

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

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

BY

YENER BAŞ

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

AUGUST, 2010

ABSTRACT

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

Baş, Yener

Ph. D., Department of City and Regional Planning

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay

August, 2010, 256 pages

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

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

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

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

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

Baş, Yener
Doktora, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Baykan Günay

Ağustos, 2010, 256 sayfa

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

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

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

Anahtar kelimeler: kentsel biçim, mülkiyet ilişkileri, kentsel morfoloji

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ÖZ	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. AIM OF THE STUDY	1
1.2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK.....	4
1.2.1. Problem of Structure-Agency.....	5
1.2.2. Problem of Necessity-Contingency	6
1.2.3. Morphogenetic Approaches in Urban Morphology	7
1.3. PROPERTY RELATIONS AS THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY	9
1.4. THE CASE STUDY: ANKARA-YENİŞEHİR	10
1.5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY	12
URBAN FORM AS THE MORPHOLOGY OF URBAN SPACE	14
2.1. SPACE CONCEPTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS ON URBAN FORM.....	14
2.1.1. Urban Form as the Form in Absolute Space	15
2.1.2. Urban Form as the Appearance of Relative Space.....	16
2.1.3. Urban Form as the Form of Relational Space	16
2.2. URBAN MORPHOLOGY STUDIES AND IMPLICATIONS ON URBAN BLOCK.....	17
2.2.1. Normative Approaches to Urban Morphology.....	18
2.2.2. Substantive Approaches to Urban Morphology	26
2.2.3. Common Principles and Implications of Substantive Studies.....	34
2.3. CONCLUSION: MARXIAN APPROACHES AND URBAN MORPHOLOGY.....	36

A STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK	38
FOR THE RELATIONAL CONCEPTION OF URBAN FORM.....	38
3.1. INTRODUCTION	38
3.2. URBAN SPACE AS A WORK AND AS A PRODUCT	39
3.3.1. Property Relations and Space.....	43
3.3.2. Historical Evolution of Property Relations and Urban Form.....	45
3.4. PROPERTY RELATIONS AND URBAN SPACE IN CAPITALISM.....	47
3.4.1. Urban Space as a Means of Capital Accumulation	48
3.4.2. Urban Space as a Product of Capital Accumulation	48
3.4.3. Land and Urban Space	49
3.4.4. State, Planning and the Formation of Urban Space.....	53
3.4.5. The Role of Planners in the Formation of Urban Space.....	58
3.5. CONCLUSION: FROM PRODUCTION OF SPACE TO PRODUCTION OF FORM ...	61
PRODUCTION OF URBAN FORM IN THE CAPITALIST CITY	64
4.1. INTRODUCTION	64
4.2. FORMATION OF PARCEL AS A PRODUCT.....	65
4.2.1. Parcel as a Unit of Commodity	66
4.3. FORMATION OF URBAN BLOCK AS A WORK.....	74
4.3.1. Parcel: The Domain of Architects	75
4.3.2. Urban Block: The Domain of Planners	77
4.3.3. Space Fetishism as a Form of Commodity Fetishism	82
4.4. PRODUCTION OF URBAN BLOCK IN THE CAPITALIST CITY	89
4.4.1. Urban Design Approaches and Urban Block in 19 th Century	89
4.4.2. Urban Block in the Modernist Urban Design.....	96
4.4.3. Urban Block in the Postmodern Urban Design	99
4.4.4. Concluding Remarks for the Ideologies of Urban Planning and Design	101
4.5. FORMATION OF DISTRICT AS A PLACE.....	104
4.5.1. The Need for Place.....	105
4.5.2. Definition of the Place with Respect to Property Relations	106

4.5.3. Place: The Context of Relative Permanence	108
4.5.4. Place as a Context of Urban Rent.....	108
4.5.5. Place as a Context of Physical Landscape.....	114
4.5.6. Urban Landscape as a ‘Structure’	117
4.6. CONCLUSION: THE LANDSCAPE OF CONCRETE SPACE VERSUS THE RENTSCAPE OF ABSTRACT SPACE	119
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE CASE STUDY OF YENİŞEHİR.....	122
5.1. INTRODUCTION	122
5.2.1. Geological Metaphor of Urban Space.....	123
5.2.2. Morphological Layers of Urban Formation	124
5.2.3. Determinations between the Sub-layers of the Morphological Layer.....	127
5.2.4. Succession of Morphological Layers and Morphological Periods.....	129
5.2.6. As a Result on Geological Metaphor	130
5.3. ANKARA – YENİŞEHİR AS THE CASE STUDY.....	130
5.4. METHOD OF EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION.....	134
5.4.1. Two Levels of Investigation: Structural and Formal Analysis.....	134
5.4.2. Major Themes of Yenışehir Analysis.....	135
5.4.3. Data Set of the Empirical Investigation	136
GENESIS OF URBAN FORM IN YENİŞEHİR.....	139
6.1. INTRODUCTION	139
6.2. PROPERTY RELATIONS IN OTTOMAN PERIOD AS THE UNDERLYING LAYER.....	141
6.2.1. Early Planning Attempts in Ottoman Period.....	143
6.2.2. As a Result for Ottoman Property Relations and Urban Planning	144
6.3. EMERGENCE OF YENİŞEHİR: LÖRCHER PLAN.....	145
6.3.1. Role of Class Struggle in the Emergence of Yenışehir	146
6.3.2. Lörcher Plan	146
6.3.3. As a Result for Lörcher Period.....	159
6.4. DEVELOPMENT OF YENİŞEHİR: JANSEN PLAN	162
6.4.1. Implementation of Jansen’s Yenışehir Plan	166
6.4.2. The Owners of Yenışehir	173

6.5. CONCLUSION	176
TRANSFORMATION OF URBAN FORM IN YENİŞEHİR.....	185
7.1. INTRODUCTION	185
7.1.1. Determining Facts in the Planning Process of Ankara.....	186
7.2. RISE OF A NEW LAYER: DEMANDS AND TENDENCIES BETWEEN 1936 - 1939.....	187
7.2.1. Parcellation Activities	187
7.2.2. Construction Activities.....	189
7.2.3. Building Order Decisions.....	197
7.2.4. Functional Decisions	198
7.2.5. As a summary for the period 1936-1939.....	199
7.3. INTERRUPTION OF WAR: 1940 - 1945	200
7.4. REGENERATION OF THE TRANSFORMATION LAYER: 1946-1951	201
7.5. CULMINATION OF THE TRANSFORMATION LAYER: 1952-1959.....	203
7.5.1. Yücel-Uybadin Plan	205
7.6. TOWARDS THE THIRD LAYER OF YENİŞEHİR: 1960-1965.....	207
7.6.1. Background of Zoning Floor Order Plan	208
7.6.2. The Law of Flat Ownership and its Impact on Yenışehir	210
7.7. CONCLUSION	212
CONCLUSION	214
8.1. INTRODUCTION	214
8.2. PROPERTY RELATIONS AND URBAN FORM.....	216
8.3. STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK AND THE GENESIS OF YENİŞEHİR	218
8.4. UNIQUENESS VERSUS REPETITION	220
8.5. THE LAYERS OF URBAN FORMATION	222
8.5.1. Transformation of Produced Form.....	224
8.5.2. Transformation of Created Form.....	228
8.5.3. Consolidation of Lived Form	230
8.6. AFTERWORD	231

REFERENCES..... 232

APPENDIX A: CHARTS 240

 1. PARCELLATION ACTIVITIES 240

 2. CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES 241

 3. BUILDING ORDER DECISIONS..... 243

 4. FUNCTIONAL DECISIONS..... 245

 5. STATISTICS OF TITLE DEEDS 246

APPENDIX B: MAPS..... 248

CURRICULUM VITAE..... 256

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIM OF THE STUDY

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

Egli (1936)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

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

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

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

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

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

1.2.1. Problem of Structure-Agency

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2.2. Problem of Necessity-Contingency

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2.3. Morphogenetic Approaches in Urban Morphology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. PROPERTY RELATIONS AS THE FOCUS OF THE STUDY

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4. THE CASE STUDY: ANKARA-YENİŞEHİR

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

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

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

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

1.5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

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

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

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

PRODUCTION OF URBAN FORM as THE REPRODUCTION OF PROPERTY RELATIONS

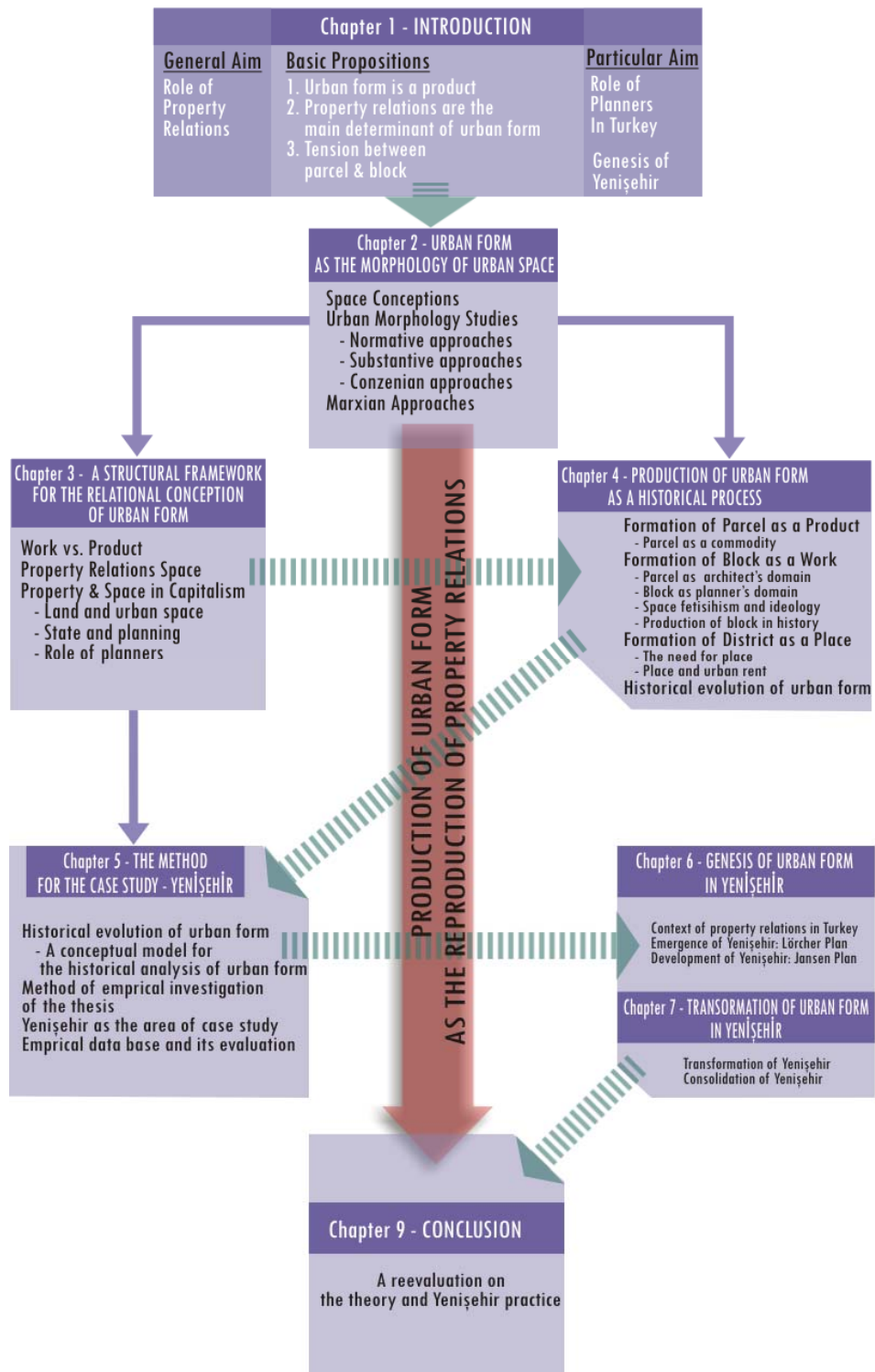


Diagram 1.1. Conceptual Diagram of the Thesis