages, universities, a range of schools from primary education to higher education and schools for specialization (technical schools, profession schools, etc.).

2.2.2.2. Founder Role of the State

For the achievement of military war the economic success was essential. The First Industry Plan (1933) and the Second Industry Plan (1936) were formed for this aim. In this plans, spatially industrial investment strategies are developed. In these plans, different industry brunches are located with respect to bringing a solution to uneven geographic development of Ottoman period and according to the closeness of sources and raw material. The construction of factories and industrial complexes, as a regional planning strategy, was for economic planning. As Hall (2002a:55) cited that "It refers to specifically to economic planning with a view to the development of regions which, for one reason or another, are suffering serious economic problems, as demonstrated by indices such as high unemployment or low incomes in relation to the rest of the nation". Uneven geographical development or uneven regional

development of Ottoman period and solutions created in Republican period is not the topic of this study. However, the selections of cities for urban plans are remarkable in some cases. To illustrate, in the cement industry investment part of Second Industry Plan of Republic of Turkey 1936, İnan (1989: 117) declares that there was a cement factory that would be established in Sivas city. It is obvious that, cement industry does not have difficulty for finding raw material and labour power. In the
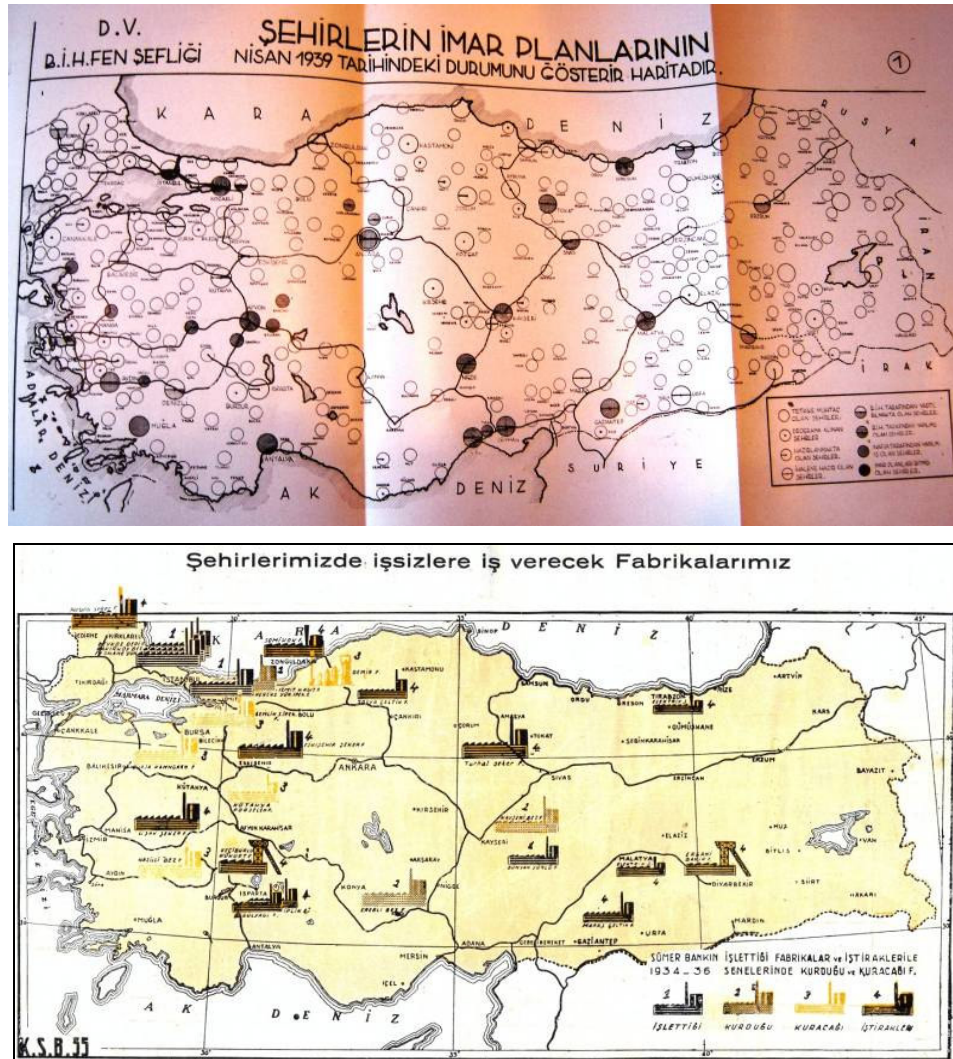
Figure 5: Similar development axis: The situation of public improvement Plans in 1939 on top and Factories to be established by Sümerbank between 1934 and 1936 on bottom,
Sources: Belediyeler Journal, 1939, Issue 44: appendix and Belediyeler Journal, 1936, Issue 7: 96

following years, Monsieur Wandenberg (1941: 27-38). In this report, Wandenberg asserts that, Sivas city plan was firstly developed by Monseiur Wagner and the further project developed by Nafia Vekaleti (former Ministry of Public Works). This brings the question again: "Are industrial investments in favor of cities to be planned or are cities to be planned chosen according to industrial developments?" This question is directly related to the rationale and formation processes elaborated in methodology part of this study. Figure 4.2 shows the location of Sümerbank factories established between 1934 and 1936, and urban development plans of cities in 1939. Therefore, agent of spatial hegemony in terms of founder role of the state was construction of industry. Industrial network and employment would affect social life and living conditions of habitants of cities. Moreover, as the founder role of the state, urban transport systems and networks (railway in city and the suburbs and railroads grading from inter-city to inner-city scales) were established as agents of spatial hegemony.

2.2.2.3. Cultural and Moral Role of the State

"Change life! Change Society! These ideas would loose completely their meaning without producing an appropriate space. A Lesson to be learned from Soviet Constructivists of 1920s and 1930s, and of their failure is that, new social relations demand a new space and, vice-versa" (Lefebvre, 1991: 59). For changing society, development of new cultural and moral values is essential. In his daily notebook (İnan, 1972), Mustafa Kemal cited that "If I could gain discretionary and power, I would implement the revolution wished in our social life". Thus, it is obvious that Republican revolution and its reforms had a cultural and moral revolution intend beyond its anti imperialist characteristic. As Bilgin asserts (2009: 114);

> "Civil society is a sphere in which an interpretation which emphasizes coercion. On the other hand, civil society is a sphere in which an attempt has been made to constitute a new conception of the society trough 'education' and the 'identification of nation as a family' with corresponding familial values".

In this context, a new society of new cultural and moral values trough the conception of new familial values, a new education system was established.

Producing an appropriate space for this intend ant its strategies were realized trough the foundation of museums, cultural institutions and an urban culture, etc. Moreover, educational institutes were in favor of this role of the state, too. As Mardin cited (1971:200), in the process of strong state tradition, there was an intention to construct a new conception of the world and form a collective will in accordance with Republican values. Urban culture as hegemonic strategy can be observed in the construction of city parks, boulevards, urban squares and cultural complexes, buildings on these (see Figure 4.2). Agencies in civil society and the state might be in multiple forms. According to Gramsci (1971: 160), these multiple forms of relations refer to the continuous interactions that are dialectical in nature so that, in reality, state and civil society are one and the same in terms of continuous interactions of multiple forms of relations. In this respect, it can be said that, life style, daily life and cultural and moral values deriving from the Republican principles of the state and the political society were penetrated into civil society via spatial elements. Oelsner (1941: 31) cited in Belediyeler Dergisi that "Cities and urbanists are educators as well". As sum, these spatial hegemonic agents were cultural buildings and clusters (opera houses, theatres, cinemas, museums, etc.). These were located in the spines of the cities established by urban development plans. Therefore, cultural hegemony is not used here to suggest brute power or dominance; spatial elements were used to emphasize how control is achieved through consensus not force. Consensus can only be accomplished in public space.
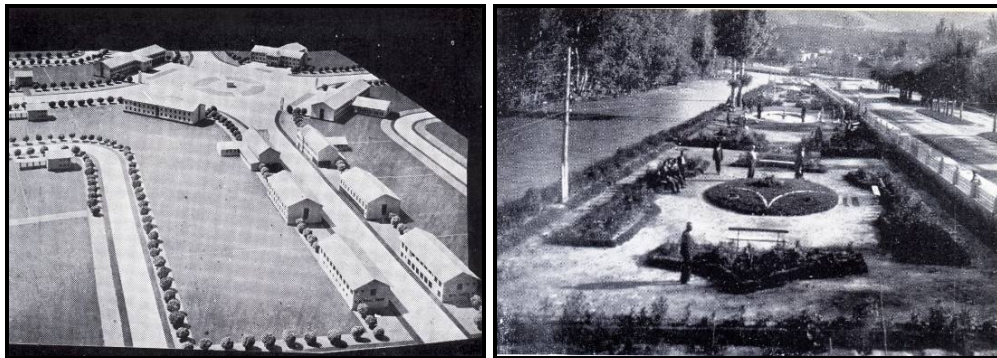
Figure 6: Similarity and continuity in the establishment of new urban cultural life in different cities: Erzurum new neighborhood and its square and Bayburt City Park
Sources: Belediyeler Dergisi, 1939, Issue 48:54 and Belediyeler Dergisi 1983, Issue 31: 49

2.2.2.4. Productive Role of the State

Public domain is political domain. According to Lefebvre (1991:59), the only connection between work spaces, leisure spaces and living spaces is supplied by the agencies of political power and by their mechanisms of control. The cities were the spaces of control of power. According to Mardin (1969: 265), Civil Society in the Western sense- as a part of the society that could operate independently of central government and based on property rights- did not exist in Ottoman Period. Republican revolution brought property rights and, therefore, property relations. In this sense, the state has a new role caused by property rights and property relations. As Günay asserted (1999: 10), "The state has acquired a new role in the society as a regulatory element both securing property and solving the disputes emerging in terms of property relations". Therefore, property relations were the hegemonic agent of nation state for the production of space. Property sets land use action and when the state sets property rights, the state sets land use action. Property relations and their role in the production of space is not an issue to discuss in this thesis, it can be the spine of another discussion. Nonetheless, this new role of Turkish state created an obligation for generating a national Architecture and a national Urbanism. Utilizing from the urbanism utopias and works of 18th century, 19th century and 20th century Urbanism literature of Europe, Turkish Republic did not purely accept these. It created its own models by taking European studies as the basis. In this respect, bureaucracy and intellectuals made contribution to this new national Urbanism movement. Thus, some agents of spatial hegemony can be grouped under urbanism applied via urban plans. These were;

- Open space pedestrian activity areas (boulevards, urban squares, waterfront activity areas),
- Green spaces and sports areas (urban parks, sports areas, playgrounds for children),
- Sanitized housing areas (new neighborhoods, labour districts, etc.) and respect to private property (attitude toward old cities of urban development plan areas). These elements emerged in most of the urban

plans produced at early Republican period. In Architecture, on the other hand, a new architectural movement called "1st National Architecture" gave its first products. After that 2nd National Architecture movement came. These movements achieved to create an architectural manner combining values system of modernism and local values as well as Anatolian architectural style.

CHAPTER 3

WHAT WAS GOOD CITY? WHAT WAS MODERN CITY?

The form that a city should take is an ancient question. There are a number of theories and sets of ideas have been declared in history. There are also a number of theories for proper city form. All of the theories focus on some of the metaphor of what city is and how it works. For instance First cities originated as ritualistic spaces of religious centers. These were taking the forms of stars and the moon. In the process of building the structure of human power, while stabilizing the order of the universe, religious ritual and the physical form of the city were principal instruments (Lynch, 1984: 73). Then, in middle ages, the forms of the cities were playing a functional role in defense system. In the age of industrialization, there was the indispensability of new urban forms and new tolls for production of space due to the problems arisen by new means of production.

Finding out the answer for the question of what the good or modern city is important in this thesis. Good city form was not a strict and accurate model that applied to all of the cities in Turkey at the early Republican period. There were three factors formed Republican cities. First, Republican city inherited some from the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Empire bequeathed Ottoman cities and limited efforts for establishing an institutionalized mapping and planning activities. Second, the European urbanism penetrated into political ideal and the last, ideology determined some principles for urban planning. This chapter aims to clarify the proper city concepts developed and applied for early Republican Turkish planning practices in respect to European urbanism emerged related to industrialization.

Today's planning practice has emerged in the 19th century. Industrialization had caused crucial problems in cities of Europe. Thus, the concept of "Industrial city" emerged in the face of industrialization, had brought new methods and models to

solve newly emerging problems. When we look at the Anatolia (under the command of Ottoman Empire in the 19th century), there were no industrial cities having such problems. The most industrialized and urbanized city of the era was İstanbul. However, even İstanbul was not as an industrialized city with respect to European examples. Under these circumstances, so called the science of urbanism followed a different path other than European examples. The urbanism and urban planning models had been developed in the 19th century and in the 20th century have formed the basis of urban planning in Turkey, too. This seems to be imported from Western industrialized countries. However, the main discussion here is whether these European models were purely utilized as graphics for early urban plans of Turkey. Or were these models were modified for the aims/intentions of any group(s)?

Hence, in this chapter, urbanism and urban planning theories of the 19th century and early 20th century are summarized. Then, the evolution of science of urbanism and urban planning of Turkeys in the context of European urbanism history is discussed. Following these, the question of "*what the ideal city attempted to be created in the early Republican Turkish State was*" is debated.

3.1. Theories of Urbanism in 19th Century and Early 20th Century

In history, while urbanism as asserted a new area of science, politicians, geographers, sociologists, architects, economists and so forth set down a physical layout and a concept concerning communities. We argue that, this layout and concept depends on idealistic principles. These principles have often evolved out of a reaction to conditions or trends contemporaneous with the period during which they were proposed, and they frequently assume the form of either Utopian or anti-Utopian theories (Bachelor, 1969: 184).

19th century industrial city brought some critical problems and first fifty years of it was one era of drastic changes. It was an Age of Change in terms of factor of production, production relations and manufacturing techniques. Environmental problems of cities, infrastructure problems, criminal rates depending on the physical

form of living conditions and other social determinants were being acuter day by day. An activist position against these problems of 19th century industrial city emerged at that period. In this respect, repudiation of industrial cities emerged as a result of capitalist development and seeking solutions for the problems of it lies in the basis of modern city planning (Tekeli, 1980: 10). That is why the rise of socialist movement is at the same time with these theories.

Till 1850s, socialist movement was so operative in the production of modern urban planning models. After that, bourgeoisie in Europe realized that spatial apparatuses were extremely important to sustain the existence of capitalism (Tekeli, 1980:15). After 1850s, bourgeoisie meet the area of urban planning. After 1848 revolution in Europe, a new solution for the needs of newly emerging upper middle class and upper class was found in Haussmann's operations. At the end of the 19th century, a reaction for this way of planning would emerge. Here, we are not aiming at giving chronologic history of Planning in Europe. Besides, we are not promising a class-based analysis of this history. Rather our concern is to confronting the distinguishing urban planning approaches:

1. Utopian Tradition and Pragmatic Approach before 1850s,
2. Bourgeoisie inclination of Planning after 1850s (Haussmann's operations and Paris as a transition period), versus
3. New Theories emerged as a reaction to Haussmann's operations at the end of 19th century.

3.1.1. Utopian Approach and Pragmatic Approach

Until 1848 Revolution, there are two groups of approaches for reorganization of developing urban structure; utopian approach and pragmatic approach (Tekeli, 1980: 10). The genesis of these two approaches depends on the critique of problems of industrial city.

Before examining these two approaches, it is important to have a look at some common features of the urban models created at that period as follows;

- For us, the approaches towards developing model towns were the examples of environmental determinism.

- As the solution for urban environment would come up with a societal solution, there was strong faith for transforming society. This transformation would only be achieved by making changes in the form of cities. Therefore, creation of imaginary cities came to the scene.

- The changing context of urban environment of industrial revolution was causing severe hygiene and health problems. Ideal society and good physical environment, health and hygiene were on the agenda. Interestingly, the first reformers of the era were Philanthropists. These were charitable industrialists. Wealthy industrialists supported charitable causes.

3.1.1.1. Utopian Approach

Utopian approach emerged before 1848 revolution. These utopias were not only proposals for a new life design of society, but they were also settlement proposals. Utopians adopted Thomas Moore's *Utopia* and Plato's *Republic.* Therefore, they created depictions of their proposals which were looking for establishing a more delighted life.

Most of the planning ideas were developed in the 19th century by Robert Owen, Tony Garnier, Saint-Simon, Jeremy Bentham, Etienne Cabet and others to introduce some solutions for the problems of social and physical disorder of newly emerging industrial cities to create a new social, political and economic structure for communities. First reformers were seeking for societal development schemes. There were a number of figures such as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Saint- Simon, Jeremy Bentham, Claude Nicholas Ledoux and Pemberton. According to Batchelor (1969: 187), Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon belong to a class of planners for an ideal society with Buber refers to as "Utopian Socialists"[9]. Their theories actively

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[9] Utopian socialism refers to early forms of socialism in the first quarter of the 19th century – Owen, Fourier, Cabet. Marx called them as utopian socialists and he proposed scientific socialism instead.

used for creation of American Society and American urban structure. Moreover, they were active in Europe. As Batchelor (1969: 187) underlines;

> "Both Robert Owen and Jeremy Bentham were active in legislative reform in England, and in 1820 they collaborated on Owen's New Lanark enterprise. Pemberton's *Happy Colony* and Ledoux's *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'Art, des Mœurs et de la Législation,* both published in the first decade of the nineteenth century are remarkable for their similarity to Howard's Garden City insofar as physical form is concerned".

In fact, Owen and Fourier produced their sketches and designs for building utopian communities, plans for social and architectural revolution. These sketches would later anticipate some of the work of Howard, Wright, and Le Corbusier (Fishman, 2003: 27).

As we declared, utopian approach emerged before 1848 revolution. The reason for this reaction is lying under the societal and physical circumstances of cities at that era. Because of industrialization, there was generally sanitation, air pollution, infrastructure problems in cities. These were physical problems. Besides these, there were poor working conditions for industrial workers. That is why the first utopians were philanthropist industrialists prepared suggestions for healthy living and working conditions in their factories.

Before summarizing some of these utopias, it is important to note that the utopias have some similarities and common points.

Common Themes of 19th Century Utopias

- Utopian projects of this century were hopeful solutions to the problems of humanity that had been worsen by the uncontrolled and unregulated effects of the Industrial Revolution and the newly arising capitalist societal development.
- In utopias, utopians believed that the present irrational forms of settlement would have to be replaced by other completely different ones. They replaced the real city with the image of the ideal one.

- These utopias were not only a design for society and life, but they were proposals for new settlements for a new society.

- Some of the utopians like Owen tried to put their ideas into practice but most of these ideal schemes remained a fictional image. A long series of utopias produced in this episode influenced the major design paradigms and projects of early twentieth century emerging basic planning and design principles or concepts. (Ruskin and Morris- Howard, Fourier- Godin, Le Corbusier etc.)

Table 4: Timeline of 19th Century Utopias

1804, Claude Nicholas	1818, Robert Owen	1829, Charles Fourier	1840, Etienne Cabet	1849, James S. Buckingham	1851, Titus Salt	1871, Godin	1875, Benjamin Ward	1880, George Pullman
Ledoux, Ideal City of Chaux, France	New Lanark, New Harmony	Phalanstery	*Voyage en Icarie*, Icarian community in Texas	A proposal for a model town VICTORIA	Saltaire, UK	Le Familistere (France)	Model city of health called Hygeia	Illinois, model industrial town

These attempts in solving the social and physical disorder of industrial cities, Garden City of Ebenezer Howard would come to scene in the early 20th century. All these models, utopias and idealizations constructed the layout of Turkish Planning experience in the related era. Not disconnected to treatise of an ordered city, Turkish urban planning experience united the social, cultural, economic and spatial needs of citizens in the cities with related idealizations.

New Lanark and New Harmony of Robert Owen: Far Reaching Reform Plans

To understand the "New Vision of Society" of Owen, one should know that he was an industrialist, social reformer and socialist. Hence, his aim was to improve working and living conditions of workers. His originating point, as Laterza (1963: 43) cited may be formulized as follows;

1. The use of mechanism must be greatly diminished,
2. Millions of human beings must be starved,

3. Advantageous occupation must be found for the poor and unemployed working class.

The main principles of Owen's ideal cities, New Lanark and New Harmony[10], had some emphasis on cooperation and cooperative organization. In fact, in most of the utopias of those times, it is remarkable that they had the proposal of communal life and cooperative organization (Tekeli, 1980: 11). Owen's proposal, additionally, had emphasis on education. He believed that education had a role in transforming the society. Thus, he proposed an institute named "*Institute for the Formation Character*". In this institute, there were classes for education and activities in a wide range. For instance, one of the activities encouraged in the school was dancing. These were the creation of a new society.
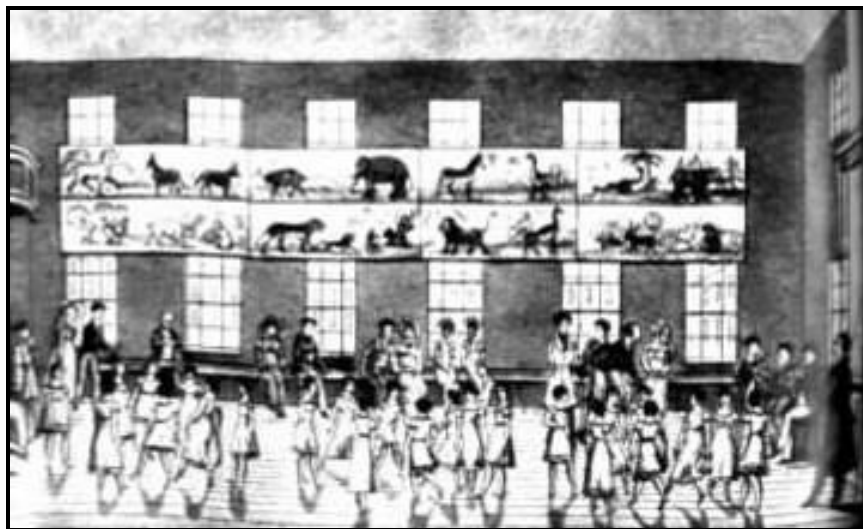
Figure 7: Institute for the Formation Character
Source: Donnachie, I. (2003) *Education in Robert Owen's New Society: The New Lanark Institute and Schools*, The Encyclopedia of Informal Education, www.infed.org/thinkers/et-owen.htm., accessed: 25.05.2010

Phalanstery of Charles Fourier: Far Reaching Reform Plan

Fourier proposed a "phalanstery" as the graph for his utopia. In Fourier's words, it is based on the manipulation of "natural human passions" in Fourier's words. The

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[10] In his proposal in 1813, there were 1.000 to 1.500 populations at a density of approximately one to the 0, 4 hectare. Residential building laid out in a parallelogram enclosing a central open space.
Another remarking point is that **industry would be in harmony with agriculture**.

phalanstery was a single, large, multistoried building. As Laterza emphasizes that apart from the individual apartments, the Phalanstery must contain many public halls, where the "passional series" will take place (1963: 60). It was housing all the activities of a colony in a fertile agricultural region. A phalanx was really a miniature town, but without open streets. There was a street gallery, and therefore, the emphasis was on accessibility, a comfortable life for the community and group identity. With its symmetrical wings and arcades, it resembled a great palace of the nobility (Lynch, 1984: 58). However, as most of the utopias previous than phalanstery, the environment was still just a setting.
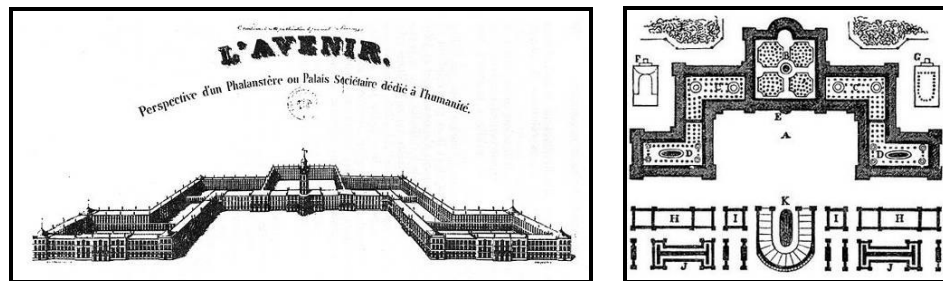
Figure 8: Phalanstery of Fourier
Source: Engels, Frederick (1970) *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Marx&Engels Internet Archive, http://disasturbation.wordpress.com/2010/02/13/fourier, accessed: 01.06.2010

In phalanstery, the relevance between forming the space and the creation of a new society is exceedingly clear. There is a utopian manner in the form of the creation of space and this space creates the society. The space creates a society living like a colony. We can say that the new society is created by colonialisation. The proposed utopia was an agricultural society that would live as a colony within the space created in Phalanstery.

Saltaire of Titus Salt

Saltaire, model town as a worker's colony of Titus Salt, was built in Yorkshire, England. This utopia was formed of a factory and houses. The main principle was its concern for public buildings within the complex. There were workers' institute, almshouses, hospital, school, baths, churches, and proximity to landscaped parkland within the complex. The houses, on the other hand, had the geometric form of

gridiron pattern. Moreover, it had some other design principles which were sense of freedom, social justice, being human scale and small scale and living with nature.
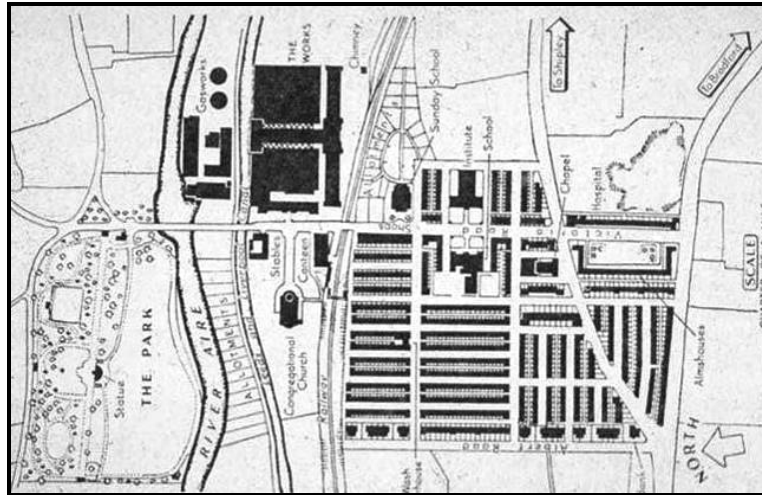
Figure 9: Plan of Saltaire, founded by Titus Salt in 1851
Source: Adapted from Laterza (1963: 120)

3.1.1.2. Pragmatic Approach

The utopist models departed from the idea of integrity of life and environment. Pragmatic approaches, however, limited themselves with improving health conditions in cities. Because of rapid industrialization, there were epidemic diseases in the cities. Thus, there were made rearrangements in health acts. These acts are important in the context of their application in space and their effect on the change of spatial pattern. To illustrate, the first law for improving health conditions enacted in England in the 19th century, was covering spatial changes. As Tekeli (1980: 12) cited, these were;

> "a. Take over of the responsibilities of health by local governments,
> b. Establishment of canalization systems,
> c. The coordination of canalization network with road pattern,
> d. New methods for broadening roads,
> e. Minimum health standards for housing, and
> f. Parks for industrial cities. Following this, the first health law of England would be seventy pages and would encompass the shapes of city blocks in 1848".

Thus, health acts and city planning models were being developed concomitantly. While health acts were taking place with the concern of more healthy living conditions, there was a change being observed in the utopian's plans. They were becoming more based on geometric shapes such as Buckingham's Victoria plan. Some of the components defined in this plan were; order, hygienic aspects, spaciousness, hygiene; maximum air and light, crime prevention, comfort/convenience of all the classes, *industry outside the town* and parks and gardens in the city. It was clear that the idea was the decentralization of industry. We may assert that, urban function in terms of health was taking its place on recent theories as the strict spatial form. However, as a common proposal, both utopian models and pragmatic models emphasized parks and other greenery areas within the industrial settlements.
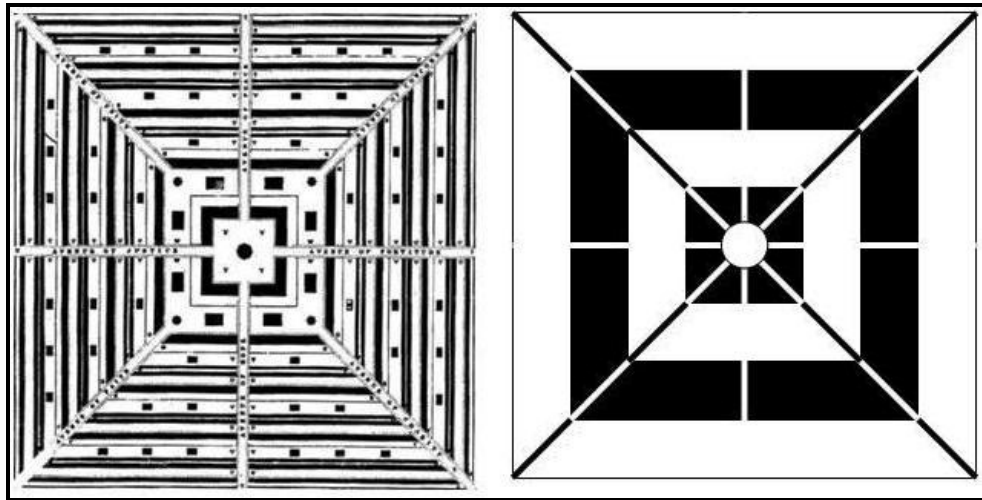
Figure 10: The model Town Victoria and its Abstraction: Order, Proximity, Closure, Symmetry and Similarity in the form of Scheme; air corridors as paths, light and air, houses with gardens for sanitation.
Sources:http://www.mediaarchitecture.at/architekturtheorie/alfred_richard_sennett/2009_alfred _richard_sennett_links_en.shtml, accessed June 2010; Personal Rendering

3.1.2. Planning in the Second Half of the 19th Century

In 1850s, there was dissociation of urban planning and socialism. In town planning, the immediate result of 1848 revolution was to encourage a purely technical viewpoint (Laterza, 1963: 110). Nonetheless, independent from this technical viewpoint, in fact planning fell within the effect of new European conservatism of

Napoleon. This seems to be resulted from that bourgeoisie was becoming more active in planning at that period. Under these circumstances, massive reconstruction acts were put into force in Paris. As Laterza (1963: 110) clarifies, during the twenty years following 1848 revolution the first large scale planning operations were carried out in the cities of Europe- the *grands travaux* of Haussmann in Paris (1853-1869). There were two main reasons underlying these acts. The first can be related to the political intentions of Napoleon Bonaparte. The second was the idea of creating new life of new urban class. However, rather than the hegemonic means, these were realized by coercion. Haussmanization was the name of massive interventions to the historical pattern of the cities. Similar operations were made in different cities of Europe, but, Paris was the most significant example of her time. According to Günay (1988:24), in the field of urbanization, the attitude of the new ruling class is best observed in the Haussmann operation of Paris. There were wide boulevards in geometric order, a radial pattern and urban squares as nodal points and so forth. In this period, most of the operations were depending on clearance. It was obvious that, these operations, nonetheless, would create another movement that would emerge as a reaction to Haussmanization of European cities in early 20th century.

3.1.3. Late 19th Century and Early 20th Century Theories of Planning

According to Sutcliffe (1980: 2); "Most of the machinery product of planning in today's world has emerged since 1914". He adds that the expressions such as "town planning", "city planning", "urban planning" or "Stadtebau", "Stadteplanung", "urbanisme", "urbanistica", etc. came from the general use of the years between 1890 and 1914. At that period, there were new proposals as a reaction to late 19th century operations in Europe. Obviously, urbanism was arising as a scientific area.

Problems of urbanization generated in the industrial society have since the beginning been alike; haphazard growth, pollution, ill-housing, transportation, congestion and sanitary problems have always existed but with increasing magnitude (Günay, 1988: 24). As a reaction to these problems, the models developed for creating new urban forms are classified by Françoise Choay (1969) under the headings of "Progressist"

and "Culturalist". Both progressist and culturalist models influenced Turkish Planning practices in the early Republican period.

As Tekeli (1980: 16) states, there are five main movements emerged at that era. These are; City Beautiful Movement of the USA, Camillo Sitte's Picturesque Approach, the Garden City of Ebenezer Howard, Amsterdam planning of Berlage and *Cité Industriel* of Tony Garnier.

In this study, our question is to what extent these theories that affected the Turkish planning practice in the Early Republican Period. Although, one of the European representatives of City Beautiful movement of America -Otto Wagner- was one of the actors of İstanbul's planning history, there are not so much observable impressions of this movement in Turkey in the Early Republican Period. Classical formalist approach of Wagner, in reality, prefers the city aesthetic in the context of classicisms. Moreover, Berlage's Amsterdam planning will not be tackled. In this respect, it is more important to understand the principles of Turkish planning in the early Republican era;
1. Picturesque of Camillo Sitte,
2. Garden City,
3. Industrial City (*Cité Industriel*)
4. Soviet Urbanism[11] are studied.

3.1.3.1. Picturesque Approach

Camillo Sitte, at the Technical University of Aachen, advocated a "picturesque" approach in the late 19th century. When his book of *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* [City Planning According to Artistic Principles] was published in Vienne in 1889, there was a debate among German urban planning. It

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[11] Soviet Urbanism was one of the movements affected early Republican Turkish planning and urbanism. Hence, in this study, it will be examined as well.

was not until the early twentieth century that the term *Stadterweiterung*[12] was fully displaced by *Stadtebau*, the term popularized by Camillo Sitte and Josef Stübben (Breitling, 1980: 32). It was realized that operations in cities were more than town extension; the term "town planning" was being used. Thus, town planning was arising as a scientific area.

We can group the models of pre-industrial society and newly-industrialized socity as "*Culturalist and Progressist"*. Camillo Sitte was one of the most popular representatives of Culturalist Model. According to Günay (1988: 26),

> "The Culturalist model seeks for both the urban structure and architecture of pre-industrial society. The second generation representatives of the Culturalist model do not reject the industrial society but try to adapt its space understanding to that of the pre-industrial city. The most famous is Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) who after dissecting the Classical, Medieval and Baroque urban structures finds some fundamental elements in these pre-industrial forms".

His approach, on the other hand, was against the classical formalist model of Otto Wagner. The arguments of Sitte were as follows;

- The beauty of city would be realized in the turn to the middle age cities and feudal cities,
- Organic development rather than the monotony of 19th century would create artistic soul,
- Like the Haussmann's linear lines and boulevards, large urban squares with sculptures in the middle of them, etc. would be objected,
- The urban squares would pertain pedestrians,
- The traffic circulation would be determined by topographic elements,
- Instead of big open parks, there would be gardens for apartments and housing districts as courtyards of neighborhood units

The proposals and principles of Sitte were pointing the formation of neighborhood units and "street life" for society. It was the first time that "*pedestrianization principle*" was declared. His approach was a return to methods of the medieval town as a way of "*humanizing the city*".

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[12] In the 19th century the most common expression was *Stadterweiterung*, which means town extension. *Stadtebau* or *Stadtplanung*, on the other hand, are the German equivalents of town planning and urban planning.

3.1.3.2. Garden City

In the times when the book of "City Planning According to Artistic Principles" of Camillo Sitte was published, Ebenezer Howard's book of *"To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform"* was published in England. To understand the "Garden City", it is important to know that Ebenezer Howard must have had contacts with the movements of "nationalization of land" and "nationalization of labour". At the end, he would be looking for a compromise between individualism and socialism (Tekeli, 1980: 18).

As Howard put it, the old cities had "done their work". They had to be located by new cities if the aim was higher level of civilization. The idea of Garden City had the utopist traces. His approach was calling for the creation of new planned town surrounded by a permanent agricultural belt. The integrated planning model of Ebenezer Howard had a housing based model. As Tarn (1980:90) asserted;

> "Garden city of Ebenezer Howard was a direct reaction to the minimum standards of the by-law legislation and an expression of distaste for the quality of environment. It also hinted at a sense of community and a planning structure which did not exist anywhere else at that time except perhaps in the model industrial villages".

In his proposal, there was the solution for the problems of cities in terms of a new life between urban and rural style. The model had the supremacy of both. Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization (Howard, 1898).
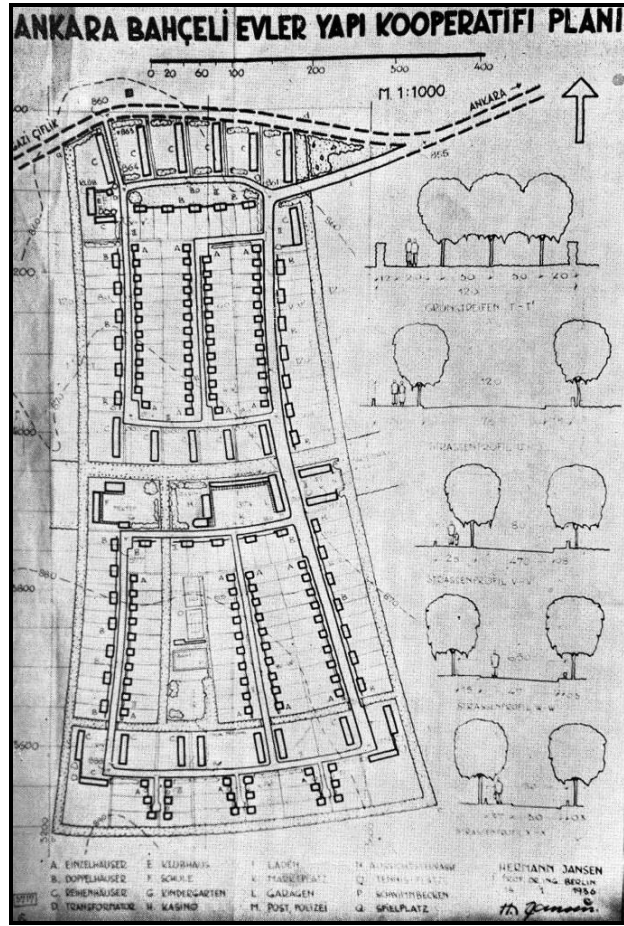
Figure 11: Bahçelievler Housing Project: A model of Garden
City,
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi (1936), Issue 9, p. 23

The main principle of Garden City was the rejection of big cities. For Howard, the growth of cities had to be controlled. His proposal was small cities with 32.000 populations and a network of these small cities. The model of Garden City was a circular scheme center of which included a theatre, a municipality, a park, a cinema, etc. The city center was established as a cultural center. There were six magnificent boulevards traversing the city from the center to circumference. These were dividing the city into six equal parts.

Figure 12: Garden City, Six magnificent boulevards traversing the city from the center
Source: http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/howard.htm, accessed 01.07.2010
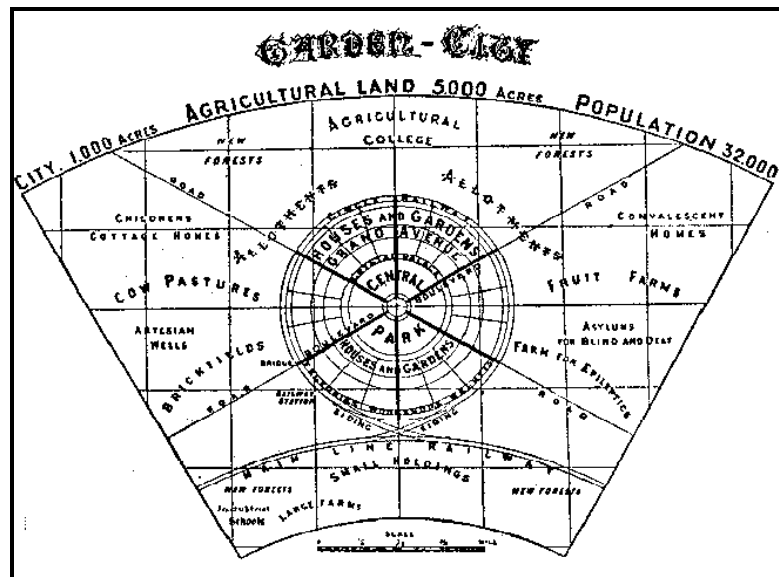
Howard designed Garden City as a compact urban center surrounded by a "*greenbelt*" of parks, gardens and farms. Within the city there would be quiet residential neighborhoods in addition to commercial, industrial, and cultural facilities. There are two kinds of centers in the Garden City: the neighborhood centers and the (one) civic center (Fishmann, 2003:40). Housing areas in garden city were dividing to two by a boulevard in the form of a park. There were religious and educational facilities in this park. As Fishmann emphasized;

> "There are two cohesive forces that bring the residents out of their neighborhoods and unite the city. The first is leisure. The center of the town is a Central Park, which provides "ample recreation grounds within very easy access of all people".

In the outmost circle out of housing areas, there were industrial areas. In order to separate the residential areas and also to ensure that everyone would be within "*walking distance*" of the workplace, Howard put the factories at the periphery of the city, adjacent to the circular railroad that surrounds the town and connects it to the main line. In the circle, there were agricultural areas. There was the *urban-rural integration*.

The Garden City has farms and forests. This "*Agricultural Belt*" plays an integral role in the economy of the Garden City. The "Agricultural Belt", moreover, prevents the town from sprawling out into the countryside and ensures a compact urban center (Fishmann, 2003: 42).
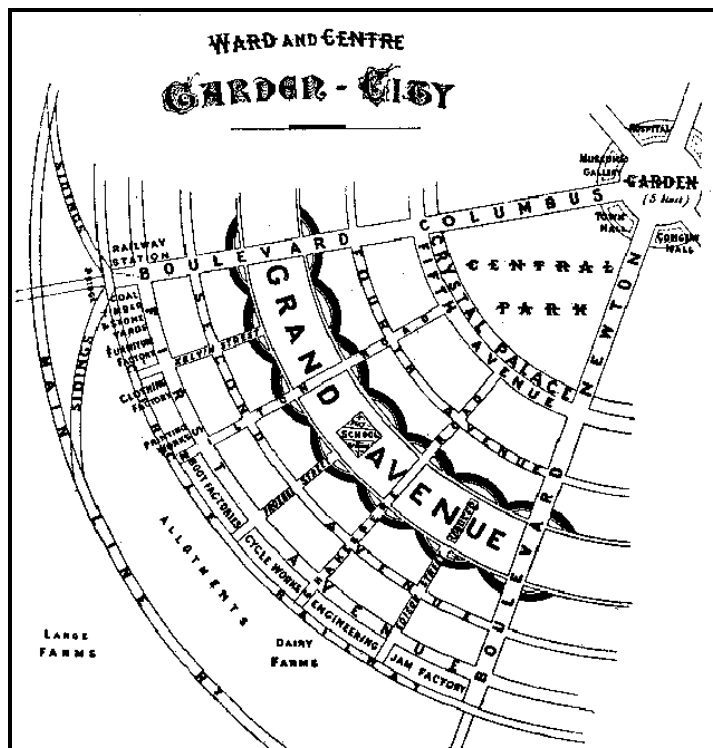
Figure 13: Garden City, zones as circles
Source: http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/howard.htm,
accessed 01.07.2010

There were integrated parts into a revolutionary restructuring of urban form. Detailed plans of factories, office buildings, schools, parks, transportation systems were physically designed. Furthermore, there were numerous writings for economic and political organization of the city.

In the drawings of Howard, social issues were taken under consideration. It was claimed that a radical reconstruction of the cities would solve not only the urban crisis of their time but the social crisis as well. Garden city would affect ideas and the concept of ideal city of planners for a total rethinking of the principles of urban planning.

3.1.3.3. Cité Industriel

When the century turns, another Progressist model comes to the scene by Tony Garnier (1869-1948). *Cité Industriel* was grounded with the utopist socialist doctrine of Fourier (Tekeli, 1980: 21). However, the industrial city of Tony Garnier was synthesizing *Beaux arts* architecture education which had classicist tendency and the utopist socialist movement. He proposed a scheme for industrial city. The basic principle of his approach was depending on "*integration of home and garden*". However, differing from Garden City of Ebenezer Howard, Garnier had the geometric and symmetric form in terms of urban design. In this scheme, architectural forms were classicist and monumental.

The scheme was divided into two functional parts. The first part was housing area, and the second part was composed of public buildings. As Choay (1969: 102) declared,

> "It was an attempt to establish order and combine Utilitarian and plastic solutions… the selection of essential volumes and spaces in accordance with practical necessity and the demand of that poetic sense which is peculiar to the architect".
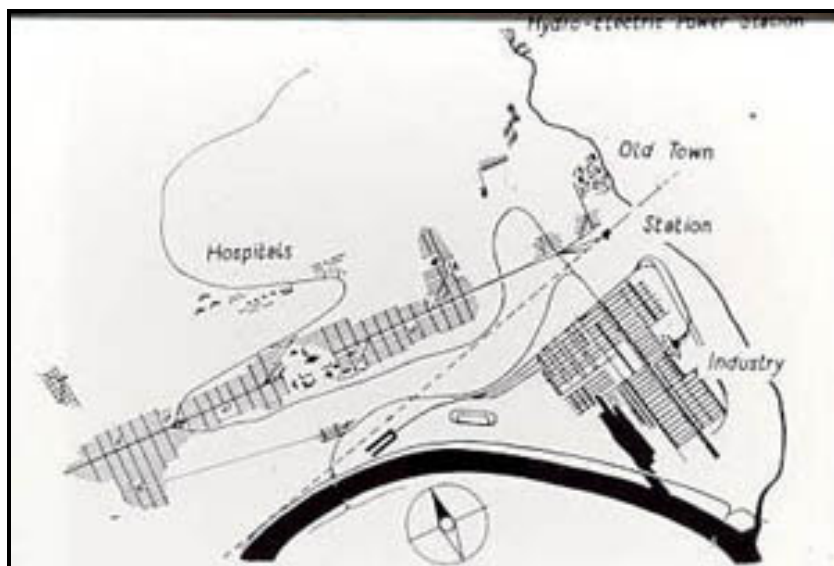
Figure 14: Industrial City of Tony Garnier,
Source: http://www.arch.umd.edu/Faculty/GFrancescato/Papers/Edinburgh.html, accessed June 2010

The public buildings were, also, divided into three parts; administrative buildings, meeting halls and museums, and sports areas and vista points. There were "*green zones*" to separate these areas. As Günay cited (1988: 25), in his industrial city, functions are given different zones separated by continuous stretches of greenery, with an orthogonal street network. There were no police, barrack, religious building and prison in this city.

Table 5: Structure of Industrial City of Tony Garnier, 1917
Source: Personal Complation
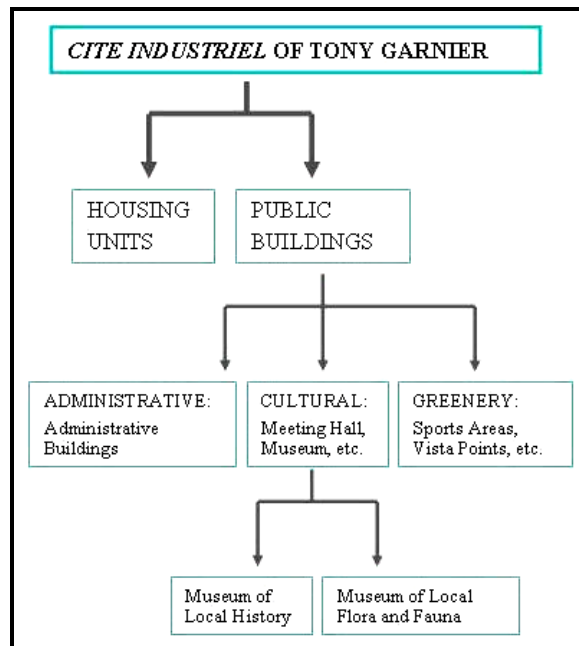
3.1.3.4. Soviet Urbanism

The Soviet Planning was based on the *rural and urban integration*. In Soviet Planning, urban planning had the role of extinguishing the antagonism of urban and rural (Tekeli, 1980: 28). Therefore, this approach had two main strategic instruments in space:

1. Decentralization of industry from urban to rural areas and the establishment of *industrial foci* evenly distributed to countryside.

2. Industrialization of agriculture.
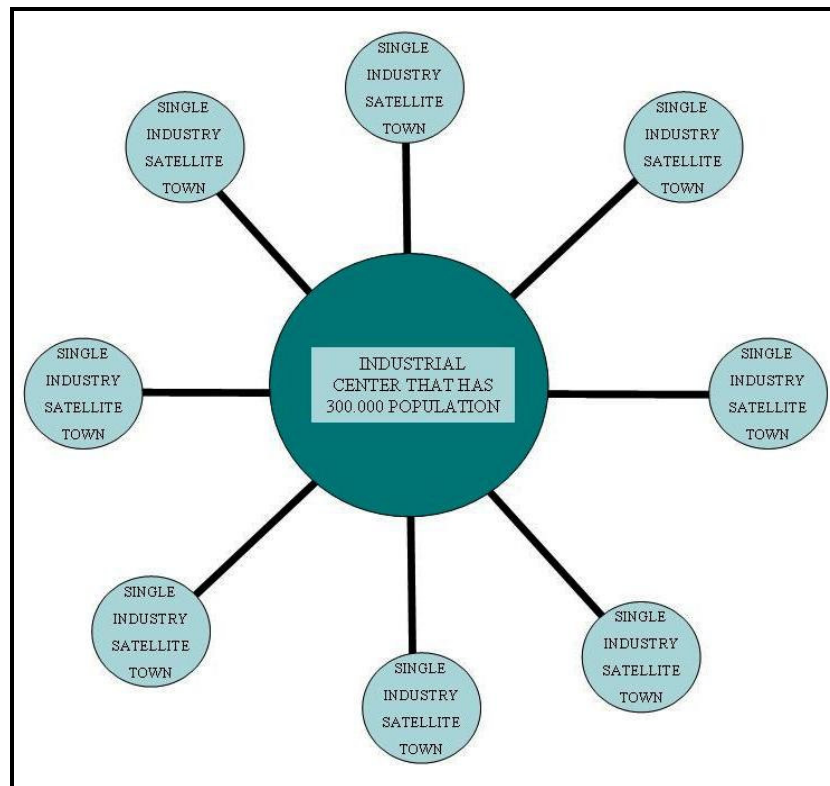
Figure 15: Industrial City Model of Soviet City: Industrial center and Single-Industry Satellite Towns
Source: Personal Rendering
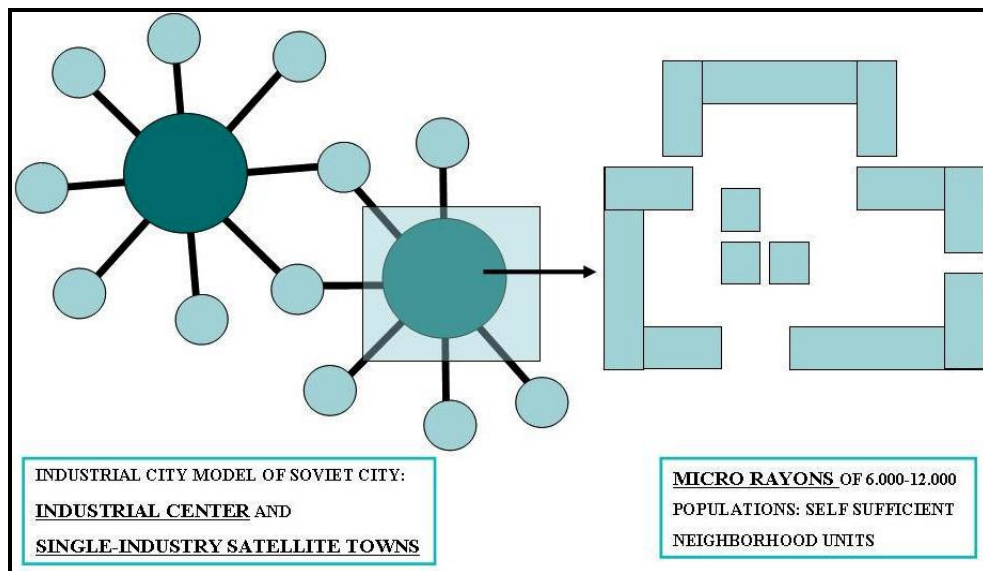
Figure 16: Micro rayon: Self-sufficient neighborhood units of 6.000-12.000 population forming industrial centers
Source: Personal Rendering

In that period, there were numerous "*industrial cities*" established till the Second World War. Indeed, the Soviet city model was depending on the model town of Garnier.

The organization of cities was composed of satellite towns of single-industry connected to industrial center of 300.000 populations. Within these industrial centers, there was the organization of *micro rayon*, a neighborhood unit of 6.000-12.000 populations. In this system, the city center had a very important place. In the center, there were public functions such as "the state buildings", urban squares, cultural functions, and some symbolic hegemonic agents of the regime of the state. The center in the Soviet city had the function of coordination and it was something that runs the system (Tekeli, 1980: 29). Within city center, there is little or no commercial function, these were located in micro rayon.

3.2. Evolution of Turkish Urbanism in Ottoman Period

Planning for the growth has traditionally been one of the major responsibilities of city planners and planners must formulate and implement policies designed to stimulate growth (Goldfield, 1980: 11). In the center countries of industrialization and so the growth, solving the problems of industrial city was crucial in the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, in the periphery countries, there were not industrialized cities. In this respect, the former Ottoman Empire and the young Republic of Turkey had a different urbanization history than the Europe had experienced.

In the 19th century, by the industrialization of Europe, there have been some changes in Turkish cities. These changes were depending on the raw material demand of European industry. Because the raw material was demanded for industry, the agricultural production of Ottoman Empire could be exported. This economic activity brought about a transformation in cities. The raw material could only be exported via sea transport or rail transport at those days. Therefore, in coastal cities, construction of ports and railroads reaching to them emerged.

This new structure of economy caused transformation of cities. This transformation can be grouped under three main items; new social structure causing transformation of neighborhood structure, need of "state buildings" for the needs of new economic transformation, and growth of urban population causing transformation of transport systems. Firstly, needs of new production relations led to a new institutional structure and bureaucratic structure. The military class was being replaced by a new bureaucratic class (Tekeli, 1980: 32). Secondly, the Ottoman neighborhood units were composed of ethnical groups. In this new social structure, a class based structure was emerging. This was causing new architectural tendencies as well as new site selection criterion of social groups. As Günay (1988:24) asserted, the magnitude, power and aspiration of the new classes have begun to shape up the urbanization and architectural theory and practice. In this new economic structure and raw material- exportation based activities, need for new control mechanisms occurred. Therefore, state-owned buildings were taking place in the city center. These new buildings in terms of function and architecture were modernly established. Hence, there was a dual structure in city centers; traditional and modern. Thirdly, According to Tekeli (1980: 32);

> "Because of the rise of population of urban areas from 8-9% to 25% between 16th century and the 19th century, the transportation within cities could not be maintained as pedestrian, and thus, mass transit and public transport emerged in the forms of tram and car".

This explains why the roads were broadened. However, all these transformations were limited. To illustrate, at the end of the 19th city, the broadest road was DivanYolu with 6 meters width in İstanbul. Moreover, these transformations did not embrace all cities of the Ottoman Empire. The transformation only comprised from coastal cities that had trade connections such as İzmir and İstanbul (as the capital city of Ottoman Empire). Edirne, as an exception, was on the rail gateway opening to Europe. In short, former merchant cities and primate cities did experiment such transformations.

These changes in cities, and the attempts for solution, brought a new programming. Ottoman mapping office experienced some city planning acts at that period. These

attempts would continue after the foundation of Republic of Turkey and these "map engineers[13]" would later be the first planners of the Turkish state. Although Levantines who inhabited in trade cities of Ottoman Empire brought new lifestyles and new cultural elements to cities, Haussmann's operations' effects were not seen in urban transformations of Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, new ideologic frame had another tendency. As Davidoff and Reiner (1962) stated that;

> "Because planning and planners' activities have effect on society and they encompass human values, planning theory is not dependent from ideology. The planning must be justified as the institutionalization application of rational decision-making to social affairs".

In this respect, for the formation of new life of new bureaucrats, Camillo Sitte's approach, which had the tendency of exalting cities in the past, affected new national class structure (Tekeli, 1980: 35).

The structure of Ottoman planning would later had influences on the formation of a national urbanism and a national architecture. Towards the formation of a science of urbanism, the first steps of programming were as follows;

1. Public Expenditure: these expenditures would be in the responsibility of municipalities[14]. These first implementations were composed of public investments, construction of urban squares and boulevards in cities and towns, and so forth.

2. Planning Programme: Until 1940, a strict planning programme was applied in Turkish cities (these were generally dense in İstanbul). There were categories of cities as;

Planned, will be planned, taken into programme, will be given out by contract, given out by contract, etc.

3. Urbanism as science: National architecture movement and its formation is a widely examined topic. However, there is the formation of a national urbanism movement. In the early Republican Turkey, urbanists for the formation of a national urbanism movement were educated.

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[13] Map engineer term is used for defining the term "harita mühendisi" in Turkish. These engineers, or cartographers, were responsible for mapping, surveying and topographical data collecting.

[14] The word municipality refers to *Belediye* in Turkish. In the first years of the Turkish state, the word *Uray* was used for this term.

In addition to these, there were some attempts for urban planning in Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century. In the nineteenth century, there were some partial plans towards the establishment of some neighborhood units, such as Selimiye district, some mapping activities, etc. However, the main reason behind these activities was taking the measures against fire. Still, these measures would be the basis of the first public improvement legislation, "Ebniye Nizamnamesi [Code of Rules for Structures]". In brief, practices of Ottoman period would be useful for the development of cartography and mapping, but they would not be useful in terms of planning (Tekeli, 1980: 49).

3.3. Ideology and Ideal City

Industrial revolution and industrialization carried a new scale and the complexity of urban development. As Günay (1988: 24) quotes, the modern city has grown with the industry which depends upon inorganic energy, and it has faced new problems posed in the process. This urban development was combined with a new economic and social ideology. While these changes were being lived in Europe, Ottoman Empire could not follow these improvements such as industrialization. After the foundation of Republic of Turkey, there were not any industrialized cities. The establishment of industrial cities dates right after the İzmir Economy Congress held in 1923. There were not any industrial cities or industrial complexes in Turkey till the foundation of nation state. Even coastal towns of İzmir and İstanbul, which was the capital city of Ottoman Empire, were not industrialized in institutional manner. Towards the principles of statism and populism, industrial cities had a vital role in the development of new society. According to Keskinok (2009b: 81), these first industrial cities of Republican Turkey have a unique place within the industrial city examples of its era in the world. These cities were different than European examples. In European examples, the cities were planned due to their problems occurred as a result of industrialization. On the other hand, in Turkish case, the industrial cities would be created with their economic activity.

Most of the cities planned were functionalized with an industrial cluster and agricultural production, generally relevant to the role of those clusters. In this context, it is important to examine both cities planned after the formation of industrial cluster, and cities planned with its economic activities. The first groups of cities are evolved with the formation of industrial activity. As the ideologic and spatial apparatus of the state, the factory settlement was not only the economic activity (or production activity). These were the founding elements of the new society and new societal life; and urban development. The second groups of cities are those planned in a comprehensive manner. These were chosen for their location, proximity to sources and transport nodes, etc. The example for evaluation of these cities is chosen from small cities planned at the early Republican period. These cities were established via urban plans and this formed both the economic activity and the production and urban life and urban pattern. The ideal city of Turkish state will be examined in two examples. The first example is a factory settlement: Nazilli. This examination is to clarify urban development in small towns, which were planned as small factory towns. The second example is a small city: İzmit. This example is to understand the planning context in small cities towards its built environment, problems, transportation, housing and other facilities.

3.3.1. Factory Towns as Agents of Colonization of Towns: Formation of Utopist Lifestyle

In 1933 Turkey has decided to take consultancy from a Soviet Commission for establishment of industrial areas in Anatolia. This is why Sumerbank Basma Factory[15] was founded on the İzmir-Aydın railway in between upper zone of Nazilli, which was planned in 1923, and lower zone of Nazilli, which was planned on 1938.

In the report prepared by the commission, selection of this area was rational in terms of necessities to found a factory, except for labour-power (Doğan, 2009: 79). It was an advantageous town in the context of its proximity to water and energy sources,

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[15] Sümerbank Basma Factories were state- enterprise industries. The word "Basma" means pattern imprinted cloth. The Sümerbank founded numerous factories in different parts of Anatolia.

transportation and raw material. This settlement is remarking in terms of being one of the best examples of factory settlements. As Günay (1988: 24) cited that influence of the groups controlling industrial production and commercial activity on architecture has been revivals of styles extending from Greek to Baroque. The factory and its institutional aspects created a brand new world in Nazilli where the Basma Factory was found.

Ideologic apparatuses were the main determinants for the formation of national urbanism and national architecture. Therefore, it is crucial to define spatial apparatuses of ideology in Nazilli. In the Factory complex, there were; Production Units, Infrastructure Facilities, Housing Units, Cooperative, Commercial Units, Cultural and Education Facilities and Sports Units. In a sense, they were like the micro rayon of Soviet city. In another point of view, it was like the phalanstery of Fourier or Owen's models, although Phalanstery is ordered and centralized as combination of a factory and a palace of the nobility. As the Saltaire plan of Titus Salt proposes, there were workers' institute, hospital, school, baths, churches, and proximity to landscaped parkland within the complex. The complex of Nazilli was as an application of model industrial towns of utopians.
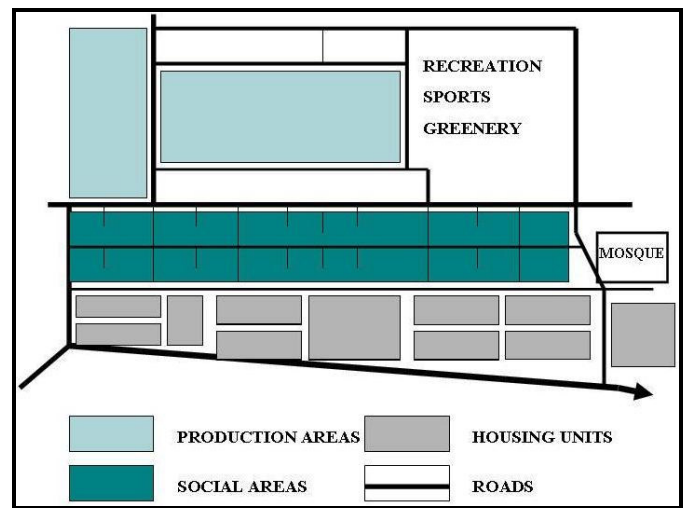
Figure 17: Graphic Representation of Sümerbank Nazilli Factory
Source: Personal Rendering
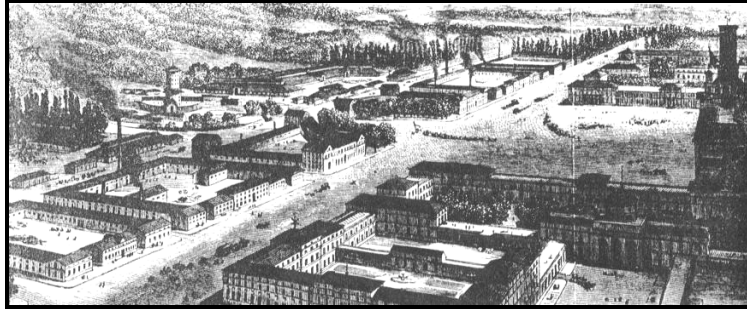
Figure 18: A Perspective View of Phalanstery, Remarkable Similarity with
Çubuk Perspective View
Source: http://www.scholarsresource.com/browse/artist/341, accessed
May 2010
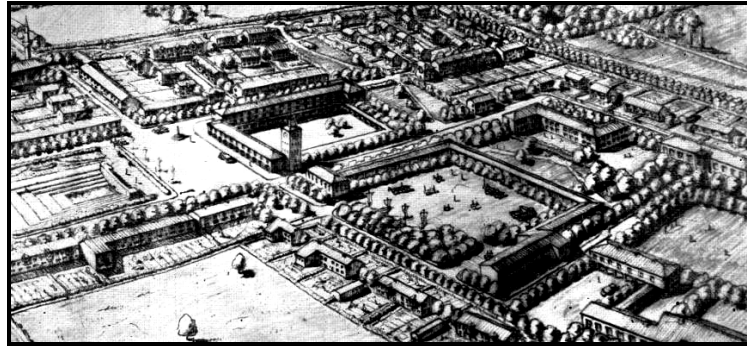
Figure 19: A Perspective View from Çubuk Urban Plan, 1938
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi (1938), Issue 35, p. 31

The economic activity of Phalanstery was agriculture. Similarly, Çubuk was planned
as an agriculture city. Its economy was based on agriculture. Moreover, as it can be
seen in Figure 21, Karabük has similarity with *Cité Industriel*. While urban plan was
being prepared, Karabük was declared as the first industrial city of Turkey, although
it was not.
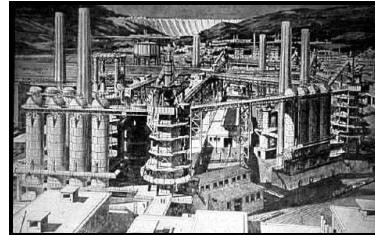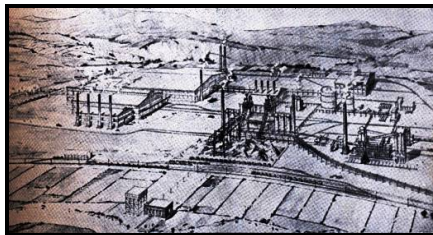
Figure 20: The similarity between the 3D drawings of Karabük industry and
industry of *Cité Industriel*
Sources: Belediyeler Dergisi, 1937, Issue:22, p. 11 ;
http://www.arkitera.com/gununsorusu/2001/10/10.htm, accessed June 2010

Table 6: Comparisons of the functions and uses of different model towns, similarities
Source: Personal Ascertainment

FACILITIES	NAZİLLİ COMPLEX	OWEN'S MODEL	PHALANSTERY	SOVIET CITY-MICRORAYON
EDUCATIONAL	+	+	in church	+
School	+	+		+
Library and Archive	+	+		
CULTURAL-SOCIAL	+	+	+	
Cinema	+			
Canteen	+			
Dining Hall	+	+	+	
Theatre	+	+	+	
Public Hall			+	
Pavilions	+			
HOUSING FOR WORKERS	+	+	+	+
Labour District	+	+		+
Apartments for Single- Workers	+	+	+	+
Quest House	+		+	
Official's Houses	+			+
PRODUCTION UNITS AND REPAIR	+	+	agricultural	+
URBAN FUNCTIONS	+	+	+	
Infrastructure	+	+	+	+
Streets	+	+		+
Urban Square	+	+	as courtyards	
Train Station	+			
Religious Building	+		+	
City Entrance Gates	+		+	
ORGANIZATION	+	+	+	+
Cooperative	+	+	+	+
SPORTS	+			+
Football Field	+			
Sports Area	+			
ADMINISTRATIVE AND COMMERCIAL	+	+	+	commercial
Administrative Building	+			
Commercial Areas	+	+		+
AGRICULTURE	+	+	+	+

3.3.2. An Example of Urban Plans: Realization of 20th Century Planning Theories

The Planning approach of the era depends not on estimations but on political previsions in the direction of populism. In the aspects of urbanization policies, 1930s have a crucial importance in Turkey. Important societal and economic policies of this term such as etatism and populism formed the basis of urbanism area in Turkey. Undoubtedly, the roots of these policies should be searched in the War of Independence and in the Revolutions. Because of economic burdens that are brought about nationalization, settling [iskan] and employment of immigrants in 1920s, the most comprehensive applications of nation state about establishing of most suitable spaces of "the principle of populism" could be achieved in the term of etatism in 1930s.

In this context, İzmit (Kocaeli) city is chosen for examination. The city was planned by Hermann Jansen, who was a student of Camillo Sitte, in 1935. As Öz (1936: 28) cited, Jansen planned the area between the railway line and the coast. Therefore, as it is obvious, Jansen established a new city in the periphery of former İzmit. In his report, Jansen (1936: 32) declares that;

> "The situation of the area between rail line and the seaside is terrible. The houses in this site are lacking sanitation. Moreover, in this part there are wrecks. It is crucial to intervene to these parts of the city. This site has a nice vista and it will not be difficult to make intervention to this part of the city".

The new industry and social agents of the state such as Halkevleri (Community Centers), the urban square and some urban elements such as vista tower, concert square; city hotel, Public buildings, etc. were developed and located in the new city. The coastal area was allocated for social activities and recreational facilities. The mosque of Mimar Sinan, which was in an idle situation, was repaired and underlined with the greenery and open space surrounding it. Sanitation of newly building houses was one of the main issues. The problematic of housing, in an industrial city, was its location within green as Jansen cited (1936: 35). In his view, in an industrial city, houses would be located within gardens.

The main reason behind the foundation of the new city in the periphery of old city was that an industrial city could not be established within the existing city. In this way, Turkish industrial cities would not suffer from the problems of industrial cities in Europe. The industry was founded in the western part of the new city on rail network and on İstanbul- Ankara highway. The industry was seperated from city by a green zone including sports areas and parks. In the north of the industrial areas, there was "Kozluk Garden City". The site of this housing area was a fireplace. The main strategy of the design of the area was topographic elements.

It is obvious that, Hermann Jansen was one of the representatives of the Garden City movement. As a student of Camillo Sitte, he must be influenced by the picturesque approach. In this context, it is important to make an evaluation of İzmit City Plan in the context of the synthesis of Picturesque Approach and Garden City Movement. Moreover, Industrial City model of Garnier becomes relevant here. Although, the proposals of Jansen are not monumental and classicist, the geometric forms, distinction of functions, orthogonal street network and the design of administrative, cultural and greenery areas were alike the model industrial city. Hence, it is important to make an evaluation of this plan related to these models.
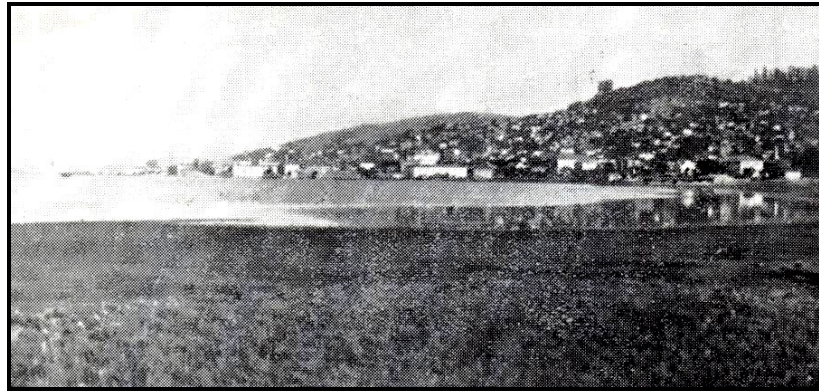
Figure 21: View of the area between Marmara Sea and railway in İzmit in 1935, the Existing Situation
Source: Öz, K. (1936) *İzmit Urbayı Bay Kemal Öz'ün İzmit Planına Dair İzahı,* Belediyeler Degisi, Issue 6, p. 29
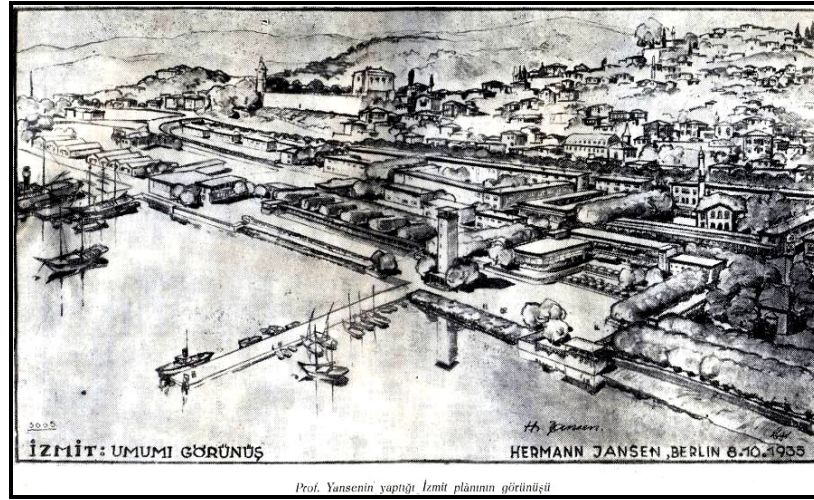
Figure 22: Jansen's Proposal for the area between Marmara Sea and railway in İzmit, the Proposal of Jansen
Source: Jansen, H. (1936) *İzmit Planına Dair Rapor*, Belediyeler Dergisi, Issue 6, p. 32

To classify the functions of the İzmit plan, there are three groups or zones. The first of these is housing areas. Second zone is Green Zone and the third zone is the industrial one. In the first zone, the strategies developed for interventions are distinguishing in existing city and in newly developing city. As Öz cited (1936: 28), Jansen would establish a new city in the site between the Marmara Sea and the railroad. Jansen did not propose any clearance or destruction in the plan. The new city would be established in the area that was proper for the establishment of a new city. The second zone, green zone is much more extensive than other zones. Green zone, in İzmit plan was used as both separating and articulating elements between different zones, public buildings and recreative areas in the shoreline, "*the garden city*", sports areas, children's playgrounds, etc. In the last zone, there is industry with its housing units in the northern part of the zone. Industrial zone was distinguished from the city by sports areas; and connected with city by railroad and highway.

The scheme of Jansen plan has similarities with Picturesque Approach, Garden City of Howard and Industrial City of Garnier.

1. The plan had some features of picturesque approach of Sitte. In the plan, rather than monotony, "*organic development*" was proposed. The plan was designed in human scale; there were not huge boulevards and urban squares. Rather, the

implied characteristic was to protect the "town characteristic" of the old city. In the urban squares designed in the shore line of the city, "pedestrianization" was the principal and "street life" was emphasized. In the plan, topography is the determinant of traffic circulation in the labors' district.

2. Garden city was a reaction to the low standards of housing and an expression for the quality of environment. In Jansen's plans, proposed housing areas are all in the typology of Garden city. The application of Garden Cities was that they would contact a democratic atmosphere and an aesthetically stimulating environment (Bollerey and Hartmann, 1980: 150). This conceptualization can be observed in the pedestrian shoreline and the activity pattern constructed along this line. There are buildings that would prepare the activity pattern of a new cultural life in the shore line. There were public buildings, concert areas, Halkevi,, etc. as it was proposed in the garden city of Howard. In Garden City, there was a circular scheme center of which included a theatre, a municipality, a park, a cinema, etc. The aim of the Garden City movement was a progressive resettlement of the population and the consequent conversion of an authoritarian, anti-parliamentarian state into a democratic, socially-oriented 'Culture- State' as Bollerey and Hartmann (1980: 150) cited. Hence, cultural hegemony of the state based on the principles of populism, etatism, etc. would be accomplished.

Garden City was in a compact urban center. İzmit, also had a compact center and this was surrounded by a greenbelt continuing along the rail line; "greenbelt" of parks and gardens. On the other hand, the outer circle in the western part, there was the industry.
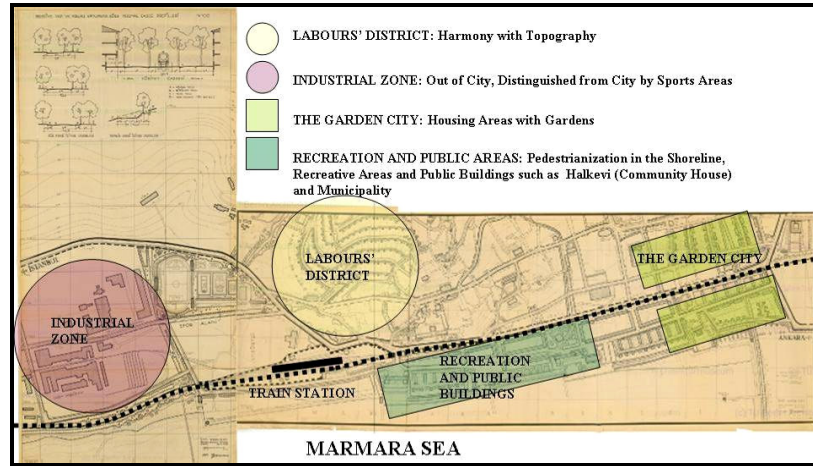
Figure 23: İzmit Urban Plan of Hermann Jansen and zones in the proposal
Source: Architecture Museum of Berlin Technical University,
http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=54&LANG=EN,
accessed February.2010

3. While the İzmit plan was differing from the *Cité Industriel* of Garnier in terms of geometry, symmetry and monumentality, it almost followed its idea of integration of home and garden. In the civic center, there were two functional parts as it was in the proposal of Garnier. There were housing areas and public buildings. Public buildings, also, were composed of concert area, administrative buildings like municipality and governorship, vista point in the shore line (bakış kulesi: view tower), meeting hall as Halkevi, etc. These functions were similar with the proposal of Garnier. Moreover, sports areas at the end of the orthogonal shore line were designed.
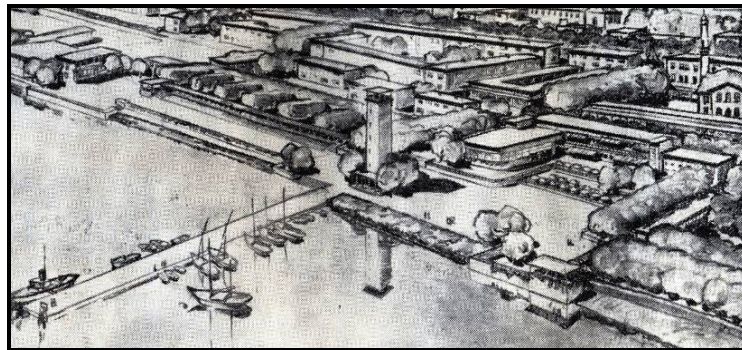
Figure 24: Bakış Kulesi (View Tower), Konser Meydanı (Concert Square), Halkevi (Community Hall) and the Municipality in Jansen's Proposal
Source: Jansen, H. (1936) *İzmit Planına Dair Rapor*, Belediyeler Dergisi, Issue 6, p. 32

These similarities with the proposals of early 20th century can be found in the countless examples of the Early Republican Turkish plans. However, as it is obvious, none of the planned cities has the characteristics of a single model town. There are two main reasons for this. The first one is that some characteristics as geography, climate, topography, etc. are differing from city to city. Therefore, it was not rational to apply a physical graphic or physical scheme perfectly. The second one was remarkable in early Republican Turkish planning practices. The bureaucrats and officials were the active participants of the planning process. The formation of those urban plans was not only depending on the characteristics of model towns. There were the decisions of urbanists- architects and the executive administrators. To illustrate, the mayor of İzmit, Kemal Öz, personally sent a report for the housing demand of İzmit to Jansen (Öz, 1936: 29). Moreover, some of the cities such as Alaca and Bulancak were developed as housing sanitization projects and this was the claim of chairman of urbanism department in Nafia Vekaleti [former Ministry of Public Works], Celal Ulusan. These cities were planned by Celal Ulusan, too. In Bulancak, furthermore, the factories in the city were moved out of the city.

Figure 25: New Harmony of Owen, the similarity with Erzincan Plan,
Source: http://www.arch.umd.edu/Faculty/GFrancescato/Papers/Edinburgh.html
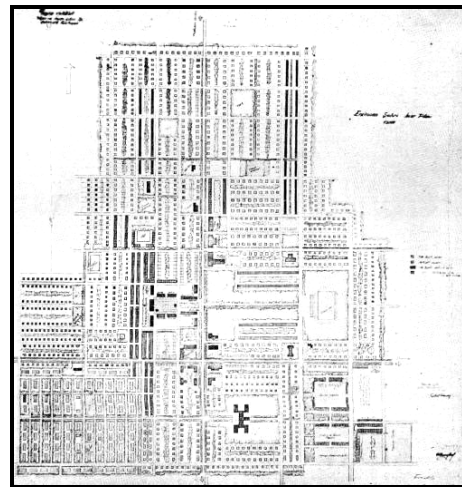
Figure 26: Erzincan Plan prepared by Celal Ulusan,
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi (1940), Issue: 60, pp. 21–23

CHAPTER 4

THE HYBRID: IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE, EUROPEAN AND SOVIET URBANISM AND THE OTTOMAN CITY

In Early Republican Period, national urbanism and national architecture movements arose from the national and cultural values. Between 1923 and 1940, urbanism, seen as a new science of town planning in Turkey and it gained its legitimization. In this chapter, we will discuss the evolution, determinants and forming elements of National Urbanism movement in Turkey. Good city form which is discussed in chapter three revealed that there are three factors forming Republican cities. These are Ottoman cities and limited planning activities inherited from the Ottoman Empire, the European urbanism penetrated into Turkish planning practices, and ideology of the state and executive cadre determined some principles for urban planning at last. This chapter aims to identify this hybrid structure of National Urbanism in the Early Republican period. At first, the Ottoman Planning practices inherited and penetrated into the Early Republican Turkey planning practices are summarized. Then, effects of urban planning in Europe and Soviet Union are clarified. Following these, we will discuss the question of to what extent ideology of the Republican state was decisive. Before ending this chapter, the urbanism seen as a scientific area in young Republic of Turkey is identified as the hybrid of these three.

4.1. Cities and Planning Inherited from the Ottoman Empire

After and along the Reorganization Period [Tanzimat Dönemi[16]] of the Ottoman Empire, some planning activities were conducted. These activities originated and inspired from European planning activities. In this context, generally Pragmatic Approach and Haussmanization affected Ottoman Planning activities. These

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[16] Tanzimat Dönemi is the series of reforms undertaken in the Ottoman Empire to modernize society along secular and bureaucratic lines between 1839 and 1876.

activities are important in terms of that these formed the beginning of institutionalization of planning and urbanism.

The inherited science of urbanism from the Ottoman Empire can be defined under two main headlines. The first of these is mapping and topography. The other is endeavor for establishing an institutional legislation for urban planning. The urbanism in 1850s was like an "urbanism of regulations" carried out with health acts in the Ottoman Empire.

4.1.1. Mapping and Topography Engineering

At first, most of the planning practices were about partial plans conducted and prepared by topography engineers in the Ottoman Empire. In Ottoman Empire, the first maps were done by foreign professionals in late 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century. These maps were differing from earlier examples of maps in the Empire. These maps had some planning concerns. These were prepared for being base of urban plans. According to Tekeli (1980: 36), French engineer Kauffer prepared the map of İstanbul in 1786. After this, there has been several maps prepared by foreign experts. However, the Map Office [Harita Dairesi] was being institutionalized within this process.

Map Commission was established by Şevki Pasha in 1909. As it is obvious, the map commission was a military institution. Indeed, Şevki Pasha was sent to "French Military Engineering School" and "French Military Geography Office" for education. Thus, urban planning activities of Ottoman Empire in the 19th century could not exceed topography engineering and all these planning practices were in İstanbul. Nonetheless, the progress of mapping would affect the planning practices of early times of the Republic of Turkey. The Aegean towns that devastated by Greek military throughout the War of Independence were planned by engineers educated in the Ottoman Map Office.

The most important planning problem of the Republic of Turkey was, of course, planning of Ankara as the capital city. Nevertheless, before accomplishment of Ankara plan, the Aegean towns were planned. Some of these were Aydın, Yukarı Nazilli, Bandırma, Karacabey, Manisa, Salihli and Alaşehir. The planning problematic of these cities was different. The population of these cities was diminished after the War of Independence. For instance, the population of Aydın was 40.000 at the beginning of 20th century and it fell to approximately 1000 after the War of Independence that would be 11.978 in 1927 (Uğur, 2003: 50). Therefore, the problematic about the population was a decreased first and increasing population.

In these cities, the planning attitude that was developed for fire places in Ottoman Empire was applied. In these places, the main principles were application of grid-iron system (Uğur, 2003: 51), wide streets (Bilgi, 2005: 9) and reveal of monumental religious buildings. The city was recovered from dead ends (cul-de-sacs) and narrow streets. In fact, 1848 Ebniye Nizamnamesi [Buildings Regulations] of the Ottoman Empire was applied whilst planning these cities and towns. The engineers Ziya, Akif and Salahattin established the Türk İmar ve İnşa Şirketi[Turkish Zoning and Construction Firm]and made an agreement for the preparation of Manisa plan in 1922. Later, some map engineers would establish Fenni İnşaat Şirketi [Technical Construction Firm]. At those times, Manisa was the second biggest city of Aegean region. These engineers were educated in Ottoman Map Office.
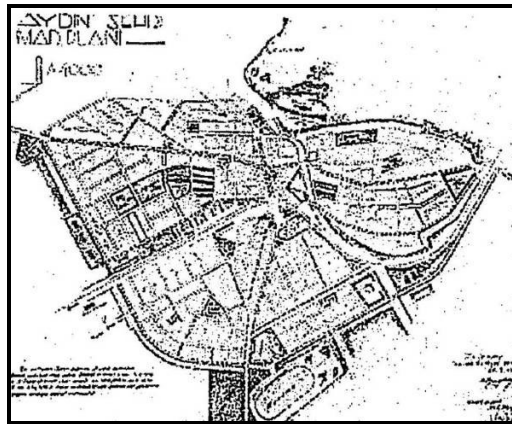
Figure 27: Aydın Urban Plan, 1923,
Source: Çalışkan (2003: 18)

The difference of these plans from Ottoman city planning[17] practices was about property rights. In Ottoman planning practices held by map engineers, the property in especially city centers was composed of small pieces. This situation occurred only in the form of application of specific interventions such as expansion of existing streets and grid-iron planning in fire places. In the Early Republican Period planning practices of these engineers, there were wide lands left owing to population exchange [mübadele] between Anatolian Greeks and Turks in Greece. Most of the neighborhood units developed for new comers from Greece would be planned according to grid-iron system, which had been already applied in fireplaces in the Ottoman period.

Figure 28: View from Manisa; the urban square, widened street and public buildings defining the urban square in 1930s
Source : Postcard

Figure 29: Municipality Park and Municipality Building in the edge of the park in Manisa, Source: Postcard

The population left Anatolia was more than the population sent to Anatolia (Bruce, 2006: 18). Thus, there were houses; lands and other properties remained unclaimed. This would result a new regulation in Ebniye Nizamnamesi. By a change numbered 642 in this law; vacant lots would be considered as agricultural field. This regulation caused improvement in planning activities. These areas could be public areas of cities and towns. Especially public buildings, "Municipality Parks"[18], Halkevleri [Community Halls], etc. would be located in these areas. These plans would also establish an urban center via these spatial elements.

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[17] Ottoman city planning activities were limited to widening streets and planning fire places.
[18] Municipality Park is a city park that is often came across in the planned cities in the Early Republican Period. These were generally the first parks in the city. Generally a public building such as Municipality Building, Governor or Governorship was located in the edge of the park.

Between 1923 and 1940, 11 cities were planned by map engineers, the construction firms established by map engineers or Trustees of Reconstruction established by the state and composed of map engineers. As it can be seen in table 7, these cities were generally cities and towns in the Aegean region. After truce, a committee composed of five engineers was formed and it was headed by senior engineer Ziya Bey (Tekeli, 1980: 52). In this committee, senior engineer Selahattin Bey and Nihat Bey took place. The committee, named "Trustees of Reconstruction" would later plan some Aegean towns such as Nazilli, Aydın and Turgutlu. Sait, Cemal, Galip, and Şevket Altaydar would take role in the planning of Manisa, Salihli, Bandırma, Karacabey and Alaşehir after the War of Independence, according to Tekeli (1980: 52).

Table 7: Towns and cities planned by Map Engineers
Sources: Tekeli (1980, Appendix), Belediyeler Dergisi [Journal of Municipalities], Arkitekt Dergisi [Journal of Arkitekt]

	PLANNED CITY OR TOWN	YEAR OF THE PLAN	PLANNER(S)
AYDIN			
	AYDIN	1923	M.M. TRUSTEES OF RECONSTRUCTION
	Y.NAZİLLİ	1923	M.M. TRUSTEES OF RECONSTRUCTION
BALIKESİR			
	BANDIRMA	1923	GALİP
BURSA			
	KARACABEY	1923	BEDRİ VE A. HAYDAR
DENİZLİ			
	ACIPAYAM	1934	İZZETTİN
MANİSA			
	MANİSA	1923	CEMALETTİN
	SALİHLİ	1923	SAİT ERER
	ALAŞEHİR	1924-1940	SAİT ERER AND CEMALETTİN

As it is cited in the table, some of the cities such Manisa, Salihli and Alaşehir were planned by map engineers. Fenni Construction Firm was also constituted by map engineers. Trustees of Reconstruction worked as a planning office, too.

To conclude, the Ottoman map and topography engineering studies became the basis of earliest planning activities in the Early Republican Period. The grid-iron system for new neighborhoods and widened streets in urban plans were the inherited

knowledge from the Ottoman planning. It is possible to rename the Ottoman Planning activities as "Urban Map Planning" in this thesis. The planning in the earliest years of the Republic would make the contribution of the establishment of city centers. This would be on the left or abandoned properties and lands due to the war.

4.1.2. Legislative Framework and Planning in the Ottoman Period

Republican state took over from the Ottoman Empire that a dependant urban pattern and transportation infrastructure, a weak municipal works tradition and partial planning practices (Çalışkan, 2003: 15). Even, those partial planning practices could not be a direct tool of the Ottoman Empire. There was no possibility that the European utopist urbanism theories could take place in Ottoman planning practices. It can be said that Ottoman Empire generally took the principles of Pragmatic Approach and had been affected by the Haussmanization. However, these approaches would not find place in the Ottoman Empire. The main reason behind this is that these developments were taking place in center countries and the Ottoman Empire was a periphery country (Tekeli, 1980: 39). We will not discuss the economic, social and political reasons of this. However, it is obvious that there was an effort for catching the changes in the world at that period in the Ottoman Empire. Although it was intended, there would not be radical changes in the legislative framework to make improvements and changes in the "Urban Map Planning[19]" system of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, all these efforts would not take place in any of the cities except for İstanbul. Nevertheless, efforts for some legislative changes would contribute to the nucleus of Republican legislative system for city planning at the beginning.

The İstanbul plans of late 19th century and the early 20th century can be called comprehensive to some extent, such as Moltke plan that was completed in 1842. This plan would later be a factor to enact the Buildings Regulation [Ebniye Nizamnamesi] (Tekeli, 1980: 38). The first plan of İstanbul is prepared by Moltke. He prepared a

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[19] The term "Urban Map Planning" is introduced in this thesis in 4.1.1.

map for İstanbul which had some public improvement decisions on this map. In the plan, all the newly built buildings would be brick or stone. The parcels for new buildings would be done according to predetermined geometric rules. The parcelization was introduced by Building Regulation (Yerasimos, 1992: 2). New neighborhoods' plans were expressed according to geometric rules, too. The urban squares were offered with this plan. Additionally, a regulation for new highways was brought with this plan. There was hierarchy of roads. There were three categories of roads consisted of main avenues (büyük caddeler) with a minimum standard of 7.60 meters wide, ordinary avenues [adi caddeler] with 6 meters width and other streets [sair sokaklar] with 4.50 meters width (Çelik, 1993: 51). However, when the Republic of Turkey was founded, the broadest highway of İstanbul was Divanyolu with 6 meters. Thus, there must have some problems occurred in the application of this map[20]. As Tekeli (1980: 37) asserted; the basic principle of this plan was taking actions for frequently occurring fires. The most important characteristic of this plan was that it became the pioneer for legislative changes of urban planning and municipal issues in the Ottoman Empire. In 1848, Building Regulation would be declared. Following this, for the problems of İstanbul, İstanbul Şehremaneti[21] (former İstanbul Municipality) would be established in 1854. This municipality would gain importance after the foundation of the Republic. After the proclamation of Ankara as the capital city, Ankara Şehremaneti would be established and in the first years, Ankara would benefit from the experiences of İstanbul Şehremaneti of Ottoman Empire. In 1864, Ebniye ve Turuk Nizamnamesi [Street and Building Regulation] would bring the first expropriation of land in addition to taking actions for fire. In this era, fire maps of some of the cities such as İstanbul and İzmir were prepared.

Following, the 1875 İstanbul ve Belde-i Selasede Yapılacak Ebniyenin Suret-I İnşaiyesine Dair Nizamname [Regulation on Construction Methods in İstanbul] and the 1877 Dersaadet Belediye Kanunu [İstanbul Municipal Law] would be declared.

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[20] Moltke plan was actually a map of İstanbul. But, it had brought some public improvement regulations in the map.

[21] The word "Şehremanet" is a portmanteau word. The word "Şehir" means the city and the word "Emanet" means to compound. Therefore, it had the meaning of that the city was compounded to this institution.

As Çelik (1993: 51) asserted, these rules and regulations concentrated on similar issues. These issues, clearly, were about the street width, partially open spaces, building material and the actions to be taken against fire.
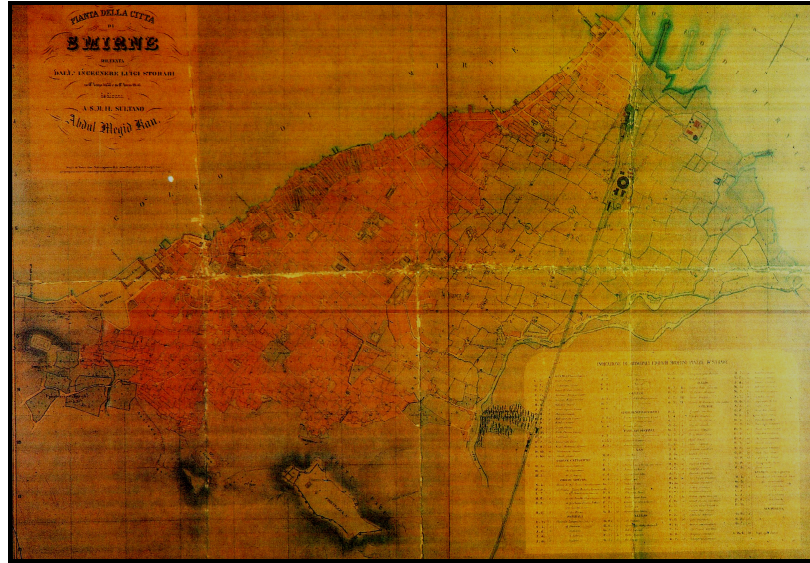
Figure 30: Luigi Storari Plan for İzmir in 1854-1856
Source: Atay (1998: 25)

The importance of these rules, regulations and plans prepared is that they could not go beyond taking actions against fire and mapping in port cities after fires and generally in fireplaces. The legislative framework of the Republic of Turkey would start with the change numbered 642 in the 1882 Building Regulations of the Ottoman Empire.

In addition to this, in the Early Republican, foreign architects and urbanists were invited by the state for planning cities. These experts were generally German or French. These ecoles were not the only ecoles in the world in those days. It can be said that, the relations of Ottoman state with German and French ecoles would be inherited by the Republican State. Ottoman Empire, when approaching to the collapse of the empire, put some efforts for planning activities. Foreign experts were invited to İstanbul for planning. There was the domination of two ecoles; the German Ecole and the French Ecole.

İttihat ve Terakki Partisi [Union and Progressive Party] was established after Tanzimat Period of the Ottoman Empire. The party members were known with their close relationship with German government. For example, Lörcher, as a German urbanist, planned Ankara and Bursa in 1924. According to Burhan Arif Ongun (1933: 178), Lörcher declared that he was preparing İstanbul plans ten years ago. The meeting of Burhan Arif and Lörcher was in France while Ongun was studying urbanism and working with Le Corbusier. Ongun studied in France between 1928 and 1931. Therefore, Lörcher's İstanbul plan dates to 1918- 1921. These years prove that, the Ottoman Empire had invited Lörcher for İstanbul plan. Obviously, the Republican state had followed the relations of Ottoman Empire after the proclamation of Republic. Moreover, it is known that Camillo Sitte was a name being discussed in some environments (Tekeli, 1980). The French Ecole, on the other hand, penetrated into the Ottoman planning discussions with Haussmanization. Bekir Paşa, who was sent to Paris for urban planning education had prepared an urban plan that had the influences of Haussmanization (Tekeli, 1980: 38). Abdülhamit the second was invited French planners to İstanbul to prepare an urban plan (Ergin, 1938: 824). Furthermore, in 1850s, İstanbul Municipality would be divided into fourteen offices and the sixth office would be responsible from the mostly developed area. This division and the "Sixth Office" prove that the developments in Paris were closely followed (Tekeli, 1980: 40).

4.2. European and Soviet Urbanisms and Their Penetration to Turkish Urbanism

As we declared in chapter three, today's planning practice has emerged in the 19th century. After the emergence of urbanism science in Europe and the Soviet Union, the theoretical knowledge that was produced penetrated into Turkish planning practices. The basis of urban planning and urbanism depends on the theories and models developed in the 19th century and in the 20th century. These models and theories were imported from industrialized countries. Nonetheless, the main debate of this part is what the principles and basic concepts picked from European models

and urbanism were. Here, we will discuss and clarify the theoretical knowledge penetrated into Turkish planning practices.

In chapter three, we chronologically divided the planning theory into four parts. These were;

1. Utopist Phase

2. Pragmatic Phase

3. Haussmanization Phase and

4. The era arose as a reaction to Haussmanization: late 19th and the early 20th century theories.

In this part, following the same order, we will identify the basic concepts and principles of those phases. We will clarify the principles chosen by Turkish urbanism practices.

4.2.1. Utopist Phase

We have examined utopias of Owen, Fourier and Salt. In this part, this thesis clarifies the main principles that have penetrated into Turkish planning practices. We identify the main themes, concepts and their relevance with the Turkish Planning practices.

At First, Owen's principles of New Harmony and Mew Lanark penetrated into Turkish urbanism and the planning practices. The main principles of his theory were;

- Emphasis on cooperation and cooperative organization,

- Communal Life

- Emphasis on Education with the name of *"Institute for the Formation Character"*.

The cooperative organization can be seen in most of the cities planned in the Early Republican Period. In most of the Factory Towns, there were production and consumption cooperative units. Indeed, Owen's and other Utopians' principles can be clearly observed in the factory towns. As factory towns of Sümerbank were colonization of towns, it is possible to assume that a communal life was established within factory towns. The last theme of Owen, emphasis on education, was one of

the basic strategies of the Early Republican Period in whole Anatolia and Rumelia. The institute that Owen named as the Institute for the Formation Character has similarities with Community Halls [Halkevleri] of Turkey. Community Halls of the Early Republican Turkey had also a "*formation character*". These were established to realize a new society and a new socio-cultural life.

Then, the basic themes that Phalanstery of Fourier affected Turkish planning were;

- A single multi-storey Building based on the manipulation of "*Natural Human Passion*"

- Individual Apartments and many Public Halls

- An agricultural society
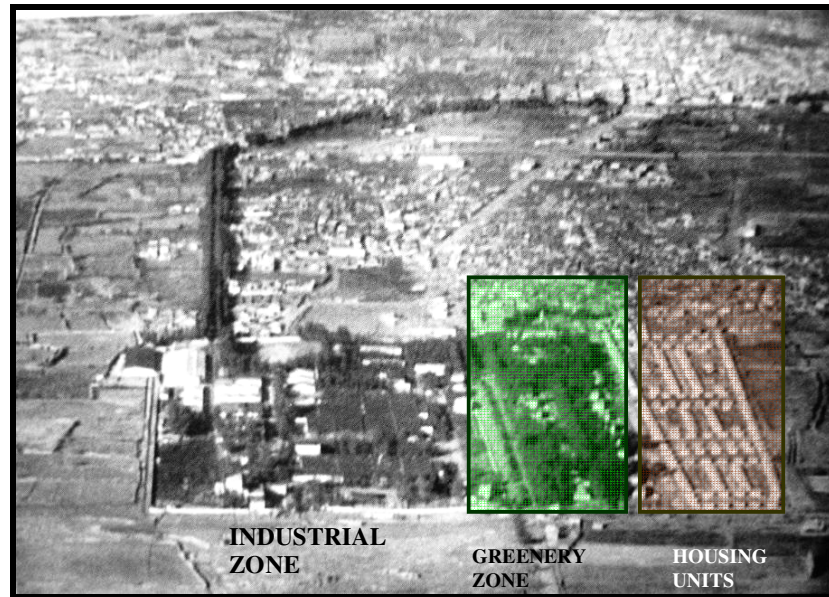
Figure 31: Sümerbank Nazilli Imprinted Cloth Factory Campus: the Factory in Nature
Source: Zeybekoğlu (2009:233)

Although there is not any example of a single multi-storey building town or urban plan like the theme of Phalanstery, factory towns have similarity with Fourier's model. The factory towns established in the Early Republican Period were like campus towns. They were not established within a single building, but the towns were established within factory campus. Thus, we will make evaluation in this sense. The Phalanstery was based on the manipulation of natural passion. In the Early

Factory Towns, the factory campus and housing units were integrated with green or industrial areas were distinguished from city with a green zone (Figure 31). In Nazilli Sümerbank Factory, the green zone was used as an alley integrating the industrial campus with Upper Nazilli and with the railway station. Moreover, as it can be seen, the housing units were distinguished from industrial area with a green zone.

Moreover, Public buildings like cinema, theatre, etc. were one of the most important characteristic of factory towns. A similar principle, Public Hall, was in Phalanstery. Although, the society that Phalanstery proposed was agricultural and we have focused on the industrial settlements, there were agricultural towns established in the Early Republican Turkey. Depending on the rural-urban integration strategy of the Early Republican Period planning, there were agricultural towns established. As we have discussed in previous chapter, Çubuk was one of these towns. Moreover, Alaca(Çorum), Akşehir (Konya), Şanlıurfa, Konya etc. were planned as agricultural towns. The establishment of an agricultural society was one of the intentions in this context.

In addition to these, the *Happy Colony* plan of Pemberton has similarities with Ideal Republican Village plan. The Happy Colony was an agricultural town with several functions within the model. The model was representing an urban fabric that was self-sufficient. Similarly, Ideal Republican Village, whose economy was based on agriculture, was planned as a self-sufficient settlement that had a vide range of public buildings.
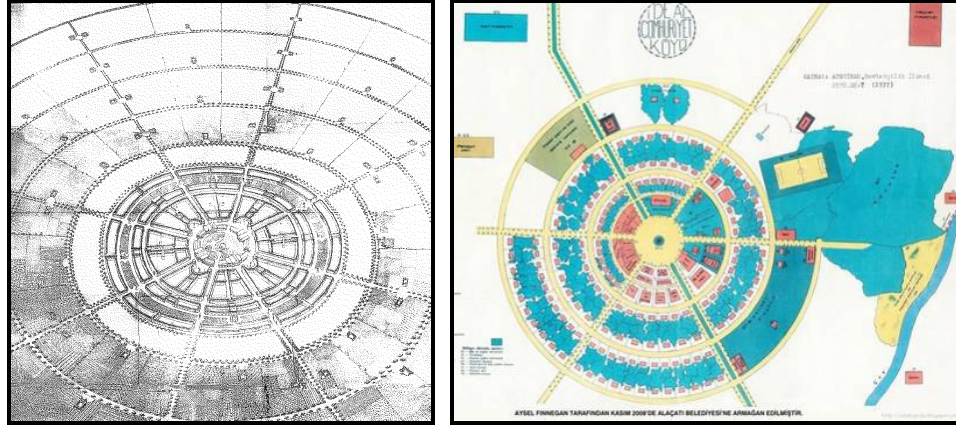
Figure 32: Model Town; *Happy Colony* of Pemberton and Ideal Republican Village [İdeal Cumhuriyet Köyü] Plan,
Sources: http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/pemberto.htm,
http://www.yapi.com.tr/HaberDosyalari/ideal-cumhuriyet-koyu-plani-gercege-donusebilir-mi_69983.html, İnan (1989b: appendix)

The Saltaire of Titus Salt, finally, had some principles with which Turkish planning practices had some similar traces. These principles were;

- It was about forming a factory and the houses
- It had the concern for establishing public buildings within the Saltaire: worker's institute, almshouses, hospital, school, baths, proximity to greenery areas, etc.

As it is clear, the first principle of the Saltaire was exactly the principle of the Early Republican Factory Towns. Public buildings, on the other hand, were located in the factory towns as it is mentioned in relevance to Public Halls of Owen. However, the public buildings defined in the Saltaire were being established in the whole cities of the Republic in 1930s. In Belediyeler Dergisi, several municipalities, which were periodically sending their public development activities to the journal, discourses the construction of hospital, school, parks, etc. in countless issues of the journal.
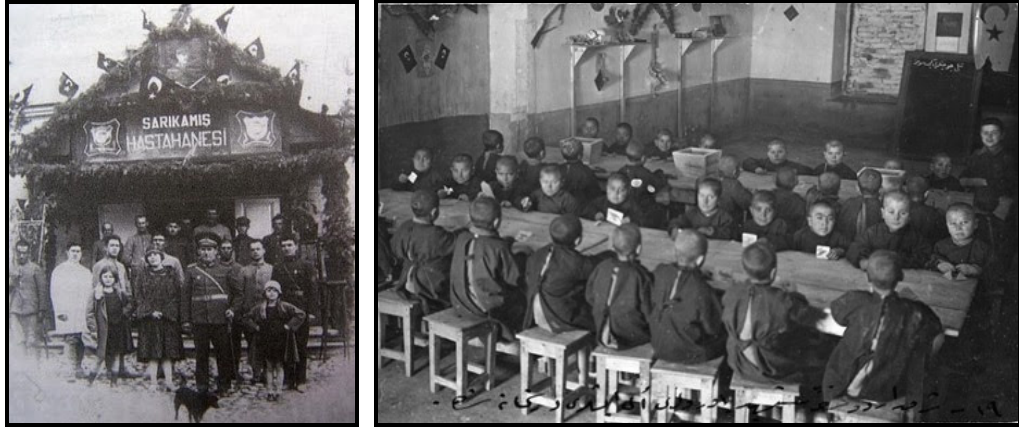
Figure 33: Hospital and school in Sarıkamış, a small town in the Eastern Anatolia, in 1930s
Source: http://www.sarikamisdostlari.com/2010/02/gecmisten-sarkams-fotolar.html, accessed June 2010

Figure 34: Municipality Cinema, Municipality Hotel and Municipality Park in Şanlıurfa in 1936
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi, Issue: 17, p. 53

4.2.2. Pragmatic Phase

Different from Utopist models, Pragmatist Phase brought partial improvements in cities to accomplish a healthy life and a healthy society. Republican cities were planned with the same concerns, which were;

- Improving health conditions in cities that would result rearrangements in health acts.
- Establishment of canalization systems

- Broadening Roads
- Healthy Housing Areas: Hygienic Aspects, Spaciousness, Maximum air and light, etc.
- Parks for industrial cities

For improving health conditions, there were very important developments occurred in the Early Republican Turkey. To illustrate, Hıfzısıhha Enstitüsü [Institute of Hygiene] was formed in 1929. Following this Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu [General Hygiene Act] was enacted in 1930. In 1936, Hıfzısıhha Mektebi [The School of Hygiene] was established. In the institute, there were conference halls and library to inform the public.

For the establishment of canalization systems in cities, the first etudes done by planners were about the establishment of canalization. For instance, before the preparation of Karabük plan, Henri Prost insisted on the analytic etudes for canalization system (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1938, Issue: 38, p. 79). In Belediyeler Dergisi, all the municipalities emphasized the establishment of healthy slaughter houses.
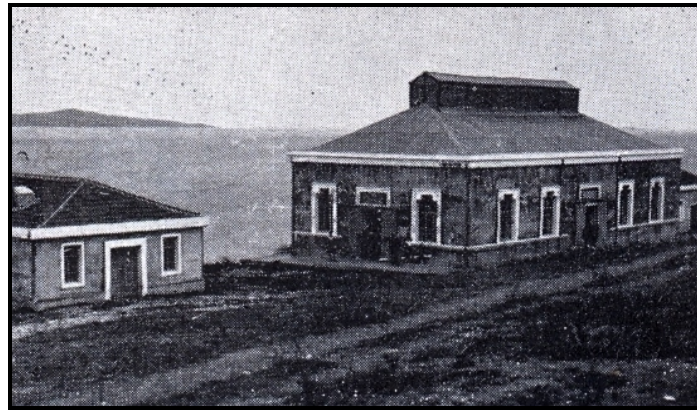
Figure 35: Healthy Slaughter House in Bandırma in 1930s,
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi (1936: 72)

Furthermore, the engineer Koyutürk (1936: 29) asserted that it is crucial for a city to examine the existing health conditions and the conditions of canalization, water, etc. before making urban plan of a city. Bengi (1941: 6) also declares that "A city can not be a city without canalization". The infrastructure and its improvement in cities would bring the broadening of existing roads for both the control of canalization

system integrated to transport system and the sanitization of housing areas along wide roads.

The healthy new housing areas established were one of the most important issues that the Republican State insisted on. Right after the Belediyeler Dergisi started to be published, healthy and "*modern*" housing units were discussed. For example, in the third issue of Belediyeler Dergisi (1935: 18-19), unhealthy wooden houses in İstanbul were criticized. In Belediyeler Dergisi (1935: 18-19), it was declared that;

> "Although the former governance was transferring all the money of country to İstanbul, İstanbul city center was left unenlightened and dilapidated with wooden houses and wooden streets"

Figure 36: Old wooden houses and newly established "modern" houses, built by the Turkish State, next to them in İstanbul city center
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi (1935: 18)

In the conference, titled "*Mesken Siyasası*" [Residence Policy], Hermann Jansen (1936: 22) highlights the importance of healthy housing units and neighborhoods. After the neighborhood unit built by Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative, the Bahçelievler would be accepted as a sample model of healthy neighborhoods and other cooperatives would be established for the same reason. Also, Topçubaşı (1937: 15) emphasized the importance of modern and healthy housing areas and their accomplishment.

The last issue of Pragmatic approach, parks and gardens, were also one of the main strategies of urban planning in the Early Republican Turkey. In all of the urban

plans prepared between 1923 and 1940, parks and gardens were taking an important place in cities. After 1930s, the concept of "Turkish sGarden" would be introduced to the literature. There was an obvious relationship between health issues and greenery policies in these plans. For a healthy youth, the sports and the green were obligatory.

4.2.3. Haussmanization

In the Early Republican era, we can not talk about Haussmanization. First of all, the ideology and the perception of the city of Republican State was against this attitude. However, there was an example of this attitude in Diyarbakır. In 1930s, a view about demolishing the city walls emerged. The governor of Diyarbakır attempts to demolish the city walls from a number of parts. The reason for this was declared as that the inner city could not get the air and it would be for the air circulation of inner city. However, Prof.Dr Albert Gabriel, who was visiting the city, prevented this in 1932. Indeed, the Minister of Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, prevented this after he
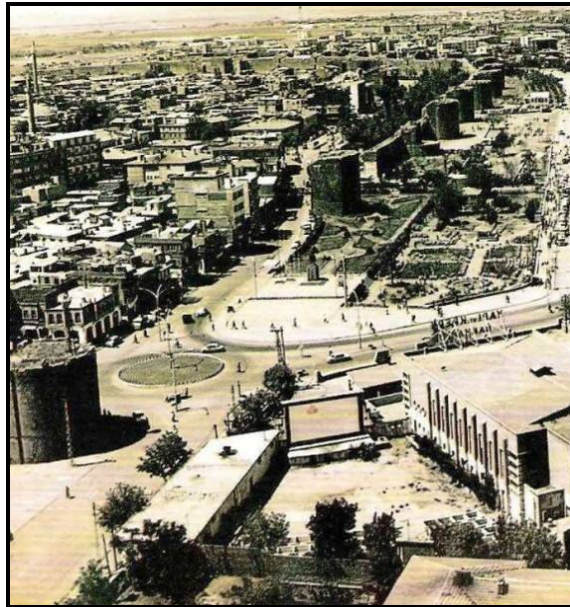
Figure 37: Demolished Part of Diyarbakır City Walls;
Dağkapı: eastern gate
Source: http://www.panoramio.com/photo/15964471, accessed August 2008

took a letter about the issue from Gabriel. Although this demolition was prevented, a part in the eastern side of the walls (in Dağkapı), were demolished (Figure: 37). The ideology of the State reacted to such applications in cities.

4.2.4. Era of Reaction to Haussmanization

The theories and planning approaches of late 19th century and early 20th century that affected Turkish planning practices were Picturesque, Garden City, Cite Industriel and Soviet Urbanism. In this sense, it is important to abstract the main principles that penetrated into Turkish planning practices in the Early Republican Turkey.

In picturesque approach of Sitte, the main principles were;
- Organic development
- Objection to Haussmanization
- Pedestrianization
- The traffic circulation determined by topographic elements
- Instead of big open parks, gardens for housing
- Street Life for Society
- Humanizing the City.

Camillo Sitte's approach was accepted in both academic and bureaucratic arenas. Professor Celal Esad Arseven, was giving lectures on Urbanism and History of Architecture in the Academy of Fine Arts between 1921 and 1941. He was also a bureaucrat. While he was working as the urbanism consultant of Ankara Municipality in 1924, he translated the book of Camillo Sitte with the name of "Urban Architecture". All the basic principles of Camillo Sitte were being accepted in urban planning and its applications in Turkey at that period. However, the organic development Sitte described was about the organic development of cities in the context of existing urban pattern. In Turkey, the governors and the ideology of the State would bring a new point of view, which is the topic of the "Context" in methodology in this thesis.

Instead of Sitte's organic development view, the conceptualization of Ebenezer Howard in *Garden City* would be preferred by the governors of Turkish State. The view of Howard for old cities was emphasizing the establishment of new towns. In his view, the old cities which had done their work had to be located by new cities. The Republican city would produce a new solution between these two approaches. We will discuss this while discussing Ankara case. Before this, the basic principles of *Garden City* are very important. These principles that would be remarkably affective in Turkish urban planning were;

- The location of old cities by new cities
- *Zoning* and separation of zones with *Greenbelts*
- Boulevard in the form of a park
- *Walking Distance* to workplace
- A new life between rural and urban style
- *Town and country integration-Urban Rural Integration*
- Cultural and green elements in city center
- Geometric and symmetric forms in terms of urban planning design

In Jansen's Ankara urban development plan proposal, in 1928, it can clearly be seen that there is the zoning and continuum of greenbelt.
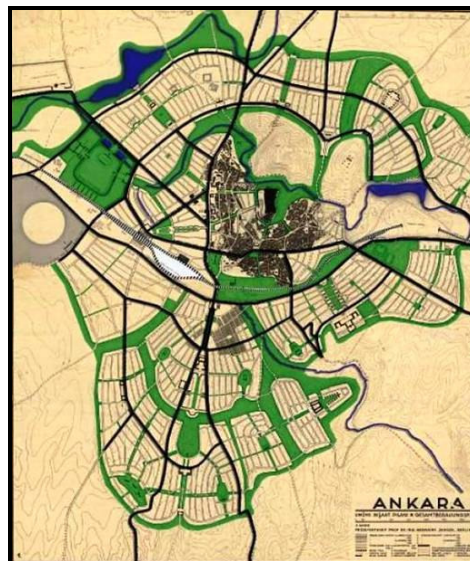
Figure 38: Greenbelts and zoning in 1928 proposal of Ankara Urban Development Plan
Source: Burat (2008: 56)

The greenbelt consisted of farms, gardens and parks in the *Garden* City. Similarly, in Ankara, a sample farm with the name of Gazi Ormanı Numune Çiftliği [Gazi Forest Sample Farm]. Furthermore, the new city was developed by the old city and these two were separated each other by greenbelts that constituted zoning. Moreover, the boulevards in this plan were designed in the form of a park (Figure 39).

Figure 39: View from Ulus trough the train station in Ankara
Source: http://www.math.sunysb.edu/~kalafat/ankara/, accessed, May 2010

Amele Mahallesi (worker's district) was planned for providing walking distance to workplace. The urban-rural integration principle of Howard was one of the main strategies to apply the principle of *Populism.* This principle would be accomplished trough urban planning. The geometric and symmetric forms of urban design can be found in urban plans of Republic. Both the foreign urbanists and local urbanists adopted this principle in their plans.
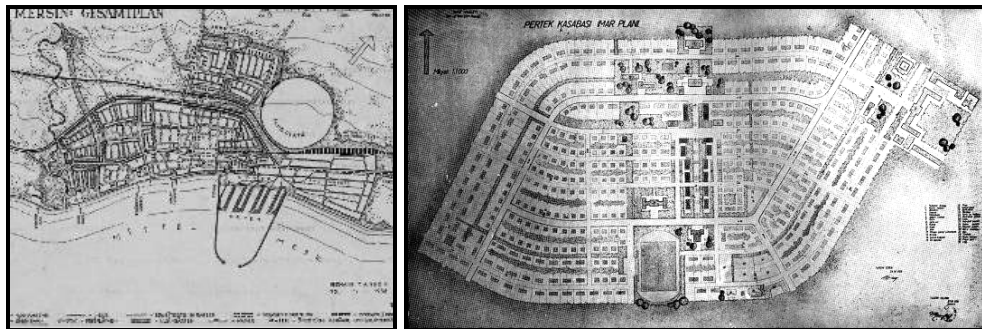
Figure 40: Geometry in Mersin Plan of Jansen and Symmetry in Tunceli-Pertek Plan prepared by Ministry of Public Works
Sources: http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/, Belediyeler Dergisi (1940)

In *Cité Industriel* of Garnier, the main principles that were penetrated into Turkish planning practices were;

- Integration of home and garden
- Two functional parts: housing area and public buildings
- Green zones
- Continuous Greenery
- Orthogonal Street Network

We have discussed integration of home and garden, green zones and the continuum of greenery. The examples of other principles of Garnier, two functional parts and orthogonal street network can be found in Early Republican plans. For example, in Tarsus Plan, the parade area had public buildings in the edge of the housing units (Figure 41). Countless examples can be given for the formation of such two functional parts and the integration of different land use patterns, except for industrial areas, in early Republican city plans.
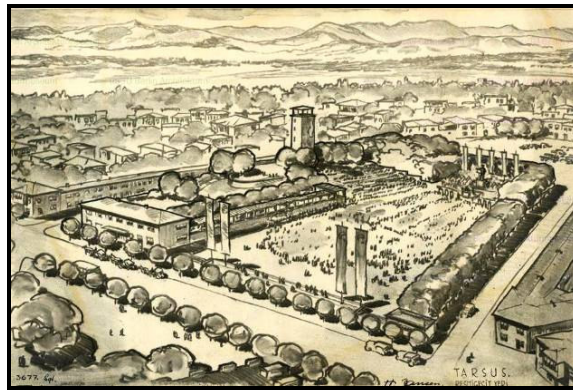
Figure 41: Two functional parts in Tarsus urban plan: the Parade area with public buildings and the housing units in the edge of the parade area
Source:http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index. php?set=1&p=54&LANG=EN, accessed February.2010

The other principle, orthogonal street network, can be seen in Erzincan urban plan. Although there is the example of this principle, it was not frequently applied design principle in Early Republican plans. Instead of this, the basic principle for traffic circulation was the harmony with the topographic elements. For instance, Danger (1936: 3), Agache (1935: 50), Koyutürk (1936: 32), etc. highlighted the obligation of compliance to topography while designing transportation system in urban plans.
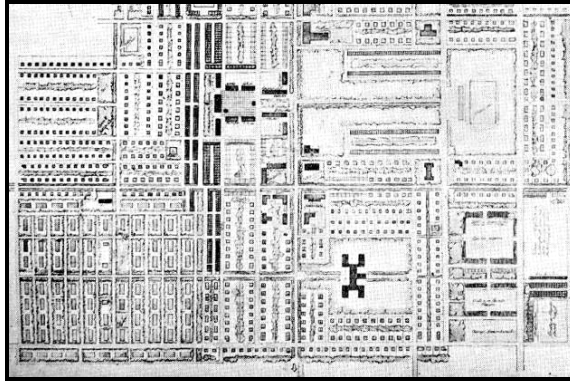
Figure 42: City Center of Erzincan City Plan, Orthogonal
Street Network
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi (1940), Issue: 60, pp. 21–23

- Decentralization of Industry

- Industrial Foci

- Rural-Urban Integration

- Micro rayon system and Satellite Towns

These were the basic principles of Soviet city that can be seen in Turkish urban plans in the Early Republican Turkey. The foundation of industrial foci was one of the main policies of the State in Turkey. The principle of etatism was in favour of this aim and the foundation of Sümerbank was the response of this policy. Satellite towns, on the other hand were partially established like in the example of Nazilli and Kayseri.

4.3. To What Extent Ideology of State Was Decisive?

During the formative years of the Turkish Republic, Turkey's leaders deployed the built environment as a key instrument of nation-building (Kezer, 2008: 508). It was understood after the establishment of the Republic that the space was a crucial ideologic apparatus to achieve the Republican Revolution and nation-building process.

According to Tankut (1993: 45), Revolutionism of Kemalist Principles may be defined as the modernization, progression and improvement desires of Turkish

people. Modernization, whose basic principles can be derived from the Idea of Progress, has three linkages, namely urbanization, industrialization and the spread of education. Thus, to achieve a revolutionist Republic, urbanization, industrialization and the spread of education were the key elements. After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, a series of revolutions and improvements for both developing and progressing the socio-cultural and economic life followed in this sense. Populist and Secular revolutions would pave for the achievement of Revolutionism. The first revolution of young Republic of Turkey was constitutional one. Swedish Constitution was accepted for the accomplishment of populism and secularism. The constitutional structure of the Republic would be crucial for the establishment of urban planning, as, inherited urbanism and urban planning experiences from the Ottoman Empire were limited. Secular life, on the other hand, would later change especially the social and economic rights of women. This would create a new spatial organization that was formed both by men and women. Moreover, populism was necessary for an integrated and egalitarian societal structure. Educational revolutions followed these. The unity of educational institutions, establishment of the Turkish Language Association and Turkish Historical Society, and alphabet reform led to the achievement of principles of secularism and populism, and nationalism respectively. These principles had to be situated to the city space. All these principles and developments were directly or indirectly related to city space, and hence urban planning. It was aimed to place the apparatuses of some main principles, namely, populism principle, etatism principle and nationalism principle to space by using urbanism. As Keskinok cited (2006: 23);

> "We understand that depending on or assuming a particular policies and bringing sociology and technical area together when urbanism is mentioned. If urban planning experiences of the 1930s in Turkey is considered, we may assert that crucial social and economic policies such as etatism and populism had provided basis of these experiences".

It is obvious that, a multi dimensional domain of principles of the Republic has relation with urban planning. Urban planning in the Early Republican Period had relation with Kemalist principles, modernization process and its projection "the nation-building process" in Turkey, etc. The decision taking and intervention of the

political ideology, thus, would be in different forms. In this chapter, we will make this evaluation.

Any cadre is effective when she has the authority. The Republican cadre was effective in the areas that she was controlling, supervising and taking decisions in terms of urban planning. Therefore, it is important to reveal these areas in this part.

4.3.1. Decision Taking of Ideology in National Scale

The Republican cadre was decisive in the formation process (of the methodology of this thesis) in national scale in terms of urban and regional planning. According to Kezer (2008: 510), the Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası [Republican People's Party] administration embarked on a comprehensive modernization project to reform Turkey's institutions, promote industrialization, achieve market consolidation and revitalize the economy. For this reason, urban planning was the key tool. In order to reform the institutions, the state developed educatory, formative, cultural and moral, and productive apparatuses. In the opening speech of the parliament (1 August 1923), Mustafa Kemal asserted that;

> "Public Works, economy and the education have great importance.
> We must accept that these are indispensable and urgent issues to
> sustain the wealth, success and happiness of our nation".

Atatürk emphasized the importance of public works, thus the urban planning, and it was declared as one of the main strategies to sustain the Republic. Hegemonic apparatuses were defined as the economy, education and urban planning[22]. To promote industrialization, industrial foci were established such as Karabük- Ereğli. For industrial production, industrial cities were established such as Nazilli. The industrial programme of Turkey and formation of industrial areas were the basis of the programme of the 1933 First Industrial Plan and the 1936 Second Industrial Development Plan of the Republic of Turkey (İnan, 1989a and 1989b). To achieve market consolidation and revitalize the economy, new railway network integrating rural and urban were constructed. The city planning was also crucial for the development of economy. Atatürk would underline the importance of public works

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[22] Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 2, Volume 1, p.36

in the development and livability of economic life in the 3rd year opening speech of parliament (in 1 November 1927);

"Dear friends,
I will review our economic life. I immediately declare that when I call 'economic life', I mean that there are complementarities between agriculture, industry, trade and the public works (bayındırlık). I accept these as a whole that can not be considered separately"[23].

For this reason, new ports were constructed and new regional centers were attempted to be created. For all these, urban planning was the apparatus. Thus, the science of urbanism was crucial. The selection of cities to be planned and their economic vision were determined by the Republican cadre. For example, in the opening speech of the parliament in the 3rd Legislative Year, Atatürk declared that;

"We had made the meetings and we had agreed with officials applied for the construction of a port in one of the important trade regions of the Anatolia, Mersin (1 March 1923)[24]".

This shows that, the selection of cities to be planned to be developed with a vision such as industrial city or trade city were being determined by the Republican cadre. Manisa, to illustrate, was planned in 1922 by the efforts of Hüseyin Aziz Bey, who was the governor of Manisa, as an agricultural city. Manisa, after of Greek army destroyed the city, was reestablished by the attempts of Hüseyin Aziz Bey (Bilgi, 2005: 9). Furthermore, Industrial foci were developed in the first (1933 and second (1936 industrial development plans of Turkey (İnan, 1979 and İnan, 1989b). The vision of İzmir, as another example, was developed by Behçet Uz, the mayor, as an expo center. Atatürk was suggesting İzmit for some of the industrial branches suggested to be established in İstanbul in the First Industrial Plan 1933 (handwritings of Atatürk in the appendix of İnan, 1972). The examples can be enhanced, but, it is obvious that the city visions, economic activities and cities to be planned were in the authority area of the Republican cadre (mayors, bureaucrats, governors, deputies, etc.). The cities to be planned were being determined according to the vision of the city determined by the Republican cadre.

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[23] Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 5, Volume 20, p. 3
[24] Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 1, Volume 28, p.2

4.3.2. Decision Taking of Ideology in the Scientific Area: Urbanism

The Republican cadre did not make so much intervention to the urbanism seen as a science. The Republican cadre became decisive to development and evolution of urban planning and urbanism in Turkey. In fact, this decision taking and intervention mechanism was developed while building the nation. In other words, the main intention was not giving directions to the area of urban planning. The main intention, building the nation, had to be in harmony with urban planning experience and the formation of urbanism. The main reason for these interventions are lying on that urban planning was a crucial agent for the placement of ideologic apparatuses. The importance of urbanism and urban planning was obvious and it had to be held by the experts of the area. Atatürk was aware of the importance of urbanism. In the 3rd opening year speech of the parliament, he would highlight the importance of urbanism as (1 November 1937);

> "In urbanism issues, we have to work in a frame of planned rules. For this reason, I suggest to establish a central technical bureau that will enlighten the municipalities for legal issues and will lead them"[25].

The suggestion of Atatürk would not be realized in those days. He would renew his suggestion in the 4th Legislation year opening speech of the parliament. He would renew his suggestion as (1 November 1938);

> "To enlighten the municipalities for legal aspects of planning, to lead them, to follow and control the works done by municipalities, a draft law is prepared for the establishment of a technical bureau of urbanism[26]".

The bureaus suggested by Atatürk would not be established after his death. In 1970s, "Master Plan Bureaus[27]" that had similar roles and functions to Atatürk's suggestion would be established. As Atatürk asserted, it is one of our prominent aims to continue to the public works (Bayındırlık) in a wide range from villages to our small

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[25] Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 5, Volume 20, p. 3
[26] Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 5, Volume 27, p. 3 : This speech was prepared by Atatürk, however, Mustafa Kemal was extremely sick and his speech was read by Celal Bayar.
[27] Nazım Plan Büroları (Master Plan Bureaus) were formed in İzmir, İstanbul and Ankara in 1970s. They were affiliated to Ministry of Public Works (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı). They would be affiliated to the municipalities and lose their function after 1980s.

and big cities[28] (1 November 1935). The importance and vitality of urban planning in the formation of Republic was conceived. Withal, Republican cadre's perception of both urban planning and governance was totally about the health and the main concern was the health rather than aesthetics. Urban plans prepared for some of the cities such as Ankara and İstanbul were modified or had some changes towards the requests of the Republican cadre. Proposal of Jansen was chosen in the contest of Ankara urban plan in 1927. However, the Republican cadre claimed some modifications in the plan between 1928 and 1932 (Figure 43). The scientific area, urbanism, was being respected, but, the applications in cities and regions were controlled and monitored by the cadre. Moreover, some of the planning ecoles were preferred by the Republican cadre. There were ideological formations that supported Camillo Sitte's view (Tekeli, 1980: 35). The main reason for this was Sitte's respective attitude toward nature, historical urban fabric and the morphology of a city. The respect towards nature and history was the general perception of world in the Early Republican State.

Figure 43: Jansen Plan in 1928   Jansen Plan in 1932
Source: http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=54&LANG=EN,   accessed February 2010

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[28] Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 4, Volume 6, p.2

4.3.3. Decision Taking of Ideology in the Ideal City

The Republican cadre was totally authoritative in the establishment of capital city. Ankara would be the ideal modern city of Turkey and it would be sample for Anatolian cities in terms of its cultural, intellectual, social life and its urban fabric. When Ankara's Jansen Plan succeeded and the city was reconstructed in 1933, Falih Rıfkı Atay, who was assigned as the chairmen of Commission of Reconstruction of Ankara, asserts that, "We can reconstruct the rest of the Anatolia. We can reconstruct it as we are shaping the dough of cities with the same mold". The government would make financial contribution for the development of Ankara as a sample modern city. However, the only contribution would not b financial. Atatürk put intimate interest to the development of Ankara (Tekeli, 1980: 56). For instance, he gave important efforts for the establishment of a modern life and a high cultural level in Ankara. Morever, he was the owner of the idea of establishing a sample farm in Ankara. Gazi Ormanı Numune Çiftliği [Gazi Forest Sample Farm] would be a sample for agricultural production integrated with agricultural industry, recreation area and green area for whole Anatolia. The ideology of proving that "We can success establishing a farm in the aris land of Ankara" was lying under this. The Farm, which later would take the name of Atatürk Forest Farm, was established in a 150.000 decare area. He created a pioneer for agriculture of Anatolia.

Figure 44: Ankara Gazi Numune Çiftliği (Gazi Sample Farm), Marmara Pool
Source: Postcard, 1928

The avant-garde of urban planning in Anatolia would be Ankara. Howbeit, National Bourgeoisie envisaged a new life for herself and they would establish this new life in Ankara (Tekeli, 1980: 30). This would result a close monitoring of Ankara urban planning contest, Ankara urban plan application and legislation trough this plan by the Republican cadre and especially bourgeoisie. Beyond these, the most important of contribution the Republican cadre to the area of planning was the evolution of legislative framework trough Ankara experience. We will not discuss the legislation and legislative history of the Early Republican Period urban planning. Notwithstanding, there are some remarking examples to mention. The legislative framework, inherited from the Ottoman Empire was developed and a new legislative structure was formed thanks to Ankara experience and the process of urban plan application. For example, the municipal experiences of the Ottoman Empire were inherited by the Republican State. However, a new democratic development would be introduced by the ideology. In Ottoman example, it was obligatory to be paying the tax of real estate property in order to be a council in the municipality. In other words, it was compulsory to have real estate in the city so as to be a council. This obligation was removed by the new officials. In addition to this, sAfter 1930s, there have been changes in the organization and legislation of urban planning. In 1933, for instance, Municipalities Buildings and Roads Law numbered 2290 would bring the obligation of an urban plan for all municipalities. The municipalities had to make or had a firm to prepare the urban plan in five years.

4.4. The Hybrid: National Urbanism Movement

At the end of the 19th century and while 20th century was getting started, there were critical changes in the economic, social, politic and spatial pattern of the world. In Anatolian geography, on the one side, Ottoman Empire was collapsing. On the other side, Western geography was changing due to World War I. The universal merits emerged with the French Revolution and Enlightenment were predominant in global atmosphere. In this era, Republic of Turkey was founded in the milieu of modernisation and the rise of urbanism. Under these circumstances, young Republic made a set of improvements, progressions and revolutions in the context of Kemalist

Principles. These principles were populism, secularism, nationalism, etatism, revolutionism and republicanism. Therefore, it would be possible to catch the economic and social progression of universal value of the era. In planning and urbanism programme of the Republic, these principles would find their spatial meaning and reflection in the frame of universal values and national objectives.

In this part, we discussed and revealed the science of urbanism and its application, urban planning, in the Early Republican Turkey. After 1923, to place the political apparatuses of the state, urbanism was used as a hegemonic tool. This newly emerging scientific area was developed as a hybrid. The heritage of urban planning and urbanism activities of the Ottoman Empire, European and Soviet developments and theories on this area and the ideology of the state became the formant of the hybrid character of this scientific area. Then we will examine the evolution of urban planning between 1923 and 1940.
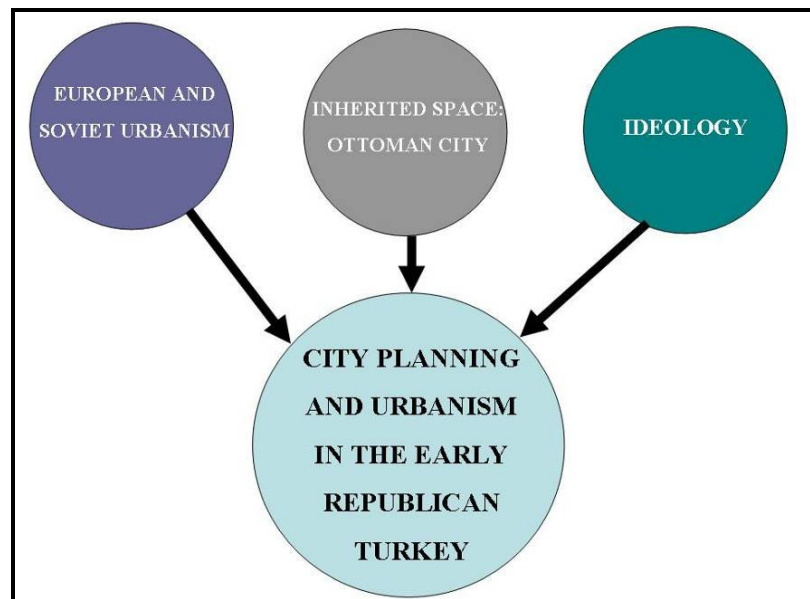
Figure 45: Formants of the Hybrid character of Early Republican Urbanism
Source: Personal Rendering

4.4.1. Formants of Hybrid Character

The hybrid character of Early Republican Urbanism and urban planning can be observed in countless examples. The importance of this hybrid character lies in the unique character of solutions produced for the urban problems using this hybrid method. In the Early Republican period, solutions were produced by using European and Soviet urbanism and their theories. However, these theories were not exactly applied to Turkish cities. The problems defined were solved with unique solutions that were used those theories, the earlier experiences of the Ottoman cities, and then, ideology produced a unique solution. Thus, formants of this character were European and Soviet Urbanism, the Ottoman cities' experiences and the ideology of the state. As problems of cities were changing, the planning solutions and planning decisions taken for cities were varying. This variation was being composed of the formants of hybrid character. The effect and dominance of those formants were changing according to the cities to be planned. Thus, it is important to give some examples of such applications and unique solutions.

1. The Republican cadre perceived urban planning as an area of science. Urban planning was the application of urbanism. In 1935, urbanism bureau was formed in the Ministry of Public Works (Bayındırlık Bakanlığı). This perception would also be penetrated into the municipalities. In the Law of Buildings and Roads, numbered 2290, the qualities of a city were specified in detail in the part that assignments of municipalities were taking place. This law was defining the roles of municipalities in the context of urbanism and the urban plan typology that the Republican cadre wished. The ideal city was being defined in the law. This would ascribe an ideologically education function to the law (Tekeli, 1980: 69).

2. The Republican municipal tradition was depending on the Ottoman experiences. The first organization in the Republican State was the establishment of Ankara Şehremaneti (Ankara Municipality) by means of inherited experiences from the Ottoman Empire. The Republican cadre, however, brought a new application for Ankara Municipality differing from Ottoman Empire's İstanbul Municipality. The cadre canceled the obligation of having property in the city to be a member in the

municipal council. This would bring democratization. Therefore, the early municipal organization was a combination of decisive cadre and Ottoman heritage.

3. Differing from Ankara, İstanbul's governance and active groups of city were in relation with French Ecole[29]. Emin Erkul, who was the İstanbul Şehremini [Mayor of İstanbul] between the years 1924-1928, translated the book, titled "Urbanism" of French Professor Joillant. Before that he translated the book titled "Paris Şehremaneti Usulü Mali ve İdari Mecellesi" [Administrative and Financial Law in Paris Municipality] as Tekeli (1980: 52) asserted. Istanbul city plan was prepared by Prost, a French planner. According to Tekeli (1980: 75), prevalent groups (of İstanbul) sympathized with the French Planning School. In the planning competition of İstanbul, an urban plan prepared by a German urbanist would be selected. Nevertheless, this plan would not be applied. In stead of this plan, Prost, a French urbanist, would be invited to İstanbul. This reveals that ideologic structure of İstanbul was decisive for the selection of urbanism Ecole for planning of the city.

4. We have discussed the idea of Amele Evleri (Workers' Houses) in the late 19th and early 20th planning theories and their penetration to Turkey. However, the first idea for the application of Amele Evleri would come from Haydar Bey, the Mayor of Ankara, in 1920s rather than Lörcher or Jansen. He established factories to supply related equipment for urban development issues and Workers' Houses were built near those factories (Tekeli, 1980: 54). Haydar Bey and government officials would not let foreign investments for supplying the equipment for urban development issues with the ideology of "*Nationalization of Production*". Simultaneously, İzmir plan by Prost and Danger was locating Amele Evleri near industrial district. They were located in the area toward the line from Aydın train station to northeastern axis (Serçe at all, 2003: 62).

5. The first plan of Ankara was prepared by Lörcher. Later Jansen plan would sustain the main principles of this plan. These two planners were German planners. We may claim that the selection of planners was depending on the tradition of İttihat ve Terakki [Union and Progress]. This tradition was known with the proximity to

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[29] We can claim that the relations and closeness of İstanbul was depending on the Jeune Turks. Jeune Turks (Young Turks) were young people sent to France to have education. They put some efforts for the enlightenment of the Ottoman Empire. This tradition would later bring relations with French Ecole in urban planning.

Germany. This cadre was formed in the Ottoman Period. It can be said that, this cadre became effective for the selection of the planner of the capital.

6. Lörcher prepared two plans for Ankara. The first of these was for the transformation of old city and the second one was for the new city. However, the first plan prepared for the old city was rejected by the Republican cadre. The administrative cadre was against a destructive manner for the old city. The ideology prevented the destructive transformation of old Ankara city.

7. The second plan of Ankara was also prepared by a German urbanist, as we mentioned, Hermann Jansen. The second plan was chosen with a planning contest. There were three projects attended the contest. In fact, according to Tekeli (1980: 60), two projects were competing, the Jansen's and the French planner Jausseley's projects. Jausseley's proposal for Ankara was monumental and he was forming a magnificent capital (Tekeli, 1980:60). In stead of this, Jansen plan would be chosen. According to Tekeli (1980: 60), Jansen plan was in human scale and there were social concerns in the plan. Furthermore, Jansen plan had solutions for housing. He was proposing workers' houses, for example. Ideologic framework would a project that had social intentions which shows the essences of the Republican ideology.

Figure 46: Plan of Ankara Youth Park by Nafia Vekaleti
Source: Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, 1938, Year: 5, Number: 1 (June 1938)
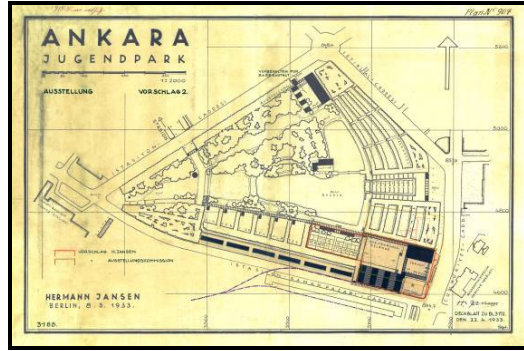
Figure 47: Plan of Ankara Youth Park by Jansen 1933
Source: METU Maps and Plans Documentation Unit

Figure 48: Axial, Geometric, Design and Form Differences Between the Proposals of Jansen and Nafia Vekaleti
Source: Personal Rendering

8. Jansen's proposal for Ankara Youth Park [Ankara Gençlik Parkı] was a monumental and ceremonial proposal. The Republican cadre found this plan so much tiring. In their point of view, a city park had to be restful rather than tiring and modest rather than monumental. Therefore, Ankara Youth Park plan was reprepared by Nafia Vekaleti [Ministry of Public Works].

9. Although Lörcher plan put the basic principles of Jansen Plan (Cengizkan, 2004), Jansen plan would later determine the new development axis of Ankara (Tekeli, 1980: 55). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk selected Çankaya (the northern Ankara) for dwelling. After that, the law numbered 583 was introduced. The area between the old Ankara and Çankaya was expropriated with this law. The dignitaries of old Ankara rejected this. They wanted the city to be developed around the old city. Moreover, Jansen was in favor of the development of city in the northern axis (Etlik). His argument was that the city would not be divided into two parts by the rail road if it would be developed in the northern axis. However, the ideology and the Government Officials were decisive. The modern capital city could not be developed around and in the old city center, but it would be developed trough the house of Atatürk. Atatürk would determine the most prestigious axis of the city by choosing Çankaya for dwelling (Tekeli, 1980: 60).

10. Prost- Danger plan was proposing a promenaded university area in the fire place. This proposal was monumental and geometric. In the plan, the main streets were 35 meters and secondary streets were 15 meters. The width of Mimar Kemalettin Street was 50 meters in proposal. However, Behçet Uz, the mayor, would not accept these. Behçet Uz's assistant Suat Yurtkoru would see Moscow Culture Park upon the

request of the mayor. Then, this promenaded university campus within city would be replaced by the Culture Park and the fair project. This project was prepared by the Russian architects deployed by Moscow's mayor Bulganin. The idea of fair was belonging to Atatürk. In the opening speech of Sample Exhibition of Domestic Goods in İzmir Economy Congress 1923, Atatürk said that "Establish fairs and hold exhibitions in this city" (Feyzioğlu, 2006).
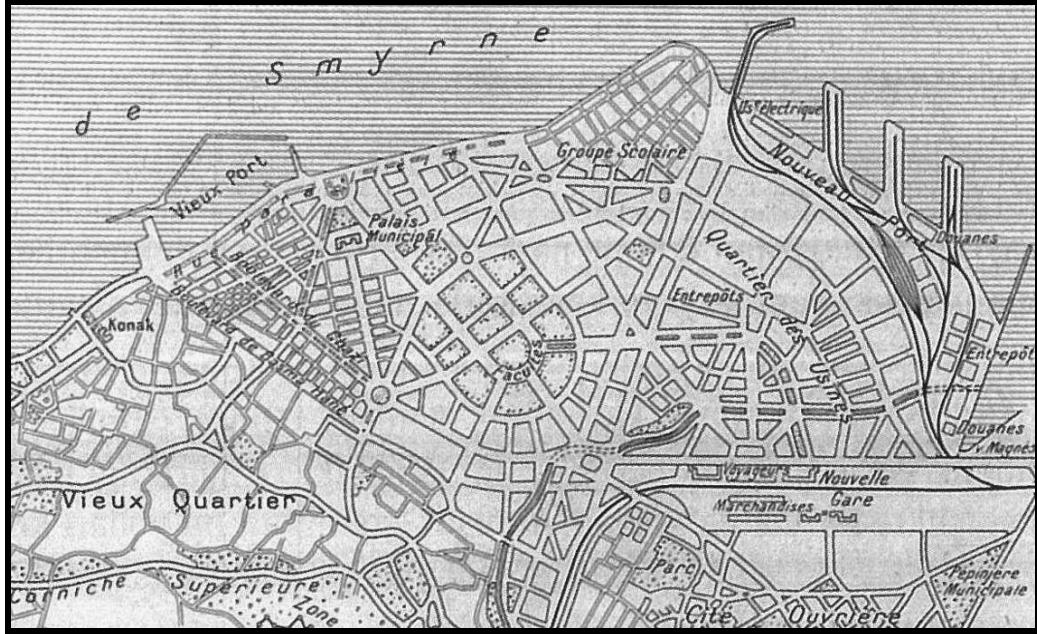
Figure 49: Promenaded University Area in İzmir Urban Plan by Prost and Danger, 1924
Source: Atay (1998: 181)
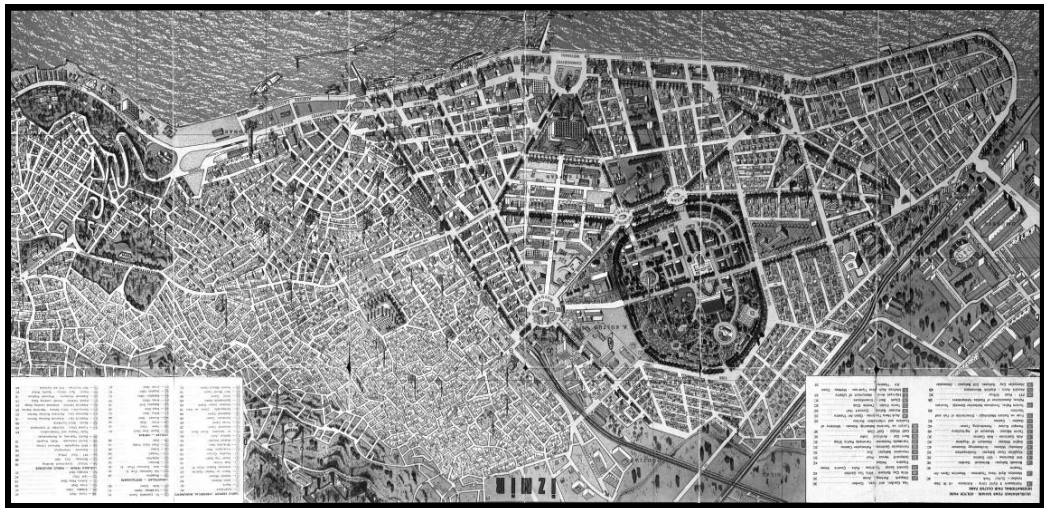
Figure 50: Culture Park in İzmir Touristic Plan, 1961
Source: Ahmet Priştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (Ahmet Priştina City Archive and Museum), İzmir, accessed June 2010

The examples can be increased. Examples, here, are given to identify different hybrid characters. The main topic of the hybrid character is that it is not just the combination of three formants of the hybrid. These three formants were not spontaneously or incidentally coming together. The ideology of the State, indeed, was the determinant of the hybrid character. According to the main political intention and rationale of urban plan, the dominance of the ideology was changing. The determinant of the Ecole was generally the ideology. The bureaucratic elite was the decisive for the selection of the planners. Moreover, the application and acceptance of inherited urban environment and inherited map engineering of the Ottoman Empire was in the initiative of the Republican ideology. Therefore, according to the importance of the city in the economic, industrial and railway programmes, the dominance of the Republican ideology was changing and this was determining the hybrid character of the urban plan.

4.4.2. Evolution of National Urbanism from 1923 to 1940s

We may distinguish the evolution of Turkish urbanism till 1940s into two parts. The 1930s, thanks to the first industrialization programme, 1933 and the second industrialization programme in 1936, became a turning point in the planning programme. The industrialization programme brought the need for planning in Turkish cities. Later, the obligation of urban plans for cities and towns would be brought for the municipalities by a regulation. 1930s were the years that the principle of etatism was strictly applied. Moreover, Ankara, seen as the sample city for planning of cities in Turkey, planning experience was accomplished and the plan was being applied. Therefore, the year 1930 is distinguishing the evolution of Turkish urbanism.

Between the years 1923 and 1940, there have been six basic terms in planning (Table 8). These terms are detected according to similarities and common points of them. In this terms, we will discuss in terms of the methodology of this thesis, as well.

Table 8: Terms for the Evolution of Planning in the Early Republican Turkey
Source: Personal Ascertainment

	LOCATION	TIME	PLANNER-PLANNING ECOLE	GENERAL FEATURES	SCOPE OF PLANNING	EXAMPLE(S)
A1	AEGEAN CITIES	EARLY 1920S	OTTOMAN MAP ENGINEERS AND SOVIET URBANISM		SMALL SCALE TOWNS AND CITIES	
A1.1	AEGEAN CITIES	EARLY 1920S	OTTOMAN MAP ENGINEERS	GRID IRON SYSTEM, URBAN SQUARES, PARKS, NEW HOUSING UNITS, NEW INDUSTRIAL AREAS	SMALL SCALE TOWNS AND CITIES: PLANNED ACCORDING TO **GRID-IRON SYSTEM**	AYDIN
A1.2	AEGEAN CITIES	EARLY 1920S	SOVIET URBANISM	SOVIET INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENTS	SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIAL TOWNS: PLANNED AS **MICRO RAYON**	UPPER NAZİLLİ
A2	İZMİR	1924	EUROPEAN URBANISM: FRENCH ECOLE (PROST-DANGER)	VISION OF CITY: TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL CENTER, **PROMANADED UNIVERSITY AREA (LATER İZMİR FAIR),** INTEGRATION OF RAILWAY AND THE PORT	FIRE PLACE: CITY CENTER AND MOST DENSE HOUSING AREAS IN İZMİR	İZMİR
A3	ANKARA	1927	EUROPEAN URBANISM: GERMAN ECOLE (JANSEN)	VISION OF CITY: SAMPLE CAPITAL, **PLANNING MODEL FOR WHOLE ANATOLIA,** ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS	EXISTING TOWN OF ANKARA AND NEW DEVELOPMENT AREA	ANKARA

Table 8: Terms for the Evolution of Planning in the Early Republican Turkey (continued)

A4		AFTER 1930S	EUROPEAN URBANISM: GERMAN AND FRENCH ECOLES (JANSEN, PROST, LAMBERT, ELGOTZ, VANDENBERG, ETC.)	VISION OF CITY: PARALLEL TO RAILWAY AND INDUSTRY PROGRAMMES ECONOMIC VISIONS ATTENDED TO CITIES BY THE **HEGEMONIC APPARATUS: PLANNING**	CITIES AND TOWNS IN ANATOLIA	MERSİN, ADANA, ERZURUM, İSTANBUL, TRABZON, ETC.
A5		AFTER 1930S	TURKISH URBANISTS IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS: THE DEMANDS DETERMINED BY THE REPUBLICAN CADRE	THE VISION: **AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY FOCI**	TOWNS IN ANATOLIA	ÇUBUK, TATVAN, ETC.
A6		AFTER 1930S	TURKISH URBANISTS IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS: THE DEMANDS DETERMINED BY THE REPUBLICAN CADRE	**PARTIAL INTERVENTIONS** (SOMETIMES AFTER NATURAL DISASTERS)	TOWNS AND CITIES IN ANATOLIA	ERZİNCAN, AKHİSAR, ETC.

Table 9: Evolution of Urban Planning and Urbanism in the Early Republican Turkey
Source: Personal Ascertainment

EVOLUTION OF URBAN PLANNING AND URBANISM IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

| AEGEAN CITIES | ANKARA | INDUSTRY AND TRADE FOCI | PUBLIC WORKS IN TOWNS |

CREATION OF THE CAPITAL CITY AS SAMPLE OF URBANISM AND URBAN PLANNING

PLANNING IN CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE CONTEXT OF A SENARIO

PLANNED CITIES AND TOWNS AFTER THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

PLANNING FOR THE CREATION OF NEW INDUSTRIAL AND TRADE CENTERS

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL FOCI

PARTIAL INTERVENTIONS IN TOWNS

A1 A2 A3 A4 A5 A6

TILL 1930   1930-1940S

A1: The evolution of urban planning in Turkey started in the Aegean cities (Table 8). Because of battles in the Aegean Region, especially at the ending years of the War of Independence, most of cities in the western part were demolished. Moreover, because of mübadele (population exchange) between Turks in Greece and Greeks in Turkey, new settlements to locate new comers were needed. For these reasons, Aegean Cities became the first experiences. Moreover, existing railway network was dense in some of the regions. One of these was the Aegean Region. The fertile land was proper for the production of some industrial branches. These branches were generally agriculture dependant. For this reason, new industrial cities were firstly established in the Aegean Region. In A1 term;

- New industrial cities were established
- New towns for new comers were planned
- Existing demolished towns were planned
- Existing demolished small cities were planned.

A1.1: These plans were produced for demolished Aegean cities and new comers due to population exchange. These plans were produced in the early 1920s. After 1925, there is not any example of this type. These plans were generally produced by the map engineers that gained experiences in the Ottoman Map Office. The examples of this type of planning can be seen before the Republic. These were generally including typical road widening and construction standards. The main reason for this situation was the application of Ebniye ve Turuk Nizamnamesi [Regulation of Roads and Buildings] in the Ottoman era. Similarly, this type of planning was applied in the demolished Aegean cities as an urgent solution. The general features of these plans were grid-iron system for roads, urban square, urban parks, greenery and sports areas, new and sanitized housing units, construction of some institutional buildings, etc. For instance, urban squares were being enclosed by official buildings as municipality. These urban plans were generally applied in small scale cities or in towns.

A1.2: As in the Nazilli example that we have discussed in 3.3.1, small scale industrial towns were planned in the context of the report prepared by the Soviet Committee. The forms of these plans were in generally grid-iron pattern. The rationale, of the methodology of this thesis, was firstly introduced into urban planning with this type. The main political intention was to create economic independence. Therefore, these towns were mostly newly established towns. The planning Ecole was Soviet urbanism and the content of these plans were similar to micro-rayon of soviet urbanism. Therefore, the urban environment was composed of three main functional parts; the Production, the Nature and the Housing (Gutnov et all, 1968: 7). The space design was concrete and it was established according to empirical experiences of the Soviet urbanism. In the formation process, soviet experiences were dominant which would determine the form of urban plans. In the formation process, the earliest determiner was the railway programme of the State. A1.2 type was applied to towns that were already on the railway network.

A2: While A1 types of cities were being planned, İzmir was being planned by a French planner. The main political intention of İzmir urban plan was the creation of centers and foci alternative to İstanbul. Beyond that, this plan is important in terms of
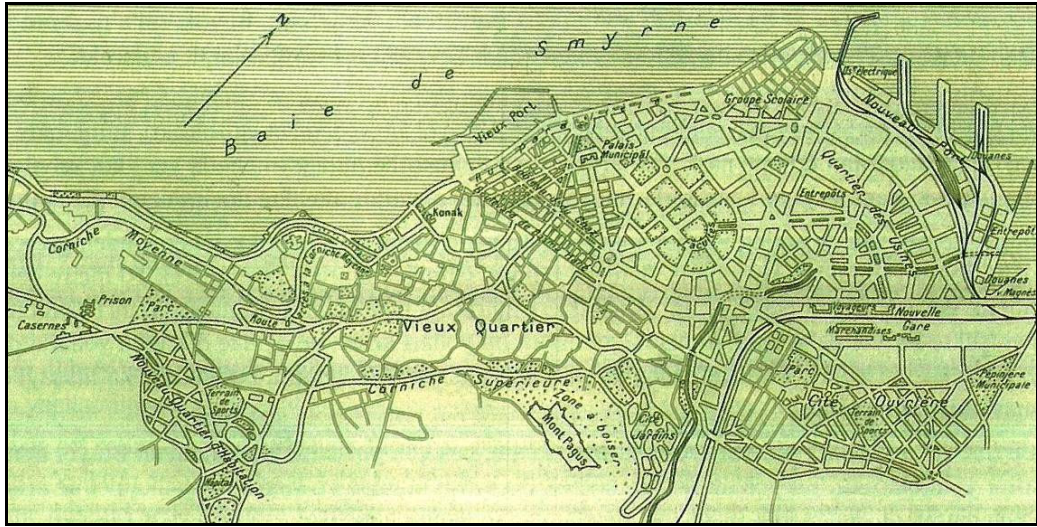
Figure 51: Prost- Danger plan of İzmir
Source: Ahmet Priştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (Ahmet Priştina City Archive and Museum), İzmir, accessed June 2010
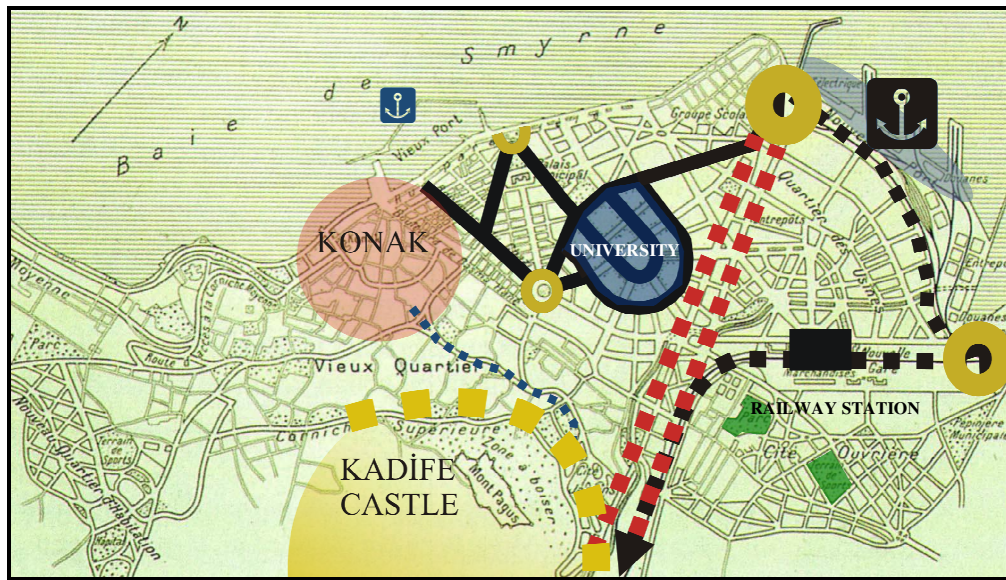
Figure 52: Emphasis of Prost- Danger Plan of İzmir (1923)
Source: Personal Rendering

two aspects. The first is that İzmir was planned as an industrial city. The existing industrial potential of the city was developed via the combination of railway network and the seaway. The rationale of the plan was depending on the industry and trade. A new port was established for this reason. The second is that İzmir fire place was planned as a promenaded university campus in the plan. With the directives and

interventions of the mayor, Behçet Uz, this area was planned as Moscow's Culture Park. The Culture Park of İzmir would have the role of being an international fair, also. In the formation process of İzmir urban plan, the bureaucratic elite were so much effective. İzmir plan was not found economic enough to be applied by the mayor of İzmir and the mayor received professional opinion. Behçet Uz invited Jansen in 1930s to evaluate İzmir plan. The opinion of Jansen was similar to Uz's. Then, the application of Prost- Danger plan was ceased.

As it can be seen in the plan, French Ecole's geometry is obvious. The planner of this type was European. In the hybrid of this type, the Republican ideology was the most dominant. The Republican ideology determined the context of the plan. In the pre report given to the planners, it was clearly asserted that the culturally, naturally and historically important existences would be protected. Following this, Prost (1937c) would state that;

"We must so exceedingly protect the historical monuments, if it is possible, we should cover historic areas with a glass sphere".

A3: Ankara was planned as a turning point in Turkey. Ankara plan was prepared by Lörcher in 1920s. However, the capital city would be the "mold for planning" in Anatolia. This plan found insufficient for the problems defined by the Republican cadre. Hence, the same cadre opened a planning contest for Ankara and building Ankara was systematically controlled. Lörcher, in fact, could not continue in the planning process of Ankara for one main reason. Lörcher prepared two plans for Ankara. The one was for the old city and the other one was for the new city. The old city plan was not proper for the ideology of the State. The old city proposal was so much destructive for the Republican cadre. The perception of protecting the historic fabric was depending on the minimum intervention in the Republican ideology.

Figure 53: Proposal of Lörcher for old city in Ankara
Source: Cengizkan (2004:39)
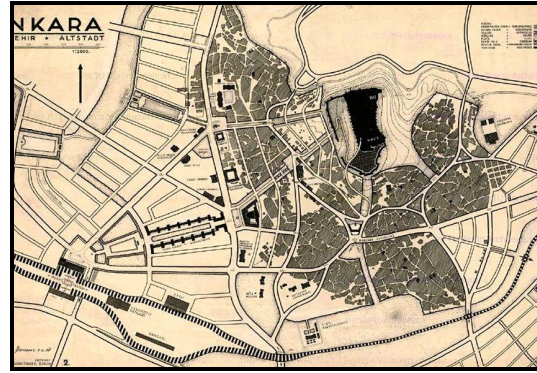
Figure 54: Proposal of Jansen for old city in Ankara, 1928
Source: http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu- berlin. de, accessed February.2010
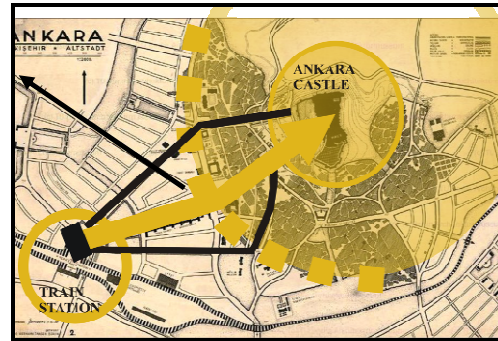
Figure 55: Difference of the emphasis in Lörcher's and Jansen's Proposals for the Old City in Ankara
Source: Personal Rendering

The proposal of Jansen was not so much intervening to the existing urban fabric. However, the new proposal was accepting the main principles of the former plan. As it is obvious, the existing neighborhoods were maintained while the axis from the train station to the castle and the other axis were being accepted as they were in Lörcher's proposal. There is the difference of monumentality between two proposals. The Republican cadre was against "too much" monumentality and as it is stated in a number of sources[30] the traffic roads in a city had to be in harmony with the topography. Lörcher and his plan had to be found improper for these reasons. The project of Jansen that was chosen in Ankara planning contest, in addition to this, would be negotiated between "Ankara" and Jansen between 1927 and 1923 and the plan would be modified in accordance demands of "Ankara".

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[30] Agache (1935), Danger (1936), Lambert (1938), Mimar Şahabettin (1933), Tekeli (1998), Yenen (1939), Jansen (1936a) and Jansen (1937).

A4: After Ankara experience and after the term of 1930, Turkish and foreign urbanists planned a number of cities and towns. In A4 term, existing cities and towns were planned. These cities were selected according to their potential. For instance, Jansen planned three cities and two towns around fertile Çukurova Region at that period. Cotton was being produced in Çukurova Region and it was the raw material for textile industry, and thus Sümerbank factories. The railway programme and the industrial programme were the main determinants of cities and towns to be planned. The rationales of the plans were generally industrial. The main political intention, on the other hand, was similar to main political intention of A2 type. New industrial, trade and port foci were created. This attitude is relevant to the anti-imperialist stance of the Republican cadre. Because, alternatives for İstanbul were being created and the uneven geographic development in Anatolia was being solved via this attitude.

Figure 56: Adana (a city in Çukurova Region) planned in 1939 by Hermann Jansen
Source: http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-67:39

The contexts of these plans were similar to Jansen's Ankara proposal. The old city was protected and the new city was being developed next to the existing city. These two were connected to each other.

A5: In this type, agricultural and industrial towns were planned. Generally the planners were Turkish architects and urbanists. For Çubuk Plan Mithat Yenen (the planner of the city) said that;

"Çubuk, next to Ankara, is a real sample of *'Turkish Towns'* with its proper structure for our self-respect, National character and its uniform houses" (Belediyeler, 1938, Issue 35, p. 39).

In this term

- New towns were established and planned
- Existing towns were planned.

In this new towns (and sometimes villages), a new cultural life was also being created. For the penetration of the Republican Revolution, the hegemonic apparatuses were being located to the space. The rationales of those plans were generally agricultural. In the formation process, site selection and selection of towns played a critique role. In the first applications of A5 plans, towns near developed and developing cities were selected. In the following years, relatively deprived towns, such as Pertek and Tatvan, were planned. The hybrids of those towns were generally formed by the Republican institutions. These cities were planned by institutions such as Bayındırlık Bakanlığı (the Ministry of Public Works), Municipalities, etc. the professionals in the State institutions held those plans.
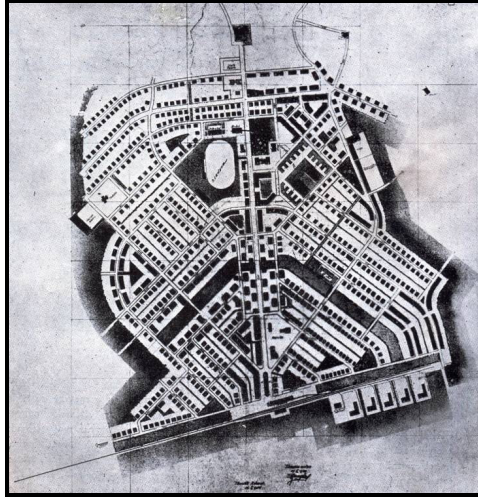
Figure 57: Bayındır (a small town in İzmir) Development Plan, by Nafia Vekaleti
Source: Belediyeler Dergisi (1940)
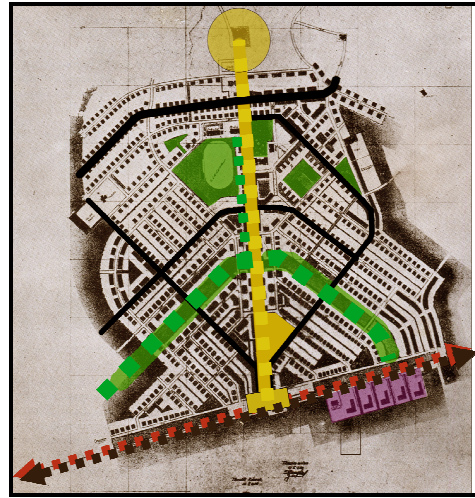
Figure 58: The Emphasis in Bayındır Plan: Greenery, Zoning, the Spine, Railway and the Industry
Source: Personal Rendering

A6: This type was in the late 1930s. Most of the cities were planned till this time. The Second World War was about to start. Under these circumstances, the problems of cities and towns were solved according to the Roads and Buildings Regulation. In this type, mostly new roads were established and existing roads in cities were widened in cities and towns. New and sanitized housing units were built. City parks, city squares, greenery, etc. were the basics of these plans. For instance, all the cities and towns in Turkey were aimed to have a municipality hotel (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1938-1942). The most prestigious buildings in the centers of towns were being transformed either to the Municipality Building or to the Governorship Building.
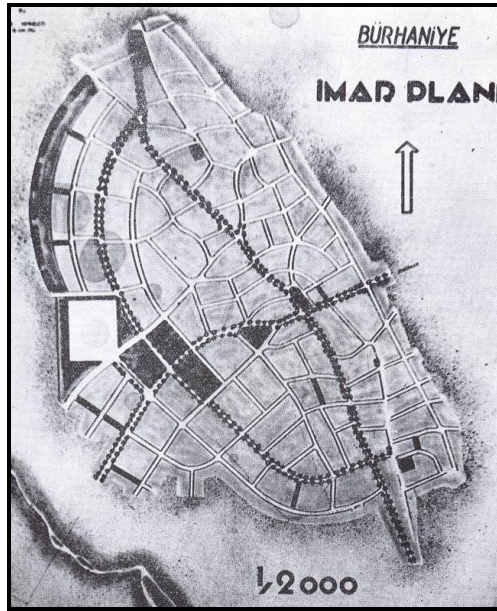
Figure 59: Burhaniye Plan by M. Sait in 1940; the roads regulated and the greenery attended to the town
Source: Belediyeler (1941), Issue 62, p. 49
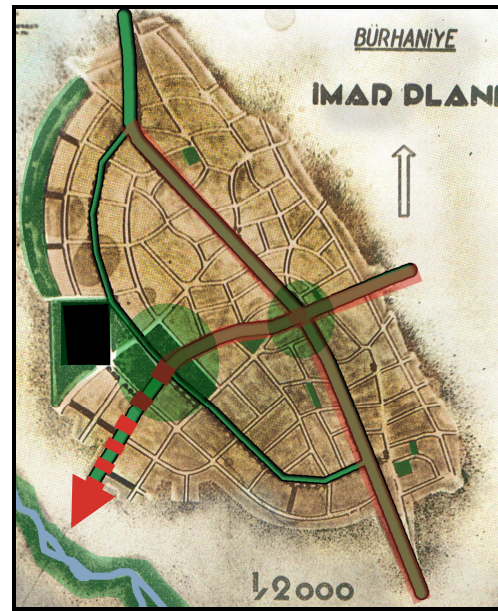
Figure 60: Greenery and Main Routes as Main Decisions of Burhaniye Urban Plan
Source: Personal Rendering

This type has some similarities with the A1.1 type. However, the difference of these two is significant in the forms of plans, the rationale and the main political aim. A6 type was applied to establish a life that has some cultural and social spaces in small towns. Moreover, the basic necessities of a town were considered in A6 type. There was not a new city formation in this type in general. A1.1 type cities' and towns' main political intention was to supply housing. The formation processes of these urban plans were determined by the municipalities. After the obligation of making urban plan for all cities and towns in the late 1930s, municipalities determined their basic needs and had the Turkish planners prepared urban plans.

Table 10: The Composition of the Hybrid
Source: Personal Ascertainment

	HYBRID
A1	OTTOMAN HERITAGE AND EUROPEAN AND SOVIET URBANISMS (THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE WAS DECISIVE FOR THE SELECTION OF CITIES)

Table 10: The Composition of the Hybrid (Continued)

A1.1	OTTOMAN HERITAGE AND THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE (THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE WAS DECISIVE FOR THE SELECTION OF CITIES)
A1.2	THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE (THE INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME)
A2	EUROPEAN URBANISM AND THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE (THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE WAS DECISIVE FOR THE SELECTION OF CITIES AND THE FORMATION OF ALTERNATIVE FOCI IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF ANATOLIA)
A3	THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE (SELECTION OF ANKARA, THE PLANNING COMPETITION, THE SPECIAL EFFORTS FOR THE NATION BUILDING IN ANKARA), AND EUROPEAN URBANISM
A4	THE IDEOLOGY OF THE STATE (SELECTION OF CITIES AND TOWNS, THE CREATION OF ALTERNATIVE CENTERS), AND EUROPEAN URBANISM
A5	THE IDEOLOY OF THE STATE (SELECTION OF TOWNS AND VISION ACCORDING TO THE POTENTIALS OF THE TOWN), EUROPEAN URBANISM
A6	THE IDEOLOY OF THE STATE: BASIC SPATIAL APPARATUSES: PARKS, URBAN SQUARES, GREENERY AND SPORTS AREAS AND THE ROADS

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, the political concepts translated to spatial planning context in Early Republican Turkey. After the proclamation of Republic, Republican ideology was constructed in city space. "Republican City" was created and a national urbanism was established arisen from natural, cultural and universal values of the Republic. There were 116 cities planned between 1923 and 1940. These cities are examined in terms of their relevance with the political ideal of the era. In this context, a new methodology, called Proccessive Approach depending on the Quinary Separation, is developed to make a better understanding of emergence of national urbanism movement, its determinants and the components affected it.

Ankara, as the capital city, was planned as a sample of planning practices and construction of nation space [ulus mekanının inşası]. A new institutional, social, cultural and physical environment was the basic intention. It was crucial to create a new society and a new cultural life. As the symbol of the success of Nation-Building process, construction of Ankara was not the only strategy for socio-spatial process of Republican Turkey. There were also a railway programme, an industrialization programme, an educational programme (with Community Centers), selection of industrial and agricultural foci and a planning programme.

This thesis gave answer to the main question of **"what the agents used for the construction of political ideal in space, namely Republican Space, were"**. While answering the questions, different examples of urban plans of early Republican Turkey are taken under consideration. In chapter 2, hegemonic agents of the state are examined. Chapter 3 identified the ideal city concept of the era. Following these, chapter 4 made a designation of design concepts and political concepts

concomitantly and defined the hybrid characteristic of the Early Republican Period Urbanism.

In first chapter, theoretical debate, the answer of the question of "*why it is important to bring planning and political* concepts" and methodology are explained and discussed. Theoretical discussion of thesis made two main analyses. This thesis did not make a detailed examination or a search of whole planned cities of Early Republican period. Nonetheless, the frame and the scope of this study concentrated on a number of examples. Theoretical frame is planning practices of Early Republican Turkey as a whole, while case studies are Ankara, İzmir, İstanbul and Mersin. Then, the methodology of this thesis, proccessive approach, basically depends on the *quinary separation*. This provided us that early Republican Planning experiences could not be reduced to physical form and ideologic apparatuses. Even though there is a strict relation between the Planning and the ideology, there are more agents and factors msediating into the production of urban plans. Therefore, this thesis summarized these determinants in quinary separation which is *the main political purpose, rationale, formation process, physical form and context.*

In the second chapter, the hegemonic (spatial and cultural) agents and concepts developed while producing the Early Republican space is described. The term "*cultural hegemony*" is introduced by Gramsci and the term*" spatial hegemony"* is developed in this study. Such a conception that is defining production of space in Early Republican period as with the agents of cultural hegemony and spatial hegemony is developed in this thesis study. Elements state uses in civic and public life of cities are conceptualized as the roles of the state. These roles are also agents to accomplish cultural hegemony and spatial hegemony. In this context, this thesis ascertained a conception as the roles of the state as cultural and spatial hegemonic tools are;

1. Political Roles

    -National Role

    -International Role

2. Formative Roles

    -Educatory Role

-Founder Role

-Cultural and Moral Role

-Productive (in spatial manner) Role

The Formative roles of the State were for the accomplishment of a life that was triggered from national values, cultural dynamics and the wishes of people. This life was formed in urban and rural space.

In chapter 3, the questions of "what good city is" and "what modern city is" are answered. The perception of good city and/or modern city was not an accurate, single-parameter dependant, and strict model. Indeed, the good city perception depended on universal theories of its time, and cultural and local values of the Republican people. Thus, the main debate is whether the European models were purely utilized as graphics for early urban plans of Turkey. Or were these models changed according to cultural values or aims/intentions of any group(s)? For answering this question, chapter 3 explains 19th century and early 20th century planning theories and applications of these models for reaching the "ideal city/town" conception (and perception) in the Early Republican Turkey. At first, the 19th century utopias, pragmatic approach, Haussmanization after 1850s, and the era following these destructing interventions in the late 19th century and early 20th century are summarized. The Picturesque of Camillo Sitte, Garden City Movement, Industrial City (*Cité Industriel*) of Tony Garnier and Soviet Urbanism are taken under consideration, because, these movements highly affected Early Republican Planning. Following this, the perception of ideal city in the context of ideology is discussed. The comparison of European and Soviet theories with Turkish planning experiences in the Early Republican period is examined with two examples. These examples are Nazilli and İzmit. Nazilli example showed that there was colonization of factory towns. The design of these factory towns had similarities with utopias and Soviet urbanism principles. İzmit example, on the other hand, showed that small cities planned at that period had the principles of late 19th century and early 20th century planning theories mentioned above. These examples displayed the influences of European urbanism models, especially the influences of the Garden City and the Industrial City.

In chapter 4, we discussed the evolution, determinants and forming elements of National Urbanism movement in Turkey. Chapter three showed that there are three factors forming national urbanism, which are Ottoman planning practices, the European and Soviet Urbanism theories and their application and the ideology of the state as a decisive organ in planning practices. This chapter identified this hybrid structure of National Urbanism. The practices and theoretical knowledge inherited from the Ottoman Empire was topographic knowledge and some legislative efforts. European and Soviet urbanism had penetrated into the Turkish urbanism in theoretical basis. The models developed in Europe and Soviet Union formed the basis and the core of "Turkish National Urbanism Theory". On this core, the ideology of state, interventions of bureaucracy and cultural values introduced by executive cadre established National Urbanism in Turkey. Finally, the hybrid national urbanism is identified. It is found that, in the evolution of Turkish urbanism between 1923 and 1940, there were six basic terms starting with the Ottoman map engineering and their urban plans for the Aegean cities ending with the partial interventions and regulations in the Anatolian towns. The conception of these six terms is disclosing the highlight for two eras. These eras are divided into two with the year of 1930. 1929 was a turning point for the world due to the economic crisis. This crisis forced Turkish economy and the Principles of the Republic to be evolved. This caused a direct evolution of urban planning and urban plans in Turkey. Before 1930s, the urban planning experiences were for either creating an urgent solution to population exchange or creating model towns in Anatolia. Ankara and İzmir, for instance were created as model national modern cities. This can also be identified as the creation of a new life desire for the nation. After 1930s, the urban planning and the applications were to establish a national economic power in the country space.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF THE PLANNED CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE EARLY
REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Table 11: Planned Cities and Towns between **1923 and 1940**
Sources: Tekeli (1980, Appendix), Belediyeler Dergisi [Journal of Municipalities],
Arkitekt Dergisi [Journal of Arkitekt]

		PLANNED CITY OR TOWN	YEAR OF THE PLAN	PLANNER(S)
	ADANA			
1		ADANA	1939	JANSEN
2		CEYHAN	1939	JANSEN
	ANKARA			
3		ANKARA	1927	LORCHER; 1932, JANSEN
4		KIZILCAHAMAM	1931	HULUSİ
5		ÇUBUK	1938	MİTHAT YENEN
	AFYON			
6		AFYON	1934	H. BAYKAL
7		ŞUHUT	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
8		BOLVADİN	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
9		EMİRDAĞ	1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
10		SANDIKLI	1938-1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
11		DİNAR	1938-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	ANTALYA			
12		ANTALYA	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)

Table 11: Planned Cities and Towns between **1923 and 1940** (Continued)

13		ALANYA	1939-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	AYDIN			
14		AYDIN	1923	M.M. İMAR HEYETİ (COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS)
15		Y.NAZİLLİ	1923	M.M. İMAR HEYETİ (COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS)
16		A.NAZİLLİ	1938	FENNİ CONSTRUCTION FIRM
17		KARACASU	1936	FENNİ CONSTRUCTION FIRM
18		GERMENCİK	NA	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	BALIKESİR			
19		BALIKESİR	1930	EGLİ
20		BURHANİYE	1940	M. SAİT
21		EDREMİT	1936	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
22		AKÇAY	1936	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
23		SUSURLUK	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
24		AYVALIK	1930	SAİT ERER
25		BANDIRMA	1923	GALİP
	BİTLİS			
26		BİTLİS	NA	NA
27		TATVAN	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	BOLU			
28		BOLU	1939	ARİF HİKMET HOLTAY
29		GEREDE	1932	İMAR MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
	BURSA			
30		BURSA	1924	LORCHER; 1936 PROST
31		KARACABEY	1923	BEDRİ VE A. HAYDAR
32		ORHANGAZİ	1936	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
33		GEMLİK	1939	VANDENBERG
34		MUSTAFA KEMAL PAŞA	NA	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
35		MUDANYA	1938	VANDENBERG
	ÇANKIRI			

Table 11: Planned Cities and Towns between **1923 and 1940** (Continued)

36		ÇANKIRI	1936	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
37		ÇERKEŞ	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
	ÇORUM			
38		ÇORUM	1940	ÖELSHER
39		ALACA	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
40		İSKİLİP	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
41		OSMANCIK	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
42		SUNGURLU	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
43		MECİTÖZÜ	1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	DENİZLİ			
44		DENİZLİ	1939-1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
45		ACIPAYAM	1934	İZZETTİN
46		BULDAN	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
47		KIZILCABÖLÜK	NA	EGLİ
48		ÇAL	1939-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
49		YEŞİLYUVA	1939-1941	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
50		KALELİ TAVAS	1939-1942	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
51		SARAYKÖY	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	DİYARBAKIR			
52		DİYARBAKIR	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	EDİRNE			
53		EDİRNE	1939-1940	EGLİ
54		KEŞAN	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
55		UZUNKÖPRÜ	1931	TAHSİN
	ERZİNCAN			

Table 11: Planned Cities and Towns between **1923 and 1940** (Continued)

56		ERZİNCAN	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
	ERZURUM			
57		ERZURUM	1939	LAMBERT
	GAZİANTEP			
58		GAZİANTEP	1938	JANSEN
	GİRESUN			
59		GÖRELE	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
60		ŞEBİNKARAHİSAR	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
61		GİRESUN	NA	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	ISPARTA			
62		ŞENİRKENT	1940	H. BAYKAL
63		ULUBORLU	1940	NA
	İÇEL			
64		MERSİN	1938	JANSEN
65		TARSUS	1935	JANSEN
	İSTANBUL			
66		İSTANBUL	1936	PROST
67		KALAMIŞ	NA	PROST
68		YALOVA	1933	BURHAN ÇAYLAK; A. SABRİ ORAN (1938)
69		FLORYA	NA	ISTANBUL MUNICIPALITY
70		MECİDİYEKÖY	NA	PROST
	İZMİR			
71		İZMİR	1923	PROST VE RENE-RAYMOND DANGER; LE CORBUSIER (1938)
72		BAYINDIR	1938-1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
73		DİKİLİ (DEPREM)	1940	ÖELSHER
74		BORNOVA	1940	H. KENAN
75		MENEMEN	1938	GUSTAV IZREAU
	KAHRAMAN MARAŞ			
76		KAHRAMAN MARAŞ	1938-1940	ASIM KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU
	KAYSERİ			
77		KAYSERİ	1936	BURHAN ÇAYLAK
	KOCAELİ			
78		İZMİT	1935	JANSEN
79		GÖLCÜK	NA	VANDENBERG
80		ADAPAZARI	1935	VANDENBERG
	KONYA			
81		KONYA		NA
82		ÇUMRA	1939-1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)

Table 11: Planned Cities and Towns between **1923 and 1940** (Continued)

83		AKŞEHİR	1940	ASIM KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU
84		İLHANBEYLİ	1939-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	KÜTAHYA			
85		KÜTAHYA	1938-1940	CELAL ESAT
86		EMET	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	MALATYA			
87		MALATYA	1936	DIRECTORATE OF PUBLIC WORKS
88		BESNİ	1940	S. TÜRKMAN
	MANİSA			
89		MANİSA	1923	CEMALETTİN
90		SALİHLİ	1923	SAİT ERER
91		ALAŞEHİR	1924-1940	SAİT ERER VE CEMALETTİN
92		AKHİSAR	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	MUĞLA			
93		MUĞLA	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
94		FETHİYE	1936	FENNİ CONSTRUCTION FIRM
95		ULA	1938-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
96		MİLAS	1939-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	NİĞDE			
97		NİĞDE	1937	EGLİ
98		AKSARAY	1939-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	ORDU			
99		BULANCAK	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
	SAMSUN			
100		SAMSUN	1940	NA
	SİNOP			
101		SİNOP	NA	NA
102		BOYABAT	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	SİVAS			
103		SİVAS	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)

Table 11: Planned Cities and Towns between **1923 and 1940** (Continued

104		ÇETİNKAYA	1936	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	ŞANLIURFA			
105		ŞANLIURFA	1940	ASIM KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU
	TEKİRDAĞ			
106		TEKİRDAĞ	1939-1940	CITED AS CONSTRUCTOR
	TOKAT			
107		TOKAT	NA	AVNİ PAR
108		ERBAA	NA	NA
	TRABZON		1938	
109		TRABZON		LAMBERT
	TUNCELİ			
110		PERTEK	1939-1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	UŞAK			
111		UŞAK	1936	ŞAKİR KILIÇ
	ZONGULDAK			
112		ZONGULDAK	NA	VANDENBERG
113		SAFRANBOLU	1936	BURHAN ARİF ONGUN
114		KOZLU	1936	NA
115		ÜZÜLMEZ	1936	MİMAR SEYFETTİN
116		KARABÜK	1940	PROST

* NA: Not Applicable means that the data could not be accessed or it was not stated in any of the sources.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF THE URBAN PLANS THAT COULD BE REACHED

Table 12: The urban plans that could be reached
Sources: Belediyeler Dergisi [Journal of Municipalities]; Arkitekt Dergisi [Journal of Arkitekt]; Berlin Museum of Architecture, http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=54&LANG=E N, accessed July 2010

		PLANNED CITY OR TOWN	YEAR OF THE PLAN	PLANNER(S)
	ADANA			
1		ADANA	1939	JANSEN
2		CEYHAN	1939	JANSEN
	ANKARA			
3		ANKARA	1927	LÖRCHER, JANSEN (1932)
4		ÇUBUK	1938	MİTHAT YENEN
	BALIKESİR			
5		BURHANİYE	1940	M. SAİT
	BOLU			
6		BOLU	1939	ARİF HİKMET HOLTAY
	ÇANKIRI			
7		ÇERKEŞ	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
	ÇORUM			
8		ÇORUM	1940	ÖELSHER
9		ALACA	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
10		İSKİLİP	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
11		OSMANCIK	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
12		SUNGURLU	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
	DENİZLİ			
13		KIZILCABÖLÜK	NA	EGLİ
	ERZİNCAN			
14		ERZİNCAN	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
	ERZURUM			
15		ERZURUM	1939	LAMBERT
	GAZİANTEP			
16		GAZİANTEP	1938	JANSEN
	GİRESUN			
17		GÖRELE	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
18		ŞEBİNKARAHİSAR	1940	CELAL ULUSAN

Table 12: The urban plans that could be reached (continued)

	ISPARTA			
19		SENİRKENT	1940	H. BAYKAL
20		ULUBORLU	1940	NA
	İÇEL			
21		MERSİN	1938	JANSEN
22		TARSUS	1935	JANSEN
	İSTANBUL			
23		İSTANBUL	1936	PROST
	İZMİR			
24		İZMİR	1923	PROST VE RENE-RAYMOND DANGER, LE CORBUSIER (1938)
25		BAYINDIR	1938-1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
26		DİKİLİ	1940	ÖELSHER
27		BORNOVA	1940	H. KENAN
	KAHRAMAN MARAŞ			
28		KAHRAMAN MARAŞ	1938-1940	ASIM KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU
	KOCAELİ			
29		İZMİT	1935	JANSEN
30		ADAPAZARI	1935	VANDENBERG
	KONYA			
31		AKŞEHİR	1940	ASIM KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU
	MANİSA			
32		AKHİSAR	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	ORDU			
33		BULANCAK	1940	CELAL ULUSAN
	SAMSUN			
34		SAMSUN	1940	NA
	SİVAS			
35		SİVAS	1937	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	ŞANLIURFA			
36		ŞANLIURFA	1940	ASIM KÖMÜRCÜOĞLU
	TRABZON			
37		TRABZON	1938	LAMBERT

Table 12: The urban plans that could be reached (continued)

	TUNCELİ			
38		PERTEK	1939-1940	NAFİA V. YAPI İŞLERİ F.H.Ş (FORMER MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, CONSTRUCTIVE WORKS OFFICE)
	ZONGULDAK			
39		SAFRANBOLU	1936	BURHAN ARİF ONGUN
40		ÜZÜLMEZ	1936	SEYFETTİN ARKAN
41		KARABÜK	1940	PROST