

# A review of the modernizing impacts of station approaches in the early Republican period

**Sıdıka ÇETİN**

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## **Abstract:**

During the early Republican era, the urban Master Plans implemented in many cities in Turkey, both large and small, played a significant role in the spread of modernization over a wider context. Implemented in the very first years of the Republic and published in such contemporary periodicals as *Arkitekt*, *Municipalities*, and *Cities and Municipalities*, these plans became a hotly debated issue in the world of architecture and the local press. The “modern city” proposed in the Master Plans was, in reality, the key component in the envisaged nation state; and one of the most significant elements of the modern city reflected on the plans was the station approach, which determined the directions of growth of cities at the time.

The intention in this article to investigate to what extent the attitude of the central administration towards the production and regeneration of space was reflected in its own ideology regarding station approaches, the impacts of which are clearly apparent in Anatolian cities. The nation's station approaches are evaluated in terms of their influence on urban focus, and the representative qualities of the surrounding public buildings and residences, as well as the wide array of meanings best owed by those buildings and their interrelation with each other. In the early years of the Republic, approach roads to mainline railway stations, which determined the direction of growth of cities, reflected the secular and modern national identity in all its aspects, and thus had a symbolic meaning in this regard. Also underlined in this article are the reasons why station approaches may be considered as representative spaces in the Master Plans, the qualities of those streets in previous periods and how they became symbolic as a result of the interventions of the early Republican era.

**Keywords:** *Early Republican period, Station Avenue, urban plan, public square, modernization, representationality*

## **Introduction**

The efforts at Westernization that began in the Tanzimat period and continued into the Republican era, despite having the same bases in terms of intention, differed in their methods and implementations (1). The Republican administration foresaw a different kind of modernization than that

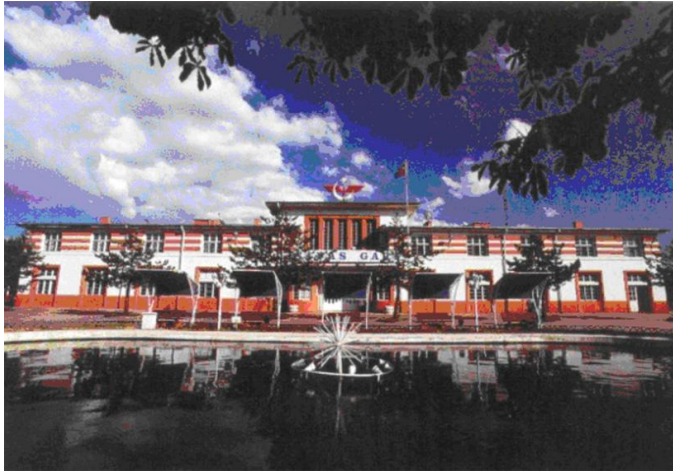
of the bourgeoisie of the Tanzimat period (Yaman 2011): while the Ottoman modernization aimed at the institutional regulation of superstructures, in the Republican period it was not only the transformation of the superstructure that was intended, but the entire social structure (Insel 1990). In other words, in the Ottoman era the state organization was modernized while preserving the social structure, while the elitist authorities who prepared and formed the Republic aimed to change significantly the superstructure and society through in-depth interventions. From this perspective, the modernization of the Republic era can be considered as an ideological attempt to legitimize everything, from the economy to private and public life, and from the city to architecture (Tanyeli, 2003). The modernization project, being holistic in its implementation, covered all aspects of social life, affecting first the institutional structure of the state, after which it shifted to other areas, disseminating into all segments of society.

In order to implement the program, “contemporary individuals” needed to be trained, and so educational institutions were established, and social activities were launched, in which the Community Center played an important role. After leaving behind the traditionalist social structure during the transition of the modern society, the government – as a device of reform – determined a “reformist” or “revolutionist” break point and launched a mission to develop the uneducated and illiterate segment of society (Köker, 2001). In this way, the modernization, which constituted the ideological foundation of Kemalism and the rise of Turkish society above the “level of contemporary civilization” in economic, cultural and political terms, was made possible.

During the Republican period, the problem of the modernization has been realized by the Republican intellectuals within the official program as an intervention of superstructure; the distinction between self-modernization as a social process with this top-down modernization is underlined (Bozdoğan, 2001; Keyder, 1998). As was the case with the Jacobins in France, both in the views of the young Ottoman Turks and the Republican Kemalists, such agents of change as the physical appearance, and the type and quality of the formal institutions were respected as synonymous with the modernization (Kasaba, 1998). Indeed, within these formal agents of change, the physical reconstruction and development of all Anatolian cities and towns was one of the most important steps, with another being the development of the railway network throughout the country.

The Republican cities, which were planned by experts from both Turkey and Europe, were embellished with squares, parks, new administrative structures and road axes that sought to highlight contemporary urban life and its importance under the new regime. Within this facet, the Republican ideology sought to put forward an integrative architecture, and for this reason, the buildings constructed during the early Republican era are mostly formal structures, designed to portray the image of an equal homeland in all aspects (Tanyeli, 2004, 28). This understanding, far from the effects of locality and territoriality, offers a political and ideology-oriented point of view. Squares, parks, residences and public buildings were created in many cities in the country with a more holistic approach, and even the streets themselves, stand out as equivalent ideological images (Figure 1,2,3).

In parallel with leading opinions in literature on architectural history, the station approaches, being the main concern of this article, were part of the architecture of the early Republican era that was shaped by ideological



**Figure 1, 2, 3.** Station buildings as an important ideological image: Malatya, Sivas and Manisa Stations (Trenler Anılardan Geçer, 2004)

preferences rooted in modernization. The plans of these avenues were developed in a political environment in which local and individual features were less influential, being considered as places where the new way of life of the designed nation state would be experienced. In a way, this was a field of implementation in which the changing social and cultural values were conveyed to the contemporary individuals of the Republic.

The axis also determined a new direction for the development of the city and the station approaches had already begun to develop before the Republican period in the cities served by the railway. For this reason, the reflection of the modernization movement that began with the Tanzimat reforms had already emerged before the Republican period on these new axes. In other words, while the station approaches were a symbol of the modernization of the early Republican era, they also bore traces of the spatial transformations of the Ottoman Empire that were taking place at the end of the 19th century. In this respect, it may be said that there was continuity in the modernization of the nation's station approach roads between the two periods.

### **The Republican city in the planning understanding of the early Republican period**

The indoctrination of the Republican ideology into Anatolian cities and the establishment of close relations with the center was an important spatial strategy of the Republican administration. To ensure this integrity, the most important step was the establishment of a railroad network, with Ankara at the very

center. A further step was to draw up Master Plans that had to be applied within five years in cities with populations of over 5,000 according to the Building and Roads Act of 1933 (Tekeli & Ortaylı, 1978, 74). The urban aspect of the Kemalist project manifested in the Master Plans bore evidence

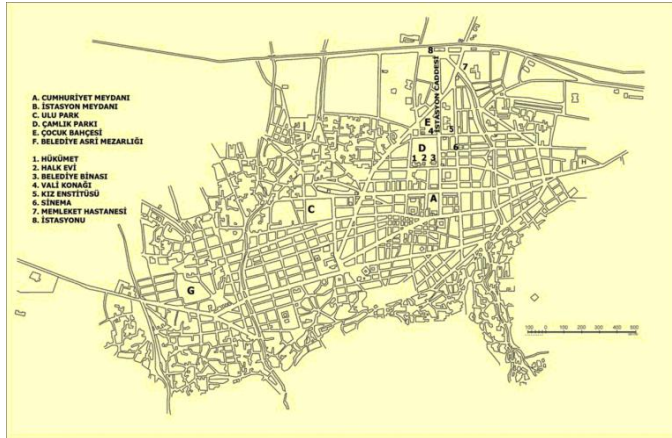
of a desire to create modern and Westernized cities, however the project represented more than just simple cultural emulation, as the modern city was at the core of the efforts to create the nation state (Şengül, 2001, 73). The application of the railroad project ensured the integrity of the internal market and provided fast, reliable and comfortable connections between remote areas and the center, fulfilling all the requirements of modern life and facilitating the development of trade and industry. The railroad project and the implementation of the Master Plans in the cities of the new Republic were part of the “General Public Works Program (Umumi Nafia Programı)” (Şentürk, 1939, 17), which was followed by the selection of locations for factories in Anatolian cities served by the railroad network. This was envisaged in the industrial plans and was implemented as a requirement of the statism policy (Tekeli, 1998, 4–5).

Obtaining the town maps forming a base for these Master Plans initiated in order to render a modern display of cities can be considered as the first initiative in this regard. The Ministry of the Republic provided the town maps of those cities for which Master Plans were to be prepared, which were to contain also details for the installation of a water supply system, a sewage system and sports facilities. To oversee these works, a Master Board of Municipalities was established in compliance with Law No. 2763 (Şentürk 1939, 19-21). After the completion of the town maps, the Master Plans were started within the framework of a five-year program, in which the cities with completed plans and those within the program were announced in the Municipality Journal’s April 1933 issue. “The cities with completed master plans” were announced as Adana (Jansen), Afyon (Hilmi Baykal), Ankara (Jansen), Antalya, Aydın, Edremit (Nafia), Gaziantep (Jansen), Giresun, İzmit (Jansen), Kayseri, Malatya, Mersin (Jansen), Muğla, Niğde (Egli), Tarsus (Jansen) and Tokat (Avni Par); the “cities with master plans in progress” were named as Adapazarı, Edirne, Ayvalık (Nafia), Denizli (Nafia), Diyarbakır (Nafia), Trabzon (Nafia), Erzurum (Lamberg), İstanbul (Prost) and Sivas (Nafia); while Akşehir, Balıkesir (Egli), Bursa (Prost), Kütahya (Celal Esat), Maraş (Asım Kömürcüoğlu), Samsun, Tekirdağ, Urfa (Asım Kömürcüoğlu) and Zonguldak (Vandenberg) were announced as “cities for which the Master Plans are under bid”. The remaining 37 cities were included on a list of “cities for which the master plans are to be prepared” (Yenen, 1939, 36).

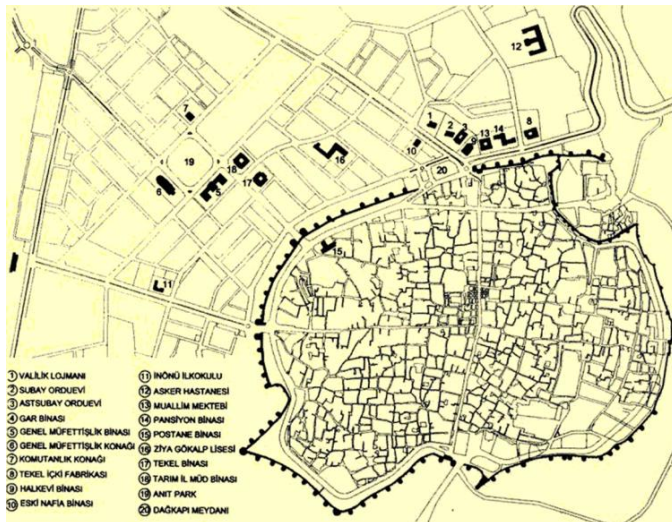
A close scrutiny of these lists indicates that priority was given to cities on the Ankara-based integrated railroad network containing industrial facilities and those on the main railroad lines (2). It is well known that during the Republican era the railway was seen as a tool for the development of the national economy and the utilization of the country’s own resources. In the first and the second Five-Year industry Plans of 1932 and 1936, priority was given to such heavy industries as iron & steel, coal and machinery (Onur, 1953). In the dissemination of industry throughout the country, the railroad was considered as a key asset, and station buildings were built first in the cities with natural resources, while previously unconnected routes were linked to create the network. The central government expanded the network in order to facilitate access to towns and cities in remote parts of the country, where the railroad station became an important element of the city center.

While the government was establishing the rail network, great efforts were being spent in the reconstruction of Anatolia’s cities. The cities of the early Republican era were being shaped under a notion of modernization that was





**Plan 1.** The Station Approach in the master plan of Manisa (Köklü, 1993)



**Plan 2.** The Station Approach in the master plan of Diyarbakır (Dalkılıç & Halifeoğlu, 2011)



**Plan 3.** The Station Approach in the master plan of Adana (Ökesli, 2009)

thought to be an entirely rational and universal teaching, and with the idea that modern lifestyles and cultural forms were to be a final and natural target of the whole of society on the way to development (Çıkiş, 2011, 45). The Master Plans followed a modernist approach, featuring right-angled streets and wide boulevards with public squares at the intersections. The ongoing development movements related to city centers prepared the environmental spaces for the ideology of modernization. The most characteristic aspect of the new urban centers was the embodiment of such buildings as government offices, municipality buildings, and squares and monuments celebrating the Republic, differing from previous implementations that featured such diverse creations as parks, city casinos, hotels and community centers. The way of unification of these structures and their rational installation, which represents the modernization, are perceived as an identification with Ankara in terms of spatial and emotional representation (Kayın, 2009, 86). In the establishment of the “City of the Republic” concept the restructuring and diversification of public areas was thought to be an important reflection of the desired ideological transformation of space. In a way, the new public buildings were to serve as a reminder of the ideology of the Republic. In the Master Plans of many mid-sized cities of Anatolia, the approaches to the railway stations were the most prominent and glorious axes, leading from the station to the Republic Square, and lined by key public buildings and modernist housing, in accordance with the ideology of the period (Plan 1,2,3).

### **The station avenue concept in the cities of the early Republican period**

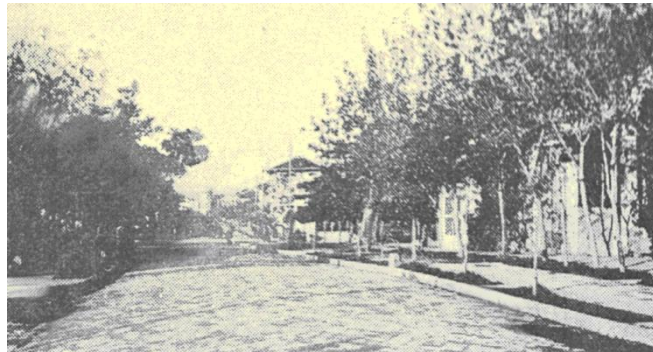
The “Space of modernity” role conceptualized by W. Benjamin for the boulevards of Paris was applied to the station approaches in the early Republican period, and asserted as most clear example of modernity in Turkey by Tanyeli (1998, 105) – a fact that has been raised in many studies. The station approach allows visibility of the modernity project in urban space, collecting within itself the station complex, green areas and other public buildings as a modernist urban zoning arrangement, and featuring trees and segregated vehicle and pedestrian traffic, differing significantly from the older urban pattern (Bilgin, 1998, 260) (Figure 4,5,6,7,8).

The idea of the “Station Approach” was not born out of the Republican period in Turkey, as the concept was already emerging at the end of the 19th century, particularly in Western Anatolian cities, during the Ottoman era. At this time, railway stations, which were often located close to the city center, became a focal point for the development of new settlements. The stations had an obvious effect on the planning of new residential areas and in determining the direction of urban development. During this period, new neighborhoods were established, taking on the name of the stations, and modern streets were opened, just as would happen in the Republican era. Areas surrounding the stations were turned into lively social spaces with the inclusion of factories, government offices, hotels, coffee houses and fine restaurants.

The railroad affected several settlement areas in a multifaceted way, as can be seen in Manisa, Turgutlu, Salihli, Alaşehir, Eşme and Uşak, all of which are located on the Izmir–Kasaba railway line that opened in 1864 (Figure 9). New settlement areas sprang up on the fertile agricultural lands close to the new stations, and the 1–6km-long road axes between the



**Figure 4.** *Gaziantep Station Approach (Güzelbey, 1964, 9)*



**Figure 5.** *Manisa Station Approach (Inonu Boulevard) (Municipalities Journal, 1939, 40)*



**Figure 6.** *Isparta Station Approach (Inonu Boulevard) (Isparta Governorship, 2001)*



**Figure 7.** *Afyon Station Approach (Ordu-İstanbul Boulevard) (www.TURKEY.com)*



railroad and the city become areas for development (Ceylan, 2010). Likewise, the railroad that came to Adana in 1886 that was constructed by the British resembled a campus, covering an area of 45,000m<sup>2</sup> and containing the station itself, as well as houses, health, security and social facilities, and maintenance and repair buildings (Akpolat, 2004). The newly constructed station building and the road leading to the city center from the square in front was the first area to be developed in this period.

The inauguration in 1894 of an iron factory and workshop in Eskişehir, the gateway from Central Anatolia to the west, for the repair and the production

of railroad cars on the main line coming from Haydarpaşa accelerated development around the station. The complex, which contained public housing, accommodation for workers, social facilities, a warehouse and a depot, was the liveliest spot in the city. Similarly, the İzmir-Uşak-Afyon railroad, the construction of which was launched by Smyrna Cassaba Railway (SCR), reached Afyon in 1879, and the first station of the city, İzmir Station, was opened (Figure 10). Istanbul Station, as a part of the Baghdad Railroad, entered into operation in 1895 (Özpınar, 2000). The Hüdavendigâr City Almanak (Hüdavendigâr Vilayet Salnamesi) of 1898 referred to several hotels, shops, casinos and cafes in the areas surrounding the Istanbul and İzmir stations, revealing the growing liveliness of these areas (Aktüre, 1978) (Figure 11).

Another striking example in this regard is Konya. The opening of the Anatolia-Baghdad railroad in 1896 launched several developments in the urbanization of the city. The station and its surroundings gained commercial importance, and many shops and offices migrated from the city center to the areas around the station approach, which consequently became host to the best hotels, restaurants, offices and entertainment venues. At the beginning of the century, the avenue connecting the station to the city was lined with plane trees on both sides (Odabaşı, 1998) (Figure 12).



**Figure 8.** Konya Station Approach, 1930s (Karpuz, 1996)



**Figure 9.** The Manisa Station Approach in the 19th Century (Manisa Governorship Archive)



**Figure 10.** İzmir Station, constructed in 1879, Afyon (Gökhan Yalçınkaya)

At the outset of the Republic, in line with the new ideological thought, the purpose of the existing avenues changed, and in the Anatolian cities connected to the railroad network in the Republican period, the station approaches were renovated in line with the ideology of the regime. The progress of the cities towards the station continued into the Republican period. In the Master Plan prepared for Ankara, the station approach was designed as “the most prestigious principal a venue entering the city”, as had been the case in all European countries until that time (Cengizkan, 2004, 119).

The station approach is not only a trace of a road, as it also forms a meaningful relationship with the elements at its two ends. For Ankara, the station, which links the city to the outside world, lies on the Station–1st Assembly–Taşhan–Citadel axis, having been designed as the most significant avenue in the city. Along its route, the avenue is lined by the business center, the New Grand National Assembly (2nd Grand National Assembly), a new hotel (Ankara Palas), a new park (National Garden) and even a new bar (Cengizkan, 2002, 226). The station approaches in other Anatolian cities similarly feature two-way traffic systems in which the road layout and the green pedestrian routes are the most modernized parts of the city, and are home to nobody but the Republican elite.

The station approaches in the period were generally linked to the central square along a linear axis, although this was not the case in cities such as Diyarbakır, Erzurum and Konya, where the station buildings were constructed before the Master Plans were drawn up (3). In Diyarbakır, the station approach first reaches Mardinkapı Square, and follows the line of the city walls before arriving at the monumental Dağkapı Square (4) (Plan 4). In the case of Konya, the avenue leading from the station first arrives at Monument Square (Nation Garden), and from here, where it becomes Ataturk Avenue, it continues to Government Square in the city center. In Konya, prior to the new plan, discussions were made regarding the connection of the station to the center along a linear axis, or even changing its location. These plans were abandoned due to financial restraints, and it was decided to form a link with the great square, where the National Garden and Gazi

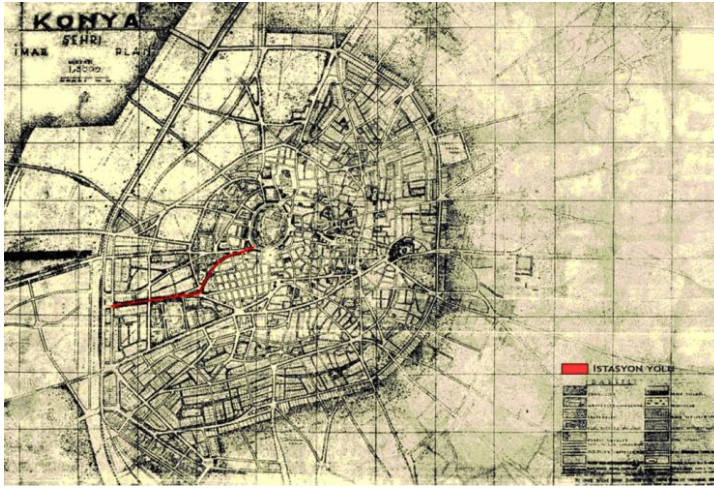


**Figure 11.** *Regeneration of the Station Approach at the beginning of the 20th century, Afyon (Uyan, 2000)*



**Figure 12.** *Konya Station Approach in the 19th Century (Karpuz, 1996)*





**Plan 4.** Konya master plan (Arkitekt, 1947)



**Figure 13.** Monument Square, Konya (Karpuz, 1996)

Sculpture were located, via a secondary road (Şehabettin, 1934, 145–146) (Figure 13).

#### **Urban focuses that station avenues are linked**

In the planning understanding of the early Republican period, the concept of “square” played a significant role in setting the existing city and the new development areas in a common context. Among those, the axial connection between the station and the Republic (Government) Square reflected the power of the current government, being considered as the backbone of the modernization project of the city and conveying the power to the urban space with modern transportation, as well as the power of the culture from the past. Cengizkan puts forward the first urban plan of Ankara made by Lörcher as an example of this, in which historic importance is attributed to the citadel as representative of the power of previous cultures. An “axiality” was created among the citadel, Station Square, the Parliament building and the

poniard-form of the Ministry district, engraving a particular design on the physical space of Ankara that was preserved until the 1950s (Cengizkan, 2004, 75). In several plans from the period, the squares were symbolic elements that conveyed the power of the previous cultures onto that of the Republican government. The key squares were renamed Republic Square and Government Square, and sometimes the Community Houses Squares are linked to the station in a linear arrangement. The Republic and Government Squares are stated on the Master Plans as reflecting the power of the new Republic. In the plan made for Isparta by Oelsner and Aru it is stated that the Station Square has been symbolically rearranged; however in principle, Station Square is not emphasized much, however the effect is gradually increased for Government Square (Figure 14). In the plan, Government Square is defined as “the site where all the ornamental aspects of the city are gathered” (Oelsner&Aru Raporu, 1943, 1618).

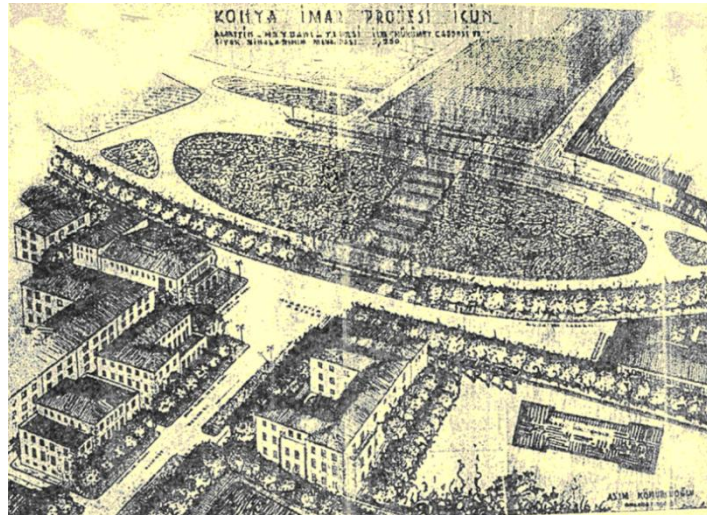
As a consequence, in Republican cities the most important and largest squares, commonly the Government or Republic Squares are surrounded by public buildings (Figure15,16,17); and these squares are considered as areas in which the identity of the nation state is internalized through the modernization project, and where the definition of the West-centric public

space is implemented by the selective elite holding the governing power with a public conscious that surrounds the Old-City (Sargın, 2009). In this regard, the existence of public buildings around the square and the representation of an ideology became significant in two aspects. The first of these is the connotation of public spaces in Ankara and in all other cities as in Europe, with their modern streets, wide boulevards and contemporary citizens, to a new time and new civilization, and the realization of this project would be possible only with the production of the spatial equivalences of modern life. The second aspect is the relationship of the public spaces and public buildings to the projects of the Republic on socio-cultural and social levels on a metaphorical plane (Kılınc, 2002, 123). In other words, the publicity aimed with the square finds a spatial equivalence in material terms owing to its physical organization, while also setting the nation state concept into an abstract framework that regenerates it into an ideological representation. The great meaning attributed to these squares in the Master Plans of the period makes their significance, with their executive characteristics, undeniable.

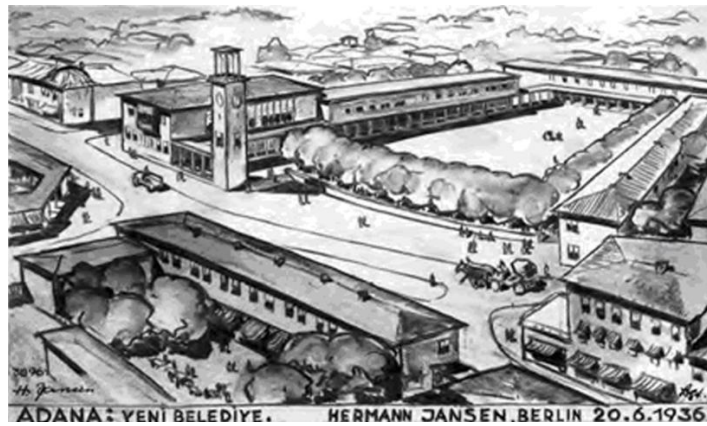
The first trace of spaces that could be defined as “governance centers” in the cities was seen in the Ottoman period following the application of the Tanzimat reforms. As a result of the changes occurring both in the city and in the organizational structure, new land uses emerged that included government houses, municipality buildings, hospitals, schools, courts, police stations and barracks in almost all Anatolian cities (5). The new and modern institutions that emerged at the end of the 19th century were located near the traditional



**Figure14.** Isparta Government Square and the old Municipality Building (Isparta Governorship, 2001)



**Figure15.** Government Square, Konya (Arkitekt, 1947, 17)



**Figure 16.** Governance Square in the plan of H. Jansen, Adana (Ökesli, 2009)





**Figure 17.** The connection of Republic Square and Station Approach, Burdur (Municipality of Burdur)



**Figure 18.** Government office and park arrangement, Gaziantep (Yüce, 2010)



**Figure 19.** Atatürk Monument, Tokat (Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, 1936)

market (Aktüre, 1978) and directed towards the railway station. The Government Squares and their surroundings reflected the power that came from the past, while the current power was reflected in such public buildings as the new government offices, municipality buildings, post offices, banks, monopoly (inhisar) building, Atatürk monuments and city park (Figure 18,19).

In the Master Plan prepared for Erzincan one end of 25m wide road is connected to Republic Squares, and is surrounded by public buildings. At the end of the road is located the post office, and at the other end are the Monopoly (İnhisarlar) Buildings. Adjacent to these buildings a Municipality Park was created by merging three large gardens, on one side of which was a library, while on the opposite side was a Community House and a theatre. Next to the Community House was an Officer's Club and the offices of the Military Inspector ship. The area behind the park was for houses with gardens (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1940, 23). Afyon Abide (Government) Square, too, is surrounded by buildings, including government offices, a new municipality hall, a Girls' Institute, a cinema, a city hotel and casinos and the square representing the modernization of the urban form. Anıtpark, reassigned for recreation, contained the Victory Monument, designed by the sculptor Kripple, obviously has a modern meaning. Celebrations of the anniversary of the inauguration of the monument and public holidays in the park

contribute to the formation of a social consciousness, and act as a reminder of the nationstate (Figure 20). This is a good example of the ideological shift that took place in almost all Anatolian cities, albeit not always as distinguished as in the Afyon case.



City centers at the time, besides being centers of governance where a public consciousness was promoted, developed also cultural functions as a requirement of the modernization ideology, with the City Club, cinema, and especially the Community Center playing influential roles. Within this wide variety of building types, it is surprising that the mosque was not included, as the mosque had been a powerful cultural edifice in the preceding period. Bozdoğan reasons that community centers take over traditional and social functions, as well as the architectural priority of the mosques (Bozdoğan, 2002, 109); and therefore, public interventions in this period can be said to have brought to an end the traditional pattern in the city center. What emerged was an urban organization in which brand new economic and social relations were set forth. What is in the center of the city and the life of the citizen are utterly this new public order.

#### Public buildings and houses with symbolic features on station avenues

The station avenues of the early Republican period may be considered as connecting elements that permitted the diffusion of modern life into the city center, the station and its surroundings. This extension of public activity into the center was facilitated by the presence of public buildings like Governorship House, commandership house, the stadium, the City Park, the primary school, the Girls' Institute (Figure 21, 22). Houses with

gardens built in a modernist style complemented the landscape, and the station itself was a modernist project. The station buildings in the rural cities, as the most important element of the modernization project in the early years of the Republic had a meaning that went way beyond a mere hub of transportation. The buildings played a significant role in the construction of national consciousness, being places where Turkish people could go to the cinema or theatre, and where they could for the first time access hot water



**Figure 20.** Anıtpark and Utku Monument, Afyon (Gölhan Yalçinkaya)



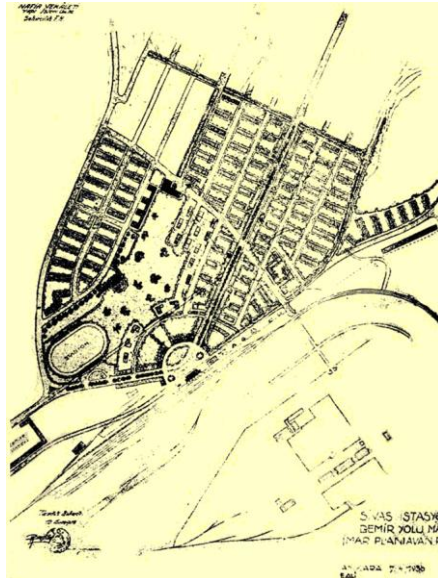
**Figure 21.** Girls' Institute on Manisa Station Approach (Anatolian Teachers' School Archive)



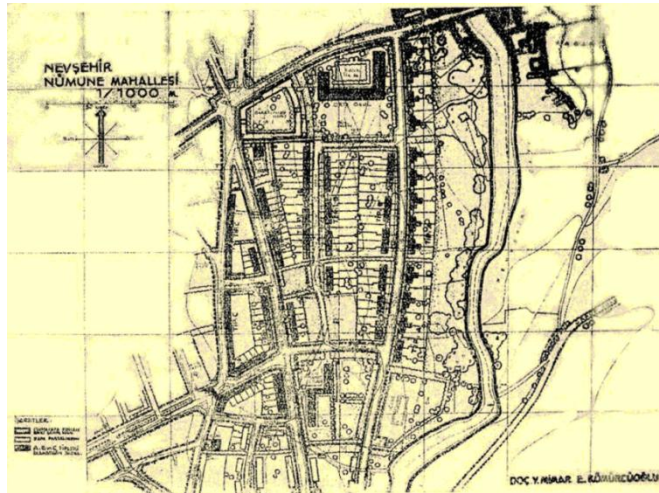
**Figure 22.** Examples of Republican period housing on Station Approach, Afyon (Gökhan Yalçinkaya)

and modern toilets connected to a sewage system, depending on the location (Demiryolu, 2006, 122). Tanyeli states that the stations were a focal point of contemporary life, stating that, in Ankara, up until the 1960s, the station housed the city's best restaurant and nightclub (Tanyeli, 1998, 101). Thus, for the development of a modern society in Anatolian cities, the station buildings were of primary importance.

In several Anatolian cities, in a modernist approach the staff of the State Railway were provided with housing (in Station Districts) around the new station buildings. In H.J. Lambert's 1939 plan for Erzurum, Prof. H. Jansen's 1935 plan for Gaziantep and the plan of Sivas drawn up by the Public Department City Planning Council (Nafia Vekaleti Şehircilik Fen Heyeti) it is stated that new station buildings were planned for the collective living of railroad workers (Belediyeler Dergisi, 1940, 23; Gaziantep Belediyesi, Tarihsiz, 1) (Plan 5). In addition to these, Kütahya, Kayseri, Eskişehir also constructed new station buildings and neighborhoods.



**Plan 5.** Railroad Workers' District, Sivas (Bilgin, 1999, 244)



**Plan 6.** Sample District, Nevşehir (Arkitekt, 1946, 212)

Apart from the railway workers, the public too were appointed "sample districts" in the Master Plans, as defined in Items 30 and 31 of the "Instructions for Urban Master Plans Regulation Works (Şehir İmar Planlarının Tanzim İşlerine Ait Talimatname)", in which it was indicated that "experts, considering the current state of each city, will give a sample district plan as well as public regulations to the municipalities". In the Instructions, municipalities were asked to encourage the city's occupants to move to the sample districts, and to take the initiative in the implementation of the Master Plan (Yenen, 1939, 42–43). In the Master Plans, which detailed infrastructure services and addressed all of the necessities for modern life, different plan types were suggested, using such modern terminology as "low-rise", "detached or semi-detached duplex houses with gardens," and "apartment-type buildings". The neighborhood was separated from the settlement area by green areas or sports facilities, and was to contain education establishments such as primary schools or sometimes Girls' Institutes. The wide roads and gardens and the low-intensity rational settlement patterns in these areas were symbolic of the modern lifestyle (Plan 6). In the early Republican

period, the people that chose to live on the station approaches and in the surrounding areas were the intellectuals that embraced the Republican ideals and more notable families of the city.

## Conclusion

This article presents an analysis of the regeneration process of the physical environment, using as its basis the station approaches in the Master Plans of the early Republican period. An examination of the planning processes of Anatolian cities in this period reveals that the conceptualization and design of the cities was carried out strictly in line with predetermined goals. The area in which the envisaged national identity was most heavily concentrated, which was the site of many discussions over the following years, was predominantly the axis that began at the railway station and culminated at Government Square. In other words, the urban areas that “public individuals” generated in Anatolian cities were the station approaches and the connection points. The most important conclusion drawn from this study, in which station approaches are deemed to have occupied a significant place in the planning understanding of the period from the perspective of modernity, is that they were not only a tool for structural regeneration, but also a mechanism in the production of ideological support, a contemporary public and modern spaces.

It can clearly be seen that the station approaches in early Republican cities were an effective tool for regeneration, and were designed as an obvious implementation area of the modernization project. They were models areas in which new public uses were experienced, green areas were introduced to the general public, and a collective living consciousness was promoted among the railroad workers and the residents of the “sample districts” of the “garden city” type, in which not only the form of houses changed, but also the lifestyles within them. Just as Ankara was seen as a source of reference for other cities, the station avenues influenced the implementations throughout the rest of the city.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from this article and the research of early Republican cities is that when modernity is reduced to a single building scale, it recedes from the holistic perception. Analyses of the architectural history of a particular period or location generally take the form of a discussion of the style of the period or the ideological meanings behind it; however an analysis of content and meaning that is solely dependent on the style and ideology of a single building can lead to a narrowing of the framework of the subject. A more meaningful conclusion can be drawn from a comparative evaluation of the locations of the particular types of buildings of concern, their urban focuses, their relations with each other, and many other effects. This article considers station approaches primarily as a means of approaching the building itself, taking into account its location and the understanding of the period in a holistic way. The depth of the subject prevents it from being given due justice in this article, considering the number of cities, each with a unique history and geographical and topographical situation. For this reason, several other researches are required to evaluate the station approaches of different cities in more detail.

## Notes

- (1) For further information on “Turkish Modernization” see: Kılıçbay M.A.(2000) *Atatürkçülük yada Türk Aydınlanması, Türkiye’de Politik Değişim ve Modernleşme* (Ed.) E. Kalaycıoğlu and A.Y. Sarıbay, Alfa Publishing, İstanbul;



- Kazancıgil A. (1982), *Türkiye’de Modern Devletin Oluşumu ve Kemalizm*, Toplum ve Bilim, 17, Spring 1982, 64-87)
- (2) In the Republican era, the construction of railroads was seen as “national litigation”, and until 1940 the process of making railroad has occurred a campaign criteria. In the Iron Networks project, “the newly constructed routes” were the Samsun–Sivas line: connecting Central Anatolia with the Black Sea region; the connecting line of the Government center to Kayseri with the most important cities of central Anatolia region: Ankara–Sivas line; and continuation of this line, Sivas–Erzurum line; the Kütahya–Balıkesir line: connecting the Anatolia–Baghdad line to İzmir; a line that connects Anatolia–Baghdad line with Ankara–Sivas line by passing from Mersin and Samsun cities: the Ulukışla–Kayseri line; covering the Elazığ and Diyarbakır region: Fevzipaşa–Diyarbakır; an extending line to Zonguldak coal basin: Irmak–Ereğli line; a line that provides link between Anatolian and towns of İzmir: Afyon–Antalya line. (See: Mühendis İbrahim, *Yeni Demiryollarımıza Dair, Nafia İşleri Mecmuası*, Year: 1, Issue: 3, August 1934, pp.35-40)
- (3) Diyarbakır became one of the “eight state construction commission centers” in Turkey (Jansen, 1936, 24). With the improvement of the General Inspectorship, urban development witnessed a significant acceleration. The railway station of the city was

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### **Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi istasyon caddelerinin modernleştirici etkileri üzerine bir inceleme**

Ulus-devlet ideolojisi çerçevesinde yürütülen erken Cumhuriyet dönemi modernleşme projesi, aynı zamanda yeni bir yasal ve kurumsal sürecin başlangıcıdır. Devlet eliyle gerçekleştirilen imar düzenlemeleri ve mimarlık faaliyetleri, projenin kentsel alana yansıyan yönünü oluşturur. 1930'lu yıllar, bir yandan Kemalist ideolojinin amaçlarına uygun olarak hazırlanan reformların sağlamlaştırıldığı ve halka benimsetildiği; diğer yandan da ülkemiz açısından yeni bir planlama sürecinin başlatıldığı bir dönem olarak dikkat çeker. Belirlenen ideolojik program çerçevesinde, başta Ankara olmak üzere tüm yurdu kapsayan bir dizi imar faaliyeti sürdürülür. Bunlar aracılığıyla kentlerin temizlik, sağlık ve güzellik unsurlarına sahip, modern bir görüntüye kavuşturulması hedeflenmektedir. Dönemin temel sosyal politikalarına uygun olarak geliştirilen planlama sürecinde kentler bütüncül bir yaklaşımla ele alınmış, demiryoluyla bağlantılı sanayi kentlerinin oluşturulmasına özen gösterilmiş, kurgulanmak istenen Cumhuriyet kentleri arasındaki entegrasyonu sağlayacak demiryolu projesine ulusal bir önem atfedilmiştir. Ancak bunlar içinde Ankara'nın Cumhuriyet başkentine yakışır bir biçimde yeniden inşa edilmesi, kuşkusuz yönetim en fazla mesai harcadığı konuların başında yer almaktadır.

Planlama sürecine ilişkin yasal çerçevenin oluşturulması için 1930-1935 yılları arasında art arda bir takım düzenlemeler yapılmıştır. Osmanlıdan kalan mevzuatın değiştirilerek yeni bir kurumsal düzenin getirilmesi amacıyla yürütülen çalışmalar içinde, 1933 tarihli "Yapı ve Yollar Kanunu" en önemli yasal düzenleme olarak değerlendirilebilir. Yasayla, nüfusu beş binden fazla olan tüm kentler ve kasabaların beş yıl içinde imar planlarının yapılmasını zorunlu hale getirilmiştir. Bu tarihten itibaren ülkede hızlı bir plan yapım süreci başlatılmış ve Jansen, Prost, Lambert, Eegli, Oelsner, Vavdengerg gibi yabancı uzmanların da aralarında yer aldığı plancılar tarafından pek çok yerleşmenin imar planı hazırlanmıştır.

Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde Anadolu kentlerinin belirlenen program dahilinde bütünleştirilmesi ve merkezle sıkı ilişkiler kurması yönetiminin en önemli mekan stratejileri arasında yer almaktadır. İmar planları aracılığıyla ortaya konmak istenen modern kent olgusu, bu dönemde ulus devletin yapı taşı olarak görülmüştür. Bu bağlamda uygulanan imar planlarına, modernite projesini ülke çapına yaygınlaştırma gibi bir işlev yüklendiği söylenebilir. Sözü edilen planlarda en fazla modernlik vurgusuna sahip alanları ise, hiç kuşkusuz istasyonu yeni yönetim merkezine bağlayan "İstasyon Caddeleri" oluşturmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, erken Cumhuriyet döneminin düşünce ortamını oluşturan modern/lik/leşme/leştirme kavramlarının en fazla mekansal karşılığını bulduğumuz İstasyon Caddelerinin bağlandığı kentsel odaklar, üzerindeki kamusal temsiller ve gündelik hayata kattığı yeni yaşamsal pratiklerin incelenmesidir. Başla bir değişle erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki ulusal kimlik arayışında İstasyon Caddelerinin baskın rolü, araştırmanın temel bakış açısını oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada çeşitli kentlere ait örnek imar planı uygulamalarında caddelerin boyutları, bağlandığı kentsel odaklar, caddeye temsili nitelik kazandıran yapılar, bunların dizilimindeki anlam ve birbirleriyle ilişkiler ideolojik açıdan ele alınmaktadır. Bu nedenle, döneme ait planlarda kentlerin yeni gelişme yönünü belirleyen İstasyon Caddeleri yazıda seküler, modern, ulusal kimliğin ortaya konduğu simgesel önemde yol aksları oldukları ve bu yönleriyle kentler üzerinde bariz dönüştürücü etkilere sahip oldukları savıyla hareket edilmiştir. Demiryolu bağlantısı Cumhuriyetten önce kurulan Anadolu kentlerinde, İstasyon Caddesi kavramı daha o dönemde oluşmaya başlamıştır. İstasyon Caddeleri bu



süreçte inşa edilen otel, lokanta, banka binası, okul ve konut gibi yapılardan oluşan önemli bir yapı stoğuna sahiptir. Dolayısıyla o dönemde kentin modernleşen kesimi olarak gelişme göstermiştir. Ancak cadde erken Cumhuriyet dönemi müdahaleleriyle simgeselleştirilmiş ve modernleşme eksenine oturtulan ideolojik tercihlerle yeniden biçimlendirilmiştir. Temsili önemdeki bu caddelerin değişen sosyal ve kültürel değerlerin, çağdaş bireylere aktarıldığı, yeni yaşam pratiklerinin deneyimlendiği bir uygulama alanı olduğu söylenebilir.

Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi kentleri, modern yaşam biçimlerinin ve kültürel değişimlerin topluma aktarıldığı bir alan olduğu düşüncesiyle biçimlendirilmişlerdir. Bu nedenle ulus-devletin inşasında temel belirleyici unsurlardan biridir. Modernist bir yaklaşımla ele alınan imar planları dik açılı caddeler, geniş bulvarlar ve bunların birleşim noktalarında düşünülen meydanlardan oluşan bir strüktüre sahiptir. Yapılan bu düzenlemeler, modernleşme ideolojisinin çevre mekanlarını hazırlamıştır. Öncekinden farklı bir kurguya sahip olan yeni kent merkezlerinin en belirgin yönü hükümet konağı, belediye, Cumhuriyet meydanı, kent parkı ve anıt gibi yapılarla somutlaşan ve halkevi, şehir gazinosu, otel gibi yapılarla çeşitlenen bir kurguya sahip olmasıdır. Tüm kentlerde yapıların bir araya geliş biçimi neredeyse aynı temel kurguyla oluşturulmuştur.

Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi planlama anlayışında İstasyon-Cumhuriyet Meydanı eksenel bağlantısı, kentlerdeki modernleşme projesinin omurgasını oluşturmaktadır. Aksın kent merkezi yönündeki bağlantı noktası hem erkin kentsel mekana yansıtılması bağlamında mevcut iktidarın, hem de geçmişten gelen kültüre ait iktidarın gücünü yansıtmaktadır. Hükümet Meydanları, planlarda kentin ortaya koyacağı değerlerin bir araya toplandığı mevki olarak belirlenmiş ve simgesel anlamlar yüklenmiştir. Cumhuriyet ya da Hükümet Meydanı, ulus-devlet kimliğinin toplum tarafından içselleştirilmeye çalışıldığı, Batı kökenli kamusal alan kavramının yönetici elit tarafından uygulamaya konduğu alanlardır. Meydanla kurulmaya çalışılan kamusal alan, bir taraftan fiziki bir örgütlenme biçimi olması nedeniyle somut mekansal karşılığını bulmakta, diğer taraftan da ulus-devlet olgusunun ideolojik temsiliyete dönüştüğü daha soyut bir çerçeveye oturmaktadır. Yönetim merkezlerinin kentlerdeki ilk nüveleri Tanzimat'ın kent alanına ilişkin düzenlemeleri çerçevesinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Hükümet konağı, belediye binası, mahkeme binası, okul, kışla gibi yeni kamusal yapılar kentsel mekanda, yeni ticaret merkezinin yakınında ve istasyon aksının başlangıcında konumlanmıştır. Cumhuriyet dönemine gelindiğinde ise, yeni ideolojik tercihler doğrultusunda değiştirilmiş ve düzenlenmiştir. Cumhuriyet döneminin kent merkezleri, kamusal bilincin var olduğu yönetim merkezi olmanın yanı sıra, modernleşme ideolojisinin ortaya çıkardığı şehir kulübü, sinema, halkevi, kent parkı gibi kültürel işlevlerin yer aldığı yapılarla da donatılmıştır. İstasyon caddeleri yönetim merkezi ile istasyon ve civarında kurgulanmak istenen modern yaşam biçimlerinin birbirine nüfuz etmesini sağlayan bağlayıcı unsurlar olarak değerlendirmek gerekir. Yönetim merkezi, İstasyon Caddesi ve üzerinde oluşturulmak istenen biçimsel ve ideolojik düzenlemeler, numune mahalleleri ve garlar hep bu karşılıklı ilişkinin anlamlı uzantılarıdır.

İstasyondan başlayan ve çoğunlukla Cumhuriyet veya Hükümet Meydanı ile sonlanan İstasyon Caddeleri, imar planlarının en belirgin ve itibarlı yol akslarını oluşturmakta; bu yönleriyle de modernite projesinin kentsel mekanda görünürliğini sağlayan bir işlevi bulunmaktadır. Cadde boyutları, yarlarda gezinti amaçlı oluşturulmuş geniş ağaçlı kaldırımları, kilit taşı döşenmiş çift yönlü araba yolları ile kendisi başlıbaşına modernleştirici bir unsurdur. Bunlar; üzerinde yer alan kamusal yapı çeşitliliği, kentinin alışık olmadığı stadyum gibi yeşil alan kullanımlarının kentsel yaşama katıldığı, demiryolu çalışanları için oluşturulan istasyon mahallelerinin konumlandığı, modern şehircilik ilkelerine göre oluşturulmuş rasyonel düzende numune mahallelerinin yer aldığı örnek yaşam alanıdır. Caddenin sonlandığı istasyonlar ise, lojmanlar, sosyal tesisler, atölyeler, parklar ve diğer destek binaları ile kolektif yaşam alışkanlıkları sunan unsurlar taşır. Dolayısıyla caddelerin sadece istasyonu kent merkezine bağlayan sıradan bir yol aksı olmadığı, modernite projesinin Anadolu kentlerindeki uygulama alanı olduğu söylenebilir.