

Policy-oriented urban planning in 1930s in Turkey: İzmit Urban Plan

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Abstract

Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, urbanism became one of main issues in the agenda of the State. Between 1923 and 1940, 117 cities and towns in Anatolia and Rumelia were planned. After planning cities demolished during the War of Independence, in pursuit of Great Depression in 1929, Etatism and Populism principles became basis for policy-oriented development of urban space.

This study aims at examining İzmit Urban Plan in 1935 (by Hermann Jansen) in the context of urban planning approaches and 1930s' political structure of the Republic of Turkey. In this perspective, this article is divided into three main parts. In the first part, I discuss 19th Century and 20th Century prevailing approaches of Urbanism in Europe and their relevance in Turkey's Urban Planning Practice. In the second part, I manifest general structure, issues, and different periods of Early Republican Urban Planning in Turkey. In the third part, I discuss importance of İzmit Urban Plan in this period as a model in addition to analyzing basic design and planning principles of the Plan. Further, I scrutinize similarities and differences of the Plan with European urbanism models.

Keywords

19th and 20th century urbanism, Early Republican Era Urban Planning, İzmit Urban Plan in 1935, Policy-oriented urban planning.



1. Introduction

This article intends to discuss İzmit 1935 Urban Plan, which was prepared by Hermann Jansen, and to reveal the correlation of plan with contemporary urbanism approaches of the era in 1930s' political structure in the Republic of Turkey. To do so, I have conducted archival studies, examined primary and secondary sources and original documents to reveal discourses of urbanists and politicians. I have also drawn from original documents of 1935 İzmit urban plan.

I divided study into three main parts. In the first part, I am discussing specifications, spatial statements, solutions and principles of late 19th and early 20th century urbanism movements. Later in the second part, I am concentrating on the conditions that the Republic of Turkey were experiencing with an emphasis on policy making and policy orientation for spatial arrangements. In this respect, I am making a debate on the milieu that İzmit 1935 urban plan was prepared. In the last part, I put arguments on İzmit urban plan in the context of its design and planning principles and policy-orientation processes that became effective on this plan.

Because, late 19th century and the early 20th century was the era to bring genesis of urbanism as a new area of science, principles emerged through urbanism were accepted as ultimate solutions for such problems. In relation to the problems caused by industrialization induced emergence of new urban problems, urbanism as a scientific area was gaining its legitimacy. However, differing from their European counterparts, cities in Anatolia and Rumelia experienced industrialization process mostly in the following periods of the proclamation of the Republic. Therefore, problems emerged due industrialization, which was seen as an agent of progress and development, had a different character than the problems of European cities. The problems of cities in the Republic of Turkey were depending on development and regulation of deficiencies. Newly established state had needed a frame for spatial arrangements and removing deficiencies in cities "to form an anti-thesis

in the clarity to the classical Ottoman towns" (Saban-Ökesli, 2009, p. 45). For this reason, newly emerging science, urbanism was also accepted in the Republic of Turkey as the primary agent for the success of the Republic (Bilsel, 1996).

The proclamation of the Republic of Turkey remarked the beginning of a new era for Anatolia and Rumelia. For the construction of the Republic, reforms on a new institutional, social and cultural environment were obligatory (Karakaya, 2012c). Therefore, reformation of urban space was at the core of policy implementation for progress and transformation. According to Tekeli (2005: 7), Nation-Building process of Turkey has four spatial elements of Nation-Building project as follows;

1. Ankara's declaration as capital city
2. Railway Programme to provide unity of internal market
3. Industrialization Programme
4. People's Houses (Halkevleri)

However, modernism movement in Turkey, which is triggered in the late Ottoman Period and found its final form in the Early Republican Turkey, has a multi-layered structure. The aim of this multi-layered structure diverges at a range of societal and intellectual transformation through economic development. These layers have characteristics of being philosophic in terms of its planning and rationalist dimension; institutional with its Nation-State based structure; economic with its massive production pattern and; societal with its fiction of modern citizens and modern life (Çalışkan, 2003). The foundation of institutional structure depended primarily on the establishment of economic, societal and philosophic structures in which urbanism had the key apparatus to accomplish (Karakaya, 2012a). In this respect, the Nation Building project, as a socio-spatial process, has two additional spatial elements as (Karakaya, 2010);

1. Selection of agriculture, trade and industry focal (in relevance with industrialization programme and railway network)
2. Planning programme and urbanism.

In this context, Nation-Building process encompassed 117 cities and towns

that were planned in collaboration with railway programme and industrial programme (Keskinok & Karakaya, 2010) between 1923 and 1940.

When the era between 1923 and 1940 is examined, there are two periods of policy-making and (their) spatial arrangements. Term between 1923 and 1929 was the period of urgent measurements for economy to repair deficiencies such as infrastructure. The era after 1930 till 1940s was industrialization term and planned period. İzmit, which is a city located in the eastern border of İstanbul, was one of the cities planned between 1930-1940 period.

2. Late 19th century and early 20th century urbanism

Sutcliffe (1980: 2) asserts that; “Most of the machinery product of planning in today’s world has emerged since 1914”. In this view, the expressions and concepts like urbanism, town planning, city planning, urban planning or Stadtebau, Städteplanung, urbanisme, urbanistica and so on are derived from the studies between 1890 and 1914 (Sutcliffe, 1980).

Problems of urbanization generated in the industrial society have since the beginning been alike; haphazard growth, pollution, housing, transportation, congestion and sanitary problems, and have always existed but with increasing magnitude (Günay, 1988: 24). As a reaction to these problems, Françoise Choay (1969) classifies the models developed for creating new urban forms under the headings of “Progressist” and “Culturalist” approaches. It is obvious that both progressist and culturalist models had influenced planning practices in Turkey in the early Republican period (Günay, 1988).

On the other hand, Tekeli (1980) narrows the models and approaches that had been effective in the 1930s planning experience of the Republic. In this view, there are five main movements emerged at that era namely; City Beautiful Movement of the USA, Camillo Sitte’s Picturesque Approach, the Garden City of Ebenezer Howard, Amsterdam planning of Berlage and Cité Industriel of Tony Garnier. In addition to this approach, when we examine 117

urban plans that been made between 1923 and 1940 (Keskinok & Karakaya, 2010), establishment of industrial cities, industrial towns and constitution of growth poles remark that Soviet urbanism had made some influences (Karakaya, 2012b). Nazilli Printwork Industry as a factory model town had been established in accordance with the report prepared by a Soviet Commission in 1933 (Doğan, 2009; Karakaya, 2012b). In this article, we require turning our attention to Hermann Jansen -the planner of İzmit-, his planning principles and background.

Hermann Jansen, as an urbanist and architect, continued his education and his career in a milieu that had been suffering due problems caused by industrial revolution. Discussions for cities were underlining results of industrialization and dehumanization of cities (Saban-Ökesli, 2009). Idea of an urban fabric that is sensitive and together with natural, historical and cultural entities was gaining more importance (Karakaya, 2010). Two academic debates under these conditions, Camillo Sitte’s Sittesque (or Picturesque) approach and Garden City movement would affect Hermann Jansen. Through his education and professional life, he emphasized organic character of urban fabric. Contrary to Haussmann’s straight lines and wide boulevards’ (Tankut, 1993), he contended irregularity in urban pattern and aesthetic purposes (Karakaya, 2011).

In this respect, to respond my question that to what extent and in which ways these movements affected the planning practice in the Early Republican Period in Turkey, I need to examine two approaches; Camillo Sitte’s Picturesque Approach and the Garden City of Ebenezer.

2.1. Picturesque approach

Camillo Sitte, at the Technical University of Aachen, advocated a “picturesque” approach in the late 19th century. When his book of *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (City Planning According to Artistic Principles) was published in Vienne in 1889, there was a debate among German urban planning. It was not until the early twentieth cen-

ture that the term *Stadterweiterung* (town extension) was fully displaced by *Stadtplanung* (town planning), the term popularized by Camillo Sitte and Josef Stübben (Breitling, 1980: 32). It was realized that operations in cities were more than town extension; the term “town planning” was being used. Thus, town planning was arising as a scientific area.

As we group the models of pre-industrial society and newly industrialized society as “Culturalist and Progressist”. Camillo Sitte was one of the most popular representatives of Culturalist Model. According to Günay (1988: 26),

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

The arguments of Sitte were as follows;

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

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

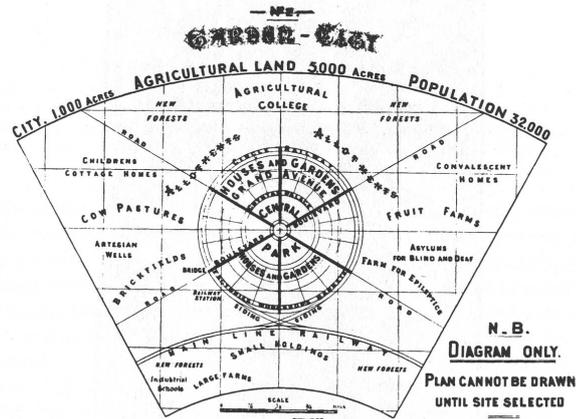


Fig. 2. Ebenezer Howard, *Garden-City No. 2*, 1902, in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*.

Figure 1. *Garden City*, six magnificent boulevards traversing the city from center (Source: <http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/howard.htm>, 01.07.2010).

2.2. Garden City

When the book of “City Planning According to Artistic Principles” of Camillo Sitte was published in Austria in 1889, Ebenezer Howard launched “Garden Cities of To-morrow” in England. So as to understand the “Garden City”, it is important to know that Ebenezer Howard must have had contacts with the movements of “nationalization of land” and “nationalization of labor”. At the end, he would be seeking a negotiation for individualism and socialism (Tekeli, 1980).

In Howard’s views, the old cities had done their work and had to be located by new cities if the aim was higher level of civilization. Although his approach was calling for the creation of new planned town surrounded by a permanent agricultural belt, integrated planning model of Ebenezer Howard had a housing based model. As Tarn (1980) asserted, Garden City model of Howard was reacting to the minimum standards of by-law legislation and quality of environment to create a sense of community and planning structure that would be alike utopian industrial villages.

In this proposal, solution was pointing the problems of cities in terms of a new life between urban and rural style. The model had the supremacy of both. Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization (Howard, 1898).

The main proposal of Garden City was indeed the rejection of big cities. For Howard, the growth of cities had to be controlled solution was in small cities with 32.000 populations and a network of these small cities. The model of Garden City was a circular scheme center of which included a theatre, a municipality, a park, a cinema and some other social facilities. Therefore, downtown was established as a cultural center. There were six magnificent boulevards traversing the city from the center to circumference. These were dividing the city into six equal parts (Figure 1).

3. Role of urbanism in nation-building process

If we investigate Early Republican Period (1923-1940), it is deficit that there are two main periods of both planning and political thinking.

The First Period (1923-1929) in the Early Republican era may be conceptualized as the term for urgent measurements and economic development. This period was also an attempt for creating national capital, which would later be left due 1929 economic depression. Under these conditions, securing an independent National Economy was the key theme to achieve the establishment of the Republic.

As the establishment of an independent economy was in the center of ideals of the Republic, First İzmir Economy Congress was convened in February 4 1923 (İnan, 1989a), while the negotiations of Lausanne Peace Treaty were given a break.

In other words, the period between 1923 and 1929 was a term to rehabilitate the ruins left from long lasting wars and to create a new Nation. In this context, the development of the national economy had great importance. To develop agriculture and commerce, there were a number of regulations held. To overcome problems caused by insufficiencies of infrastructure, sources, work force and economic conditions, the era can be identified as policy-development and urgent measurements period. Another importance of the term, which is the issue of this study, is the introduction of urban planning and urbanism to the Na-

tion- Building process and to national development programme. To reach the political ideal, planning principles were introduced. Even two of the most critical planning practices, for Ankara and İzmir, were accomplished at that period. Furthermore, Ankara plan was seen and declared as the symbol and the avant-garde of urban planning in the young Republic of Turkey.

The second period, 1930-1940, had a different character than the previous period. 1929 economic depression caused critical economic changes and forced the Republic of Turkey government to change its political attitude towards etatism. According to Keskinok (2010) World Recession in 1929 provided a base for the statist and populist policies in the 1930s. Although 1921 Constitution accepted Turkey as a "People's State" (Boratav, 1998) and İzmir Economy Congress 1923 revealed a representative attitude towards farmers and labors (İnan, 1989a), these two principles had gained reality in economic life and in urban planning after 1930s. In terms of urban planning experiences, this term was planned period of economy, industry, urban and rural space and transportation. In this respect, İzmit city was planned as an industrial city in its region.

As the scene for a number of national economic developments, investments, foundations and programmes, 1930s were era of planning. In 1930, an industrialization program encompassing whole space of the Nation was designated in Congress of Industry. Following, State Industry Office was established in 1932. The First Industrial Plan 1933 and the Second Industrial Plan 1936 were prepared. The First Industrial Plan had been applied substantially. As one of the most important applications of this plan, Sümerbank project was introduced in 1933.

The First Industrial Development Plan (1933) and the Second Industrial Development Plan (1936) were reflecting the regional development, planned progress and improvement of Anatolia. "By means of statist policies it became possible to implement an equitable and fair development model both at regional and urban scales within the national boundaries" (Keskinok, 2010: 178). In



Figure 2. Railroad network, planned cities and the industrial development between 1923 and 1940 (Source: Keskinok, 2010).

this context, economic development had integrated with production units, transportation system and urban planning as it is obvious in Figure 2.

State industrial investments such as Etibank (mining and electric power stations), Sümerbank (cotton-production), Turkish Iron and Steel industries and so on were established along railway network while the railway network, ports and harbors were integrated with Law numbered 2521. In addition to industrial and infrastructure integration, urban planning programme was relating to industrial programme and agricultural program that the integration of urban planning issues, industrial programme and transportation program in 1930s had found its place in the creation of regional foci and growth poles (Karakaya, 2012b). In this term, most of cities in the Republic of Turkey were planned and urban plans were applied to create new centers of production, new urban life, new urban elite and new social life in Anatolia and Rumelia. Some of existing urban centers were transformed to trade and industry foci while some of existing towns were created as agricultural or industrial foci (Yenen, 1939). Therefore, policy applications of the Republican cadre were introduced to urban planning in two planning typologies.

Trade and Industry Foci: After the application of Ankara plan and along and after decisions and applications of the Industrial plans, a number of cities were planned in Anatolia. These cities were designated as industrial centers or as trade centers located in the

transportation nodes and enclosed to agricultural or industrial production nodes. In this perspective, Hermann Jansen, the urbanist who gained the respect and confidence after Ankara planning experience, planned a number of cities with collaboration of local government officials in Anatolia. Within these cities, İzmit was planned to be industrial production center, industrial node and a port city as an alternative production node to the primacy of İstanbul in Marmara region. As another example, Hermann Jansen planned three important cities, Adana, Mersin and Gaziantep, in Çukurova region (south-southeastern region), where cotton production was significant and Mersin was the port city to trade this production. Zonguldak region was another industrial focus planned in northern Anatolia.

Industrial and Agricultural Foci: Parallel to transportation network development and industrial nodes' development, numerous towns were planned as agricultural or industrial centers in Anatolia in 1930s. In the south-southeastern Anatolia, Tarsus and Ceyhan were planned as industrial towns for the agricultural production of their fertile hinterland. In northern Anatolia, Karabük, Üzülmüş and Safranbolu were planned as industrial towns for production of national reserves located in their region. In the western part, Nazilli became one of the factory towns as an example of industrial colonization in Anatolian towns (Asiliskender, 2009; Karakaya, 2010). Further, in the middle of Anatolia, Çorum and Çubuk were planned as

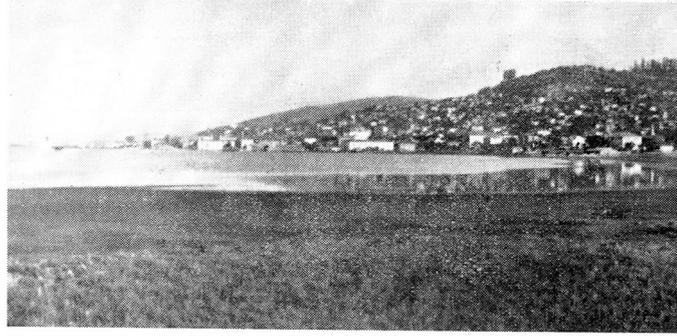
view of İzmit was taken to the center and the area between railway and coastal line was designed as a promenade. At the center of the idea socialization spaces, historical values, coastal use and administrative uses were emphasized. There were two main reasons for designing the area as the first stage, the first of which was defined by Jansen (1936) as that “the old town” (existing city) should be preserved and the new city would not be established on the old one (Figure 5).

Other reason was lying under the vision of the collaboration of Republican officials and Mayor Kemal Öz that the city would be a major industrial city in its region (Öz, 1936a). Thence, an industrial district at the west of first stage planning area was allocated. In the proposals of the plan, social agents of the state such as Halkevleri (Community Centers), the urban square and some urban elements such as vista tower, concert square; city hotel, public buildings, and so on were developed and located in the new city (Figure 6).

The coastal area was allocated for social activities and recreational facilities. The mosque of Mimar Sinan, which was in an idle situation, was repaired and underlined with the greenery and open space surrounding it. Moreover, there were two beaches preserved and reorganized at the western part of the coastal line. A new pier was lying through the south at the edge of square in front of View Tower (Figure 7).

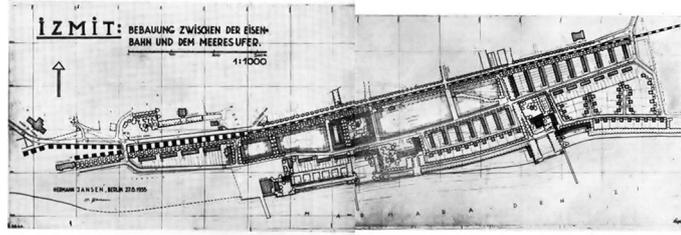
Main proposals of the second stage of plan were for industrial area and Workers' District at the western part of the city. After, the mayor of İzmit, Kemal Öz, personally sent a report for the housing demand of İzmit to Jansen (Öz, 1936a), the idea of Kozluk Garden City and industrial area were combined and Kozluk was designed as a workers' district (Öz, 1936b). Industrial zone was located between railway and Ankara-İstanbul Highway and was distinguished from city by a green zone including sports areas and parks. In the north of the industrial areas, there was “Kozluk Garden City” as Workers' District. The site of this housing area was a fireplace and was bought by the municipality for designing new housing district (Öz, 1936b) (Figure 8).

“Kozluk Garden City” was designated



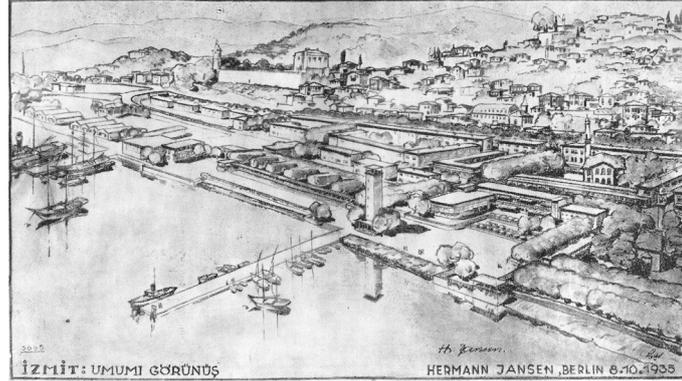
Izmitte genel bir bakış

Figure 4. View of the area between Marmara Sea and railway in İzmit in 1935 (Source: Öz, 1936a).



(Prof. Hermann Jansen'in yaptığı İzmit planının bir kısmı)

Figure 5. First stage of Jansen's İzmit Plan (Source: Jansen, 1936).

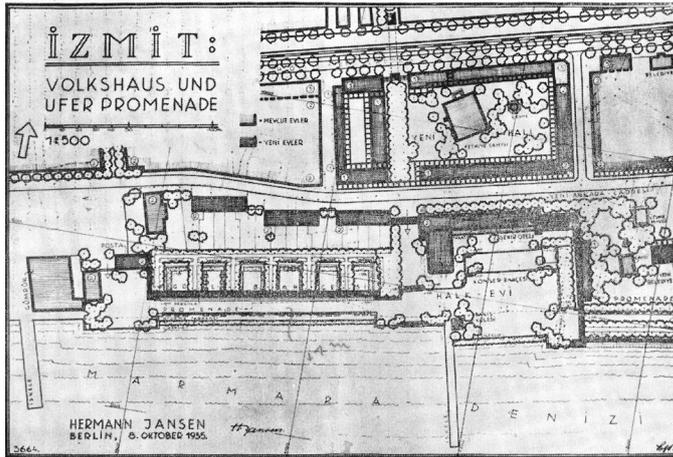


Prof. Jansen'in yaptığı İzmit planının görünüşü

Figure 6. Jansen's Proposal for the area between Marmara Sea and railway in İzmit, the Proposal of Jansen (Source: Jansen, 1936).

with two new streets that are connecting the neighborhood to newly proposed schools and view path and passing through the proposed urban park. One of the other importance of this housing area was being a social housing project. The Municipality founded a model for the housing project. There was an installment plan along four years for land cost payment and the construction of buildings had to be completed along this time (Figure 9).

İzmit plan report (Jansen, 1936) emphasizes five issues. The first of these is rehabilitation and enlargement of Ankara-İstanbul highway. Second issue is removal of shipyard from city center to



Izmit plânından: Halkevi ve aezme yerleri

Figure 7. Halkevi and Promenade, Customs at the west, New Municipality Building at the east at the south and Fethiye Mosque at the north (Source: Jansen, 1936).

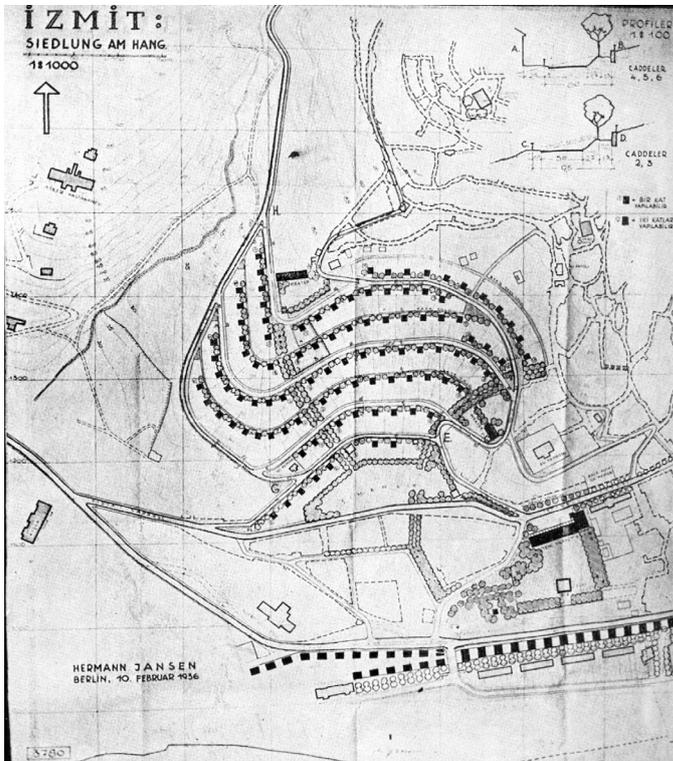


Figure 8. Kozluk Garden City (Source: Öz, 1936b).

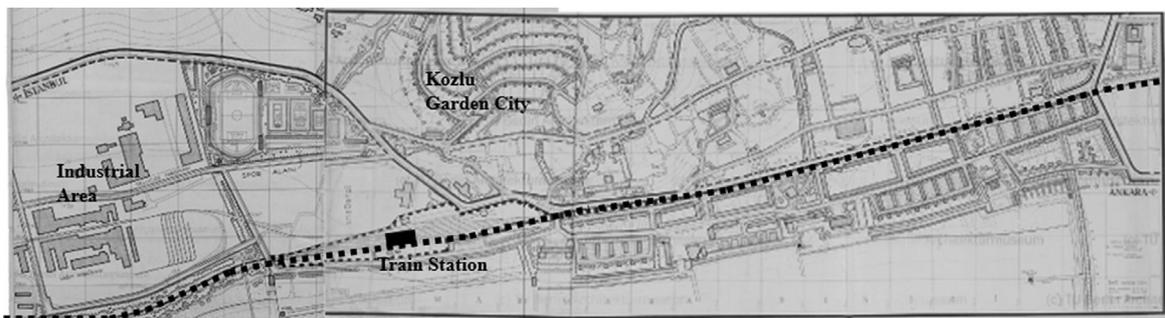


Figure 9. İzmit Urban Plan of Hermann Jansen and zones in the proposal (Source: Architecture Museum of Berlin, 2010).

western part. Third issue is the emphasis on socialization places and public buildings at the coastal site; Halkevi (People's House) with convention hall, view tower and square; dance floors within city restaurant; rose garden, terrace decks, and so on were creating a promenade. Moreover, Jansen was proposing a new urban square in front of Yeni Cuma Mosque (work of Mimar Sinan) which is opening to the sea as another terrace, a coffee house and two hotels. Pedestrianization of both existing urban fabric and proposed areas was also underline. Furthermore, it is obvious in the proposed plan that the green belt is continuing along railway and is aimed to work as an integrating element for coastal design area and housing units, which are distinguished by railroad.

Consequently, İzmit plan is composed of four main zones. The first of these is housing areas. Second zone is Green Zone, the third zone is the Industrial one and the last zone is Coastal Zone. In the first zone, the strategies developed for interventions are distinguishing in existing city and in newly developing city. As Öz cited (1936a), Jansen would establish a new city in the site between the Marmara Sea and the railroad. Proposed housing area as a part of the first zone, Kozluk Garden City is supposed to be a model for housing areas of İzmit. The second zone, Green Zone is much more extensive than other zones. Green Zone, in İzmit plan was used as both separating and articulating elements between different zones and along public buildings and recreational areas in the shoreline, along and around "the garden city", together with sports areas and children's playgrounds. In the third zone, there is

industrial area designed together with housing units in the northern part of the zone. Industrial zone was distinguished from the city by sports areas and was connected to the city through railroad and highway lines. The Coastal Zone, which is the last zone, there are two main characteristics. The first is designing coastal area for public uses, recreational uses and as a socialization area. The second characteristic is allocation of the coastal side for public buildings such as İzmit Halkevi and buildings for establishing an administrative center such as governorship and municipality. Additionally, Jansen designed a promenade that was including socializing spaces and vista points exhibiting different views of the city. I claim that coastal zone design of Jansen was a manifestation for displaying natural and historical beauty of the city, which is picturesque, against the industrial city vision attributed to the plan.

5. Conclusion

Urbanism in the Early Republican Period in Turkey had a hybrid character that was formed by the engagement of historical accumulation, political ideal and European urbanism (Karakaya, 2011). In this study, I have discussed the engagement of political ideal and Jansen's planning and urbanism principles for İzmit plan. As one of the primary examples of 1930s period planning and its collaboration with etatism and populism principles, İzmit urban plan was a characteristic combination of decision taking mechanisms of the Republican cadre in urban space and Hermann Jansen's planning attitude. As it is discussed, the scheme of Jansen plan has similarities with Picturesque Approach, Garden City of Howard that are as follows;

1. The plan had some features of picturesque approach of Sitte. In the plan, "organic development" was proposed rather than monotony. The plan was designed in human scale; there were not huge boulevards and over-scaled urban squares. Rather, the implied characteristic was to protect the "town characteristic" of the old city (Jansen, 1936). In the urban squares, which is located and designed in the shoreline

of the city, "pedestrianization" was the principal and "street life" was emphasized.

2. Garden city was a reaction to the low standards of housing and an expression for the quality of environment. There are traces of this approach not only in Kozlu District but also in different parts of the spatial organization proposed by plan. In Jansen's plans, proposed housing areas are all in the typology of Siedlung approach. The practice of Garden Cities provided combination of a public atmosphere and an aesthetically stimulating environment (Bollerey and Hartmann, 1980). This conceptualization can be observed in the pedestrian shoreline and the activity pattern constructed along this line. There are buildings that would prepare the activity pattern of a new social and cultural life in the shore line. There were public buildings, concert areas, Halkevi, and so on as it was proposed in the downtown of garden city of Howard. Similar to the public uses proposed in Howard's scheme, the center of city was formed by urban elements such as theatre, municipality, park and cinema.

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