

URBAN PLANNING EXPERIENCE OF TURKEY IN THE 1930s

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Received: 25.01.2010; **Final Text:** 03.08.2010

Keywords: economic rationalization; industrial plans; industry-city integration; urban-rural integration; interregional integration; policy-oriented planning; regional growth centres.

1. For the principles of "statism" and "populism", see: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (1935).

Urban planning experience of Turkey in the 1930s constitutes a set of consistent policies and strategies. Establishment of a national economy and arrangement of the space of the nation-state were the main policies determining the major lines of policy-oriented urban planning experience in this period. Under this general political framework, the creation of a new capital and the establishment of industrial cities were the unique cases. These were seen as major means of regional development and interregional integration. Urbanization problem was approached in a comprehensive and holistic manner. In this policy framework, the significance of industrialization in urban-rural integration was emphasized. And the liberation of the rural labor was seen as the basis of social development and urban-rural integration. State factories appeared as the major agents of integration of industry with the city and the redefinition and the provision of public services. Public spaces of the Republic were emphasized and urban development was directed on the lands that were expropriated.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1930s in Turkey, under the policies towards regulation of regional development within national boundaries, the urban planning approach was policy-oriented. Thus, political calculation and will preceded the economic efficiency and rationalization point of view. Rather than the "economic conjuncture" point of view, the policy of developing Anatolia and freeing rural people from their feudal ties and industrialization of the whole country was given priority. Under the basic principles of Kemalist ideology, urban planning experience was based on the essential social and economic policies of statism and populism in the 1930s (1). Roots of the creation of new development centres as opposed to the economic policies of the single large city and the primacy of İstanbul can be found in the strong regional development and populist policies of the Early Republican Period.

2. In the opening talk of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on March the 1st, 1922, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk emphasized the importance of the idea of political and economic independence for the development of the nation. In this speech, he asked for the increase in the production of internal goods and protection of the national industry and organization of the professions and he stressed importance of the development of railways and irrigation projects, establishment of credit institutions, mechanization, collectivization, self-sufficiency, and the export-import balance for economic development. He finally laid importance on the need to provide land for farmers and rural people, and their cooperation, as he conceived them to be the most important productive power.

Even though the policy of creating new development centers faced certain obstacles due to economic liberation and periodical capitalization movements in Turkey, we should be finding the roots of the creation of new growth poles against the primacy of Istanbul in the comprehensive and holistic policies of the Early Republican Era. Undoubtedly, the roots of these policies emerge from the War of Independence and its revolutions. Due to the economical burdens caused by the nationalization movements of 1920s, such as immigrant habitation and employment, only by the Statist Period of the 1930s, production of the appropriate space of the nation-state in accordance with the principle of populism have become possible.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL ECONOMY AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE SPACE OF THE NATION-STATE

Establishment of the national economy refers to national unity and organization on the basis of economic independence, national integration that is integration among and within the units of productive sectors (2). During 1920s, Regie Administration (State Monopoly Administration) and all related privileges of foreign states were cancelled. Agricultural Bank [Ziraat Bankası] was reorganized; railways, ports and transportation infrastructure were rehabilitated; Bank of Commerce was established, stock markets were nationalized. Measures were taken to rehabilitate coal fields and the management of mines. Customs policies were established to develop trade, industry and agriculture. Industry Encouragement Law was redesigned and Bank of Industry was established. To protect the workforce, new minimum wage arrangements were made and the working conditions were rehabilitated. These arrangements from the Congress of Economy in 1924, were followed by the World Recession in 1929, providing a base for the statist and populist policies in the 1930s.

However, emergence of the statist and populist movements in Turkey cannot be simply related to the international political and economic conjuncture of the late 1920s. 1921 Constitution [*Teşkilat-i Esasiye Kanunu*] accepted Turkey as a "People's State". The principle of populism had its essence, especially with approaches of the representatives of farmers and workers who participated in the Congress of Economy. Within the context of international politics and economics, having its roots from the War of Independence, statism and populism were the sum of all economic and social policies implemented and strengthened by the ideological struggle during the 1920s (Kipal and Uyanık, 2001). In 1924 the Village Law, and in 1928 the Agricultural Unions Law were enacted. In the same year, Agricultural Institute was established. These were the major steps towards the development of the countryside. In 1926 Zonguldak Mining and Industry Engineering School [Zonguldak Yüksek Maden ve Sanayi Mühendis Mektebi] and Bank of Real Estate and Orphans [Emlak ve Eytam Bankası] were established. A comprehensive industrialization program was designed in the Congress of Industry in 1930. In 1931, during the First Congress of Agriculture *self-sufficiency* and *internal market-orientation* of Turkish agriculture and the establishment of industries that would utilize and process the agricultural products and adjustments of agricultural taxes according to regional productivity were proposed. In 1930, Central Bank and in 1932 State Industry Office and Turkish Industry Credit Bank were established. In 1933, Sümerbank was assigned with duties such as project development and management besides its banking and –cotton- production

functions. This institution later also was commissioned with preparation and implementation of industrialization plans.

REGIONAL AND INTER-REGIONAL INTEGRATION THROUGH CREATION OF A NEW CAPITAL

From the first attempts toward the establishment of the national economy to the arrangement of the space of the nation-state, the most important *spatial strategy* as regards the foundation of the Republic was the selection of Ankara as the capital. Development of Anatolia and the most rational distribution of public services have urged the idea of another place for capital other than İstanbul. The policy of creating new development centers were contrasted to the economic policies of the single large city and growth focus in İstanbul, being the major point of capitalist integration in the beginning of the 19th century. In this respect, creation of a *new capital* and the establishment of *industrial cities* were important regional development strategies in dealing with regional underdevelopment. This policy of regional development via creating a new capital is unique case in the world planning experiences (3).

On the other hand, the railroads, already built solely for the imperialist-capitalist needs, that is, extraction of the raw materials of the country and to transfer them in the shortest way to the ports, were nationalized. Creation of an Ankara-based railway network with additional railways together with those that were nationalized was an important strategic decision. Keeping the integrity of national markets and the *economic rationalization* of newly established factories has been through these railway lines. The economic reasoning was to be created by establishing relationships between production units for the sake of economic and political independence. The establishment of rail network and industrialization has further enabled the development of new *regional centres* (4).

The selection of Ankara as the Capital has been the first and the utmost phase of fair and equal treatment of the regional development issues within the national boundaries. These policies played a frontier role in creating regional development centers. The political attitude was primarily towards the establishment of national economy and development of Anatolia through creating a new capital. The idea of a new capital should be considered in the context of *regional integration* of Anatolian lands (5). This was a regional development decision, which denied the *agglomeration economies* around İstanbul as the center of the development. Even though, leaving the old capital where imperialist remnants and cosmopolitan culture prevailed had no economic benefit and was a heavy burden to overcome, it was seen as imperative for the national integration. For this reason, the creation of the new capital should be perceived as a *political* movement after all (Tankut, 1990, 17).

The most important *spatial strategy* as regards the foundation of the Republic was the selection of Ankara as the Capital. This spatial strategy as well as an ideological standpoint against the former regime was also based on administrative concerns. Even though it was an outcome of the spatial strategy of The War of Independence, development of Anatolia and the most reasonable distribution of public services provided a base for the idea of another place for a capital city other than İstanbul. At the first glance, this action was a regional development decision, which

3. On the creation of growth centers in the case of Turkey, Rivkin (1964) emphasizes two major regional development alternatives. These are "dispersion" and "selective concentration". According to Rivkin, Turkey practiced both policy approaches in the course of her attempts to encourage new growth regions.

4. Most of the cities planned in this period were prioritized centres in terms of the creation of rail road network and harbour facilities. These cities were closely related to the regional development strategy proposed by industrial plans. For further information, Tekeli (1980).

5. Similar arguments are made by Altaban (1998).

6. This was explained by Mustafa Kemal in 1923 during a press conference in İzmit. For serious administrative concerns in terms of equal and just provision of public services, as well as for defensive reasons, he claimed that the capital in the regional context needs to be in a different location. However he also stated that it would be rather better to choose an existing settlement instead of creating a new city due to the latter's cost from different perspectives. For him, İstanbul had lost all her competences as a capital. Moreover the capital in İstanbul was hindering the development of the country. For equal and just provision of the public services, the capital would therefore be located in somewhere in the middle of Anatolia. Mustafa Kemal pointed out that besides the military and administrative necessities, development of state affairs led Ankara as the centre of the country. He refused the idea of the supremacy of İstanbul as an elite city and emphasized that the "centres of illumination" and "centres of knowledge" had to be distributed to several localities. With this statement, in fact, Mustafa Kemal declared the most important will about the nature of a regional and equal development within the national boundaries.

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The regional development model that was followed by industrial plans in the later periods has been formulated over this political idea. These policies played a frontier role in creating regional development centers. Under this framework, economic rationalization followed the political decision (6).

URBANIZATION VIA URBAN-RURAL INTEGRATION AND LIBERATION OF RURAL LABOUR

In this policy-oriented development model, urban and regional development issues were not separated from one another. Urban-rural integration refers to both technological development and industry-agriculture integration and creation of industrial work force and the establishment of state farms. A series of arrangements were made in order to *liberate* rural labor and liquidate feudal relationships in the countryside. Tithe [*Aşar*] (the tax on agricultural products) was abolished. Measures for the mechanization of agriculture, together with improvements in agriculture and livestock were taken. Village Law on the administration of the villages and Agricultural Union Law were passed and Agriculture Institute was established. Rural development was not conceived merely as an economic issue but as a part of a comprehensive liberation project.

Regional development policies that were enabled with the industrial plans provided a possibility for implementation via a series of revolutionary acts, such as laws for liquidation of feudal ownership, land provision to landless farmers (expropriations made by the Law 3115), abolishing the sultan's tax, removal of the reign of the empire, banning dervish lodges (i.e. [*tekkes*] and [*zaviyes*]) and expropriation of their properties, etc. These, legal frameworks provided a ground for equal citizens in terms of the use of the public services and for the liberation of the rural population and the creation of the urban workforce. Undoubtedly, there could be no possibility for the implementation of a plan that was framed with general economic and societal benefit through liberation of production and service units or through single enterprises that work with market's profit criteria. For this reason, the intervention of central state was inevitable. Consequently, industrial plans became the most basic elements of the central intervention.

In this period, 64 villages were planned as model villages. Agricultural centers, state farms, agricultural banking, cooperatives, land provision and collective production and organization were the basic concepts of the republican perspective on the countryside. The "Village Institutes" (Village Teachers' Training Schools [*Köy Enstitüleri*]) that were established in later periods became the vital component of rural development and liberation policy.

On November the 1st 1937, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in the opening speech of the Grand National Assembly stated the importance of land provision and organization for the rural development (İnan, 1973, 126-35). He emphasized the following points:



Figure 1. Atatürk Forest Farm [Atatürk Orman Çiftliği]. Koleksiyoncular Derneği [Association of Collectors].

- i. "Agricultural regions" and "agricultural centers",
- ii. agricultural industry,
- iii. cooperatives and agricultural banking,
- iv. "state farms" as model farm development and management,
- v. mechanization, cooperation and collective production in agriculture.

In this respect, the Atatürk Forest Farm [Atatürk Orman Çiftliği] was the pioneer enterprise for the establishment of state farms (**Figure 1**). Established by the individual efforts of Atatürk (1925), it was the first example of transformation of agriculture by using scientific methods and modern technology. It created one of the greatest achievements of state enterprise on the relatively non-fertile lands of Ankara. The development of agriculture together with its related industries, development and experimentation of the innovative agriculture techniques, education of agricultural work force, organizing producers under cooperatives, and development of human resources were the major objectives in the establishment of the farm. Selection of a non-fertile land was a conscious and ideological approach. The purpose of enabling rural people to change their living and working conditions was clear. This exemplary enterprise was to heighten production and the producer. The farm was primarily developed as a production place, but at the same time it offered recreational and cultural spaces for the need of the urban dwellers.



Figure 2. Cover page of the book published in French about Atatürk Forest Farm by the Ministry of Interior. Ministère de l'Intérieur (1936) *La Ferme Modèle D'Orman*, L'Imprimerie D'Etat, Ankara.

The founding principles of the farm were as follows: land development and subdivision; beautification of the environment; research of indigenous and foreign live stock and breeding of most convenient ones; organization via cooperatives and economic partnership with the surrounding villages; arrangement of production activity according to internal and external markets; establishment of agencies in miscellaneous places within the country; reform in agricultural procedures, increasing production and development of villages; development of agricultural arts, affordable and healthy food for the public; creation of public area for recreation and entertainment of people (**Figure 2**). The case of Atatürk Forest Farm became a model for development of the system of state farms throughout the country. These state farms, besides their economic contribution, in terms of agricultural production, employment opportunities and the

economic rationality is merely a matter of rationality within the inter-related system of production units (Figure 3).

In this planning period, with Law No: 2521, the ports and the harbours were integrated with the national transportation system and the production units according to the necessities of the national economy and the industrialization programs. Etibank, specialized in mining and electric power (1935), General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration (1935), Turkish Iron and Steel Industries (1937), State Timber Factory (1937) were the major institutions established by the industrial plans.

First Industrial Plan

After the nationalization of the rights in the hands of the foreign companies, the nationalization of the road network was to be done parallel to the industrial development plan. Industrialization, organization, continuous planning, economical rationalization through cooperatives, the creation of industrial workforce and its education were the basic objectives. In the Plan, the needs of the country were taken as a basis: development, strengthening and protection of internal markets, primarily development of the industries that use raw materials of the country, creation of state-established sectors that cannot be carried out by private entrepreneurs. Furthermore, there was a proposal for 20 new factories in the Plan. Master plans for efficient investment and foreign trade and customs arrangements, quota protections of products from national factories, integrated transportation system of railroads, harbors and highways, based on the needs of the industries, and a highway system connected regionally with railroads were decided.

Proximity to raw materials and to labor force, security, transportation and freight opportunities, housing opportunities, energy sources and adjacency to interrelated industrial establishments were among the location selection criteria for industry. Each factory was to be built with its own energy facility project. This was nothing more than the economic rationalization of the regional development strategy. The Plan prioritized rationalization in terms of integration of investment decision needs of one sector with other sector's needs and investment decisions. Economic efficiency calculations were done as based on safety barriers, and the national production conditions enablement. Traditional production was to be transformed to advanced technological units. However, the calculations were done not of the present conditions but based on the future needs of the society.

Second Industrial Plan

The plan was formulated in the Congress of Industry held on January 24, 1936 in Ankara. The second plan had more comprehensive content and included detailed spatial arrangements. Production and consumption potentials were mobilized in a comprehensive and railroad-based multi-modal transportation system. Within this framework, elements of the plan were not disintegrated with sector plans but rather they were formulated as interrelated and rationalized elements at the management level. For example, if convenient raw materials were available to produce economies for the railroad freight, energy use, use of waste materials, steel industry integrated with cement industry was to be established. The Plan included goals towards increasing the positive effects of industrial development over agriculture. Each establishment would be developed not only with production and distribution functions but also with transportation and educational facilities. According to the Plan, mining, coal mines, regional

9. However, ideological impacts of the urbanization and urban policy experiences of the Soviet Union cannot be disregarded. In the Issue 24 of the Journal of Municipalities in 1937, an article titled "City Planning in the Great Neighbor: Soviet Union" includes notes on city planning in the Soviet Union by a visiting group (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1937). The text emphasizes the significance of a massive expropriation movement, removal of the private property rights on real estate and land in cities, policies toward increasing the worker population in large cities and development of workers' housing unions and mass housing projects, rehabilitation of the living conditions of the workers and the unhealthy conditions of older neighborhoods, and the like.

10. Karabük in the mid-1930s was a district having a population of 100 persons. The city Karabük emerged after the establishment of the Iron and Steel Factory in 1937. The population of the city reaches 10682 in 1945 and 43000 in 1965. Together with the setting and location of the factory, general plan of the city exhibits a very example of Tony Garnier's "Industrial City" concept (Keskinok, 2007, 2009).

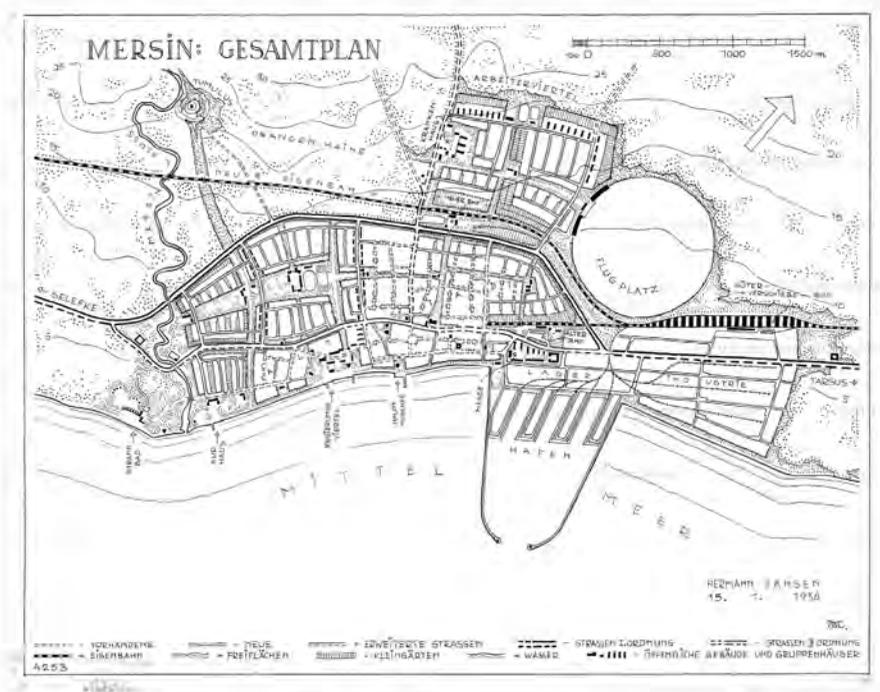


Figure 6. Master Plan for the city of Mersin by Herman Jansen (Scale 1/5000) and schematic presentation of the basic functions. TU Berlin Architekturmuseum. Schematic presentation by the author.

11. Even in the case of Ankara, as the Capital and as an administrative city, the area of industry was introduced in the city plan and a neighborhood for workers [Amele Mahallesi] and an industrial district were proposed (Figure 7). As Yavuz emphasized (1980, 27), the most important aspect of Jansen Plan was its social content compared to Jauselley and Brix, who developed the other two entries in the Ankara Planning Competition 1928. A similar approach is traced in the plans prepared by Jansen for Mersin and Gaziantep. It would be proper to say that Jansen's planning and design approach more or less coincided with the choice and approaches of the leading political cadres.

cities (e.g. Karabük (10), Kırıkkale) while the others were the old ones in which the industry was introduced as a new element (e.g. Nazilli, Kayseri, Gaziantep, Mersin). Major elements of this scheme were the industrial districts and neighbourhoods for workers (Figure 4-7) (11).

INTEGRATION OF INDUSTRY WITH THE CITY AND DEFINITION OF PUBLIC SERVICE

In this context, state factories were the major elements of integration of industry with city (Figure 8). State factories, have been model for cultural and societal life in the places where they were located through their production and living spaces (12). The plausibility measure was not only bound with economic terms even though the location choice was based primarily on economic criteria. In the development and the provision of social and cultural activities and services to the city and workers, prior to mere economic efficiency but liberation and personal development of the individual was targeted, and care and health of the workers were

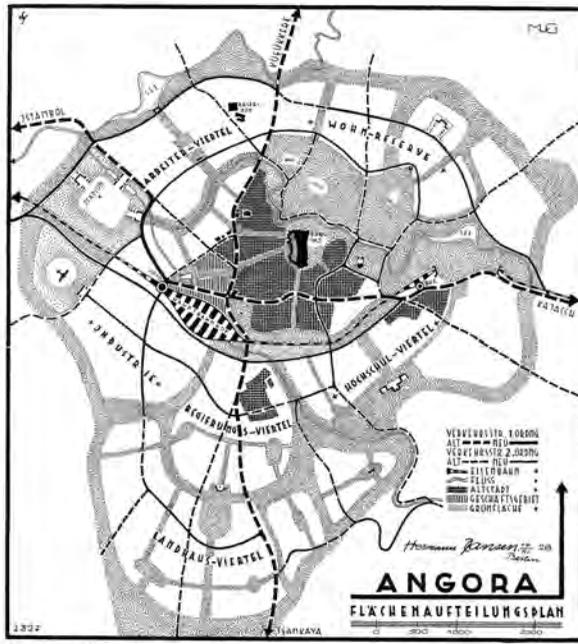


Figure 7. Master Plan for Ankara by Hermann Jansen (Scale 1/5000) and schematic presentation of the basic functions. Maps and Plans Documentation Centre, Faculty of Architecture, METU. Schematic presentation by the author.

emphasized. Healthcare of workers, clean living conditions, nutrition, cultural and social development matters, were subjects prior to economic efficiency and profitability. Factories had orchestras, theater groups and sports clubs. The concepts of public service and public benefit were defined and developed with such activities. Education for healthcare of not only factory workers but also seasonal workers was an ongoing issue.

State factories contributed to the development of cities and their environments in terms of providing urban services. In these factories, in addition to production and research facilities, cultural, sports, recreation, health facilities, housing for workers, single resident homes (for both males and females), schools, groceries, kindergarten, children's playgrounds, baths, workers' clubhouse, barber, butcher, cantina and bakery were to be found. Social and cultural activities and facilities were open to public; the cultural life of the city was enriched by these factories. The existence of kindergartens in the factories showed a crucial point ideologically. This is because the increase in the employment of the women workforce in the industrial facilities was a consciously pursued policy in the era of the Republican government. Production and education would continue simultaneously. The state factories were conceived as schools for the creation of skilled labor force. In this period almost for all public institutions the valid issue was to develop proficiencies for research, planning, project, study, implementation, management and education in an integrated manner.

The *economic rationalism* in both the First and Second Industrial Plans was dependent on principles such as strengthening and unifying the relationships of production units, diffusion centers, and settlement units through a comprehensive planning framework. Rather than pure economic efficiency point of view departing from short-term rational calculations, implementations were made after taking into consideration the geographical and environmental conditions of the locations to be selected. This was followed by economic rationalization plans with comprehensive

12. We may give two examples of these state factories: Sümerbank Nazilli Cotton Factory (1937) and Sümerbank Kayseri Cotton Factory (1935).

Construction of the Sümerbank Nazilli Cotton Factory had gone hand in hand with the development of the city Nazilli. Industrial production had been planned together with the agricultural production: one of the major objectives of the factories were to support and develop agricultural production in the corresponding regions. The factory, as the major cotton purchaser, established cotton-rehabilitation centres and imposed certain standards on cotton production and educated the producers in the region. During the construction and project preparation process, remarkable financial credit and technical staff support was achieved from the Soviet Union, but construction materials were regional and local. Each factory had a rail-road connection with the city, not only used for goods transport but also for the work force. Site selection of the factories was designed according to environmental concerns. Not to lead to environmental pollution, production units and accommodation facilities were located far from one another. The factory had a cinema, hospital, sporting facilities, cantina and lodgments, bicycle parking places, kindergarten and other facilities and services for the workers. For further information, Doğan (2003) and Peri (2002).

For the construction of the Sümerbank Kayseri Cotton Factory, project and credit aid was achieved from the Soviet Union. In addition to the production units, the factory had houses for administrative personnel, dormitories for single work-force, kindergarten, hospital, cantina, baking cousin, cinema, and stadium and other playing grounds, swimming pool and health center. For further information, Asiliskender (2004).

investment and management decisions. Thus, economic rationality was not the primary principle of development but a principle to be followed in the production process. Here, the most basic tools of economic rationalization were the creation of railroad network, energy production plants and state subsidized cheap freight rates, etc.

CENTRAL PLANNING AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

1930s have been the years of strengthening the local governments and making arrangements concerning the municipalities under the principle of statism. All these enabled the state to develop central planning for national independence and economic and social development. In 1930, Municipality Law, General Health Law and Law on Building and Roads, in 1933, Municipality Bank Establishment Law, in 1934, Municipality Expropriation Law and Municipality Public Works Council Establishment Law were enacted. Public Health Law mandated to make plans in 3 years for settlements over 20 000, or population with an increase of 15% in between two census years. In addition, Law on Building and Roads mandated every municipality to make plans in 5 years. On the 24-25 October 1935, Congress of Municipalities [Uraylar Kongresi] was organized. The first issue of a monthly journal, named as *Belediyeler* [Municipalities] was published in the middle of the 1930s (Figure 9). On the cover page, the Journal was defined as “social, economic and financial journal”. And the aims were put as “disseminates the science of urbanism, gives news from both Turkish and foreign local governments and municipalities”. Run by the Bank of Municipalities [Belediyeler Bankası], the journal demonstrated the official views of the governments of its time. Journal not only focused on the issues of urbanization, urban planning and management but also on rural development and planning. The perspective of the Journal was important in extending the conception of the urban development issue beyond the cities. The urbanization problem was considered within the context of rural-urban relationship and integration. In the Issue 13 of the Journal in 1936, topics such as rural development, annexation of state-owned lands around the villages to solve the land question and subdivision of large farms and the transfer of them to rural population as their real property and the issues such as establishment of rural unions and a rural bank were considered.

In the issue 11 in 1936, a text by Naci Kıcıman appeared, titled “Basic Principles in Municipality Works”. This text provided the definition of public works of the municipalities: there would be a *public benefit* in any task and the task would either be accomplished by or in the name of the municipality (Kıcıman, 1936, 15-8). The municipalities would be doing absolutely necessary tasks but they need to be doing all the tasks that would enhance general *welfare* of the public and provide the well being of the public and the tasks that the people would ask for. The Issue 19 in 1937, consisted survey results that had to be investigated on which topics out of the Law was implemented or not, the reasons and which *compulsory duties* were conducted.

1936 July Edition Issue 12 contained, Ankara’s planner Hermann Jansen’s text titled “Reform in Planning in Turkey”. The views elaborated in this text reflect the comprehensive and holistic understanding of the planning in the period. In the text it was argued that in order to improve Turkish cities, the state should have a plan at first. According to Jansen the *state plan* and the *city plan* should go hand in hand:



Figure 8. Kayseri Cotton Factory (1946).
www.gittigidiyor.com.

“When we say the plan of the state, we mean the building of the entire Turkey that is all individual municipalities’ economic and technical planning duties. It is partly related to the existing industry plan. During planning, the tasks of the municipalities will be decided for. That is, tasks and the conditions related to railroad and highway network and the settlements in the **industrial centres** and the problem of over-population in different places will be organized. But together with the building of the cities, the natural environment within should be taken care of and the proper and harmonious arrangement of the **industrial cities** with their **agricultural hinterland** should be ensured. The success point in the planning of the country is to divide Turkey into economic regions. So-called economic regions can be defined as those locations with similar geographical units and economic development. What should be considered are the general health issues, cultural and natural value preservation, arrangement of the residential, industrial and recreational zones according to certain macro forms, transportation and land use rules; and finally housing neighborhoods and future growth areas”. (13)

Jansen proposed “State Plan” as a tool for coordinating all planning activities and the tasks. He emphasized the close relationship between “State Plan” and the industrial plans and harmonious arrangement of “industrial cities” with agricultural hinterland. In sum, in this framework, urban and rural issues are not dichotomized but rather approached in terms of integration.

CREATION OF PUBLIC SPACES OF THE REPUBLIC

In this period, city planning is based on the creation and development of the public spaces in an environment that was to be shaped with the modern life style of the idealized Republican Citizen. This meant that the creation and development of publicness in the urban space, the break up from the feudal culture of the Ottoman Empire and establishment of the institutions and spaces of the Republic. Transforming people to a modern society, creating publicness and socialness in spaces is one of the ultimate objectives of city planning. Public buildings and spaces become the most important elements defining the cities. City parks and Community Centers [Halkevleri] become the major centers of socialization (14). Named as

13. Jansen (1936, 24-34). Emphasis by the author.

14. *Halkevleri* were the centres established by the state for public instruction and social interaction.



Figure 9. Cover pages of the *Belediyeler Dergisi* [Journal of Municipalities] Issues 1 and 34. Milli Kütüphane [National Library].

15. These spaces and other open spaces including green corridors functioned as articulate elements in urban socio-spatial context. As is known, after the introduction of new elements into urban system, old city-new city dilemma emerged as a major problem in city planning in the Early Republican era. Here the old city was taken as the core of historical heritage to be conserved while the new city was identified with the industrial development and progress. In the Camillo Sitte-style plan and design understanding of Hermann Jansen, the historic heritage and old pattern of cities were emphasized: the Ankara Citadel was enhanced as a pattern in the plan's perceptual possibilities.

Youth Park, Culture Park, People's Garden, Nation's Garden etc., [Gençlik Parkı, Kültürpark, Halk Bahçesi, Millet Bahçesi] these open spaces became important places for social and cultural activities besides entertainment, rest and sporting. These were not located arbitrarily, but placed at the most central locations adjacent to city squares (Gündüz, 2002). Contrary to the historical gardens of the Empire that were based on the separation of sex and social strata (Uludağ, 1998), Republican Parks were the places where socialization and recreation occurred together (15).

In this sense, the case of Ankara is significant. A modern capital would create a modern citizen. Socialization of the people was to be heightened. The investments in public areas were never perceived as unnecessary and expensive. In the new Capital, new public buildings were erected as based upon the new institutions of Turkey. Besides being a political symbol, required spaces for new regime, government institutions and new life styles were given priority. Thanks to the establishment of a state by a revolution and War of Independence, there was no state-people opposition or alienation. As an example, in the courtyard of the Ministry of Interior, a "public forum" [*Halk Forumu*] was designed and built for the public to gather. Interestingly, together with establishment of the new institutions of the Republic, the buildings that govern these institutions were consciously designed with simplicity moving away from monumentality. Monumentality was limited with monuments related with symbols of The War of Independence, revolutions, people and the army. Emphasis on simplicity versus monumentalism, seemed to characterize urban planning and design experiences in this period.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT ON LANDS EXPROPRIATED: THE CASE OF ANKARA

For the new development areas of the city, around 3 million m² lands were expropriated by the Municipality of Ankara according to tax values. However this Law had a heavy opposition in the Parliament. This was a very comprehensive and important happening from a city planning point of view in modern Turkey. This is because almost all new development area of Ankara was expropriated and the new development would be built on the public-owned city land (Figure 10). In the purpose statement of the Law, the value increase on the land through building is generated from the common endeavour of the public and the existence of such a value would be accepted legal ethical and righteous by the people-at-large. In the later periods, this legal arrangement of urban development on public lands would be an example to substantial urban mass-housing projects and to development on large expropriated urban lots.

On the other hand, return of the value increase to public benefit could never be realized neither at those times nor after that period. Speculation of the planned land was a problem which had never been overcome by Republican governments. The debate on expropriation based either on tax value or current value has been the continuous paradox of the political decisions on the matters of urban development. No precaution has been taken against speculative rent increases and increasing land prices, which have affected urban development in an adverse way. The regulation of urban lands as seen in the case of Ankara has been one of the leading topics of the Republican Governments' failure.

However, in spite of these facts, the policy of urban development on lands expropriated was a radical intervention to the system of private ownership



Figure 10. Urban development on lands expropriated (Ankara/Yenişehir). Koleksiyoncular Derneği [Association of Collectors].

of land that was introduced by the penetration of capitalist development through the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The case of Turkey in 1930s provides examples of conscious efforts toward policy-oriented and integrated urban and regional development. In this policy-oriented development model, urban and regional development issues were not separated from one another. By means of statist policies it became possible to implement an equitable and fair development model both at regional and urban scales, within national boundaries.

Thanks to industrial plans of the 1930s based on statist policies, the production processes were guided and social capital has been manipulated for an equal and populist development. Interestingly, major urban development models, such as the Garden City and the Industrial City were first implemented in this period. Under the policies towards regulation of regional development within national boundaries, the city planning approach was not *projectory* but *policy-oriented* and based on the principle of populism. *Political calculation* and *political will* preceded the pure economic concerns.

Through the strong regional development policies, many growth poles were created against the primacy of İstanbul. In this framework, policies of controlling and directing the social capital at national scale were associated with the policies towards enhancing the redistributive mechanisms.

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Alındı: 25.01.2010; Son Metin: 03.08.2010

Anahtar Sözcükler: iktisadi akılcılaştırma; sanayi planları; sanayi-kent bütünleşmesi; kentsel-kırsal bütünleşme; bölgelerarası bütünleşme; siyasa yönelimli planlama; bölgesel büyüme merkezleri.

1930'LU YILLARDA TÜRKİYE'DE KENT PLANLAMA DENEYİMİ

Türkiye'nin 1930'lu yıllardaki kent planlama deneyimi bir dizi tutarlı ve bilinçli siyasa ve stratejilerden oluşmaktadır. Milli ekonominin inşası ve ulusal devletin mekanının düzenlenmesi, bu dönemdeki siyasa yönelimli kent planlama deneyiminin çerçevesini belirleyen ana siyasalardır. Bu genel siyasal çerçeve altında, yeni bir başkent yaratılması ve sanayi kentlerinin kurulması özgün örneklerdir. Bütün bunlar bölgesel gelişme ve bölgelerarası bütünleşme açısından önemli araçlar olarak görülmüştür. Bu siyasa yönelimli gelişme modelinde, kentsel ve bölgesel gelişme sorunları birbirlerinden koparılmamaktadır. Bu dönemdeki devletçi siyasalar nedeniyle kentsel ve bölgesel ölçeklerde eşitlikçi ve adil bir gelişme modelini uygulama olanağı bulunmuştur. Kentleşme konusuna kapsamlı ve bütünselci bir çerçevede yaklaşmış, kır ile kentlerin bütünleşmesinde sanayileşmenin önemi vurgulanmıştır. Bu dönemde, kırsal emeğin özgürleşmesi, toplumsal kalkınmanın ve kır-kent bütünleşmesinin temeli olarak görülmektedir. Devlet fabrikaları, sanayi ile kentlerin bütünleşmesinde ve kamusal hizmet sunumunun yeniden tanımlanmasında önemli araçlar olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Cumhuriyetin kamusal mekanları vurgulanmış, kamulaştırılmış topraklar üzerinde kentsel gelişme yönlendirilmiştir.

1930'lu yıllarda, Sanayi Planları sayesinde, üretim süreci yönlendirilebilmiş ve toplumsal sermaye halkçı ve eşitlikçi kalkınma için kullanılabilmiştir. İlginçtir ki, dönemin Sanayi Kenti, Bahçe Kenti gibi şehircilik yazınında ortaya atılan başlıca kentsel gelişme modellerinin uygulamalarını Türkiye örneğinde açıklıkla görebilmekteyiz. Bu genel siyasalar altında, dönemin kent planlama yaklaşımı kestirime dayanmamaktadır. Tersine siyasa yönelimlidir. Yani Anadolu'nun kalkındırılması ve yeni gelişme merkezlerin yaratılması stratejisi saf iktisadi ölçütlerin önüne geçmektedir.

Bu dönemde, toplumsal sermayeyi yönlendirmeye ve denetlemeye yönelik siyasalar ile yeniden bölüşüme yönelik siyasalar başbaşa yürümüş ve bu şekilde, İstanbul'un başatlığına karşı birçok büyüme kutbu yaratılabilmektedir.

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