THE MAKING OF INDUSTRIAL SUBJECTS IN SPACES OF WORK, LIVING AND COLLECTIVITY: ESKİŞEHİR 1923-1980

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

AYTEN HÜMA TÜLCE UMAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

APRIL 2021

Approval of the thesis:

THE MAKING OF INDUSTRIAL SUBJECTS IN SPACES OF WORK, LIVING AND COLLECTIVITY: ESKİŞEHİR 1923-1980

submitted by **AYTEN HÜMA TÜLCE UMAN** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in History of Architecture, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences _____

Prof. Dr. Cânâ BİLSEL
Head of Department
Department of History of Architecture _____

Prof. Dr. Belgin TURAN ÖZKAYA
Supervisor
Department of History of Architecture _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilge İMAMOĞLU
Co-Supervisor
TED University
Department of Architecture _____

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lale ÖZGENEL (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of History of Architecture _____

Prof. Dr. Belgin TURAN ÖZKAYA (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of History of Architecture _____

Prof. Dr. Zuhal ULUSOY
İstanbul Bilgi University
Department of Architecture _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent BATUMAN
Bilkent University
Department of Urban Design and Landscape Architecture _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Figen KIVILCIM ÇORAKBAŞ
Bursa Uludağ University
Department of Architecture _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Ayten Hüma TÜLCE UMAN

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE MAKING OF INDUSTRIAL SUBJECTS
IN SPACES OF WORK, LIVING AND COLLECTIVITY:
ESKİŞEHİR 1923-1980

TÜLCE UMAN, Ayten Hüma
Ph.D., The Department of History of Architecture
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Belgin TURAN ÖZKAYA
Co-supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilge İMAMOĞLU

April 2021, 534 pages

State-based industry in Eskişehir was introduced by state-owned factories in the second quarter of the twentieth century. Accordingly, three large-scale industries, the railway factory, the sugar factory, and the Sümerbank print factory, were founded or developed by the Turkish state. In line with these developments, the city began to be transformed through industrialization, migration, and urbanization. Between 1950 and 1980, the industrial workers in Eskişehir began to find their own voices and took part in intense organizational debates within the workers' organizations: trade unions, editorial rooms, consumer cooperatives, and holiday camps. Thus, many industrial workers spread to the larger urban environment, searching for living and collective spaces, struggling to form organizations as organized industrial subjects, and interacting with the social and cultural life of the city. In addition to what the state introduced, this dissertation discusses how the industrial employees produced in and interacted with the urban environment by covering all employees working in the factory - managers, officials, engineers, workers and other employees - to explore a more diverse network of actors. The main objective is to understand how work, living,

and collective spaces were produced and used resulting in multiple industrial subjects alongside an analysis of how this built environment was positioned within social, economic, and political change in the city.

Keywords: Eskişehir, industrial city, state-owned factories, industrial subjects, everyday life

ÖZ

ENDÜSTRİ ÖZNELERİNİN ÇALIŞMA, YAŞAM VE KOLLEKTİVİTE MEKANLARINDA OLUŞUMU:
ESKİŞEHİR 1923-1980

TÜLCE UMAN, Ayten Hüma
Doktora, Mimarlık Tarihi Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Belgin TURAN ÖZKAYA
Ortak Tez Yöneticisi: Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilge İMAMOĞLU

Nisan 2021, 534 sayfa

Eskişehir'de devlete dayalı endüstri, yirminci yüzyılın ikinci çeyreğinde oluşmuş; üç büyük endüstri kuruluşu olan demiryolu fabrikası, şeker fabrikası ve Sümerbank basma fabrikası devlet tarafından kurulmuş veya geliştirilmiştir. Bu gelişmeler doğrultusunda kent endüstrileşme, göç, modernleşme ve kentleşme aracılığıyla dönüşmeye başlamıştır. 1950 ile 1980 yılları arasında Eskişehir'deki endüstri işçileri kendi seslerini bulmaya başlamış ve işçi örgütleri olan sendikalar, dergi idarehaneleri, tüketim kooperatifleri ve tatil kampları üreterek, yoğun örgütsel tartışmalar başlatmışlardır. Böylece, birçok işçi daha geniş kentsel mekâna yayılarak, yaşam ve kolektif mekânlar aramış, örgütlenmek için mücadele ederek şehrin sosyal ve kültürel yaşamıyla etkileşime girmiştir. Bu tez endüstri çalışanlarının, devletin sunduklarına ek olarak, ne tür üretimler yaptıklarını ve kentsel mekânla nasıl etkileşime girdiğini tartışmaktadır. Daha katmanlı bir aktör ağı ortaya çıkarabilmek için fabrikada çalışan tüm endüstriyel özneleri- yöneticiler, memurlar, mühendisler, işçiler ve diğer çalışanlar – kapsamaktadır. Böylelikle çeşitli endüstriyel öznelerin çalışma, yaşam ve kolektif mekânlarının günlük yaşamda nasıl üretildiğini ve kullanıldığını ve bu yapılı

çevrenin kentteki sosyal, ekonomik ve politik değişim içinde nasıl konumlandığını anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eskişehir, endüstri kenti, iktisadi kamu kuruluşu, endüstri öznesi, günlük hayat

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Belgin Turan Özkaya for her endless support, patience and intellectual guidance. I will always be grateful for her valuable mentoring and contribution in practical and theoretical terms.

I owe special thanks to my co-advisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilge İmamoğlu, for his guidance, ideas, and criticisms. I am extremely grateful to my dissertation committee members Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan and Prof. Dr. Bülent Batuman who contributed to the thesis with their valuable remarks and criticisms from the initial stages of the study to its completion. I would like to thank my dissertation jury members to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Lale Özgenel, Prof. Dr. Zuhal Ulusoy and to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Figen Kıvılcım Çorakbaş for their remarkable contributions and support for the project.

I would like to thank the directors and employees of following institutions and archives for providing necessary documents for this study: the Archives of Eskişehir Factories (Eskişehir Railway Factory, Eskişehir Sugar Factory and Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory), the General Directorate Archives in Ankara (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Railways, The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories, and The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding), the Archives of Workers' Organizations (Railway Trade Union, Eskişehir Railway Retired Workers' Association, Şeker-İş Trade Union, and Eskişehir Demirspor Club), the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archives, the National Library, İ.B.B. Atatürk Library Archive and Database, the General Directorate of Mapping, Eskişehir Municipality Archive, SALT Research, Farabi Digital Library, and the Archive of the Institute of Turkish Revolution History. I would like to present my gratitude to Architect Nüzhet Özışık and Architect Mesrur Dındın for sharing their valuable archives and memories.

I would like to thank my dearest friends Sena Tülce Memiş, Canan Özcan, Nehir Bera Biçer, Gizem Sazan and Esra Duman for their endless support, friendship, help and encouragement during this study.

Finally, my whole family deserves the greatest thanks for their infinite love, cheer, support, patience, generosity and encouragement in every aspect and every day of my study. My deepest personal gratitude goes to my father Dr. Enver Tülce. He encouraged and supported me whenever I need anything. My special thanks go to my little nephew Artuğ Berk for his infinite love, joy and cheer. Last but not least, I would like to thank my husband Şansal Mehmet Uman, for calming and supporting me during hectic days.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii
ABSTRACT iv
ÖZ vi
DEDICATION viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS xi
LIST OF TABLES xvii
LIST OF FIGURES xviii
CHAPTERS
1. INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Objective of the Dissertation and Research Questions 2
1.2 Literature Review 5
1.2.1 Working Class History 5
1.2.2 Everyday Life and Architecture 7
1.2.3 Urban History 9
1.2.4 Turkey, Eskişehir, and the State-Owned Factories 11
1.3 The Methodology of the Dissertation 15
1.3.1 Archival Research 17
1.3.2 Case Study Research 22
1.3.3 Oral History 23
1.3.3.1 The Definition of Oral History and Its Historical Background 24
1.3.3.2 The Genres of Oral History 28
1.3.3.3 The Sampling Methods of Oral History 30
1.3.3.4 The Interview Design Process: Preparation, Interview, and Post-Interview 31
1.4 The Structure of the Dissertation 37

2. SETTING: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY 41
2.1 The Landscape of Industry: Eskişehir, Industrial Settlements, and Industrialization 41
2.1.1 The Railway Factory 45
2.1.1.1 The First Phase of the Railway Factory 49
2.1.1.2 The Second Phase of the Railway Factory 63
2.1.2 The Sugar Factory 67
2.1.2.1 The First Phase of the Sugar Factory 67
2.1.2.2 The Second Phase of the Sugar Factory 87
2.1.3 The Sümerbank Print Factory 91
2.2 Urban History of Eskişehir 107
2.2.1 Urban Development before the Early Republican Period: The Transition Process 107
2.2.2 Urban Development in the Early Republican Period: Statist Tendencies 112
2.2.3 Urban Development after 1950: Liberal Thought and Democratic Tendencies 123
2.3 Policies Concerning Industry and the Labor Force in Turkey 135
2.3.1 The Emergence of New Industrial Methods 135
2.3.2 Trade Union Policy 136
2.3.3 Issues Concerning Housing Policy 141
2.3.3.1. Housing Cooperatives 142
2.3.3.2. Design for Living for Industrial Labor Force 155
2.3.4 Industrial Training Policy 157
2.3.5 Health Policy 158
2.4 The Workers' Organizations in Eskişehir: New Roles in Industry 159
2.4.1 Trade Unions 159
2.4.2 Housing Cooperatives 164
3. BUILDING THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT: SPACES OF WORK, LIVING, AND COLLECTIVITY 170
3.1 Production of Space 171
3.1.1 Production of Workspace 172

3.1.1.1 Statist Representation and Urban Monumentality in Industrial Workspace Design 174
3.1.1.1.1 The National Network of Industry 174
3.1.1.1.2 Being a Part of the National Network 180
3.1.1.2 Adaptation to Industrial Calendar and Cultivating the Industrial Subject 186
3.1.1.2.1 Industrializing Diverse Origins in Eskişehir 187
3.1.1.2.2 Industrial Training and Program in the Railway Factory 193
3.1.1.2.3 Industrial Training and Program in the Sugar Factory 197
3.1.1.2.4 Industrial Training and Program in the Sümerbank Factory 198
3.1.1.2.5 Interaction between Industrial Training and Workspace 200
3.1.1.2.6 The Vocational School in the Urban Environment 203
3.1.1.3 Mechanisms of Time Management, Discipline and Control 206
3.1.1.3.1 The Railway Factory 211
3.1.1.3.2 The Sugar Factory 214
3.1.1.3.3 The Sümerbank Factory 219
3.1.1.4 Scientific Management, Organization of Production and Labor Division 223
3.1.1.4.1 Industrial Labor Division and its Spatial Production 223
3.1.1.4.2 Labor Division and Leisure in Workspace 230
3.1.1.4.3 Gender Roles in Industry 233
3.1.2 Production of Living Space 240
3.1.2.1 Living in the Factory: Lodging Blocks, 1930-1980 241
3.1.2.1.1 The Railway Factory 253
3.1.2.1.2 The Sugar Factory 254
3.1.2.1.3 The Sümerbank Factory 256
3.1.2.2 Alternatives for Living in the Urban Environment: Workers' Sheltering, 1930-1980 257
3.1.2.2.1 Immigration: Immigrant Housing 258
3.1.2.2.2 Disaster: Disaster Housing (Seylap Evleri) 262
3.1.2.2.3 Urbanization: Squatter Settlements 266
3.1.2.3 A New Form of Living: Housing Cooperatives, 1950-1980 268

3.1.2.3.1 Architectural Design Process by Workers' Organization in Eskişehir 270
3.1.2.3.2 The Semi-Detached House as a Housing Cooperative Design 275
3.1.2.3.3 Housing Cooperative Apartment Design 284
3.1.2.3.4 Housing Cooperative Design and Collectivity 285
3.1.2.4 Everyday Life and Living Spaces 289
3.1.3 Production of Collective Space 296
3.1.3.1 Self-Improvement, Change, and Free Space: From Assembly Hall to Trade Union Hall and Building 299
3.1.3.1.1 The Assembly Hall as a Free Space for Organized Workers 304
3.1.3.1.2 The Railway Trade Union Building for Organized Workers in the Urban Environment 305
3.1.3.1.3 The Sugar and Sümerbank Trade Union Halls for Organized Workers in the Urban Environment 312
3.1.3.1.4 Workers' Journals and the Editorial Rooms of Organized Workers 314
3.1.3.2 New Forms of Consuming and Socializing: From Factory-based Consumer Cooperatives to the Company Store 323
3.1.3.2.1 Social Spaces in the Factory 323
3.1.3.2.2 Benevolent Societies and Consumer Cooperatives in the Factory 326
3.1.3.2.3 The Emergence of the New: Socializing and Consuming in the Urban Environment 327
3.1.3.2.4 The Sümerbank Company Store in the Urban Environment 330
3.1.3.2.5 The Railway Workers' Labor Market in the Urban Environment 336
3.1.3.3 Health, Mobility, and Holiday: Out-of-town Excursions and Holiday Camps 339
3.1.3.3.1 The Physical and Mental Training of Industrial Workers in the Factory 339

3.1.3.3.2 Spaces and Activities for Workers' Health in the Urban Environment 343
3.1.3.3.3 The Institutional Holiday Camp Used by the Technocrats 347
3.1.3.3.4 Akçay Holiday Camp for Organized Railway Workers 352
3.2 Re-Production: Adjustment, Change and Interaction in the Agency of Industrial Subjects 356
3.2.1 In the Industrial City 357
3.2.1.1 The Making of the Industrial City between 1923 and 1980 357
3.2.1.1.1 The Emergence of Industry as a Culture 357
3.2.1.1.2 The State-Owned Factories in Eskişehir as a Part of the Modernity Project 359
3.2.1.1.3 Industrialization, Urbanization and Change in Eskişehir 361
3.2.1.2 The Agencies of the Industrial Subjects 368
3.2.1.2.1 Adjustment: The Technocrats and State-Produced Collectivity 368
3.2.1.2.2 Change: Industrial Workers and Multiple Collectivities 371
3.2.1.2.3 Interaction: Factories of Railway, Sugar and Sümerbank 383
3.2.2 Within National Diversity 385
3.2.2.1 Urban Development Related to Industry: Eskişehir, Kayseri, and Karabük 386
3.2.2.2 The Industrial Subjects and Industrialized Cities 396
4. CONCLUSION 402
4.1 A Historical Reading of the Time Frame within its Own Periodization 406
4.2 Industry as a Cultivator of Actors, Spaces, and Everyday 408
4.2.1 Industry as a Cultivator of Actors 408
4.2.2 Industry as a Cultivator of Spaces 409
4.2.2 Industry as a Cultivator of Everyday 411
REFERENCES 414
APPENDICES
A. ORAL HISTORY QUESTIONS 453
B. THE DRAFT OF A LAW ON WORKERS' HOUSING INSTITUTION 463
C. PUBLIC HOUSING STANDARDS, PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY

OF CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSING 464
D. THE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL ON THE EXPANSION OF RAILWAY WORKERS' HOUSING CREDIT 465
E. TABLES SHOWING LODGING BLOCKS 466
F. PROTOCOL AMONG ARCHITECTS, CIVIL ENGINEERS AND MASTER BUILDERS IN ESKİŞEHİR 484
G. THE COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROJECTS CARRIED OUT BY ARCHITECT NÜZHET ÖZIŞIK 485
H. TABLES SHOWING HOUSING COOPERATIVES 486
I. SUGAR PRIMARY SCHOOL IN THE SUGAR HOUSING COOPERATIVE II 494
J. BİRLİK PRIMARY SCHOOL IN THE RAILWAY WORKER'S BİRLİK BUILDING COOPERATIVE 498
K. LOCAL ARCHITECTS WHO DESIGNED ESKİŞEHİR WORKERS' HOUSING COOPERATIVES 499
L. GLOSSARY OF TERMS AN DEFINITIONS 502
M. CURRICULUM VITAE 512
N. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET 513
T. THESIS PERMISSON FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU 534

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. 1 Workers' journals in Eskişehir between 1950 and 1980..... 19

Table 1. 2 Step-by-step guideline..... 34

Table 1. 3 Master Log shows information about the oral history interviews 35

Table 1. 4 Information about the oral history interviews..... 37

Table 2. 1 Table showing the number of employees in the Eskişehir sugar factory 75

Table 2. 2 Table showing the number of employees in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory 95

Table 2. 3 Table showing the list of the architects..... 95

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. 1 Chart showing the network of layers: actors, settings, and themes 15

Figure 1. 2 Flowchart showing the stages of the integrated research methodology 16

Figure 2. 1 Sugar workers going to the factory on their bicycle 43

Figure 2. 2 Aerial map from 1975 showing the location of the three state-owned factories selected for the study 44

Figure 2. 3 Site plan from 1896 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir railway factory 46

Figure 2. 4 Locomotive depot 46

Figure 2. 5 Urban plan drawn by Anatolian Ottoman Railway Construction Commissioner Major von Huber 47

Figure 2. 6 Site plan of locomotive depot 47

Figure 2. 7 Architectural plan of locomotive depot 48

Figure 2. 8 Repair workshop 48

Figure 2. 9 Wagon workshop 49

Figure 2. 10 Site plan from 1935 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir railway factory 51

Figure 2. 11 Road Workshop 52

Figure 2. 12 Site plan from 1950 showing the buildings of the railway factory 52

Figure 2. 13 Factory gate and clock tower 53

Figure 2. 14 The vestibule school in the Eskişehir railway factory 56

Figure 2. 15 Student's dormitory 57

Figure 2. 16 The first railway hospital 58

Figure 2. 17 The second railway hospital 59

Figure 2. 18 The *lokal* (clubhouse, or meeting house)..... 60

Figure 2. 19 The garden club in the clubhouse 61

Figure 2. 20 Site plan from 1975 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir railway factory 63

Figure 2. 21 Architectural plan and elevation of diesel-locomotive factory..... 64

Figure 2. 22 Locomotive factory..... 64

Figure 2. 23 Architectural drawing of wagon factory..... 65

Figure 2. 24 The construction process of diesel-locomotive factory 66

Figure 2. 25 Locomotive Factory..... 66

Figure 2. 26 Aerial map showing the location of the Eskişehir sugar factory 69

Figure 2. 27 The *dekovil* (narrow-gauge railway) in the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 70

Figure 2. 28 The construction of the Eskişehir sugar factory 71

Figure 2. 29 The opening ceremony of the Eskişehir sugar factory 72

Figure 2. 30 The Eskişehir sugar factory 74

Figure 2. 31 Site plan from 1950 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir sugar factory 76

Figure 2. 32 Site plan of the Eskişehir sugar factory 76

Figure 2. 33 Site plan of the Eskişehir sugar factory 77

Figure 2. 34 Site plan of the production zone of the sugar factory..... 78

Figure 2. 35 The *Ham fabrika* (raw sugar /main manufacturing plant) 79

Figure 2. 36 The alcohol factory 80

Figure 2. 37 Ranch 81

Figure 2. 38 Architectural drawings of chicken coop and cow barn 81

Figure 2. 39 Sugar beets taken to the factory by the farmers in Eskişehir..... 83

Figure 2. 40 Hospital in the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 84

Figure 2. 41 Architectural drawings of hospital in the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 85

Figure 2. 42 The clubhouse in the Eskişehir sugar factory 86

Figure 2. 43 Playground in the Eskişehir sugar factory 86

Figure 2. 44 A sports competition in the stadium in 1950 87

Figure 2. 45 Site plan from 1975 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 88

Figure 2. 46 Handling equipment and vibro sugar cube plant 88

Figure 2. 47 Manufacturing unit in the machine factory..... 90

Figure 2. 48 The machine factory 90

Figure 2. 49 Site plan of the machine factory 90

Figure 2. 50 Potential sites proposed by the Soviet Committee for the Eskişehir print factory in 1932 92

Figure 2. 51 Aerial map from 1975 showing the location of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 93

Figure 2. 52 Es Feedmill, and Erden Confectionary Factory..... 94

Figure 2. 53 The Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory in 1965 94

Figure 2. 54 Site plan showing the buildings of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory..... 96

Figure 2. 55 Site plan from 1975 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 96

Figure 2. 56 The main production unit..... 97

Figure 2. 57 Printing unit and printing machine in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory..... 98

Figure 2. 58 Printing machine and looms in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 99

Figure 2. 59 The factory gates of Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 101

Figure 2. 60 The administration building in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory..... 102

Figure 2. 61 The Kindergarten in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 103

Figure 2. 62 Site plan of the *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory..... 103

Figure 2. 63 The ground and first floor plans of the *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 104

Figure 2. 64 The *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 104

Figure 2. 65 The dining hall in Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 105

Figure 2. 66 The officials' dining hall in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory ... 105

Figure 2. 67 Architectural drawings of the dining hall 106

Figure 2. 68 Eskişehir Station in 1894 109

Figure 2. 69 Map (Taksim-i Arazi), dated to 1896, drawn by *Erkan-ı Umumiye Dairesi* (the Office of Commander in Chief) 110

Figure 2. 70 Odunpazarı, in the southern part of the city, with its traditional street patterns 111

Figure 2. 71 Urban map indicating the development of the city at the end of the nineteenth century 112

Figure 2. 72 Aerial photograph showing the factory district 114

Figure 2. 73 The Kılıçoğlu, and Kurt tile and brick factory, the Gümülcineli flour factory 114

Figure 2. 74 The station in the 1970s and İstasyon Street 117

Figure 2. 75 Government Square surrounded by the government offices, the courthouse, Central Bank, the municipal building, and the stadium 118

Figure 2. 76 Urban plan indicating the problems of Eskişehir, prepared by J. Lambert 120

Figure 2. 77 Urban development plan of Eskişehir dated 1938-1939, prepared by J. Lambert 120

Figure 2. 78 Urban map indicating the development of the city in 1950 121

Figure 2. 79 Urban plan indicating the settlement area in the 1950s 125

Figure 2. 80 The urban development plan of Eskişehir dated 1952 128

Figure 2. 81 Köprübaşı and the Porsuk waterfront 129

Figure 2. 82 The day after the flood disaster, showing the Bağlar region and destruction caused by the flood disaster 131

Figure 2. 83 Urban map indicating the development of the city in 1975 133

Figure 2. 84 The timeline between 1923 and 1980 134

Figure 2. 85 The General Directorate of Labor in Ankara 141

Figure 2. 86 A Democrat Party poster 144

Figure 2. 87 Ankara Bahçeli Evler Cooperative 146

Figure 2. 88 Kayseri Sümer Housing Cooperative 147

Figure 2. 89 Worker's house in Turkey 149

Figure 2. 90 The Worker's Insurance Institution in Eskişehir 168

Figure 2. 91 The Real Estate Credit Bank in Eskişehir 168

Figure 2. 92 The network of the actors in the Eskişehir workers' movement 169

Figure 3. 1 Sümerbank Pavillion in İzmir International Fair 175

Figure 3. 2 Railway Pavillion in İzmir International Fair 176

Figure 3. 3 The national network of Turkish Railways 180

Figure 3. 4 The factory gate of the Eskişehir railway factory 181

Figure 3. 5 Ankara Station and its additional buildings 181

Figure 3. 6 The network in the entrance zone of the Eskişehir railway, sugar and Sümerbank print factories 183

Figure 3. 7 Front cover of the journal *Demiryollar* and illustrations in local publications designed for Eskişehir state-owned factories 184

Figure 3. 8 Triumphal arches for the Eskişehir railway factory and the Eskişehir sugar factory 185

Figure 3. 9 Signboard in the day-care center of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 186

Figure 3. 10 Documentary film about the daily life of Eskişehir railway workers 188

Figure 3. 11 The vestibule school in the Eskişehir railway factory 194

Figure 3. 12 The welding house in the Eskişehir railway factory 196

Figure 3. 13 The training hall for workers in the sugar factory 197

Figure 3. 14 The training hall in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory..... 199

Figure 3. 15 The workers of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory sent to training in the Nazilli print factory 200

Figure 3. 16 The seminar of work study in the Eskişehir railway factory and the meeting of laboratory chiefs in the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 203

Figure 3. 17 The standardized projects for the design of the vocational schools 204

Figure 3. 18 The Eskişehir vocational school 204

Figure 3. 19 The plan scheme of the Eskişehir vocational school 205

Figure 3. 20 Classrooms and workshops of furniture in the Eskişehir vocational school 206

Figure 3. 21 The architectural drawing of the Eskişehir railway factory gateway, administration unit, and dining hall 212

Figure 3. 22 Aerial map from 1975 showing the building functions in the Eskişehir railway factory 213

Figure 3. 23 Wagon factory in the traction workshop 214

Figure 3. 24 Wagon and road equipment factory in the road workshop..... 214

Figure 3. 25 The factory gate in the Eskişehir sugar factory 215

Figure 3. 26 The factory gate in the Eskişehir sugar factory 216

Figure 3. 27 Aerial map from 1975 showing the building functions in the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 216

Figure 3. 28 The production process and the architectural drawings of the *ham fabrika* (raw sugar /main manufacturing plant) in the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 217

Figure 3. 29 The architectural drawings of sugar cube unit and the sugar cube unit in the Eskişehir sugar factory 218

Figure 3. 30 The architectural drawings of *Çekirge,* the factory gate of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory..... 219

Figure 3. 31 Çekirge (grasshopper), the factory gate of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory..... 220

Figure 3. 32 The architectural drawings of the factory gate for workers of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 221

Figure 3. 33 Aerial map from 1975 showing the building functions in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 221

Figure 3. 34 The architectural drawing of the main factory in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 223

Figure 3. 35 Hierarchical order of employees in the Eskişehir railway, sugar and Sümerbank print factories 224

Figure 3. 36 Maps from 1975 showing the routes of administrators and workers in the Eskişehir railway, sugar and Sümerbank factories 227

Figure 3. 37 The workers' dining hall in the Eskişehir railway factory 232

Figure 3. 38 The workers' dining hall in the Eskişehir sugar factory 232

Figure 3. 39 The officials' dining hall in the Eskişehir sugar factory 232

Figure 3. 40 Women farmers working in sugar beet cultivation 233

Figure 3. 41 Female technical drafters in the Eskişehir railway factory 235

Figure 3. 42 An illustration showing women working in the Railway Hospital and Nurses in the Sugar Hospital 235

Figure 3. 43 Female workers in the Eskişehir sugar factory 236

Figure 3. 44 Women workers in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 237

Figure 3. 45 Architectural plan of the day-care center 238

Figure 3. 46 The day-care center and playroom with terrace and bathroom in the day-care center in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 239

Figure 3. 47 Architectural drawings showing the lodging blocks designed according to labor hierarchy - manager's house and *hizmet evi* (duty house) in the Eskişehir sugar factory 244

Figure 3. 48 The lodging block of security chief Fethi Bey 244

Figure 3. 49 The official's lodging block in the Eskişehir railway factory 245

Figure 3. 50 The manager's lodging block in the Eskişehir railway factory 246

Figure 3. 51 Perspectives showing the modern design of the manager's lodging block in the Eskişehir railway factory 246

Figure 3. 52 The house of engineer Mustafa Bey 247

Figure 3. 53 The design of hall in the lodging block (no S4) before the 1950s..... 249

Figure 3. 54 The distributed plan scheme from the living room in the lodging block (no P1) or the hall in the lodging block (no S7) after the 1950s..... 249

Figure 3. 55 Porsuk Hotel 250

Figure 3. 56 Map showing the lodging blocks in the Eskişehir railway factory..... 253

Figure 3. 57 Lodging blocks in the Eskişehir sugar factory 254

Figure 3. 58 Map showing the lodging blocks in the Eskişehir sugar factory..... 255

Figure 3. 59 Map showing the lodging blocks in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory 256

Figure 3. 60 *İşçi Barındırma Yurdu* (the Worker's Shelter) 258

Figure 3. 61 Urban map showing immigrant houses in Eskişehir 261

Figure 3. 62 The immigrant houses in the Alanönü and Yenidoğan districts..... 261

Figure 3. 63 *Seylap evleri* (disaster houses)..... 262

Figure 3. 64 *Seylap evleri* (disaster houses)..... 263

Figure 3. 65 Urban map showing disaster houses in Eskişehir..... 264

Figure 3. 66 Architectural plan for a disaster house -demolished in the 1900s- drawn by the architect, Mesrur Dındın 265

Figure 3. 67 *Seylap evleri* (disaster houses)..... 265

Figure 3. 68 1957 aerial map indicating squatter settlements in Şarhöyük 267

Figure 3. 69 Urban map showing squatter settlements in Eskişehir 268

Figure 3. 70 Sakarya Housing Cooperative in Tepebaşı..... 269

Figure 3. 71 Design process for worker's housing cooperative..... 271

Figure 3. 72 An announcement for housing cooperative in Eskişehir 277

Figure 3. 73 Urban map showing the development of housing cooperative in Eskişehir..... 279

Figure 3. 74 The groundbreaking ceremony for the Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative.. 281

Figure 3. 75 Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative in 1956 281

Figure 3. 76 Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative under construction 282

Figure 3. 77 Railway Workers' Birlik Building Cooperative 282

Figure 3. 78 The groundbreaking ceremony for Sugar Housing Cooperative I. Participating Eskişehir Deputies include Muhtar Başkurt and Hasan Polatkan..... 283

Figure 3. 79 The site of Sugar Primary School as demanded by the Sugar Workers' Trade Union Building Cooperative 286

Figure 3. 80 Urban map showing the development of schools in workers' housing cooperatives in Eskişehir..... 287

Figure 3. 81 The cover of *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*, promoting the house with a garden 292

Figure 3. 82 An advertisement from the Eskişehir Sümerbank Branch Office presenting a lottery for modern apartment blocks..... 293

Figure 3. 83 An illustration in a workers' journal criticizing partisanship in the workspace..... 303

Figure 3. 84 The *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir railway factory 304

Figure 3. 85 Architectural drawing of the workers' waiting room used as an assembly hall in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory 304

Figure 3. 86 The first Railway Trade Union Building and the nearby building and kiosk, expropriated to build the new trade union building..... 306

Figure 3. 87 The Railway Trade Union Building..... 307

Figure 3. 88 The Railway Trade Union Building..... 308

Figure 3. 89 Architectural drawing of The Railway Trade Union Building 309

Figure 3. 90 Map showing the significant areas of downtown Köprübaşı..... 311

Figure 3. 91 Köprübaşı Office Block 312

Figure 3. 92 Porsuk storefront and portico of the Köprübaşı Office Block 313

Figure 3. 93 Architectural drawing of the Köprübaşı Office Block..... 313

Figure 3. 94 The network of organized workers in the Eskişehir workers' movement 316

Figure 3. 95 The Kılıçoğlu Office Block 318

Figure 3. 96 The Kanatlı Office Block 319

Figure 3. 97 Map showing the editorial rooms and printing houses 319

Figure 3. 98 Salih Selek in the associational training in America 321

Figure 3. 99 A celebration in the Eskişehir railway factory 325

Figure 3. 100 A New Year's celebration in the Eskişehir sugar factory 325

Figure 3. 101 A celebration in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory 325

Figure 3. 102 Architectural drawings of the retail cooperative's sales unit in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory 327

Figure 3. 103 Scenes of American family life in a workers' journal 328

Figure 3. 104 Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Company Store 331

Figure 3. 105 Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Bank 331

Figure 3. 106 A poster designed for Sümerbank by graphic designer İhap Hulusi . 333

Figure 3. 107 The Sümerbank Company Store and Bank 334

Figure 3. 108 Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Bank 335

Figure 3. 109 Architectural plan of the ground floor of the Railway Consumers Cooperative 337

Figure 3. 110 Architectural plan of the first floor of the Railway Consumers Cooperative 338

Figure 3. 111 Architectural plan of the second floor of the Railway Consumers Cooperative 338

Figure 3. 112 The Railway Consumers Cooperative 338

Figure 3. 113 An illustration indicating the significance of sport 340

Figure 3. 114 Sümerbank Volleyball Team 341

Figure 3. 115 Demirspor Club participating in tournaments in Belgium and France 342

Figure 3. 116 A model of Ankara Hospital and İstanbul Hospital 343

Figure 3. 117 Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 344

Figure 3. 118 Documentary film about the Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 344

Figure 3. 119 Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 346

Figure 3. 120 Architectural drawing of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 347

Figure 3. 121 Railway Gölcük Holiday Camp 349

Figure 3. 122 Sugar Erdek Holiday Camp 349

Figure 3. 123 Kuşadası Sümerbank Holiday Camp 350

Figure 3. 124 Log cabins for two people in Erdek Sugar Holiday Camp 350

Figure 3. 125 Residential units in Kuşadası Sümerbank Holiday Camp 351

Figure 3. 126 The camp of Social Insurance Institution in Akçay 353

Figure 3. 127 Akçay Education and Recreation Camp 354

Figure 3. 128 Map showing the residential settlements in urban development - beginning of the 1900s, 1950 and 1980 365

Figure 3. 129 Map showing the industrial subjects' use of spaces 381

Figure 3. 130 Kayseri Textile and Airplane Factory 386

Figure 3. 131 Karabük Iron and Steel Works 387

Figure 3. 132 The first development plan by Burhanettin Çaylak 388

Figure 3. 133 Urban development between 1923 and 1950 388

Figure 3. 134 *Yenişehir* and houses for industrial employees in *Yenişehir* 390

Figure 3. 135 *Yenişehir* 390

Figure 3. 136 Urban development plan of Kayseri prepared by Gustav Oelsner in 1945 391

Figure 3. 137 Urban development plan prepared by Nezihe - Pertev Taner 392

Figure 3. 138 Karabük land use plan in 1967 prepared by Gündüz Özdeş) 393

Figure 3. 139 Urban development between 1950 and 1980 395

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the establishment of the new Republic, statist industrialization was the principal instrument employed to construct a modern Turkish state, leading to the establishment of state-owned factories[1] for various industries. Eskişehir, a small Anatolian town, had a railway repair workshop, flour mills, and several small industrial workshops at the end of the nineteenth century. Industry in Eskişehir was institutionalized by state-owned factories in the second quarter of the twentieth century. Accordingly, three large-scale industries, the railway factory, the sugar factory, and the Sümerbank print factory, were founded or developed by the Turkish state. In line with these developments, the city transformed from an Anatolian town to a modern industrial city dominated by statist policies during the early period of the Republic between 1923 and 1950. After the 1950 elections, the newly elected Democrat Party brought about a shift to economic liberalism within a multi-party system. During the transitional period leading up to the multi-party regime, the demands of workers, who represented a significant amount of the country's population, could not be ignored, and this necessity resulted in the participation of workers in the creation of economic policies and institutionalization.[2] In the immediate aftermath of the 1960 coup d'etat, the workers' organizations became more visible through the Republican People's Party's independent-organizer strategy.[3] Between 1960 and 1980, there was an accelerating struggle for workers' rights marked by strikes and boycotts by the organized workers of the state-owned factories. Between 1950 and 1980, the industrial workers in Eskişehir began to find their own voices and

[1] The Turkish name for "state-owned factory" is *Kamu İktisadi Teşebbüsleri* or *Teşekkülleri* (*KİT*).

[2] Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908-1985* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1988), 74.

[3] Hakan Koçak, "50'leri İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumunun Kritik Bir Uğrağı Olarak Yeniden Okumak," *Çalışma ve Toplum*, no. 18 (March 2008): 69-85.

took part in intense organizational debates within the workers' organizations. The emerging organized workers began to develop in ways the factory had not allowed before: they became individuals involved in design processes to determine their own ways of living and collectivizing and involved in the struggle to transform their work environment. In this period, regulations were significant determinants, but all of these developments were aided by collective organizations and the resulting sense of collectivity. This collectivity changed the interaction between the worker and the workspace and gradually transformed the relationships between the worker and the urban environment.

1.1. Objective of the Dissertation and Research Questions

Previous studies of architectural and urban history concerning state-owned factories have left three conceptual, theoretical, and spatial gaps. The first gap has to do with actors. Industrial actors have mostly not been integrated into architectural studies. Several studies that included actors introduced the state as the sole main actor. However, the industrial agency in such factories is not reducible to the state, calling for the exploration of the diverse actors involved in industrial production. Such studies placed the state and its elites at the center of the historical narrative while underestimating workers' agency. This perspective resulted in the misconception that state-owned factories provided the same spaces and services to all employees, shaping uniform agencies with no connections to the urban environment. This dissertation covers all industrial employees working in the factory - managers, officials, engineers, and other employees - to explore a more diverse network of actors. Simultaneously, the main focus is industrial workers, whose multiple, varied, and dynamic agencies have mostly been ignored.[4] Workers played a crucial role in the development of different forms of collectivity through the formation of workers' organizations. This dissertation also illustrates that a broader network existed between politicians, municipal administrations, institutions, and architects. These multiple networks

[4] For seminal works that focused on the multiplicity of working class formation in Turkey in the field of history, see: Barış Alp Özden, "Working Class Formation in Turkey, 1946-1962" (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2011); Can Nacar, "'Our Lives Were Not as Valuable as an Animal': Workers in State-Run Industries in World-War-II Turkey," *The International Review of Social History Supplement 17: Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labour History* 54, no. 17 (December 2009): 143-166.

explain how a variety of agencies were introduced, defined, and expanded. Therefore, the objective is to create a more pluralistic, heterogeneous, and complex narrative. This approach requires the integration of voices "from above" and "from below" to understand adjustment, change, and interaction in agency. This approach also examines the ways in which industrial workers and other industrial employees were continually transforming through social processes rather than being constant entities.

The second gap in previous studies has to do with settings. Early studies on state-owned factories considered the factory an introverted and self-contained complex, independent from the development of the urban environment. Focusing on industrial actors as uniform entities caused researchers to ignore these actors' ties to the urban context. Yet the expansion of industry necessitated an expanding labor force, and the factories were limited by their capacity. Thus, many industrial workers spread to the larger urban environment, searching for living and collective spaces, struggling to form organizations as organized industrial subjects, and interacting with the social and cultural life of the city. In addition to what the state introduced, this dissertation discusses how the industrial employees produced in and interacted with the urban environment in connection with an evolving self-expression. In particular, this dissertation examines the interactions that took shape between 1923 and 1980, when social and urban processes such as statist industrialization, migration, urbanization, and modernization developed. This period represented a formative time in the creation the industrial city, which was shaped not only by industrialization but also by a myriad of precepts, concepts, and notions that evolved alongside industrialization. In this way, the industrial city produced a newly emerging and intricate set of social relations by integrating diverse meanings and concepts. In parallel with this social change, industrial workers began to produce or use the built environment in multiple ways, and accordingly, this period of time presents significant interactions for evaluation. This dissertation develops a social, cultural, and political history of the production of and interactions among urban-industrial spaces from an inclusive perspective.

The third gap has to do with scope. Most of the existing studies focused either on a specific period or a specific topic with regard to state-owned factories. Rather than addressing particular topics such as housing, health, ideology, or politics, an integrated

content-based approach is developed in this dissertation in order to understand these factories and the urban environment within their totality and complexity. Such heterogeneous and complex actors and settings require a common denominator that conceptually connects them. In this work, that common denominator is everyday, which links the network of three main spatial themes: workspace, living space, and collective space. These themes, as the components of everyday, compose a coherent whole to understand the making of multiple industrial subjects in Eskişehir.

The main research question of the dissertation is to understand how work, living, and collective spaces were produced and used in everyday to shape multiple industrial subjects and how this built environment was positioned within social, economic, and political change in the city.

The research questions to further the discussion on actors, settings, and themes are:

- What did Eskişehir's state-owned factories offer industrial actors: introverted and self-contained complexes or interaction with/production in the urban environment? Which agencies were shaped through connections with the urban environment?

- What was produced by the workers, who published their own journals, held meetings, designed organizational models, and even struggled for their spaces, and how did these efforts differ spatially, conceptually, subjectively, and periodically from the state's production? Is it possible to consider that activism and consciousness developed through the interactions between organized workers and the spaces they produced and experienced?

My objective is to contribute to the historical and critical study of the formation of multiple industrial subjects in everyday by exploring how the role of actors was formed in the production of spaces and in dynamic relationships with the urban environment. This dissertation develops a social, cultural, and architectural history of the production of and interactions with workspace, living space, and collective space. The city shaped

a dynamic interaction with these factories through the urban processes it underwent between 1923 and 1980.

The new roles that were produced following the establishment of state-owned factories in Eskişehir determine the time period of the study to be from 1923 until the 1980s, covering industrialization, migration, urban growth, modernization, and the development of the workers' organizations. This progress continued until the 1980s, when privatization accelerated and organizational power weakened.

1.2. Literature Review

As a basis for this dissertation, multiple bodies of literature were investigated to form a multi-layered study comprising diverse settings, actors, and themes. Research on these layers required multidisciplinary approaches to understand the interactions on a broader scale. The topics examined in this literature review include working class history, everyday life, architecture, urban history, and the national and urban context. Research questions are posed and the literature review is discussed in order to provide a foundation for the methodology.

1.2.1. Working Class History

The first part of the review focuses on the literature on working class history. The initial studies that included the social dimension of industrial actors beyond politics were studies of the working class. Research on working class history has highlighted the social facets that began in the 1960s. This focus is different from the early research on the working class, which concentrated on the institutional histories of the labor movement and its politics. These histories were written by labor economists or by Marxist-oriented scholars and described as "a new form of working-class social history"[5] or "new labor history."[6] Historian E. P. Thompson's pioneer book *The*

[5] Andrew Miles and Mike Savage, *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940* (London: Routledge, 1994).

[6] Eric Arnesen, *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History* (NY: Routledge, 2007), xxxv.

Making of the English Working Class (1963), which elaborated the comprehensive context of the working class within various themes: home, family life, leisure, actors, and community, is the fundamental study of this kind.[7]

After the 1970s, the concept of the working class as a homogeneous society began to be criticized. Historians David E. Martin and Donald M. MacRaild stated that when dealing with the lives of working people, historians had to "demonstrate a willingness and an ability to wrestle with the complexities of the term class, and to apply it, and the alternative models offered by its critics."[8] The working class formation emerged as a complex and dynamic concept within an expansive set of social relations. However, this did not mean that the working class had no "agency;" rather, they had "non-class forms of agency."[9]

Following the debates about the working class, many seminal historical and social studies on quotidian concepts were also introduced, yet these studies incorporated the built environment only to a limited extent compared to their social and historical emphasis. Sociologist Mike Savage underlined that "everyday politics allows us to conceptualize agency not simply as manifested in spectacular political events (a la E.P. Thompson) but as rooted in and tied up with the humdrum routines of everyday life."[10] These studies are significant due to their interpretation of the main actor as working class in the context of everyday life, rather than that of politics or economics. This understanding emphasized that housing, leisure spaces, and the city are the main components of the everyday lives of the working class and also are the spaces where

---

[7] E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1963).

For the extensive studies instrumental to furthering E. P. Thompson's understanding, see: Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976); David Montgomery, "'To Study the People: The American Working Class,'' *Labor History,* no. 21 (Fall 1980): 485-512, https://doi.org/10.1080/00236568008584594; Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History 1832-1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[8] David E. Martin and Donald M. MacRaild, *Labour in British Society, 1830-1914* (Social History in Perspective) (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

[9] Miles and Savage, *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940*.

[10] Miles and Savage, *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940*.

many social roles, everyday experiences, and routines are enacted.[11]

1.2.2. Everyday Life and Architecture

The second part of the literature review is an overview of everyday life studies. The initial studies of everyday life, which emerged between the two world wars, introduced the everyday as "banal, dull and ordinary" in the context of rapid modernization and urbanization. Cultural critic and philosopher Walter Benjamin offered a new perspective on the everyday as "the place of actualizing," a space of importance "rather than merely the space for getting through one day to the next by resorting to tactics of survival that masquerade as forms of resistance. In this sense, the idea of tactics of resistance is simply another name for everyday routines."[12]

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, everyday life broadened its conceptual and theoretical boundaries with the introduction of the German historiographical school. Influenced by Thompson's work, *Alltagsgeschichte* (the history of everyday life) introduced "the inner world of popular experience in and out of the workplace" to social history, including multiple concepts such as work, housing, leisure, family, and community life.[13] Historian Geoff Eley, in his article "Labor History, Social History, 'Alltagsgeschichte': Experience, Culture, and the Politics of the Everyday - a New Direction for German Social History?" explained the aspects of working class social history that differentiated it from early institutional or political histories. The first characteristic was the shift from politics or work to expansive cultural terms such as

---

[11] For the literature on different perspectives on working class and everyday life, see: Eric Hopkins, *A Social History of the English Working Classes 1815-1945* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979); Richard J. Evans, *The German Working Class, 1888-1933: The Politics of Everyday Life* (Kent: Croom Helm, 1982); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain, 1890- 1960: Gender, Class and Ethnicity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Andrew August, *The British Working Class, 1832-1940*. (NY: Routledge, 2007); Melvyn Dubofsky, "Historiography of American Labor History," in *Encyclopedia of U. S. Labor and Working-Class History,* ed. Eric Arnesen (New York: Routledge, 2007), 595-600.

[12] Harry Harootunian, "In the Tiger's Lair: Socialist Everydayness Enters Post-Mao China," *Postcolonial Studies* 3, no. 3 (2000): 339-347.

[13] Geoff Eley, "Labor History, Social History, 'Alltagsgeschichte': Experience, Culture, and the Politics of the Everyday - a New Direction for German Social History?," *The Journal of Modern History* 61, no. 2 (June 1989): 297-343, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1880863.

"ways of life" and "culture," which broadened the research themes to include recreation, family, gender, etc. Therefore, *Alltagsgeschichte* concentrated the study of politics at a more basic level, while shifting the main focus to everyday life. Displaying a similar approach, political scientist Alexandra Kogl stated that "Everyday life is political to the extent that its routines and activities take place in the context of human-made conditions."[14] Moreover, everyday activities are influenced by political choices and socio-economic decisions. However, people's actions in everyday life are not merely passive reflections of the political or ideological context. As Henri Lefebvre explained, people also desire to change their lives: "the everyday, even in its most degraded forms, withholds the potential of its own transformation."[15] The second characteristic of social history was the emphasis on the agency of the working class. The quotidian perspective enlightened ordinary people's lives and integrated daily life and material existence into the context of work, home, and leisure. Social and labor historian Neville Kirk emphasized the significance of studying ordinary people in his statement that the working class "prided themselves upon the power of their own agency - upon the proven ability to create their own ways of life and institutions."[16] According to these scholars, everyday life presented a balance between "history from above" and "history from below."

In this dissertation, the term "everyday" includes both historical understandings and refers to an inclusive concept consisting of the themes that formed the daily life of industrial employees: work, living, and collectivity. According to architect and architectural historian Margaret Crawford, everyday space lies "in between such defined and physically definable realms as the home, the workplace, and the institution, [it] is the connective tissue that binds everyday lives together."[17] This physical setting of the everyday is the web that links the daily lives of subjects. The

[14] Alexandra Kogl, "A Hundred Ways of Beginning: The Politics of Everyday Life," *Polity* 41, no. 4 (October 2009): 514-535, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40587509.

[15] Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* (Great Britain: Bookcraft (Bath) Ltd., 1991).

[16] Neville Kirk, *Change, Continuity and Class: Labour in British Society, 1850-1920* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 143.

[17] Margaret Crawford and Michael Speaks, *Everyday Urbanism (Michigan Debates on Urbanism)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005), 18.

inclusive nature of the everyday was also emphasized by social theorist Henri Lefebvre:

> As a result, there is a certain obscurity in the very concept of everyday life. Where is it to be found? In work or in leisure? In family life and in moments "lived" outside of culture? Initially the answer seems obvious. Everyday life involves all three elements, all three aspects. It is their unity and their totality, and it determines the concrete individual…[18]

In his seminal book *Critique of Everyday Life* (1945), Henri Lefebvre introduced the theory of the everyday into architectural and urban studies. Lefebvre shifted his focus to everyday life rather than the dominant position of work and provided a broader perspective on everyday life through the inclusion of experiences and cultural production beyond themes related to production, labor, class struggle, and economic agents. Lefebvre covered everyday life with its binary relations and differed "quotidian" and "modern." Following Lefebvre's understanding, architectural historian Dell Upton in his seminal article "Architecture in Everyday Life" (2002) formulated the dichotomy of "architecture" and "Architecture" in the context of the everyday in order to question its multidimensional nature. "Architecture" with a capital A comprised professional design and theory. The uncapitalized form, "architecture," had a broader meaning, covering the "material world" or "cultural landscapes," which had been neglected by the theories of the everyday. In the terms of this distinction, Architecture, as a self-contained territory, excluded architecture. Parallel to the objective of this dissertation, Upton concluded his discussion by stating that the everyday "also does something more important for architecture itself, reincorporating Architecture into the larger landscape… It reunites the ordinary and the extraordinary as inseparable aspects of experience, neither possible without the other, neither determining the other."[19]

1.2.3. Urban History

In order to understand the interactions between industrial employees and the built environment of the city, theoretical studies of urban history are incorporated into this

[18] Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life.*

[19] Dell Upton, **"**Architecture in Everyday Life," *New Literary History* 33, no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 707-723.

study. In the field of architectural history, seminal works were published to further the debate on the pluralist understanding of urban history, such as E. J. Hobsbawm's *From Social History to the History of Society* (1971), Diane Favro and Zeynep Çelik's *Methods of Urban History* (1988), Nancy Stieber's "Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation" (1999), and Margaret Crawford's *Everyday Urbanism* (1999). These studies investigated the social and cultural dimensions of the city and also examined the dynamic social relations through which culture was produced using comprehensive studies rather than a reductionist and totalizing approach. The search for multifaceted historical meanings in the urban environment enabled the researchers to consider "contingency, disruption, and multiple connections." In this way, the architectural historians focused on the city's own autonomous process and included "more nuanced configurations of the dynamics of cultural production" rather than "the eternal, the ideal, and the essential."[20] Secondly, these social studies in urban history addressed multiple aspects of social change within the urban context. Architectural historians Zeynep Çelik and Diane Favro stated that "the social historians' urban history focuses, for example, on industrialization and urbanization as catalysts of major transformations."[21] E. J. Hobsbawm also examined the "large-scale processes which affect society" such as migration, industrialization, urbanization, and the changing family, emphasizing their intricate interplay rather than presenting them as a "simple linear" progression.[22] American sociologist Herbert Blumer, in his book *Industrialization as an Agent of Social Change: A Critical Analysis (Communication & Social Order),* concentrated on industrialization from a more social perspective and discussed its historical, social, and political consequences.[23]

[20] Nancy Stieber, "Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 383.

[21] Zeynep Çelik and Diane Favro, "Methods of Urban History," *Journal of Architectural Education (1984)* 41, no. 3 (Spring 1988): 4-9.

[22] E. J. Hobsbawm, "Social History to the History of Society," *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (Winter 1971): 20-45.

[23] Herbert Blumer, *Industrilization as an Agent of Social Change: A Critical Analysis (Communication & Social Order)* (US: Aldine Transaction, 1990).

1.2.4. Turkey, Eskişehir, and the State-Owned Factories

The literature review continues by providing historical background regarding the national and urban context. This part of the study begins with an examination of the industrial, social, political and organizational development in Turkey between 1923 and 1980 and continues with the history of Eskişehir and its state-owned factories. Focusing on the industrial city of Eskişehir between 1923 and 1980, the literature on the industrial, social, and economic development in the national context during this period forms a broader perspective for the study. Historian Feroz Ahmad in his book *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu* provided an integrated overview of Turkey's social, political, and economic dimensions.[24] Economist Korkut Boratav in *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985* examined the financial history of Turkey in an informative manner while highlighting the developments in industry. Boratav thematically and chronologically categorized Turkey's development into six periods: reconstruction (1923-1929), statist development (1930-1939), interruption (1940-1945), integration into the world economy (1946-1953), breakdown and re-adaptation (1954-1961), introverted foreign-dependent development (1962-1976), and new depression (1977-1979).[25] Historian Çağlar Keyder in his article *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and in Republican Period, ca. 1900-1950* described industrial production in the Republican period and the actors who played vital roles during this time.[26]

This dissertation also examines labor history in Turkey. Trade unionist and journalist Kemal Sülker presented detailed information and a chronology of the development of the workers' organizations in Turkey.[27] Labor historian Ahmet Makal's series of books examined developments in labor relations in a holistic and in-depth manner while also

[24] Feroz Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2017).

[25] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi,* 1.

[26] Çağlar Keyder, "Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and in Republican Turkey, ca. 1900-1950," in *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, ed. Donald Quataert (NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 123-63.

[27] Kemal Sülker, *Türkiye'de Sendikacılık* (İstanbul: Sendika Kültürü Serisi, 1955).

considering their connections to social, economic, and political events.[28] The two volumes of *Türk-iş Tarihinde Portreler*, a collection of interviews conducted by labor historian Yıldırım Koç with unionist workers, considered these workers as the main actors of the labor movement. There is relatively little literature published on the topic of Turkish labor history before the 1950s. However, there has recently been an emerging interest in the period between 1950 and 1980. [29] Although these studies are limited in number and only partially include architectural analysis, they are critical for understanding the periodical and conceptual framework of the workers' organizations between 1950 and 1980.

Numerous textual and visual documents provided a historical and conceptual framework for understanding Eskişehir and the state-owned factories. The first group of historical documents, which included period memoirs, yearbooks, brochures, and collections, presented specific information about the urban and social development of the city. These studies also included details about individual buildings, but most of them were limited to formal and technical descriptions including quantitative resources like building, census, and demographic records. These documents were published by local figures, governorships, or chambers of industry and trade and investigated the urban environment during these periods. Urban historian Fikret Çelikkanat[30] in *Eskişehir* (1963) and *50. Yılında Eskişehir* (1973) framed the physical, social, and economic context of the city.[31] Journalist Abdülkadir Gürol in *Eskişehir Klavuzu* (1949) presented a historical account of urban culture, society, and health.[32]

---

[28] Ahmet Makal, *Türkiye'de Tek Partili Dönemde Çalışma İlişkileri: 1920-1946* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999).

[29] For recent studies on Turkish labor history concerning the formation of the working class in Turkey, see: Yıldırım Koç, *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık Hareketi Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2003); Erdem Kocabaş, "Political Change and Working Class Formation between 1945-1960 in Turkey" (Master thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2006); Yiğit Akın, "The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics in Early Republican Turkey: Language, Identity, and Experience," *The International Review of Social History Supplement 17: Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labour History*, no. 54 (December 2009): 167-188; Bahadır Nurol, "Kayıp Sınıfın Peşinde: Anadolu'da Sınıf Oluşumu ve Modernleşme," *Ankara University Journal* 70, no.3 (July-September 2015): 541-570. Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2016).

[30] Fikret Çelikkanat was born in 1938 and graduated from the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography at Ankara University.

[31] Fikret Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir* (Eskişehir: Bozkurt Matbaası, 1963).

[32] Abdülkadir Gürol, *Eskişehir Klavuzu* (Eskişehir: Sesışık Basımevi, 1949).

The city's history was studied by historians, geographers, and journalists, who included the history of individual buildings and overall urban characteristics and developments.[33] Recent articles and books also focused on urban development between 1923 and 1980, analyzing the social, administrative, and financial context and the physical formation of the city. Historians Kemal Yakut and Zafer Koylu studied the transcriptions of archival documents, historic photographs, and period descriptions from 1923 through 1938.[34] Historian Halil İnalcık in *Kurtuluş ve Aydınlanma: Eskişehir Arşiv Belgeleriyle* wrote a collection of articles exploring historical topics from demographic change to architecture.[35] Due to the significance of industry in the city, these studies dealt most extensively with industry and industrial establishments. Several articles also addressed modern architecture and urban space in Eskişehir. The most extensive study on modern architecture is architect Deniz Özkut's article "The Traces of Modern Memory in Eskişehir," which discussed the examples of modern architecture between 1894 and 1979. Özkut introduced different types of modern architecture, including industrial, educational, public and official buildings while questioning modernization, destruction, and transformation.[36] One useful source on the physical structure of the city is architect Gaye Ertin's book *Eskişehir Kentinde Yerleşmenin Evrimi*, which examined urban change over an extended span of time from the late Ottoman period to the 1990s. The book is still the most complete urban and architectural survey of Eskişehir to date due to its detailed presentation of the

---

[33] For further studies, see: Orhan Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25 nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış* (İstanbul: Bakış Matbaası, 1948); Osman Yalçın, *Eskişehir* (İstanbul: Özyürek Yayınevi, 1957); Celal Yüce, *Eskişehir Çevre İncelemesi* (İstanbul: Sontelgraf Matbaası, 1969); Fikret Çelikkanat, *50. Yılda Eskişehir* (Eskişehir: Özgür Yayınları, 1973); İsmail Ali Sarar, *Eskişehir Çevre İncelemesi* (Eskişehir: Hatiboğlu Kitabevi, 1976).

[34] Kemal Yakut, *Modern Eskişehir'in Doğuşu* (Eskişehir: Kebikeç Yayınları, 2015); Zafer Koylu and Melis Birgün, *Eski Bir Şehrin Hikayesi: 1923-1938* (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Ticaret Odası Yayınları, 2015).

For other seminal studies concerning historical, political, and social development, see: Levend Kılıç, *Anılarda Eskişehir* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Rotary Klubü, 1997); Suzan Albek, *Dorylaion'dan Eskişehir'e* (Eskişehir: Eğitim, Sağlık ve Bilimsel Araştırma Vakfı, 1991); Kamil Uğurlu and ZahirEnçevik, *Eskişehir Şehrengizi* (Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2011).

[35] Halil İnalcık, *Kurtuluş ve Aydınlanma: Eskişehir arşiv belgeleriyle* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2009).

[36] Deniz Özkut, "The Traces of Modern Memory in Eskişehir," *Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Cultural Inventory* 16 (2017): 35-66.

chronological development of the urban environment complete with periodical maps and other visual sources.[37] In its analysis of urban history, this dissertation explores the network of interactions among the industrial actors, the industrial city, and social processes.

A multidisciplinary understanding of industrial settlements has progressed in recent years, whereas previously there were predetermined readings of the social and cultural histories of architecture. An initial group of studies focused on the field of conservation, reflecting on the value of these settlements and how to conserve or revitalize them. A second group of studies concentrated on ideology and power relations. The ideological studies interpreted industrial settlements as the bearers of a particular political ideology rather than including industrial actors. These studies considered the industrial establishment as an enclosed entity or part of the national network of industry and did not include interactions with the broader social and urban context. These seminal works were published as part of a debate regarding the state-owned factories in Turkey, including Sibel Bozdoğan's book *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* and Ali Cengizkan's book *Fabrika'da Barınmak*. Sibel Bozdoğan's book is beneficial for understanding the general framework of modernization and its reflection on the built environment. The chapter on "Imagining an Industrial Nation" focused on the technological icons of modernism and the relation between state policy and industrial architecture. Ali Cengizkan's edited book presented diverse case studies on the practice of industrial architecture and covered the period between the 1910s and the 1950s.

A few critical theses focused on state-owned industrial settlements in Eskişehir. These theses include Ekim Ayhan Deniz's reading of the relation between health and modernization in the Eskişehir sugar factory, Nazlı Yatağan's study of the development of the Eskişehir railway factory in the context of Republican modernization, and Merve Yıldız's examination of the values, problems, and potentials found in the proposals for the conservation and revitalization of the Eskişehir sugar factory's social facilities area. In addition, some studies were found

[37] Gaye Ertin, *Eskişehir Kentinde Yerleşmenin Evrimi* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1994).

that covered the housing in the Eskişehir railway and sugar factories.[38] A few studies about conservation, ideology, and modernization have been published on state-owned factories in Eskişehir; however, there is no master thesis or doctoral dissertation in the field of architectural history. Moreover, none of the studies on state-owned factories in Eskişehir focused on the making of industrial subjects. It is also significant that the relationship between the industrial complexes and the industrial city has not been sufficiently examined. Along with addressing this deficiency, this dissertation highlights how industrial employees might be understood beyond the predetermined approach of architectural discourse and within a broader context of social, architectural, and urban history.

1.3. The Methodology of the Dissertation

The main research question in the dissertation, undertaking a pluralist perspective on agency, requires a complex and detailed understanding of actors, settings, and themes. (Figure 1.1) The conceptual framework is based on the tripartite spatial themes of workspace, living space, and collective space, which form the main categories in Chapter 3.

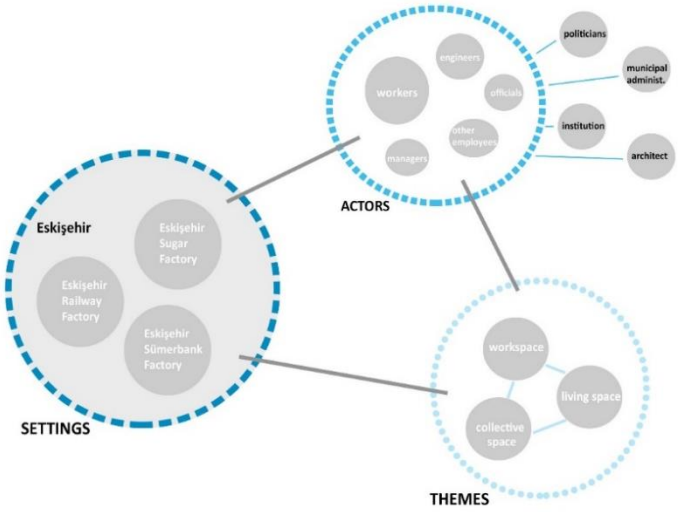


Figure 1. 1 Chart showing the network of layers: actors, settings, and themes (prepared by the author)

[38] For further studies on housing of Eskişehir's state-owned factories, see: Üstün Berna, "Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Yerleşkesi Lojman Konutları Plan Tipolojileri Üzerine bir Çalışma," *Tasarım + Kuram* 11–12 (2011): 40-66; Berna Üstün, "Company Towns out of the Residential Patterns of Industrial Cities: The Campus of Eskişehir Sugar Factory," *World Applied Sciences Journal* 9, no. 11 (2010): 1250-9.

This dissertation follows an integrated and multi-staged research methodology that includes archival research, case analyses, and oral history. This research methodology has three objectives:

1. Improve understanding by integrating many different perspectives.
2. Fill the gaps found in the literature review by collecting various and textured historical sources to contribute to emerging research.
3. Improve the analysis, interpretation, and implementation of historical information within an integrated research methodology.

Figure 1.2 shows the stages of the integrated research methodology used in this dissertation, which are discussed in further detail later in this section. These stages are not linear but instead involve an intricate network of interwoven pathways. As a consequence of these multiple stages, the study provides an interconnected and multi-faceted reading of the historical information. The range of research stages are designed to collect different types of information on actors, settings, and themes.

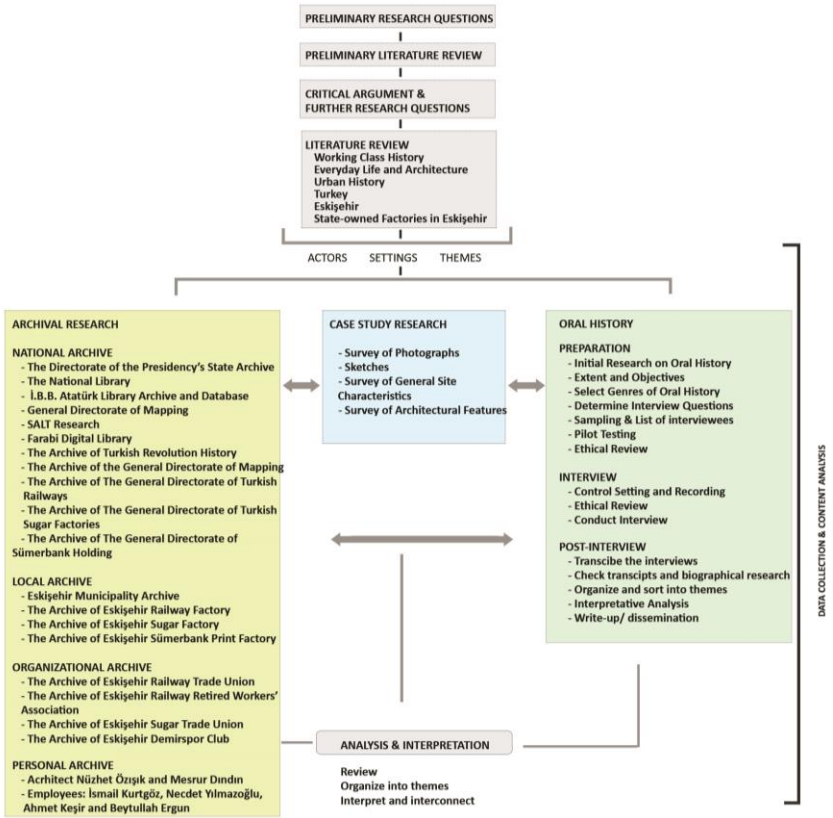


Figure 1. 2 Flowchart showing the stages of the integrated research methodology (prepared by the author)

In Section 1.1 and 1.2, the objectives, research questions, and literature review are presented to form the contextual ground for the methodology. In Section 1.3, the research stages in the methodology are introduced in detail: archival research, case analysis, and oral history. The first section explains the process of archival research, which involved searching for and studying historical archival documents. In the second section, the method for selecting and examining the case analyses is introduced in a broader setting. The third section describes the oral history research. The initial sub-sections are reserved for the historical, conceptual, and theoretical framework that defined the project, provided historical background and determined the chosen genres and sampling methods. The last section synthesizes the interview design and its phases: preparation, interview, and post-interview.

1.3.1. Archival Research

The initial stage of the methodology involves archival research based on a comprehensive and close reading of primary archival documents, composed of visual (e.g., maps, architectural drawings, photographs, and aerial photographs) and textual materials (e.g., company and union records, newspapers, journals, memoirs, guidebooks, regulations, legal documents, periodic reports, and other publications). A broad range of archival research was undertaken to cover all layers included in the dissertation. As an archive-based study, the research questions were mainly posed in relation to the materials found in the archival research.

The national and local archives of the textual and primary sources and their digital databases were explored during the first phase of the archival research. The Republican Archive in the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive contains textual material on industrial establishments. The first group of materials consists of legal documents on the creation and development of the factories and the development of the city. The second group of materials is based on workers' training: the import of foreign professionals and the export of local workers to Germany or Austria for training. The last group comprises the regulations of the Labor Union Building Society, Housing Cooperative Society, and Workers' Retail Society, founded after the 1940s, revealing their objectives, partners, financial resources, sites, and buildings, as well as

instructions for their maintenance. The other materials were accessed in the archives and libraries such as the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archives, the National Library, İ.B.B. Atatürk Library Archive and Database, the General Directorate of Mapping, Eskişehir Municipality Archive, SALT Research, Farabi Digital Library, and the Archive of the Institute of Turkish Revolution History. The visual materials found in these archives include urban plans, photographs of industrial settlements, panoramic views, and aerial photographs. The Archives of Eskişehir Railway Factory, Eskişehir Sugar Factory and Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory, the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive, and the National Library of Turkey contain many institutional publications such as regulations, brochures, record books, and education-based publications.[39] These documents provide first-hand pictorial and textual information on spatial form, historical and social progress, and demographic and other quantitative data. The urban development plans, aerial photographs, and urban photos that were used to provide information on the urban process are held primarily in these three archives. The urban development plans of the city designed in 1938-1939 by the French urban planner J. Lambert, the urban development plan produced in 1952, and other urban drawings presenting the progress of the city were found in the Municipality Archive and SALT Research. Aerial photographs dated 1935, 1950, and 1975, found in the General Directorate of Mapping and the factory archives, supported the analysis of the physical, environmental, and social development of the state-owned factories and the urban environment.

Along with the growth of workers' organizations in the 1950s, the flourishing of the press was evident in the newspapers and journals published by local or national workers' organizations such as *İşçinin Sesi* (1951), *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* (1951), *Sanat ve Spor* (1951), *İş Yolu* (1953), *Hareket* (1954), *Hürbilek* (1957), *Türk Gücü* (1960), *Çalışanlar* (1965), and *Demiryolcu Sesi* (1979). These four-page periodicals provided recognition, contact, and the exchange of ideas among unionists. They disseminated their duties, views, and missions on the labor issue, legislative policies, and

[39] For detailed information on the institutional publications, see: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları, *Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. Dahili Talimatnamesi* (İstanbul: Kaatçılık ve Matbaacılık A.Ş, 1938); Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü, *Sanat Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi* (İstanbul: Demiryollar Matbaası, 1940); Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi* (Eskişehir: Nur Matbaası, 1965); Sümerbank Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii* (Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. Matbaası, 1965).

organizational training and also covered social and cultural issues, sports, health, and family. The workers' journals are significant documents in the search for the agency of industrial workers and workers' organizations. (Table 1.1) These journals played an important role in providing factual content, and their published articles, columns, slogans, caricatures, and images revealed the workers' struggles, approach, and actions. The owners and authors of these journals were workers, unionist leaders, or local intellectuals who were connected to labor issues. By including these key figures in the labor movement, these workers' journals revealed how the networks of personal, professional, local, and national relations intersected the social, economic, and political agendas, as presented in Section 3.1.3.1.4. In addition to these local organizational journals, there were also institutional and national workers' journals (*Demiryollar Mecmuası*[40], *Şeker*[41], *Sümerbank*[42], and *Hız*[43]) that reported on the state-owned factories in Eskişehir and were published by the industrial establishments or the national workers' organizations.

Table 1. 1 Workers' journals in Eskişehir between 1950 and 1980

	Journal **Date**	**Owner/** **Director**	**Audience** **Release Interval**	**Content** **Motto**
Local Workers' Journal	**İşçinin Sesi** **1951** workers' journal covering politics and humor	Rıza Tetik (the founder of Demiryol Union)	Railway workers Every fifteen days	The problems of railway workers in the unionization process, the workers' housing deficiency, the necessity of and the regulations on trade unions

[40] Demiryolları Mecmuası (1925-1970), the official journal of the General Directorate of Turkish Railways, was an annual scientific and professional newspaper first published on March 1, 1925 and later renamed *Demiryol*.

[41] Şeker (1951-1988), the official journal of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories in Ankara, was initially published once a quarter and then semi-annually and included many articles on technical and educational issues.

[42] Sümerbank (1961-1979), the official journal of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding in Ankara, was a monthly industrial and cultural newspaper.

[43] Hız (1965), the institutional journal of the Federation of Railway Workers in Ankara, was published monthly in 1965. Within a national framework, the journal dealt with workers' accomplishments in the workers' organizations, actions, and the built environment and included the social and cultural dimensions of the labor issue.

Table 1. 1 (cont'd) Workers' journals in Eskişehir between 1950 and 1980

	Journal Date	Owner/ Director	Audience Release Interval	Content Motto
Local Workers' Journal	**Eskişehir İşçi Postası** **1951** weekly professional social workers' journal	Ahmet Aras Hüsnü Eraydın	All workers in Eskişehir	Workers' problems, labor law, working hours, trade unions, and sources of income "hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir" (our true mentor in life is science)
	Sanat ve Spor **1951**	Orhan Günenç Demirspor Youth Club	Railway workers	The objective of the journal was "to spread the technical knowledge and experience of our colleagues and help our colleagues catch up."
	İş Yolu **1953** weekly journal covering politics, finance, and social humor	Ahmet Aras Tahsin Atakan (Editor-in-chief) Niyazi Ozan (Editor-in-chief)	All workers in Eskişehir	Workers' problems, trade unions and unionism, workers' rights and insurance, workers' housing "Öğün çalış güven" (glory work trust yourself)
	Hareket **1954** daily political journal	Muhittin Bürücek Ahmet Bingöl (Editor-in-chief)	All workers and urban citizens in Eskişehir	The labor law, urban planning and decisions of municipality, national politics
	Hürbilek **1957**	Abdülkadir Gürol	All workers in Eskişehir	Workers' problems, workers' housing, labor issues, trade unions, workers' income "Türk işçisinin hizmetinde, el emeği, alın teri ve göz nurunun müdafii" (in the service of Turkish workers, protectors of labor)

Table 1. 1 (cont'd) Workers' journals in Eskişehir between 1950 and 1980

	Journal Date	Owner/ Director	Audience Release Interval	Content Motto
Local Workers' Journal	**Türk Gücü** **1960** nationalist daily political objective journal	Naci Gelendost Suphi Özçelik (Editor-in-chief)	All workers in Eskişehir	Politics and unions, workers' housing, workers' rights "Yurtta sulh cihanda sulh" (peace at home, peace in the world)
	Çalışanlar **1965** the media of Eskişehir trade unions 	Salih Selek (the leader of Demiryol Union) Naci Gelendost (Secretary General)	All workers in Eskişehir	Workers' problems, labor issues, trade unions and unionism, workers' rights and insurance, politics and the unions "İşçinin alın teri, göz nuru ve emeğinin savunucusu" (The protector of workers' labor)

Initially, the archival research on architectural drawings was limited because some of the drawings were damaged, missing, or not yet uncovered. Therefore, instead of using only the local archives of factories and municipalities, the General Directorate Archives in Ankara (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Railways, The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories, and The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding) and the individual archives of industrial employees were also accessed.

Thus, architectural drawings that had been dispersed and considered to be lost were accessed and brought together. These materials are of central importance not only because they are historical documents but also because they are primary sources for

architectural, historical, social, and cultural interpretation. There are few original architectural drawings that cover the period between 1923 and 1980 in Eskişehir Municipality, and the existing material is limited in content. Therefore, the architectural drawings of the housing cooperatives were provided by architects Nüzhet Özışık and Mesrur Dındın. Meetings were conducted with them between 2018 and 2020, and they offered access to their personal and official archives, consisting of architectural drawings, historical records, diaries, sketches, and photographs.

Workers' organizations such as Railway Trade Union, Eskişehir Railway Retired Workers' Association, Şeker-İş Trade Union, and Eskişehir Demirspor Club continue to be active associations, possessing useful documents that include periodic reports, regulations, charters, and agreements from the labor unions, housing cooperative societies, and cultural associations. These documents provided the framework for exploring the organizational, cultural, and political context in which workers' organizations developed. The personal archives of employees, such as İsmail Kurtgöz, Necdet Yılmazoğlu, Ahmet Keşir, and Beytullah Ergun, were also accessed through the active networks of these organizations. The personal archive of railway worker İsmail Kurtgöz,[44] which contained booklets, documents, books, organizational records, and reports that he had collected, was donated for the development of this study.

1.3.2. Case Study Research

In the scope of this dissertation, case studies were discussed in order to interpret the making of multiple industrial subjects within the network of relationships among actors, settings, and themes. Three state-owned factories were selected: the Eskişehir railway factory, the Eskişehir sugar factory, and the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory. These factories were understood within their institutional and programmatic context through the literature review, archival research, and case analyses. One of the main settings that industrial workers produced in and interacted with was the city. Thus, the research was also examined within the broader setting of an industrial city: Eskişehir.

[44] İsmail Kurtgöz was the president of the railway union in the 1970s.

While each factory was studied as a case, their spatial ties to the city were also integrated into the research.

There were three main criteria for selecting these particular factories for case studies. First, these were the only state-owned factories founded in Eskişehir between 1923 and 1980. Second, these factories, produced as self-contained settlements, were composed of the components of everyday life: workspace, living space, and collective space. Third, each factory employed multiple industrial actors within diverse labor divisions.

The case studies were conducted in two stages. First, the preliminary literature survey and archival research were conducted to gather basic information on the historical, architectural, urban, and social context. Second, a site survey for all factories and related buildings in the urban environment was conducted between 2016 and 2020. During the site survey, the archival offices of the factories were accessed. The site survey consisted of photographing, sketching, and analyzing the buildings and their environmental characteristics. All buildings were marked on the site maps and photographed. Through these stages, archival documents, architectural drawings, maps, sketches, direct observations, audio-visual materials, and physical artifacts were collected to develop an in-depth and extensive understanding. After collecting these documents from the archives and site survey, tables describing the living spaces were prepared to be used as a base for the analyses in Chapter 3. These tables are significant instruments that gather historical, textual, and pictorial material together and help explain the spatial production of everyday life.

1.3.3. Oral History

Archival research and case study research provided extensive data on spatial, personal, communal, social, and cultural contents. These materials had two limitations in this historical research. The first one was that the institutional archival documents mostly described the state-owned factories from the perspective of the state, its institutions, and those in positions of management, and as a result, the information on inferiors was limited. This dominant understanding paved the way for a generalization that the state-

produced everyday was similar for all industrial actors. However, the voices of workers provided a different layer of understanding. As qualitative researcher Valerie J. Janesick stated, "instead of interviewing only prominent or elite participants, all voices have the potential to be documented." She explained that as "Oral history captures the lived experience of a person or persons, the social justice goals become more definite when the stories are of those left on the periphery of society. Oral history is a vehicle for the outsiders and the forgotten to tell their stories."[45] The initial archival documents that fill the gap are the workers' journals. However, these journals were largely focused on the thoughts and experiences of organized workers rather than dealing with all aspects of their daily lives. These journals aimed to shape workers' consciousness and activism rather than to uncover their inner lives. The second one was that the historical documents focused on the workspaces and activities of the factories. Oral history is a significant method for understanding the living and collective spaces in the factory and the urban environment. Due to the insufficiency of substantial knowledge in the existing literature about actors and themes, the personal testimonies were used to shape deeper analyses and expand the scope of the research. Therefore, oral history was necessary in order to explore different perspectives and insights that emerged from the diversity of the industrial actors, settings, and themes.

1.3.3.1. The Definition of Oral History and Its Historical Background

A variety of definitions have been used to present different aspects of oral history. As a field of study, oral history introduced a method of collecting, preserving, and interpreting people's voices. Valerie J. Janesick defined oral history as a specific form of historical evidence and stated that "Oral history is the collection of stories and reminiscences of a person or persons who have first-hand knowledge of any number of experiences."[46] Similarly, historian Donald Ritchie argued that "Oral history collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews."[47] Oral historian Paul Thompson emphasized that oral history can

[45] Valerie J. Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher, Choreographing the Story* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2010), 4.

[46] Valerie J. Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher,* 2.

[47] Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

be an optimal tool for the subjective presentation of multiple voices. Thompson explained that "Reality is complex and many-sided, and it is a primary merit of oral history that to a much greater extent than most sources it allows the original multiplicity of standpoints to be covered."[48] This multiplicity enables "the outsiders and forgotten to tell their stories."[49] Oral historian Stephen Caunce defined oral history as a process of collecting memories.[50] The most comprehensive definition of oral history, including its processes, was introduced by the Oral History Association (OHA):

> Oral history refers both to a method of recording and preserving oral testimony and to the product of that process. It begins with an audio or video recording of a first person account made by an interviewer with an interviewee (also referred to as narrator), both of whom have the conscious intention of creating a permanent record to contribute to an understanding of the past. A verbal document, the oral history, results from this process and is preserved and made available in different forms to other users, researchers, and the public. A critical approach to the oral testimony and interpretations are necessary in the use of oral history.[51]

Oral history has a long history. As a systematic field, the initial studies of oral history emerged during the New Deal in the 1930s in the USA. Newspaperman and journalist Allan Nevins published *The Gateway to History*, which provided insight into the biographical, cultural, intellectual, and political aspects of history. Nevins introduced a historical documentation process that consisted of recording, collecting, and preserving.[52] Oral history as a field was developed by historians and scholars who utilized oral history to explore politicians' life histories, and ordinary citizens were

---

[48] Paul Thompson, *The voice of the past: Oral history* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1978), 5.

[49] Valerie J. Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher*, 4.

[50] Stephen Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian* (London and New York: Longman, 1994).

[51] "Principles and Best Practices: Principles for Oral History and Best Practices for Oral History," The Oral History Association, last modified October, 2009, http://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/.

[52] Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938).

ignored until the 1950s.[53]

In the 1950s, the field was institutionalized by the oral history offices on campuses. The first of these, the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University, was established by Allan Nevins. Other oral history offices included the Regional Oral History Office of the University of California at Berkeley (1954) and the UCLA Oral History Program of the University of California at California (1959). This institutionalization improved communication, collaboration, and training activities.

During the 1960s, the National Archives began to conduct various oral history projects. Library science professor Martha Jane K. Zachert, in her article "The Implications of Oral History for Librarians," interrogated the role of oral history in libraries and archives. The documentary value of oral history was underlined, and oral history was utilized as an archival document to build collections.[54] The invention of the portable cassette recorder in 1962 made collecting oral histories much easier.

In 1966, the OHA was founded to consider and study oral history and provide a network among diverse intellectual, disciplinary and geographical areas for collaboration and discussion. These efforts led to a broader acceptance of oral history. Oral history became better developed through OHA's principals, standards, guidelines, and meetings, both conceptually and in practice. These documents and activities were significant in guiding the standards and processes of oral history. Ethical considerations were the principal themes in "all aspects of the oral history process, including the selection of people to interview, research questions, personal

[53] For the works of these historians and scholars, see: William T. Couch, *These are Our Lives as Told by the People and Written by Members of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939); Benjamin A. Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (US: University of Chicago Press, 1945); Studs Terkel, Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression (US: Pantheon Books, 1970).

[54] Martha Jane K. Zachert, "The Implications of Oral History for Librarians," *College and Research Libraries* 29, no. 2 (1968): 101-3.

interactions during the interview, interpretations, and decisions on preservation and access."[55]

After the 1960s, new challenges appeared within multiple narratives in parallel with social and cultural change. Some of the emerging themes in oral history were the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Movement, African-American history, minority history, labor history, and immigration history. [56] In the 1970s, several seminal works were published to further critical debate on the theoretical and methodological perspectives of oral history and discuss its reliability, context, social function, and memory. Paul Thompson in *the Voice of the Past: Oral History* presented a broad perspective of oral history from designing projects to interpretation. Thompson challenged conventional methods and examined the use of oral history as a research method. Thompson also introduced a guideline for an oral history project: interviewing, organizing, and presenting.[57]

During the 1980s and 1990s, the studies on oral history scholarship increased.[58] Oral historian and professor of American literature Alessandro Portelli's article "The Peculiarities of Oral History" was pivotal as a detailed overview of the use and various aspects of oral history including the meaning of oral sources, the role of the narrator, the relation between oral history and memory, and subjectivity.[59] Oral historian

[55] "OHA Core Principles," Oral History Association (OHA), accessed December 29, 2020, https://www.oralhistory.org/oha-core-principles/.

[56] For works on the emerging themes of oral history, see: William Lynwood Montell, *The Saga of Coe Ridge: A Study in Oral History* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1970); Eliot Wigginton, *The Foxfire Book* (USA: Anchor, 1972); Theodore Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw* (New York: Knopf, 1974); Alex Haley, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (New York: Doubleday, 1976).

[57] Thompson, *The voice of the past: Oral history*.

[58] For further studies on oral history during the 1980s and 1990s, see: Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop Journal* 12, no.1 (Autumn 1981): 96-107; Ronald J. Grele, *Envelopes of sound: The art of oral history* (Chicago, IL: Precedent Publishing, Inc, 1985); Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990); Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History* (US: Cambridge University Press, 1992); William Jr. Sewell, "Introduction: Narratives and social identities," *Social Science History* 16, no.3 (Fall 1992): 479-88; Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, *The oral history reader* (London, UK: Routledge, 1998).

[59] Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop Journal* 12, no.1 (1981): 96-107.

Valerie Raleigh Yow presented a detailed and informative guide on how to prepare, design, and conduct an interview, with well-defined interview questions and other interview materials.[60] According to Yow, conducting these studies required understanding the complexities of subjectivity and the relation between the past and the present.

After the 1990s, oral history broadened its geographic, disciplinary, and conceptual boundaries.[61] Oral history enriched its conceptual themes by including ethnicity, gender, religion, and sexuality. This critical evaluation offered an interdisciplinary and multicultural approach. This approach called for interpretation by means of cooperation, shared understanding, and universality within oral history. During this same time, the International Oral History Association (IOHA), established in 1996, aimed to improve this perspective through an international and multidisciplinary platform.

Consequently, there have been multiple studies in the field of oral history. Nevertheless, the research should broaden its spectrum by including ordinary, interdisciplinary work and implementing ethical standards, as well as evaluating each project within its distinct context.

1.3.3.2. The Genres of Oral History

Oral histories are generally categorized into four genres according to the research objective, the subject matter, and the content: life history, community history, family history, and subject-oriented history. It is important to select a proper genre of oral

---

[60] Valerie Raleigh Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994), 68-80.

[61] For recent studies on oral history, see: John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003); Irving Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2006); Petra Mundro Hendry, "Narrative as inquiry," *The Journal of Educational Research* 103, no. 2 (August 2009): 72-80; Barbara W. Sommer and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual* (UK: Altamira Press, 2009); Valerie J. Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher, Choreographing the Story* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2010).

history in order to conduct a well-defined interview and obtain different perspectives and broad information.

1. Life History: Also called "life review histories," this genre surveys an interviewee's life. Fewer interviewees are selected in order to allow for a series of interview sessions. It can take the form of a "standard autobiography" or an "oral memoir." Life history covers various subjects such as society, family, employment, education, and religion.

2. Community History: This genre examines community life based on geography, gender, ethnicity, age, class, or employment. The process involves multiple interview sessions that are the collaborative work of insiders and outsiders in a community.

3. Family History: This genre involves the study of "one's own family" with its own "family dynamics, experiences, and interactions." According to historian Linda Shopes, a variety of categories may shape the focus of the study: "The impact of major historical events and trends;… the relationship of various aspects of social life… [and] individuals within the family; and the structure and dynamics of family life itself."[62]

4. Subject-Oriented Oral History: Also called "topically based oral history," this genre addresses research questions about a particular topic. According to oral historian Mary A. Larson, "Subject-oriented research from the beginning is more focused, with a more clearly conceived agenda and perhaps a stated hypothesis." Subject-oriented histories are conducted to fill lacunae left by the research when there is not enough information. If previous research has not already included the voices and experiences of the actors, more layers of

[62] Linda Shopes, "Using Oral History for a Family History Project," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (Nashville: Association for State and Local History, 1996): 234.

content need to be explored. The research thus has to be designed to incorporate the actors and the deficient content.[63]

1.3.3.3. The Sampling Methods of Oral History

The genre of oral history research determines the selection of the participants. Oral historians define a range of sampling methods. Mary A. Larson lays out four specific types of sampling as follows:

1. Snowball sampling: consists of obtaining suggestions for interviewees from those already interviewed and continuing on in that manner as work progresses.

2. Stratified sampling: entails interviewing at all levels of a community or group in order to get equal representation.

3. Purposive sampling: is essentially stratified sampling, with the additional goal of having all sides represented on controversial or sensitive issues.

4. Quota sampling: reflects an attempt to match the population of a certain place and time with a closely correlated group of interviewees in various categories: age, education, occupation, gender, and religion according to the question under study.[64]

---

[63] For detailed information on the genres of oral history, see: Linda Shopes, "Using Oral History for a Family History Project," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (Nashville: Association for State and Local History, 1996): 231-240; Mary A. Larson, "Research Design and Strategies," in *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology,* ed. Thomas L.Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless (UK: Altamira Press, 2007), 96-101.

[64] See: John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003); Mary A. Larson, "Research Design and Strategies," in *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology,* ed. Thomas L.Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless (UK: Altamira Press, 2007), 96-101.

1.3.3.4. The Interview Design Process: Preparation, Interview, and Post-Interview

This section of the study presents an overview of the interview design process, which includes preparation, the interview, and the post-interview process, which consists of transcription, analysis, and interpretation.

The first stage of the interview process is preparation. This included first of all a literature review on oral history that indicated its various aspects: methodology, historical background, design process, and ethical considerations. These aspects determined the extent and objectives of the research design. Donald Ritchie argued that "Every project should be started by determining its objectives."[65] The second step was to define the genre of the research while determining and thematizing interview questions. The third step was to select interviewees who were suitable for the research objectives.

The genre utilized in this dissertation is subject-oriented oral history. The main research questions determined the need to obtain a more focused understanding of particular actors, settings, and themes. The objectives and research questions of the dissertation were presented in Section 1.1. These objectives and research questions were formulated into basic themes, as main subject matters, under which the interview questions were shaped. Some basic themes that determined the flow of in-depth interviews and the essentials of the research were:

- personal information (biographical, personal, educational)
- production and use of workspace
- workers' organizations and politics
- production and use of living space
- production and use of collective space
- ideas of and experiences in the city, architecture, and everyday life

[65] Mary A. Larson, "Research Design and Strategies," in *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology,* ed. Thomas L.Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless (UK: Altamira Press, 2007), 96.

As seen in Appendix A, the interview questions consisted of a broad range of biographical, spatial, urban, social, and cultural questions. Broader questioning not only explored the workspace experiences of the interviewees but also traced their experiences living and collectivity and their ties to the urban environment.

The criteria for the selection of interviewees in the dissertation were as follows:

- There should be an approximately equal number of interviewees from each factory.
- The diversity among the industrial employees based on their origin, educational level, labor division, and organizational level should be represented.
- Subjects should be industrial employees who worked in the factories between 1923 and 1980.
- Subjects should have first-hand information about the research themes and be willing to participate.
- Subjects should have the ability to understand the themes and procedures of the oral history process.
- Subjects should be comfortable with interview equipment in either audio or video settings.
- Subjects should have a good memory and be able to communicate effectively.[66]

The interviews focused on industrial workers, who made up most of the factories' population and whose agencies were mostly ignored by historical studies. In the interviews, purposive sampling was used to respond to the research problems, fill the gaps, provide multiple perspectives, and facilitate comparison among industrial actors. The divisions of labor represented in the study are managers, engineers, officials, sales managers, and nurses. Thus, stratified sampling was added to purposive sampling to obtain larger interactions and information on a variety of experiences. This hybrid sampling method aimed "to collect extensive detail about each site or individual

[66] Barbara W. Sommer and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual* (UK: Altamira Press, 2009), 49.

studied. The intent is not to generalize the information, but to elucidate the particular, the specific."[67] Through the interview process, the number of interviewees was increased by the snowball sampling method.

The sampling process in this dissertation contained three stages:

1. Potential interviewees were contacted through Eskişehir Retired Workers' Association.
2. Meetings were organized with factory managers or public relations who provided access to the employee records.
3. Site surveys were conducted in every factory. During these visits, current employees helped me to contact former employees.

The interview was composed of open-ended and follow-up questions, which enabled the interviewees to give detailed information about the themes. Loaded and leading questions were avoided. The questions could be restated, summarized, or clarified according to the interviewee's personal condition.

Before the main interviews, three pilot interviews were conducted. Each interviewee was selected from a different factory. Through these pilot interviews, the interview questions, interview duration, and recording quality were assessed.

The second stage of the interview process was the interview. Before starting the interviews, the physical setting was controlled to provide high audio and visual quality and to increase the interviewees' focus. All of the interviews were conducted face-to-face. Familiar environments, such as the interviewees' homes and Eskişehir Retired Workers' Association, were selected to obtain comfortable interview settings.

In order to follow proper ethical considerations and effective communication, preliminary contact with the potential interviewees was provided. During this process, basic information about the project and the nature of oral history research was

[67] Stefinee Pinnegar and J. Gary Daynes, " Locating Narrative Inquiry Historically: Thematics in the Turn to Narrative," in *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology,* ed. D. Jean Clandinin (California: Sage, 2007), 3-34.

explained. This included the objectives of the research, the ethical considerations, and the duration of the interview. Before starting the interview, a consent form was presented to the interviewees, and their rights and ethical procedures were explained. A detailed and step-by-step guideline was used while conducting the oral history interviews. (Table 1.2)

Table 1. 2 Step-by-step guideline

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE
- Arrive at the setting on time, create a comfortable setting, and set up all of the necessary materials before the interview.
- Introduce the interviewer and explain the process of the interview.
- Adhere to the ethical procedures for informed consent and respect for anonymity, confidentiality, and privacy.
- Ask open-ended and neutral questions.
- Ask brief questions, one at a time. If not understood by the interviewee, restate and clarify the question while putting the interviewee at ease and in charge.
- Concentrate on the interviewee and avoid interrupting. If the interviewee mentions a repeated topic, listen politely to the end.
- Watch for hints, such as pauses or slight changes, and ask follow-up questions.
- Before asking about controversial matters (such as feelings and conclusions), first ask about some facts.
- Prepare background and narrator-specific research to organize the rhythm of an interview.
- Use additional materials such as architectural drawings, photographs, maps, journals, and more to help assemble the stories about the interviewees.
- Ask for explanations of acronyms, jargon, and specific context-related knowledge with which the general public is unfamiliar.
- Keep to the established time schedule, taking breaks if necessary.
- Limit the interview to about 2 hours maximum, unless the interviewee clearly wants to go on longer.
- Use a notebook to keep track of follow-up questions, sketches, and lists of names, people, and dates.
- Note keywords that come to mind while the interviewee is speaking, and return to them when there is a gap in the interview.
- Occasionally verify that the digital audio-recorder is working.
- Use body language and eye contact to encourage the interviewee's responses.
- Avoid asking questions beyond the interviewee's expertise or questions about things they do not know firsthand.
- Allow interviewees to provide their impressions and any other information they prefer to add at the end of the interview.
- Conclude the interview by thanking them, taking their contact information, and taking a photograph of the interviewee in the interview setting.
- Label the interview, create backup copies of hard drives, and write down the findings and observations, which might include a summary.

From 2016 to 2020, 28 interviews with industrial actors of state-owned factories in Eskişehir were conducted. The interviews ranged in duration from 20 to 145 minutes. All of the interviews were conducted face-to-face using digital audio or video recorders with the permission of the interviewees. The project master log, which contains two main categories of interview and interviewee information, as seen in Table 1.3, was filled out during all sessions. The first category consists of the date, place, and duration of each interview. The second one includes the interviewee's birthdate, starting date of employment, birthplace, origin, and job specification. These interviews proceeded in two stages. Pilot interviews were held with three workers who each worked in a different factory (interviewee A. A., interviewee Y. E., and interviewee M. K.). After these interviews, the initial data was evaluated in order to conduct 25 more interviews. Most of the interviewees were willing to provide their names; however, their names were coded in order to protect their rights.

Table 1. 3 Master Log shows information about the oral history interviews

Factory	Name of Interviewee	Interview Info		Interviewee Info				
		Place	Duration	Birthdate	Starting Date	Birthplace	Origin	Job Specification
RAILWAY FACTORY	A. A.	Eskişehir	30 min	1945	1957	İshaklı (Afyon)	Afyon	Foreman
	İ. K.	Eskişehir	75 min	1950	1963	İnegöl	Bulgaria	Worker
	N. Y.	Eskişehir	145 min	1944	1956	Eskişehir	Crimea, Romania	Worker
	O. E.	Eskişehir	60 min	1932	1950	Eskişehir	Yugoslavia	Worker
	Ş. Ö.	Eskişehir	20 min	1942	1955	Bilecik	Bulgaria	Foreman
	E. K.	Eskişehir	60 min	1952	1965	İnegöl	Bulgaria	Worker_machine electrician
	M. Y.	Eskişehir	60 min	1946	1958	Eskişehir	Crimea, Romania	Worker
	A. B.	Eskişehir	30 min	1951	1973	Eskişehir	Eskişehir	Official
SUGAR FACTORY	Y. E.	Eskişehir	25 min	1954	1975	Aşağıçağlar	Rural Origin	Worker_sales manager
	V. S.	Eskişehir	45 min	1955	1978	Sivrihisar	Rural Origin	Laboratory worker_quality control
	N. E.	Eskişehir	20 min	1953	1974	Muş	Muş	Worker
	H. A.	Eskişehir	50 min	1951	1972	Sivas	Sivas	Head foreman
	Z. T. Ş.	Eskişehir	30 min	1945	1964	Eskişehir	Manav	Head foreman _electrician
	C. E.	Eskişehir	20 min	1941	1962	Eskişehir	Manav	Skilled laborer
	M. S.	Eskişehir	40 min	1957	1979	Sivrihisar	Rural Origin	Head foreman
	D. A. K.	Eskişehir	50 min	1953	1977	Konya	Konya	Engineer _designer
	A. K.	Eskişehir	70 min	1945	1971	Konya (Bozkır)	Konya	General manager _chemical engineer
	B. B.	Eskişehir	20 min	1951	1970	Eskişehir	Odunpazarı	Nurse
SÜMERBANK PRINT FACTORY	M. K.	Eskişehir	20 min	1950	1977	Seyitgazi	Seyitgazi	Worker
	S. A.	Eskişehir	20 min	1967	1974	Eskişehir	Eskişehir	Worker represantative
	Ç. A.	Eskişehir	40 min	1960	1979	Seyitgazi (Çeniş)	Caucasia	Office worker_ timekeeper
	Y. H.	Eskişehir	20 min	1943	1970	Eskişehir	Romania	Worker_ machine maintenance
	İ. Y.	Eskişehir	40 min	1942	1965	Sivrihisar	Rural Origin	Office worker_ planning
	M. O.	Eskişehir	45 min	1948	1968	Eskişehir	Eskişehir	Head foreman
	H. Ş.	Eskişehir	45 min	1956	1978	Eskişehir (Başar)	Rural Origin	Head foreman
	G. B.	Eskişehir	25 min	1956	1979	Eskişehir	Romania	Worker
	B. E.	Eskişehir	30 min	1942	1965	Sivrihisar	Rural Origin	Office worker_ planning
	N. Y.	Eskişehir	20 min	1955	1975	Eskişehir	Romania	Worker

The third stage of the interview process is the post-interview phase. At the beginning of this stage, the recording of the interview and any additional data gathered from the interviewees, such as documents, photographs, memoirs, and architectural drawings, were labeled and filed under the names of the factories.

As oral historians Barbara W. Sommer and Mary Kay Quinlan highlighted, "Transcripts are archival and reference tools that provide continuing access to interview information."[68] The oral history interviews were transcribed into word documents word-by-word as soon as the interviews were completed. The interviewee's name and track number and the date and location of the interview were written in each transcript. Each of the interviews lasted from 20 to 145 minutes in length. Therefore, the length of the interviewee transcripts varied greatly from 4 to 16 pages in length. The accession number assigned to the recording was also assigned to the transcript.

After the transcription process, the written transcripts were read several times for thematizing and coding. For example, anthropologist Michael H. Agar suggested that researchers "read the transcripts in their entirety several times. Immerse yourself in the details, trying to get a sense of the interview as a whole before breaking it into parts."[69] The interview questions were designed according to the themes of the study. The interview process also progressed depending on these themes. Therefore, the transcripts were also formulated and filtered thematically. Table 1.4 shows the initial coding process under these themes: workspace, living space, collective space, and workers' organizations. Additionally, the interviews offered an understanding of the settings and actors within the context of spatial and urban development. All of this information is interpreted in Chapter 3 through discussion, maps, and tables, using the information collected from the research methodology.

[68] Sommer and Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual*, 69.

[69] Michael H. Agar, *The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography* (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1980), 103.

Table 1. 4 Information about the oral history interviews

Factory	Name of Interviewee	Workspace	Living Space	Collective Space	Workers' Union
RAILWAY FACTORY	A. A.	Steel construction manufacture and montage f.	Slum, lodging block	Family, cinema, camp, trade union	Member/ Representative
	İ. K.	Maintenance factory	Sakarya Building Cooperative (1975)	Family, cinema, trade union	Member/ Administration
	N. Y.	Taner Atelier_ motor unit	S.S. Cooperative housing	Yalaman Adası, sport, trade union	Member/ Commissioner
	O. E.	Leveling unit	Disaster Houses	Yalaman Adası, trade union	Member
	Ş. Ö.	Leveling unit	Cooperative Housing	Coffeehouse, camp	Member
	E. K.	All units in the factory	Sakarya Building Cooperative (1975)	Education, forest nursery	Member/ Commissioner
	M. Y.	Taner Atelier_ motor unit	S.S. Cooperative housing	Yalaman Adası, trade union	Member/ Commissioner
	A. B.	Administration building	Lodging Block	Family, home	Not applicable
SUGAR FACTORY	Y. E.	Factory sales unit	Slum (Büyükdere)	Rural activities	Member not active/ Manager
	V. S.	Machine Factory_ foundry laboratory	Cooperative Housing (Gökmeydan)	Consumption, cinema, trade union	Member/ Board of directors
	N. E.	Mechanic atelier	Cooperative Housing (Gökmeydan)	Sport Gökmeydanspor, association, family	Member/ Main representative
	H. A.	Main factory	Lodging Block, Cooperative Housing (Gökmeydan)	Family	Member
	Z. T. Ş.	All units in the factory	Sugar Cooperative Housing (Gökmeydan)	Sport (voleyball), trade union	Member/ Secretary
	C. E.	Main Factory	Sugar Cooperative Housing (Gökmeydan)	Sport, trade union	Member/ Board of directors
	M. S.	Boiler House	Lodging Block	Family, home	Member
	D. A. K.	Machine Factory	Lodging Block	No free time	Not applicable
	A. K.	Administration	Lodging Block	No free time	Not applicable
	B. B.	Hospital	Sugar Cooperative Housing	Family, home	Not applicable
SÜMERBANK PRINT FACTORY	M. K.	Print Factory	Ertuğrulgazi	Coffeehouse	Member
	S. A.	Represantative Office	Ertuğrulgazi	Trade union	Member/ Worker Represantative
	Ç. A.	Puantör Binası	Ertuğrulgazi	Trade union, sport	Member/ Administration
	Y. H.	Print Factory	Ertuğrulgazi	Coffehouse, prairie	Member
	İ. Y.	Administration building _planning	Yeşiltepe_ squatter settlement	Family	Member
	M. O.	Print Factory	Ertuğrulgazi	Extra work _public education center	Member
	H. Ş.	Print Factory	Ertuğrulgazi	Extra work _production of meerschaum	Member
	G. B.	Print Factory (İplik)	Çamlıca	Home, family	Member
	B. E.	Print Factory	Ertuğrulgazi	Home, family	Member
	N. Y.	Print Factory	Ertuğrulgazi	Home, family	Member

1.4. The Structure of the Dissertation

This study addresses the interactions between work, living, and collective spaces in the factory and urban environment while focusing on the industrial employees between 1923 and 1980. Thus, it expands former research by shifting away from the state's agency as the main actor to include industrial workers in the spatial production of the everyday. This study also examines actors' multiplicity in the context of social process and periodical change within the dichotomy between the state-owned factories and the urban environment. The main research question of the dissertation is to understand how work, living, and collective spaces were produced and used in everyday life by diverse industrial actors.

This study, which concentrates on these inquires, is developed within four sections. As an introduction, the first chapter presents the research questions, including the objectives, related literature, methodology, and structure.

The second chapter examines the setting in the industrial city between 1923 and 1980. Research on the industrial settlements in Eskişehir, urban history, and the workers' organizations provides background about the formation of the urban environment within a broader framework. The first section on the landscape of industry provides an overview of how the state-owned industrial settlements were founded and developed along with their historical, architectural, and social development. The urban history addresses urban development beginning from the statist tendencies of the Republican

period to the democratic approach in order to understand the urban context and the changes that took place in the industrial character of Eskişehir. The period between 1923 and 1980 includes overlapping parameters in urban history: migration, industrialization, and urbanization. The section on the workers' organizations focuses on the new roles that flourished within the development of workers' organizations that focused on trade union policy, social regulation on insurance, labor, and cooperative housing, industrial training policy, and health policy on the local and national scale. This section also illustrates the organizational network in Eskişehir that was involved in this process, consisting of the organized workers, the leaders of organizations, the financial and legal institutions, and political figures as well as social agencies, the media, and its critics. Social, cultural, economic, and political parameters are explored in order to frame the subsequent discussions of the built environment.

The everyday life of the industrial subjects provided multiple interactions between actors, settings, and themes. As the common denominator of the study is everyday, three themes -workspace, living space, and collective space- were designed to compose a meaningful whole, around which the third chapter is thematically organized. Each section includes all industrial employees and moves across both the factory and the urban environment. Additionally, these themes were developed within a duality between the spatial production of the state and the workers' own initiatives. This framework provides a nuanced understanding of the interplay between actors, settings, and themes. Therefore, each chapter acts as a thematic encapsulation rather than a chronological ordering, covering both pre-1950 and post-1950 periods, which leads to a larger discussion across architectural and urban history.

The third chapter starts with the production of workspace. The first analysis of workspace focuses on statist representation and urban monumentality by examining the statist architectural production in Eskişehir and Turkey, which was elaborately designed with the symbols of the new regime. Second, the workspace is considered as the site where the industrial actors initially interacted with the modes and rhythms of industry. These actors, individuals with diverse origins who were cultivated through the medium of the educative industrial built environment -vocational school, vestibule school, training hall, and shop floor- brought about the adaptation to time management,

discipline, and control. Moreover, new roles that were grounded in the labor hierarchy emerged on the shop floor, where the scientific management and organization of production were articulated. In this section, the interaction between these roles and the built environment is analyzed.

The chapter continues with an examination of the production of living space and addresses the diverse living spaces that were constructed between 1923 and 1980. The section starts with a focus on the lodging blocks, the initial living spaces that were produced mostly for industrial superiors in Eskişehir. The alternative living spaces - immigrant housing, disaster housing, and squatter settlements- are also presented. One of the main living spaces was the housing cooperative, which was developed between 1950 and 1980 and which represents the major component of the everyday, produced by workers' organizations. The origins and architectural design processes of several housing cooperatives are presented, and their relevance to collectivity are examined. The multiple narratives of the workers' lives entail complexities, and by exploring the myriad constitutive elements and discursive frameworks, the ways that these forms of living spaces were designed, organized, and inhabited can be understood in relation to social, political, and financial change in the urban environment. Along with examining the diverse living spaces produced for and by the industrial employees, this section also discusses the ways that shop floor dynamics and domestic relations extended into the living spaces.

The thematic sections conclude with a focus on the production of collectivity and an evaluation of its diverse meanings. The sub-sections of self-improvement, consumption, and health are developed to uncover particularities and diversities within the interactions between the industrial subject and the collective built environment. As the workers' collectivity progressed in the 1950s, the workers initially conveyed collectivity from the factory to the city through free spaces and practices of consumption, and then established collective spaces outside of the urban environment through out-of-town excursions and holiday camps.

A synthesis of the initial sections, integrating work, living and collective spaces, is presented in the discussion. In this section, the relation between these themes is

explored by covering all themes as a whole. Therefore, this section acts as a connective ground for thematic encapsulation and analyzes multiple industrial agencies and collectivity to search for similarities and differences. This section focuses on the re-production of agency through adjustment, change, and interaction. The re-production of agency is explored through two main sections: the industrial city and national diversity. Each section is further divided into two categories: settings and actors. The first discusses the urban development of the cities within social processes. The second explains adjustment, change, and interaction as determined by the relation between industrial actors and the collectivity. As a comparison model, the similarities and differences between actors and collectivities are outlined.

Based on the urban context, the first discussion explores the industrial agencies that formed through large-scale social processes brought about by industrialization, unionization, urbanization, and modernization. Through the interplay of these processes, the industrial city did not produce a singular subject but provided a complex network among its diverse actors. Accordingly, the new agencies and collectivities that emerged are comparatively discussed within the progress of urban-industrial development using the perspective of adjustment, change, and interaction. These agencies and collectivities were derived from the interaction among three layers: actors, collectivity, and social process.

Based on the national context, the second discussion focuses on the particularities of Eskişehir as an industrial city. This critical perspective is necessary to understand how the industrial subjects emerged similarly or diversely within their broader historical, architectural, and urban context compared to those in other industrial cities, Kayseri and Karabük. In addition, this sub-section constructs a picture of the national network of industry and social processes between 1923 and 1980.

The concluding chapter provides a summary of this analysis, in light of previous chapters. The conclusion highlights how the industrial city might be interpreted within a broader historical, architectural, and urban context to understand its role in the making of multiple industrial subjects.

CHAPTER 2

SETTING: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

2.1. The Landscape of Industry: Eskişehir, Industrial Settlements, and Industrialization

> A Journey between Eskişehir and İstanbul by plane…
>
> After a while, we were above the station and factory buildings. A stupendous view, with shining glass roofs and concrete bases, was visible. Constantly maneuvering wagons, lined up behind the locomotive, were noticed. Meanwhile, the plane was accelerated, leaving Eskişehir and factory buildings behind us…[70]

This is the way Eskişehir was portrayed in 1933 by the journalist M. Tarık. Industrial settlements were the dominant components of the newly emerging city. Eskişehir was industrializing as a result of the Republic's economic and political regulations. The foundations of industrialization were formed in the nineteenth century through social and technical migration from the Balkan States and the construction of the railway workshop. Along with the formation of a Republic, one of Turkey's goals was establishing modern industrialized cities. *İzmir İktisat Kongresi* (İzmir Economic Congress 1923), *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu* (the Law for Encouragement of Industry 1927), and *1. Beş Yıllık Sanayi Planı* (Five-year Industrialization Plan 1933–1937) were steps toward industrialization.

[70] M. Tarık, "Tayyare ile Eskişehir- İstanbul Arasında bir Seyahat," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.101 (July 1933): 277-78.

Çağlar Keyder emphasized the role of state-led industrialization. The state enterprises became the principal instrument to construct a modern Turkish state through the medium of statist policy.[71] Statist industrialization was introduced in the First Five-Year Industrialization Plan. An article referred to the construction of twenty-one state-owned factories comprising various industries such as textiles, food, mining, paper, chemistry, glass, and cement. Small and medium-sized towns were selected as the locations to convey modern culture across the country. State-owned industrial establishments had been prevalent and constituted an industrial base in Turkey until the 1950s. The Second World War formed a break in the industrialization process of the world and shifted economic paradigms. The post-war period in Turkey could be divided into two main periods. The first period occurred between 1946 and 1953 and involved a loosening of the conservative and introverted economic policy of the 1930s. Economist Korkut Boratav considered this period to be an experiment with integration into the world economy.[72] Liberal foreign trade was not implemented in the second period, which occurred between 1954 and 1960, because of the congestion of the former model. In order to produce goods that were currently imported within the boundaries of the country, a more conservative model was established through the Law for the Encouragement of Foreign Investment, which led to the integration of foreign investors and native tradesmen. Along with these developments, progress in the 1950s took place through state-owned development and private sector incentives. Thus, state-led industrial development continued until privatization in the 1980s. The state's industrial and economic policies underlined its concern with industry. Even the welfare of the country was associated with industrial development. The administration of the Eskişehir railway factory also expressed this approach: "Eskişehir is Manchester of Turkey with its smoking chimneys. Thousands of workers, who are the only individuals to provide the welfare of the country, spread the streets of the city every morning and evening."[73] (Figure 2.1)

[71] Keyder, "Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and in Republican Turkey, ca. 1900-1950," 123-163.

[72] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908-1985*, 73.

[73] Atölye Müdürlüğü, "Fabrikalar: D.D.Y. Cer Atölyesi," in *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış,* ed. Orhan Soydaş (İstanbul: Bakış Matbaası, 1948), 21.

Figure 2. 1 Sugar workers going to the factory on their bicycle (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

There were three types of industrial establishments in Eskişehir between 1930 and 1980: private small-scale workshops; private medium-scale factories that specialized in brick, tile, flour, and wine; and state-owned factories with well-established settlements. "State-owned factories and their skilled workforce played an important role in the development of Eskişehir and its industry since the 1930s."[74] This statement emphasized that the state-owned establishments dominated the economy of Eskişehir. These establishments were particularly significant because the city experienced remarkable growth in the industry during the time in which they were founded and developed. The factories brought a technical workforce and public investment to the city. Three state-owned factories were established between 1924 and 1956 in Eskişehir. The three large-scale industries in the history of Eskişehir, the railway factory, the sugar factory, and the Sümerbank print factory, were all constructed or developed by the Turkish state. (Figure 2.2) These expansive industrial complexes not only provided for the practical needs of the state but were also representative of a way of living. Industrial production transformed the habits and living conditions of workers and led to more disciplined, qualified, and purpose-driven employees.

[74] Y. Emre Heper, "Eskişehir Sanayii Dünü- Bugünü," in *Eskişehir Sanayi Odası 25. Yıl Özel Sayı,* ed. Eskişehir Sanayi Odası (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, 1993), 43-44.

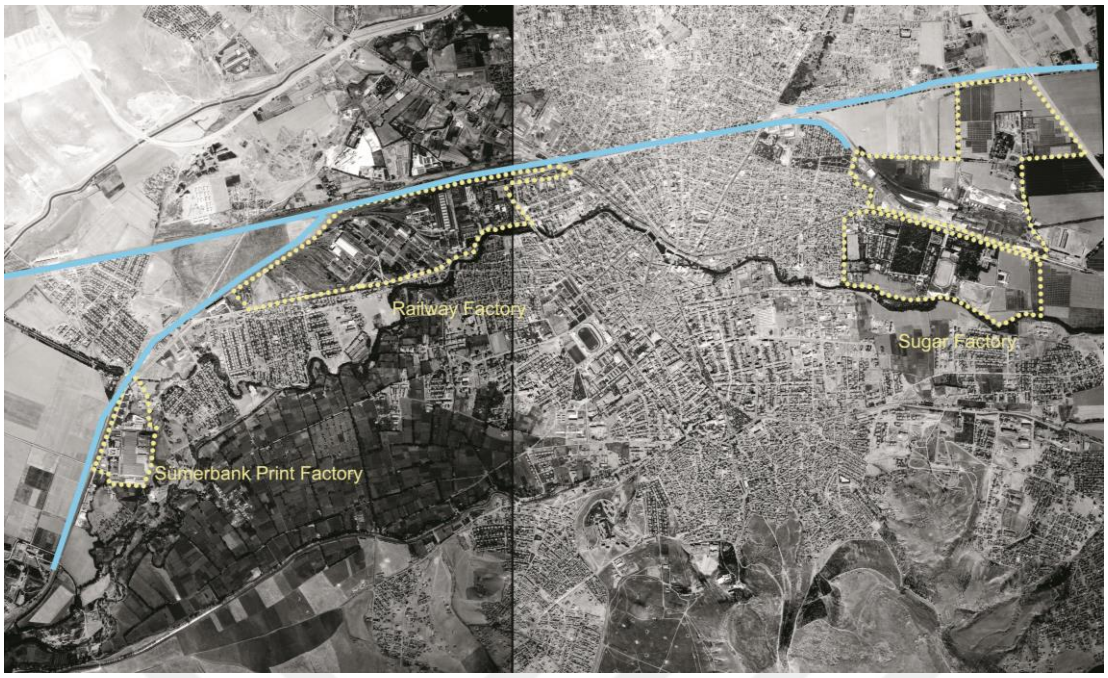


Figure 2. 2 Aerial map from 1975 showing the location of the three state-owned factories selected for the study (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

Unlike the sugar and Sümerbank factories, which were built in the Republican period, the railway factory was gradually formed by the addition of buildings to a small workshop built in the 1890s. These complexes each had unique architectural forms, production types, and social and communal characteristics. "Each industrial district established its own standards for working conditions and community life that shaped a characteristic physical and social order."[75] As architect and architectural historian Margaret Crawford emphasized, industrial settlements have not only been composed of production and distribution structures but also residential areas, institutions, and communal spaces. Because of this, the changes that occurred in the workspace as a result of new disciplinary regulations and labor mechanisms altered social life in these settlements. Thus, everyday life began to change in these industrial establishments.

The state-owned settlements were significant first and foremost for their contribution to the industrial development of Eskişehir and its evolution into an industrial city. Second, they were the only examples of self-contained industrial settlements owned by the state. This section provides a historical overview of how the industrial settlements were established and developed.

[75] Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Town* (London & New York: Verso, 1995), 29.

2.1.1. The Railway Factory

There were two stages in the building process of the railway factory: 1923-1950 and 1950-1980. Small workshops formed the basis for a self-contained complex. These workshops were dominated by foreign professionals at the end of the nineteenth century. The first phase covered the period between 1924 and 1950, with the introduction of the Republican regime. New workshops specializing in production were constructed. This period represented a change from small workshops that focused on repair and maintenance to expansive manufacturing plants. Following the statist policies, foreign dependency was diminished, and foreign expertise was systematically eliminated to promote nationalization.[76] Social and cultural facilities were also integrated into the factory, making it a well-established complex from that period onwards. In the second phase, which covered the period after 1950, production increased with the establishment of large-scale factories.

The development of the railway industry in Eskişehir began with a small workshop built by the Germans in 1894 in order to repair locomotives and wagons related to the Anatolian-Baghdad Railways.[77] This was the first attempt to develop Eskişehir from an agrarian to a technological economy. *City's Annual* (*Salname-i Vilayet-i Hüdavendigar*) indicated that the site included a station, a wagon repair workshop, and a locomotive and wagon depot.[78] (Figure 2.3) The factory's buildings were shown on the site plan, which was developed over Major von Huber's urban plan. Major von Huber was one of the German officers in the Ottoman government and the construction supervisor for the Haydarpaşa-Ankara Railroad. (Figure 2.5)

[76] Celal Davud, "Yeni Gün Milli Hat Güzergahında: Eskişehirde'ki Müesseseleri Ziyaret," *Anadolu'da Yeni Gün* no. 1398- 1122 (1924), 2.

[77] Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, "Eskişehir Lokomotif ve Motor Sanayii Müessesi Faaliyetleri," *Eskişehir Sanayi Odası Dergisi*, no. 2 (December 1970): 27-28.

[78] Salname-i Vilayet-i Hüdavendigar 1898, 346.

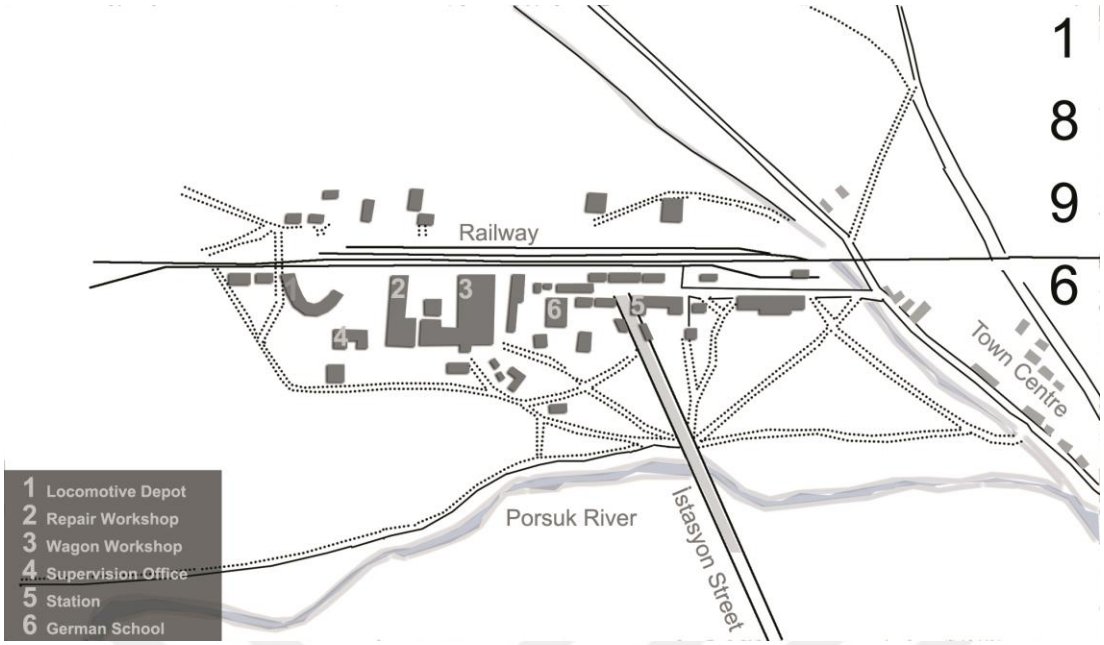


Figure 2. 3 Site plan from 1896 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir railway factory (adapted by the author from a map, Taksim-i Arazi dated 1896)

The locomotive depot was used for maintenance and repair and was designed with a circular plan. There was a turning bridge in front of the building that switched the locomotive's position to facilitate repair. As a semi-open space, the building was designed with arched openings to allow flexible use of the interior and exterior. The rails entered the building over these openings. (Figure 2.4, 2.6, 2.7)

Figure 2. 4 Locomotive depot (Yakut 2015, 60)

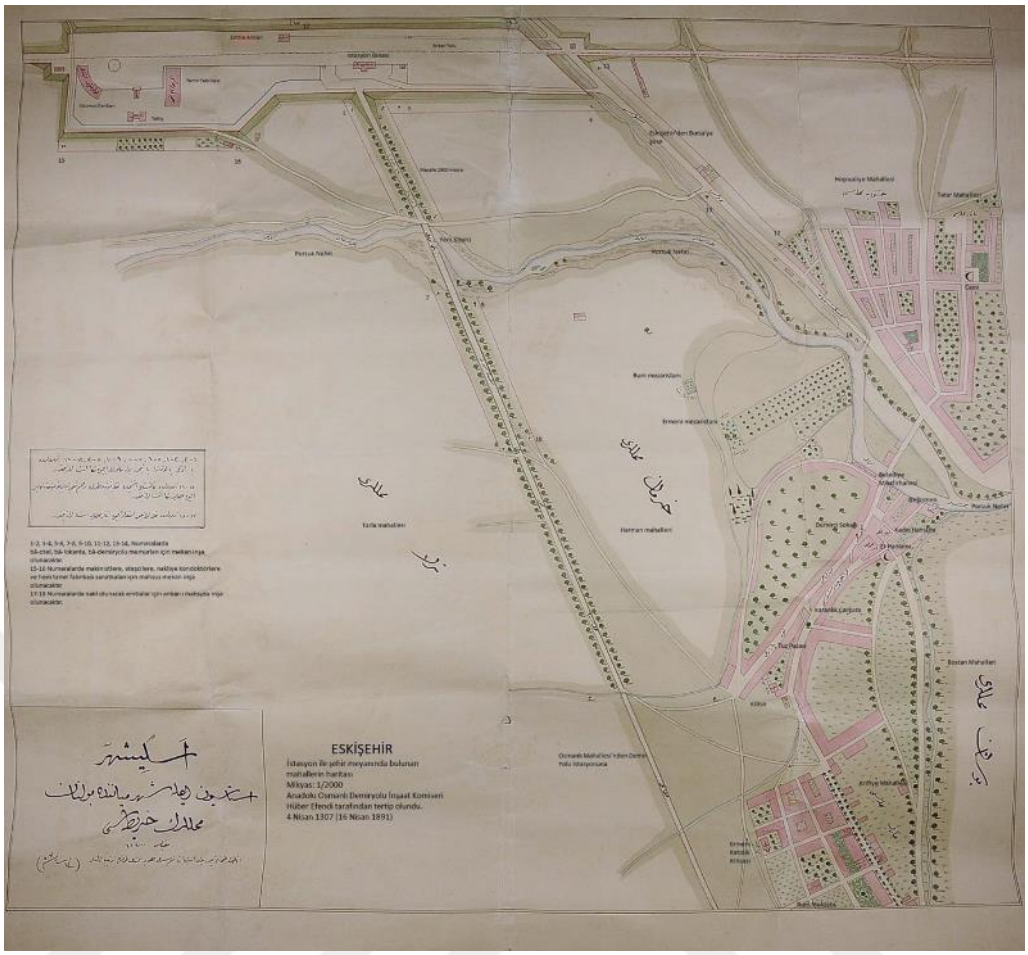


Figure 2. 5 Urban plan drawn by Anatolian Ottoman Railway Construction Commissioner Major von Huber (Eskişehir Municipality Archive 1891)

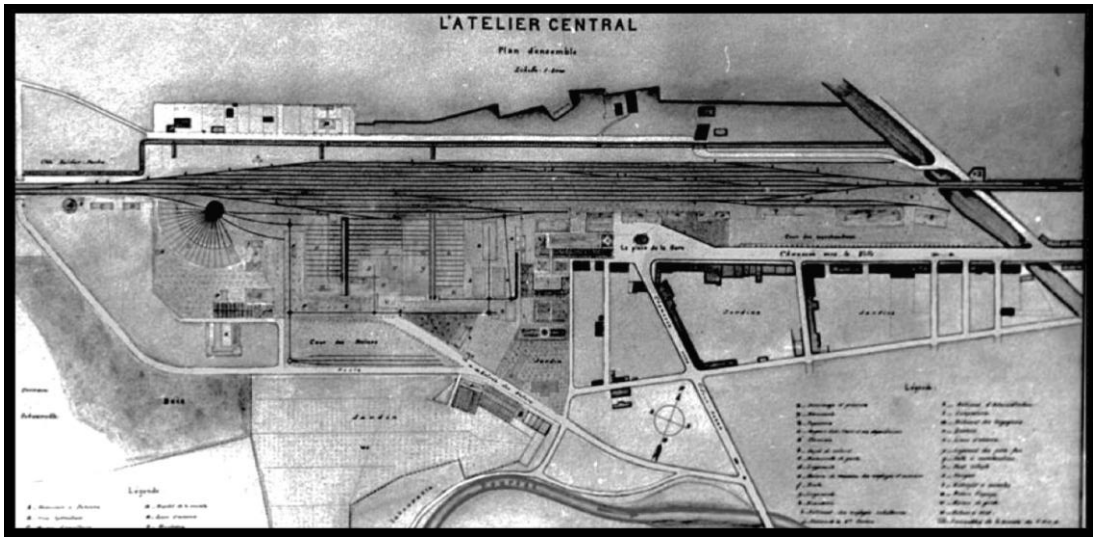


Figure 2. 6 Site plan of locomotive depot (Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory in the late nineteenth century)

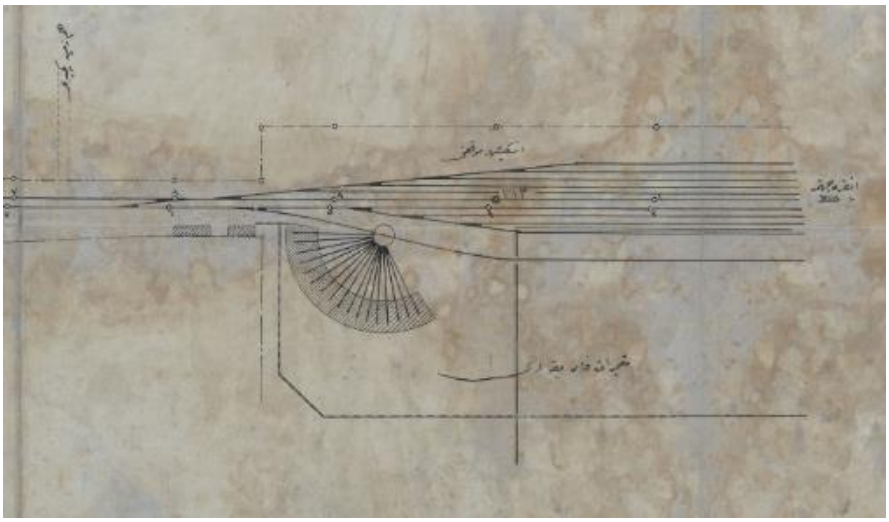


Figure 2. 7 Architectural plan of locomotive depot (The Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive 1341)

The repair workshop and wagon workshop had masonry construction with a rectangular plan. The repair workshop had a saw-tooth roof. (Figure 2.9) The wagon workshop was for the repair of passenger wagons and freight cars.[79] (Figure 2.8) Its design was determined according to the form of its roof, which consisted of hipped roofs on different levels with small arched and rectangular openings. Two of the workshops had different architectural formations using simple architectural and constructional techniques.

Figure 2. 8 Repair workshop (Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

[79] Reşat Yamaner, "Anılarda Cer Atelyeleri: Eskişehir Cer Atelyesinde 2 Saat," in *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* ed. Süreyya Baki Şenol (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1952), 34-37.

Figure 2. 9 Wagon workshop (Gşifka Archive)

The senior positions were mainly filled by foreigners. An archival document found in the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive lists the French Chief Engineer Lui Hasler, the German Workshop Director Mr. Eberlint, and the German Mr. Crombel.[80] Eskişehir locals were recruited into lower positions by foreign managers for a nominal fee according to their industriousness and skills. The registry book (*Sicil-i Ahval Defteri*) included information from the period between 1909 and 1919, emphasizing this hierarchical order: Abdullah Bin Süleyman worked as a fitter's assistant and Kadri Efendi bin Ali worked as a machine operator. Daily wages ranged from five to twelve kurus. The local workers could not be promoted as they were temporary workers.[81] According to these documents, the foreigners formed their own environment with a gymnastics space, club, and school. This spatial formation emphasized foreign patronage in production and social zones.

2.1.1.1. The First Phase of the Railway Factory

Before the establishment of the Republic, the small-scale workshops under the German administration of the Anatolian Baghdad Railway did not engage in industrial

[80] Catalogue of Department of The Department of State (*Hariciye Nezareti*) (HR.TH..), Catalog no. 218/66, 18.10.1898.

Ahmet Sevük, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yılları," in *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* ed. Süreyya Baki Şenol (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1994), 20-23.

[81] Gawriel Arhengelos, *Anadolu-Osmanlı Demiryolu ve Şirketi Osmaninin İçyüzü* (İstanbul, 1909).

production. Locomotive boilers were sent to Germany, and all spare parts were imported.[82] On April 22, 1924, the maintenance and revision workshop of the steam locomotive was transferred to the Turkish State Railways according to *Anadolu Demiryollarının Mübayasına ve Demiryolları Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesinin Teşkilat ve Vazifesine Dair Kanun* (Law of Anatolian Railway Purchasing and General Organization and Mission of Railway Directorate).[83] After 1927, and particularly after the Second World War (1939-45), different types of locomotives and wagons emerged in the country along with a deficiency of foreign currency and a need for spare parts. In order to sustain and develop the railway establishment, equipment production was undertaken in addition to maintenance and repair. In line with its new service, the construction of workshops and their mechanical systems was expanded.[84] This development led to the initial phase of the factory between 1924 and 1950, in which the railway repair workshop transformed into a manufacturing plant.

Meanwhile, the state nationalized foreign railway companies and began building new ones, such as the Ankara-Sivas Railway Line in 1930. *Anayurdu dört baştan demir ağlarla örmek* (covering the motherland with an iron web of railroads) became the leading motto during the first decade of the Republic. The objective of the railway network expansion was to integrate Anatolia into the international market.[85]

The *cer atölyesi* (traction workshop) had over 600 employees, consisting of 530 local and 60 foreign workers in May 1924. This development demonstrated the nationalization process of the railway. Reporter Celal Davud also indicated that foreign workers were to be gradually expelled from the workshop after Turkish workers gained sufficient know-how and experience. Mehmet Behiç Erkin, the founder and first director of the Turkish Republic Railway between 1920 and 1926, underlined this nationalist approach and introduced its objectives: replacing foreign employees,

[82] TCDD, *50. yılında TCDD ELMS Eskişehir Lokomotif ve Motor Sanayii Müessesi* (Ankara: TCDD Matbaası, 1973), 2.

[83] TBMM, *TBMM Kavanin Mecmuası Cilt:2* (Ankara: TBMM Matbaası, 1942).

[84] Atölye Müdürlüğü, "Fabrikalar: D.D.Y. Cer Atölyesi," 21.

[85] Feroz Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2017), 112.

changing the official language from French to Turkish, and forming the national railway in a short period of time.[86]

Reporter Celal Davud explained his visit to the factory and described the units of the factory and their functions: sawmill, boiler repair shop, lathe unit, wagon repair-shop, paint shop, upholstery shop, apprentice shop, ironworks, foundry, and tool room.[87] (Figure 2.10)

Figure 2. 10 Site plan from 1935 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir railway factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1935)

On June 5, 1925, the groundbreaking ceremony took place for the larger units and repair shops. The units under construction between 1925 and 1928 consisted of workshops such as an assembly shop to assemble locomotives and wagons, a boiler house to produce boilers for steam locomotives, and a wheel shop to produce gearwheels and wheels. The area of the factory expanded to 500 decares.[88] The *cer atölyesi*[89] (traction workshop) was used for the repair of locomotives. A *yol atölyesi* (road workshop) was established in 1929 to manufacture and repair bridges, switches, weighbridges, and safety systems for the manufacture and repair of road materials. (Figure 2.11) On January 1, 1950, the traction and road workshops were merged under centralized management and named the *Eskişehir Yol ve Cer Atölyesi* (Road and Traction Workshop).[90]

[86] Akşam, "Eskişehir'deki Vaz'-ı Esas Resmi," *Akşam*, no. 2394 (1925).

[87] Celal Davud, "Yeni Gün Milli Hat Güzergahında: Eskişehirde'ki Müesseseleri Ziyaret," 2.

[88] Tarih Vakfı, *75 yılda Çarklardan Chip'lere* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999).

[89] *Cerr* means pulling and drawing in Ottoman Turkish.

[90] Süreyya Baki Şenol, *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994* (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1994), 12.

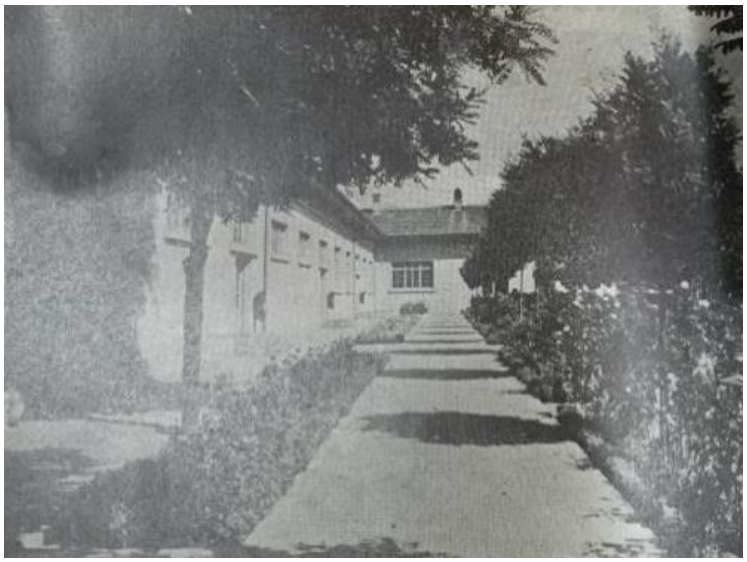


Figure 2. 11 Road Workshop (TCDD 1958, 37)

Figure 2. 12 Site plan from 1950 showing the buildings of the railway factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1950)

Between 1923 and 1950, the change from maintenance to manufacture was completed, which led to the growth of the industrial complex through the construction of additional buildings: a wheel lathe workshop, a boiler house, a welding house, a department, a Taner workshop, a steel construction unit, and an equipment factory. (Figure 2.12) As production methods and tools became more advanced between 1920 and 1950, the industrial buildings were improved in response. For instance, the wagon repair workshop transformed into a wagon production workshop. New buildings were integrated for production and service. With their rectangular plan, the workshops were highly replaceable, adaptable, and multipurpose in both form and function. The industrial settlement became more sophisticated through the addition of different buildings organized by the production process, including buildings for raw materials,

manufacturing, packing, storage, transportation, and sales. There was a network of wagon tracks between the production units.

The period between 1924 and 1959 was marked by the change from repair to manufacturing through the construction of production facilities. This is the period in which the factory gained its Republican character, and many administrative, health and social facilities were integrated. In 1944, the factory gate, dining hall, and administration building were designed by architect Şekip Akalın. (Figure 2.13) In the railway factory, the entrance was formed between Atatürk Square, the administration building, and the dining hall. Atatürk Square, with its Atatürk bust surrounded by a green belt, marked the main entrance. This spatial organization was one of the formal elements that were identical in all industrial establishments, representing the Republican identity.

Figure 2. 13 Factory gate and clock tower (Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası n. d.)

While the construction of production buildings continued, the period after the 1930s introduced the design of new building types in the railway settlement. The administration of the workshop explained these building types, which were facilities for social engagement, leisure pursuits, health, and education: a large dining hall for free lunch with a 300-person capacity, bathing units, showers, a sports area, and a

general hospital with 350 beds, 36 specialist doctors, and 181 staff members responsible for the treatment of employees and their relatives. The yearbook *50. Yılında ELMS* further described these and other welfare services, including free tickets for domestic and international excursions twice a year for employees and their relatives, free shipping tickets for provision and fuel, a sports club with a gym and a football field covering all sports branches, a meeting room, and a garden.[91]

Modern educational methods and tools were adapted to railway education. The journal *Demiryolları Mecmuası* stated that the training method was similar to Europe in terms of educational tools, which included regulation, guidebooks, circulars, specialized schools, courses, school conferences, documentaries, publications, journals, a library, foreign experts, travel, research and training programs in Europe.[92]

In 1894, the railway school was constructed next to the station for the education and training of railway workers and officials' children by the Anatolian Railway Ottoman Company. The language used in this program was Ottoman Turkish. On November 21, 1896, this school was opened in order to train officials and workers, and these employees later worked in railway lines. In 1898, the schoolteachers were foreigners such as Romanian Madmazel Jobenya Grani and French Mösyö Şarl. The school continued to be staffed by foreign teachers until 1919.[93]

According to an archival document found in the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive, there was a discussion on how to intervene in the German school used by railway officials, compared to the French school in Eskişehir in 1900.[94] In 1913, the

[91] TCDD, *50. yılında TCDD ELMS Eskişehir Lokomotif ve Motor Sanayii Müessesi*, 27.

[92] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "On ikinci Cumhuriyet Yılının En Büyük Okulu," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.119-130 (October 1935): 407-08.

[93] Catalogue of Department of Private Decision (*İrade Hususi*) (İ.HUS.), Catalog no. 50/65, 15.06.1314.

Catalogue of Department of Educational Editorial Department (*Maarif Nezâreti Mektubî Kalem*) (MF.MKT.), Catalog no. 391/25 11.11.1315.

Catalogue of Department of Private Decision (*İrade Hususi*) (İ.HUS.), Catalog no. 425/399, 21.11.1896.

Catalogue of Department of Private Decision (*İrade Hususi*) (İ.HUS.), 1898.

[94] Catalogue of Department of Ministry of Interior Coding Department (*Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Kalemi*) (DH.ŞFR.), Catalog no. 295/63, 05.08.1318.

German school had ten large and five small rooms with a courtyard. The Germans formed another school in 1909 and 1910 with 71 students in grades 1-3. In 1912, the government expropriated the German school, the German club, and the German hospital. In 1915, the school was given to the Railway Company.[95]

These schools were closed during the Republican period, and only an apprentice unit remained in the traction workshop. A vestibule school in Eskişehir Factory was established to provide a profession for members' children and provide theoretical training.[96]

> The officials' children, aged between 14 and 18, were accepted according to need. The intention was to have employee's children learn a profession and to train future workers and machinists. The training period was 1 year in 4 periods. After 4 years of training, these apprentices became assistants of workers, which was a transitional stage to becoming a worker.[97]

The design of the vestibule school was completed by German engineer Gertsner,[98] who worked with Mithat Ersöz, who later became the director of the establishment.[99] (Figure 2.14) To further the development of the railway network and industry and to promote educational improvement, Eskişehir's vestibule school was renewed. For that purpose, *Devlet Demiryolları San'at Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi* (the Guidebook of the State Railway Vocational Apprenticeship School) was prepared in 1940 by the assistant director and the experts of Eskişehir factory to respond to all necessities. This

[95] Catalogue of Department of Ottoman Porte Documents (*Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası*) (BEO), Catalog no. 4379/328397, 05-12-1333.

[96] Süreyya Baki Şenol, "Çırak Mektebi," in *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994*, ed. Süreyya Baki Şenol (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1932), 28.

[97] Özcan Türkmen, *Eskişehir Eğitim Tarihi* (Eskişehir: Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü, 2006), 41.

[98] German engineer Gerstner was the Director of German State Railways Darmstadt Locomotive Workshop. His first name was not mentioned in the archival documents.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 78/77, 07.09.1937.

[99] Ahmet Sevük, "Söyleşide Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası," in *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* ed. Süreyya Baki Şenol (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1994), 55-57.

document included regulations covering exams, teaching plans, sheltering, nourishment, and dress codes.[100]

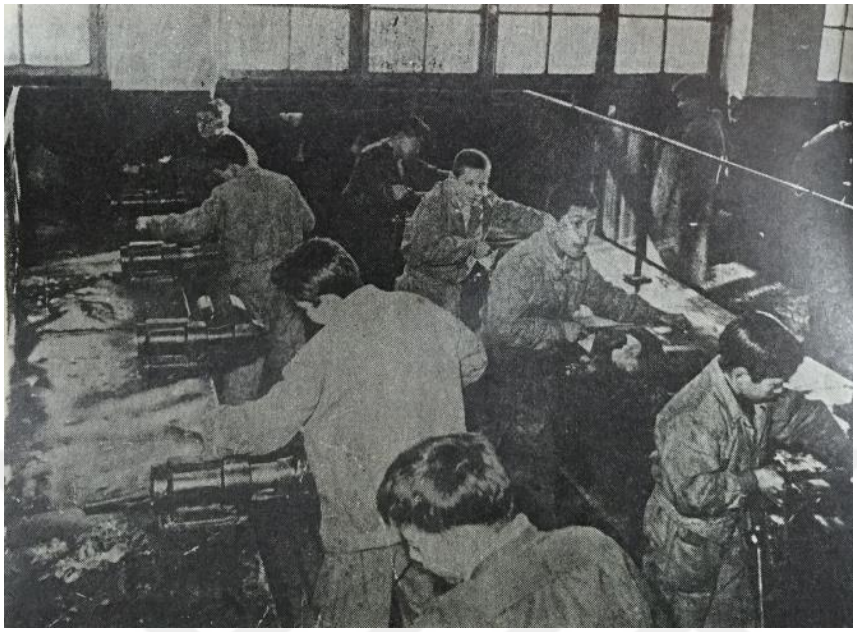


Figure 2. 14 The vestibule school in the Eskişehir railway factory (Devlet Demiryolları 1958)

One of the problems that railway employees had concerns about was the education of their children. *Demiryolu Aile Mektebi* (Railway Family School) was opened by the State Railway Administration in a location that lacked education services, but it was only for officials' children. Mehmet Behiç Erkin emphasized the significance of education, and so the General Directorate of Turkish Railways opened Eskişehir Primary School on September 15, 1927. With teachers and two German caretakers, this school provided training services for the children of officials and other employees in the traction workshop. There were thirty boarders.[101] Railway Family School had a small atelier, a gymnasium, a painting room, and a music room with a piano. Behiç Erkin's objective was to transform this primary school into a high school. Nevertheless, this school was transferred to the *Türk Maarif Cemiyeti* (Turkish Education Society) according to the 1932 *Bütçe Kanunu* (Budget Law). The children

[100] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü, *Sanat Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi* (İstanbul: Demiryollar Matbaası, 1940), 1-25.

[101] Hakimiyet-i Milliye, "Eskişehir'de Devlet Demiryollarının Mektebi," *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, no. 2222 (September 1927): 4.

were transferred to other schools, the building transformed into a student's dormitory, and later, it was closed.[102] (Figure 2.15)

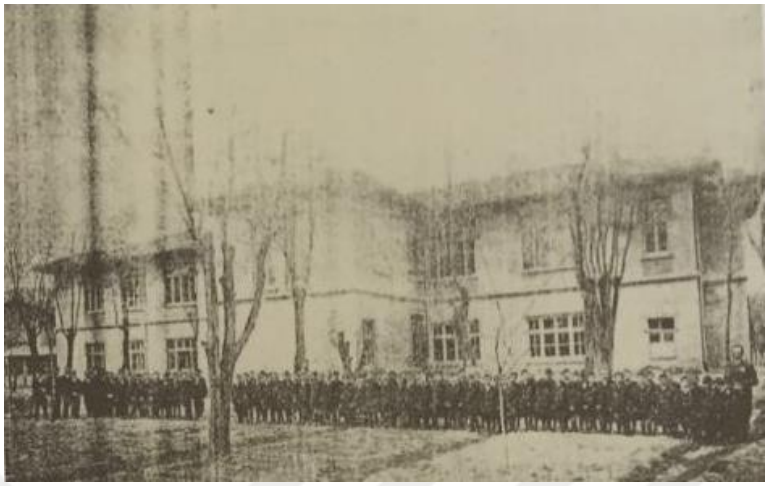


Figure 2. 15 Student's dormitory (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

The factory had a small medical room, which did not meet the needs of the railway industry before the construction of the hospitals. The first hospital was built in 1934 by the prime minister. (Figure 2.16) It had two floors with a basement. There was a terrace, covered with glass, along the Porsuk River. This terrace functioned as a walking corridor for patients while providing sun therapy. The hospital had fifty beds serving the officials of the factory. Its capacity was determined in accordance with the regulations of the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare. It was staffed with a surgeon, an internal disease specialist, and a radiologist. The hospital had separate units for maternity and ambulatory treatment. There was an examination room and an X-ray unit, along with two operating rooms with advanced technology, one septic and one aseptic. The patient wards had a maximum capacity of four people. The patients, who were referred by the factory doctors, received free treatment.[103] According to the journal *İşçinin Sesi*, the tuberculosis pavilion was transferred to İzmir, and this area

[102] Behiç Erkin, *Hatırat 1876- 1958* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2010), 306-307.

[103] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir Hastanesi," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.117 (1934): 635-638.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Güzel Bir Eser: Eskişehir Hastahanesi," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.133 (March 1936): 129.

was dedicated to pediatric services. The health committee offered a library to provide activities for patients.[104]

Figure 2. 16 The first railway hospital (Demiryollar Mecmuası 1934, 533)

The hospital was impressive to observers of the time. There was only one hospital in Eskişehir in the 1930s, *Eskişehir Memleket Hastanesi* (Eskişehir State Hospital), which was at 100 patient capacity.[105] The railway hospital was one of the largest health facilities of that period, and it was also modern in terms of the technology of the building. It even had a central heating system, which was rare for buildings in that period. As a result of these features, the hospital was praised as "a valuable work," "a compassionate nest," and "an auspicious attempt."

The second hospital, opened to railway members nationwide, was built between 1935 and 1949. (Figure 2.17) This hospital was used for treatment and included a laboratory, a radiotherapy unit, a delivery room, pediatric units, and a polyclinic. This building was more massive than the first hospital, with dominant vertical and horizontal elements. Its function was also more extensive, as it served as a general hospital, with pediatric and maternity sections, and housed 30 doctors and 350 beds.[106]

[104] İşçinin Sesi, "Hayırlı Bir Teşebbüs," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 6 (November 30, 1951): 1.

[105] Avni Güngörür and Kemalettin Conker, *Eskişehir Kılavuzu* (Ankara: Anıl Matbaası, 1952), 52.

[106] Celal Yüce, *Eskişehir Çevre İncelemesi* (İstanbul: Sontelgraf Matbaası, 1969), 43.

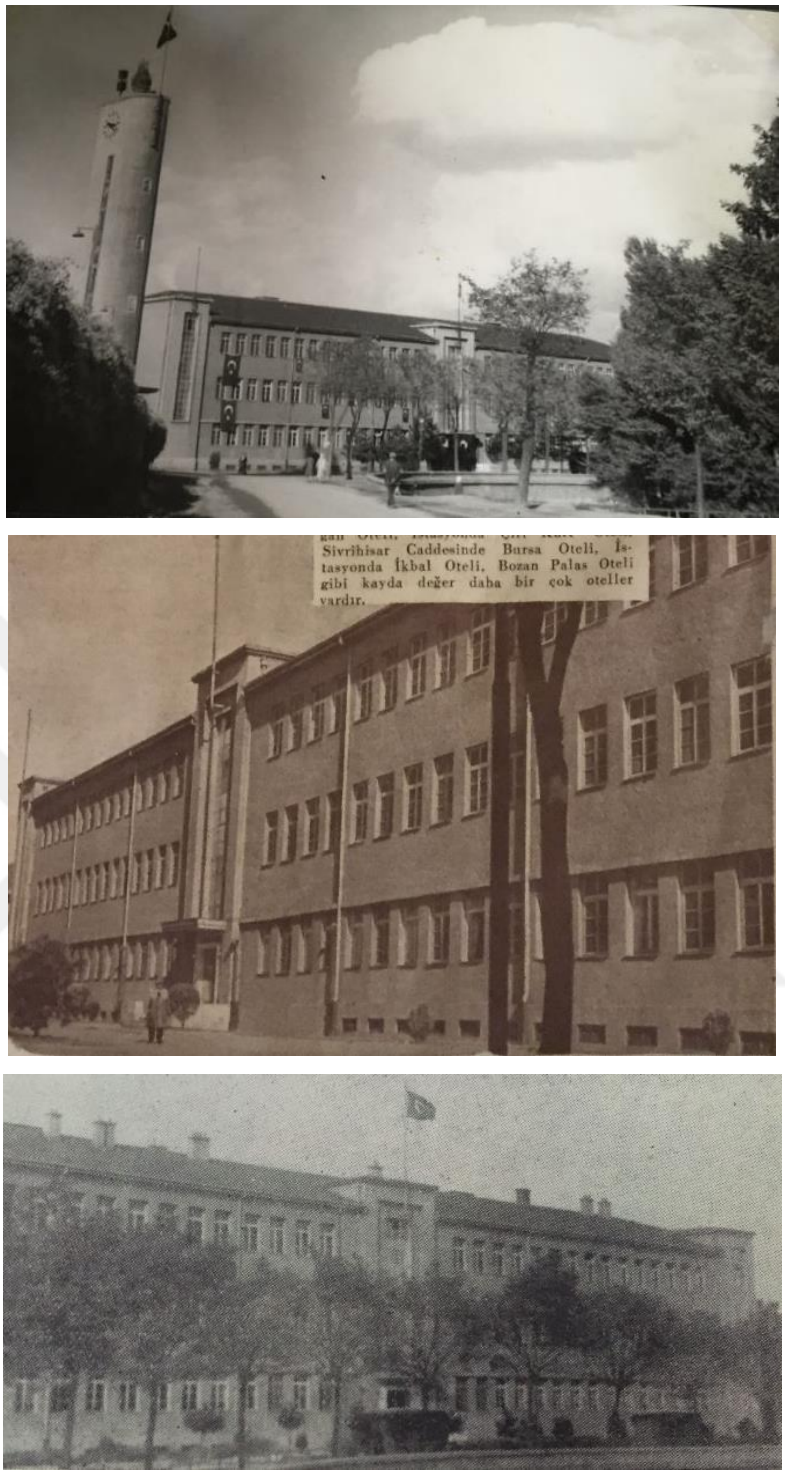


Figure 2. 17 The second railway hospital (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory, Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası, and Güngörür 1952)

The opening ceremony of the *lokal* (clubhouse, or meeting house) was conducted on March 26, 1936. (Figure 2.18) The clubhouse was built as a center for the vocational activities of the railway industry. In addition, the building aimed to introduce industrial

employees as significant actors and intelligentsia while encouraging industrial vocation.[107]

Figure 2. 18 The *lokal* (clubhouse, or meeting house) (TCDD 1973, 26)

The clubhouse consisted of two halls and a garden club for meetings and other leisure time activities for railway families in every season. The garden club had a particular landscape design with an elevated platform in the center that served as an arbor. (Figure 2.19) There were dance and jazz nights twice a week in the winter and summer. Food and beverages could be purchased at a low price. Multiple institutions organized balls, meetings, engagements and wedding ceremonies in the garden club. The employees could relax with their children and eat an inexpensive and nutritious meal accompanied by music. The clubhouse had a library to provide enjoyment. The building and its garden were used as a gathering space, including for the 25th anniversary celebration of the Turkish Railway and the annual congress of the State Railway Workers' Industrial Trade Union, held on September 17, 1951.[108]

[107] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir'de Toplantı Evi," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.133 (March 1936): 132-37.

[108] Güngörür and Conker, Eskişehir Kılavuzu, 77.

İşçinin Sesi, "Türk Demir Yolculuğunun 25nci Yılı Kutlandı," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.18 (June 5, 1952): 1.

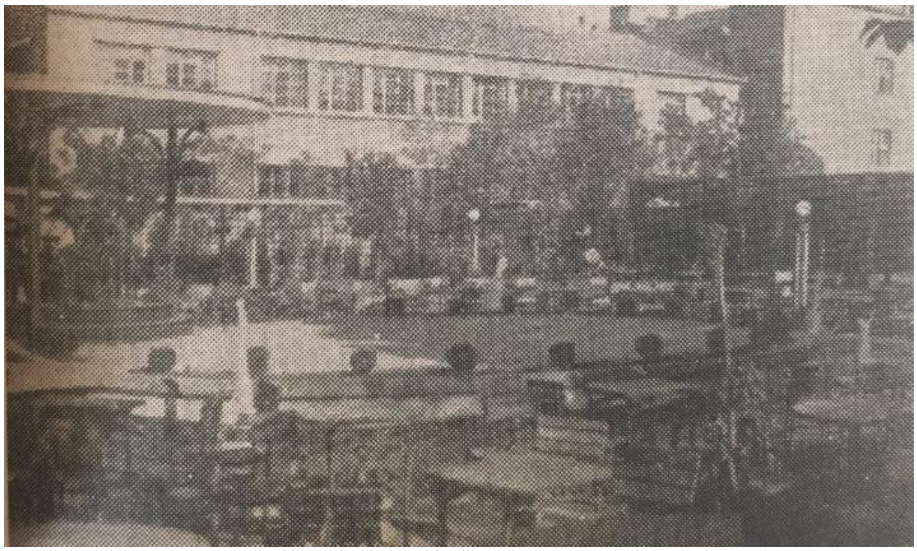


Figure 2. 19 The garden club in the clubhouse (Güngörür 1952)

The *Spor Yurdu* (sports house), initially mentioned in 1934 in the *Demiryolları Mecmuası*, had a dormitory for the vestibule school students and railway employees, an extensive library, sports facilities, and a dining hall. This facility provided social development as it spread modern sports to remote areas of Anatolia. This was the first time sports activities such as wrestling, football, and tennis, were introduced to Eskişehir.[109]

Before the Republican period, German railway workers were the first to address the need for a sports area. Eskişehir railway officials sent the *Sadaret* (prime ministry) a statement explaining that the workers unofficially managed a gymnastics space. The prime minister questioned the owner of the gymnastic space as to why this space was needed and why the foreigners had built this space if there was no demand from other factories.[110] This discussion clarified that sport was an unconventional leisure activity during this period.

[109] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir Hastanesi," 638.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir'de Toplantı Evi," 132.

[110] Catalogue of Department of Ottoman Porte Documents (*Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası*) (BEO), Catalog no. 1346/100888, 19.03.1317.

In the Republican period, the state-owned factories encouraged their employees to participate in different sports. In 1930, Demirspor Club was established by factory managers Şevket Akyazı and Ferit Bey. In accordance with Eskişehir Railroader Unity, Demirspor and its sports offerings, such as football, wrestling, and volleyball, were available for Eskişehir railroader youth, aimed at enhancing their social and bodily development.[111] This was the first step in their training to become upstanding, honest, and well-behaved individuals. Tennis, a contemporary sport, was selected to include women in the sports club. Demirspor store manager Tarık Bey stated that the "inclusion of women would provide cheer and joy in the neighborhood. While creating dynamism, health, and joy, it was a significant agency that maintained a healthy body."[112]

The *Şimendiferciler Birliği* (Eskişehir Railroader Union) and Demirspor both gathered the railway members together. The relation between them was emphasized in *Demiryolları Mecmuası.* The Eskişehir Railroader Union had no building in 1933. However, this association needed a space in order to meet the needs of railroaders. With a building, the union could more readily unite members and support their bodily health. There was a need for a union building with a simple design that could support the social and physical development of railroaders. This demand was introduced in the annual congress of the railway. Under the name of the Eskişehir Railroader Union, this building would be a home for the community of the İstasyon district, and a space for the development of Demirspor. This club would keep the railway family healthy while expanding sports. Moreover, it would sustain railroaders socially by facilitating collaboration and unity.[113]

---

[111] Eskişehir Ekspres, "Demirspor," *Eskişehir Ekspres* 1, no.4 (August 8, 1960): 4.

İsmail Ali Sarar, *Eskişehir Çevre İncelemesi* (Eskişehir: Hatiboğlu Kitabevi, 1976), 68.

[112] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir Demirspor Kulübünün tesisi gününden itibaren gösterdiği faaliyetin bir hulasası," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.139 (September 1936): 402-03.

[113] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir Şimendiferciler Birliği," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no. 101 (August 1933): 338-39.

2.1.1.2. The Second Phase of the Railway Factory

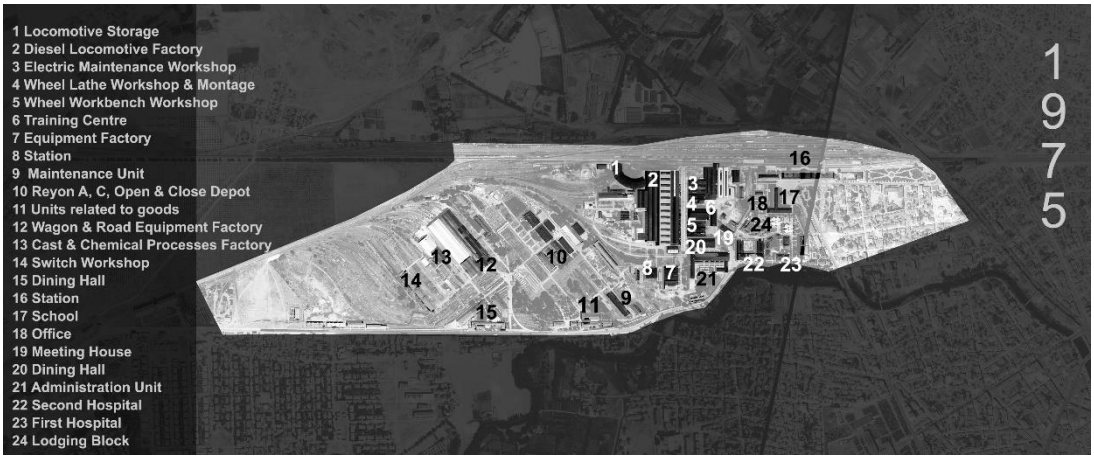


Figure 2. 20 Site plan from 1975 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir railway factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

After 1947, large-scale factories were built, including the maintenance branch office in 1949 and the motor branch office in 1956. The equipment factory produced spare parts and equipment, such as twist drills, milling machines, bradawls, and measuring instruments. In 1949, the maintenance branch office specialized in the maintenance and repair of workbenches, the mechanical units of the factory, and the third-party works.[114] These partial workshops were included in the factory, which was named the *Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikaları* (the Eskişehir railway factory) in 1958. In 1967, the State Planning Organization began a development project to manufacture different locomotives. Within the development plan, the factories were expanded to produce diesel–electric and diesel-hydraulic locomotives. This expanded site was named the *Eskişehir Lokomotif ve Motor Sanayii Müessesesi* (Eskişehir Locomotive and Motor Industrial Establishment) on August 1, 1970. It was composed of four factories: a

[114] The third-party works were cranes, repair, and the production of excavators.

Cemal Üner, "Anılarda Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası: Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikalarını Ziyaret," in *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* ed. Süreyya Baki Şenol (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1968), 67.

Nazif Özcan, "Anılarda Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası: Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikalarında Bir Gün," in *Tülomsaş: Türkiye,* ed. Süreyya Baki Şenol (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1963), 58-63.

locomotive factory, a motor factory, an electric machinery factory, and a wagon and overall machine factory. [115] (Figure 2.20)

The construction of the diesel-locomotive factory began in October 1965 and was completed in 1967. (Figure 2.21, 2.22) This workshop area was named *Taner Atölyesi* (Taner Workshop) in commemoration of Celal Taner, who made a great effort for the railway establishment.[116]

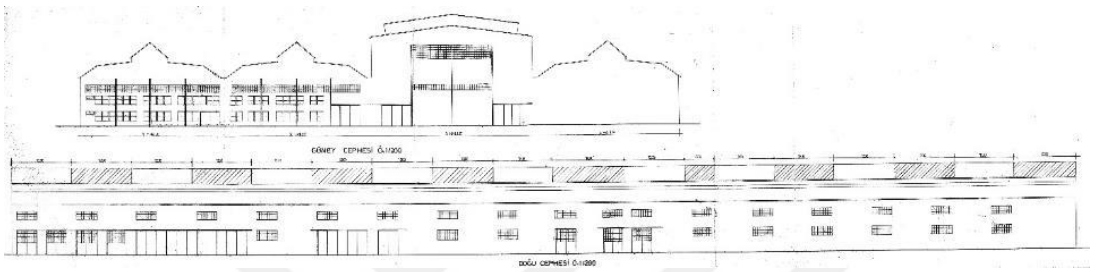


Figure 2. 21 Architectural plan and elevation of diesel-locomotive factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

Figure 2. 22 Locomotive factory (The Archive of the Institute of Turkish Revolution History)

[115] TCDD, *50. yılında TCDD ELMS Eskişehir Lokomotif ve Motor Sanayii Müessesi,* 2.

[116] Üner, "Anılarda Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası: Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikalarını Ziyaret,", 67.

Industrial architecture, as a symbol of progress, integrated technology and function. This architecture was continuously changing due to the rapid transformation of production technology. For that reason, four expansive factories were integrated into the already established settlement. Factories were built with different dimensions according to technological needs. (Figure 2.23) For instance, the locomotive workshop was demolished to build the diesel-locomotive factory, the largest factory. As the production process and railway technology developed, the factory required larger machinery and expansive industrial space. Along with these advances, the steel-frame structure used in the diesel-locomotive factory provided a larger open space, a regular and repetitive spatial organization, and the ability to house sophisticated industrial processes. This structural system also provided a more flexible design for future developments. (Figure 2.24, 2.25)

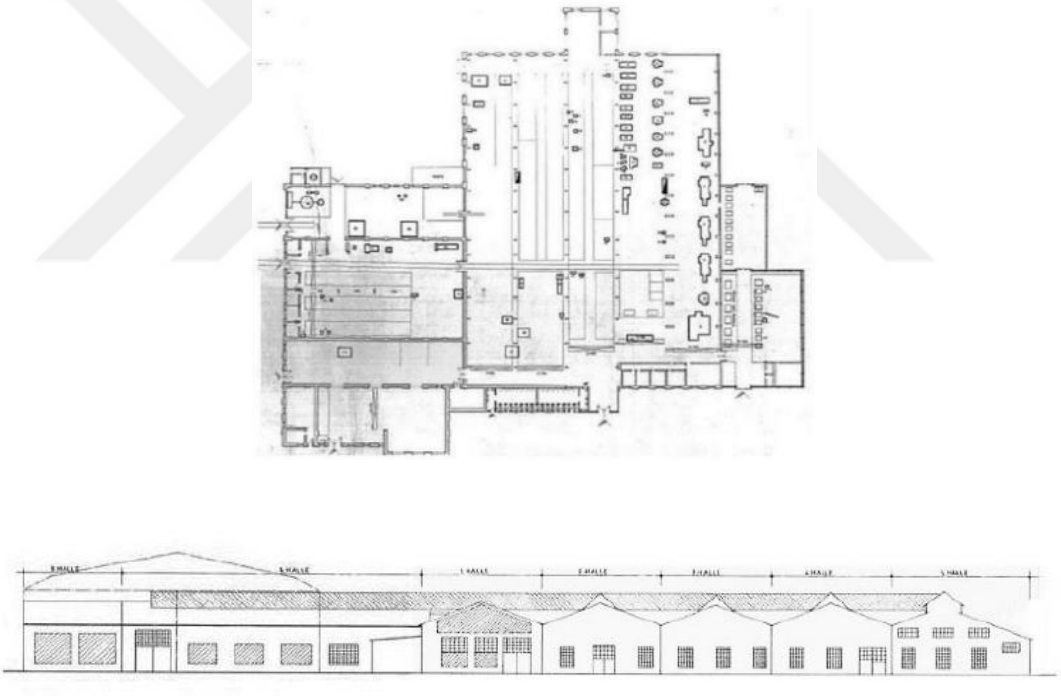


Figure 2. 23 Architectural drawing of wagon factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

The gradual development of the factory was evident in its increasing production capacity and employee population. In 1894, a small workshop was established to repair locomotives. It had 250 workers and repaired 1-2 locomotives each month. In 1923, the factory had an 800-square-meter building area with 20 engineers, 300 workers, and

officials. The repair capacity was 3-4 locomotives in a year.[117] Development was constant between 1894 and 1923 because the small workshop focused on repair rather than production. In 1948, it had 250 workers and repaired 20 locomotives each month. The traction and road workshop had 2,000 workers.[118] The factory's development accelerated during the Republican period. In 1973, there were 4,017 employees comprising 323 officials, 78 servants, 3,386 workers, and 230 apprentices.[119]

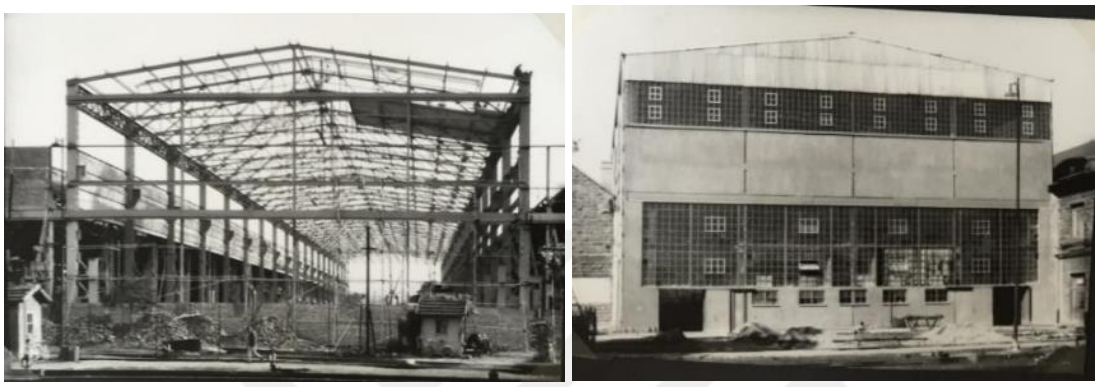


Figure 2. 24 The construction process of diesel-locomotive factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

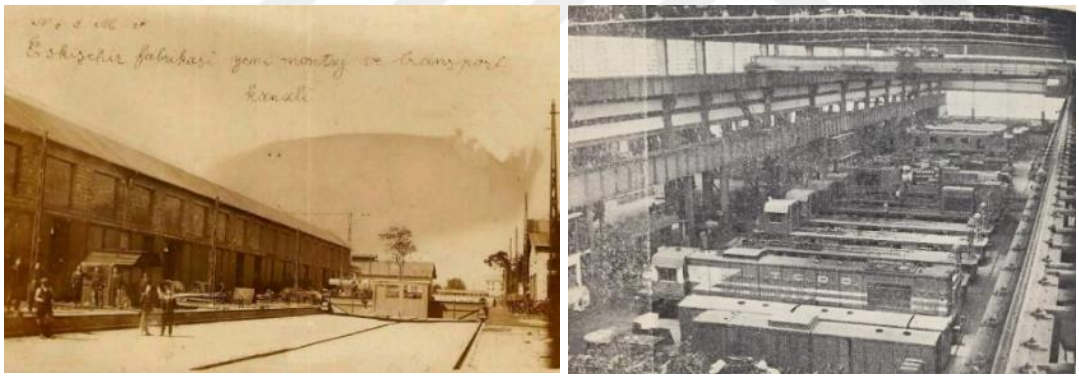


Figure 2. 25 Locomotive Factory (TCDD 1971, 2)

[117] Süreyya Baki Şenol, *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994* (Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1994), 20.

[118] Orhan Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış* (İstanbul: Bakış Matbaası, 1948), 23.

Güngörür and Conker, *Eskişehir Kılavuzu*, 23.

[119] Eskişehir Ticaret Odası, *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir* (Eskişehir: Ülkü Matbaası, 1973).

2.1.2. The Sugar Factory

There were two stages in the establishment of Eskişehir's sugar factory. In the first phase, which occurred between 1933 and 1950, the state-owned factory was produced as a modern settlement containing production, residential, social, and health facilities. In the second phase, which occurred after 1950, the factory retained its spatial organization, and a few production buildings were included in the industrial settlement in accordance with technological improvements in the sugar industry.

2.1.2.1. The First Phase of the Sugar Factory

The Eskişehir sugar factory was founded in 1933 by the Turkish Joint Stock Company of Anatolian Sugar Factories with 3 TL million capital. The partners were İş Bank, Ziraat Bank, and *Sanayi ve Maadin Bank* (The Bank of Industry and Mines).[120]

The first design decisions and preparations for construction were made beginning on October 01, 1932. According to an archival document found in the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive, an expert working in the Uşak sugar factory prepared an official report about the establishment of the Eskişehir sugar factory in 1932. This report was about whether the factory would be established using national or foreign expertise. In addition, the expert compared Eskişehir's sugar factory to Uşak's and underlined that foreign experts would not be concerned about the industrial and agricultural training of Turkish employees.[121]

In January 1932, meetings with the managers of the machine factories were held, and supervision was continued for two months. This process was followed by a series of preparations: selecting the site, purchasing, transportation, and construction.[122]

---

[120] Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Şeker Sanayimiz* (Ankara: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A. Ş., 1973), 22.

[121] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 181/248, 06.03.1932.

[122] Turan, *30. Yılında Türkiye Şeker Sanayii* (Ankara: TŞFAŞ Neşriyatı, 1958), 407.

Machines, construction elements, and other materials[123] were ordered from the German company Maschinenfabrik Buckau R. Molf Aktien Gesellschaft Magdeburg (the Buckau R. Wolf Company and Machine Factory).[124] Some of these materials were transported by the Akila Ship of Doyçe Levant Line Company, and coking coal was transported by the Eleni Ship of Volter Siger Agency.[125]

According to urban journalist Abdülkadir Ziya, Eskişehir was a proper location to establish a sugar factory because of its emerging workshops for repair and maintenance, transportation network, availability of raw materials, water resources, and labor force. He included that "Eskişehir has already shown its talent and ability to become an industrial city. Indeed the first place that comes to mind when searching for proper locations for new factories is Eskişehir."[126] Geographer Reşat İzbırak similarly stated that "there are many reasons to establish a sugar factory in Eskişehir. These are the transportation network, labor force, and surrounding fertile lands for planting high-quality sugar beet."[127]

Celal Bayar, the minister of finance, presented two sites for the Eskişehir sugar factory to the first president of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, on January 16, 1933. The first site, on the west side of the city near the Porsuk River, was cheaper. The second site was on the east side of the city, connected to the railway network. Atatürk selected the second site, explaining that "as the passengers passed the city by train,

[123] These consisted of machinery and equipment, steel construction elements, power plants, pipes, in-plant railways, and main switches.

[124] "The Maschinenfabrik Buckau R. Wolf AG (short *Buckau-Wolf*) grew out of a company founded in 1838, Shipyard, which was transformed into a mechanical engineering company based in Magdeburg-Buckau. In 1928, *R. Wolf AG* merged with *Maschinenfabrik Buckau AG*."

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 39/61, 03.09.1933.

[125] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 42/3, 22.01.1934.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 46/42, 14.06.1934.

[126] Abdülkadir Ziya, "Sanayi Şehri," *Sakarya* (August 18, 1932).

[127] Reşat İzbırak, "Eskişehir'le Çifteler Çevresinde Bir Coğrafya Gezisi," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih- Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, no. 5 (1945): 507-521.

they will see the factory and their morale will be lifted. So it does not matter how much it costs; it should be constructed here."[128]

The chief of the general staff, Fevzi Çakmak, reported his concerns about the selected site, which was near the aviation school's airfield. If the Eskişehir sugar factory, with its tall structures and chimneys, was built in this location, it would prevent airplanes from taking off and landing and lead to accidents by the students in the aviation school. For that reason, the factory had to be built two kilometers away from the airfield.[129]

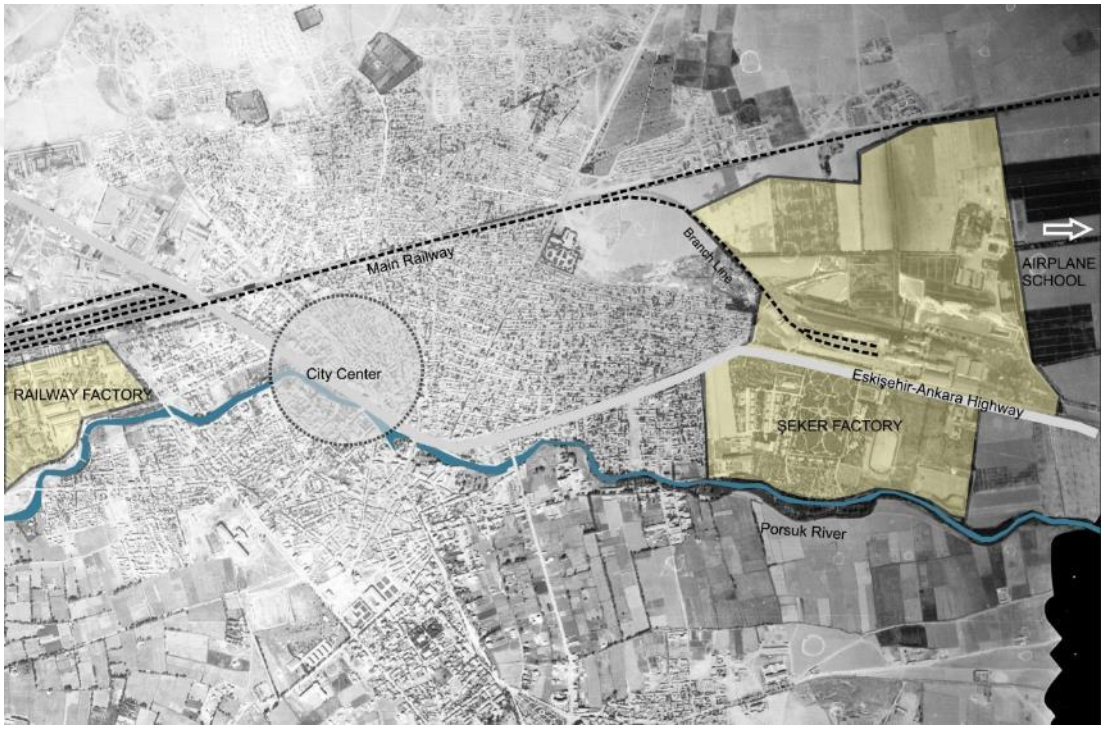


Figure 2. 26 Aerial map showing the location of the Eskişehir sugar factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

The Eskişehir sugar factory was built on the east side of the city, three kilometers away from the city center. The site was surrounded by the Porsuk river, the airplane school, and the Eskişehir-Ankara highway. (Figure 2.26) Its total area was 3,653,708 square

[128] "Tren geçtikçe halk istasyonun hemen yanındaki fabrikayı görecek, morali yükselecek. Bu yüzden parası ne olursa olsun, burada yapılmalı…"

Cumhuriyet, "Celal Bayar'ın Celal Mortan'la sohbeti," *Cumhuriyet* 60, no. 21374 (February 28, 1984), 7.

[129] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 171/187, 31.01.1933.

meters. The factory was connected to the main railway network by a branch line 10,034 meters in length. The ministry of economy bought wooden sleepers for the construction of this branch line.[130] Thus, transportation to the city center was provided by a *dekovil* (narrow-gauge railway). (Figure 2.27)

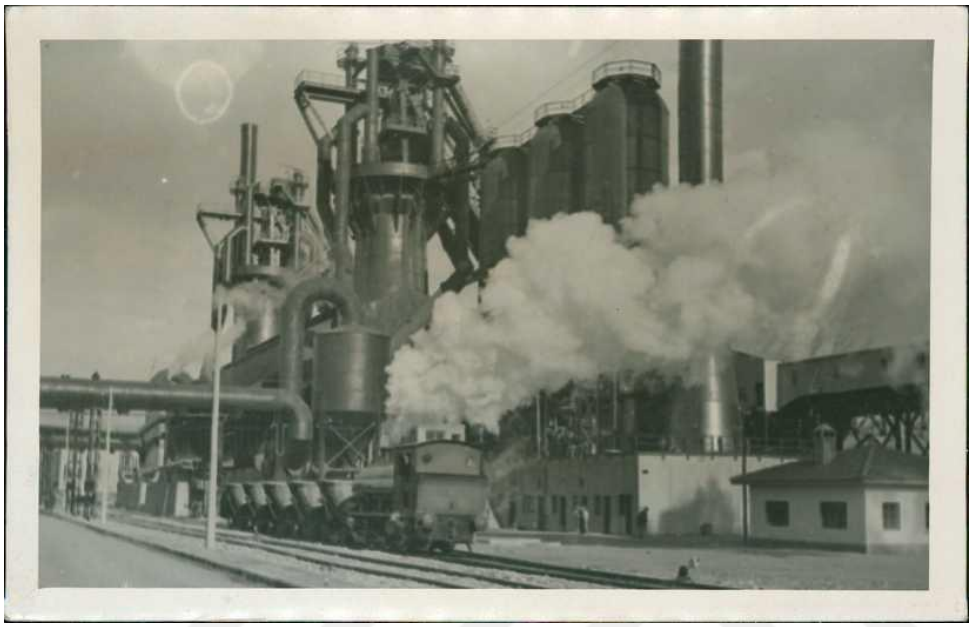


Figure 2. 27 The *dekovil* (narrow-gauge railway) in the Eskişehir sugar factory (İstanbul Büyükşehir Municipality Atatürk Library 1933)

Engineer Muammer Tuksavul was recruited for the assembly of the factory and explained the process in his memory book "Doğudan Batıya ve Sonrası" in 1981. He moved to Eskişehir for a short period and regulated the technical management and organization of the Eskişehir sugar factory during the first campaign period.[131] In his memory book, he wrote that the construction preparations continued until March 8, 1933, and the factory officials came to Eskişehir one by one.[132] Under the Turkish

[130] Turan Veldet, *30. Yılında Türkiye Şeker Sanayii* (Ankara: TŞFAŞ Neşriyatı, 1958), 407.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 34/15, 07.03.1933.

[131] Muammer Tuksavul, *Doğudan Batıya ve Sonrası*, (İstanbul: Tidfruk Yayınları, 1981).

[132] A. Ragıp, "Eskişehir'de Bahar Hayatı," *Cumhuriyet* 9, no. 3174 (March 8, 1933), 6.

Joint Stock Company of Anatolian Sugar Factories, the Eskişehir and Turhal sugar factories were managed by Kazım Bey and Recep Zühtü.[133]

For the construction of the factory, about a hundred German erection engineers were transferred to the factory. During the summer, fifty Hungarian and Czech sugar experts were recruited to prepare for the campaign period. İş Bank financed the mechanical assembly of the machinery. [134] (Figure 2.28)

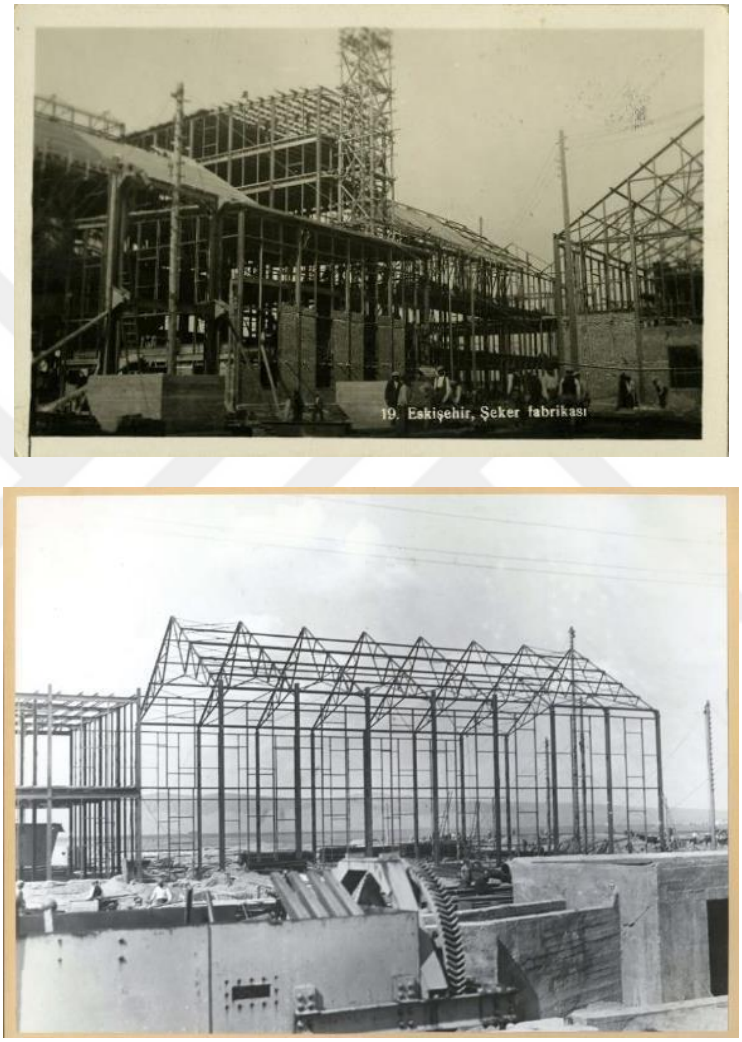


Figure 2. 28 The construction of the Eskişehir sugar factory (İstanbul Büyükşehir Municipality Atatürk Library 1933 and SALT Research, Prestij Album 1933)

[133] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," *Demiryolu Mecmuası*, no. 100 (1933): 224-26.

[134] Tuksavul, *Doğudan Batıya ve Sonrası*, 354.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 34/16, 16.03.1933.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 34/19, 24.03.1933.

The foundation was laid on February 1, 1933, and assembly works began on April 1, 1933. The construction and assembly works were completed in six and a half months by working night and day. The factory was opened on October 20, 1933. In the following three weeks, technical deficiencies and failures were discovered, so the opening ceremony of the factory was held on December 5, 1933.[135]

Eskişehir şeker fabrikasının açılma resmine ait bir kaç enstantane: Yukarıda Ismet paşanın nutkunu dinliyenler, aşağıda Başvekil nutkunu irat ederken ve pancar ekicileri arasında.

Figure 2. 29 The opening ceremony of the Eskişehir sugar factory (*Cumhuriyet* 1933)

The opening ceremony of the Eskişehir sugar factory was widely covered in the national newspapers, with headlines including *Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Dün Merasimle Açıldı* (Eskişehir Sugar Factory Opened Yesterday with a Ceremony) in *Akşam*, *Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Dün Açıldı* (Eskişehir Sugar Factory Opened Yesterday) in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, and *Şeker Fabrikalarımızın Üçüncüsü de Dün Açıldı, Üçüncü Şeker fabrikamız* (The Third Sugar Factory Opened Yesterday, The

[135] Turan, *30. Yılında Türkiye Şeker Sanayii* (Ankara: TŞFAŞ Neşriyatı, 1958), 407.

Third Sugar Factory) in *Cumhuriyet*. (Figure 2.29) The prime minister and the villagers attended the first beet delivery and the opening ceremony. The Eskişehir sugar factory was described as a modern and technologically advanced factory.[136] (Figure 2.30)

The first campaign period was from September to December 1933. During this campaign period, 1,400 workers worked in three shifts without a break. Geographer Reşat İzbırak visited the factory twice and reported that the campaign period continued for three months and produced 2,000 tons of sugar beet each day.[137]

The Eskişehir sugar factory played an important role in Eskişehir's economic development. Journalist Faruk Şükrü described these developments in the journal *Halkevi*.

> Before the construction of the Eskişehir sugar factory, the daily wage of the workers was thirty kurus. Daily wages increased to 80-90 kurus after the factory's establishment. Transportation and commerce were developed. Hotels were opened. Houses were built. Beets started to be planted in rural lands. Villagers preferred beet plantations due to their low investment and production costs and rapid return. Advance payments were given to the villagers. The factory offered new perspectives for the city.[138]

In addition to the permanent workers, the factory employed more than a thousand temporary workers during campaign periods, which reduced unemployment in Eskişehir. In the journal *Demiryolu*, the influence of the factory on the urban environment was underscored by an Eskişehir railway reporter: "Different social

---

[136] Akşam, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Dün Merasimle Açıldı," *Akşam* 16, no. 5446 (December 6, 1933): 1.

Hakimiyeti Milliye, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikasının Açılışı," *Hakimiyeti Milliye*, (December 3, 1933): 1.

Hakimiyeti Milliye, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Dün Açıldı," *Hakimiyeti Milliye*, (December 3, 1933): 1.

Cumhuriyet, "Şeker Fabrikasının Üçüncüsü de Dün Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet* 10, no. 3444 (December 6, 1933): 1.

Eskişehir Halkevi, "Evimiz Bir Sene İçinde Neler Yaptı?," *Eskişehir Halkevi Dergisi*, (August 30, 1934).

[137] İzbırak, "Eskişehir'le Çifteler Çevresinde Bir Coğrafya Gezisi," 507-521.

[138] Faruk Şükrü, "Cumhuriyetten sonra Eskişehir," *Halkevi Dergisi*, no. 13-15 (1933): 114.

groups benefitted from the factory. The factory made the merchants happy. The government gained a high profit in this campaign period from the factory. Ziraat Bank collected the debts. Railway administration gained unprecedented revenues."[139]

Figure 2. 30 The Eskişehir sugar factory (SALT Research, Prestij Album 1933)

In 1933, the factory processed 1,500 tons of sugar beets every 90 days and employed 1,500 workers who were paid daily wages. There were 300 permanent workers during the revision period. Few foreigners worked during this period, and the technology transfer was completed. Executive board director Recep Zühtü and general manager Kazım Bey were sent to Germany in 1934. Polish expert Eugenius Grosser was transferred to the Eskişehir sugar factory for a short period. According to another archival document, three foreign experts worked in the Alpullu, Eskişehir, and Turhal factories.[140] Czech expert Vaclav Kejdana was recruited in the Eskişehir sugar factory and, in 1942 he was transferred to the Turhal factory for one year. In the Eskişehir

[139] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," 224-26.

[140] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 42/01, 07.01.1934.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 03/110, 30.11.1940.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 97/127, 11.03.1942.

sugar factory, Turkish workers were employed to a large extent.[141] The number of employees according to the archival documents is shown in the following table:

Table 2. 1 Table showing the number of employees in the Eskişehir sugar factory[142]

	Official	**Engineers**			**Permanent Worker**	**Seasonal Worker**
		Chemical Engineer	**Electrical Engineer**	**Other Engineer**		
1933 (The first campaign period)	78	-			226	1169
1948	96	-			271	1266
1967	-	8	-	2	200	1200
1973	-	5	1	-	200	880

Sivrihisar Street[143] divided the site of the factory into two parts. The production zone, additional services, and ranch were located on the north side of the road. The administration building, social facilities, clubhouse, and lodging blocks were located on the south side of the factory. (Figure 2.31, 2.32, 2.33) The Eskişehir sugar factory, as a self-contained complex, was designed and constructed by the eminent German architect Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot. After the 1950s, a few buildings were added by the architects working in the Office of Construction and Real Estate under the Head Office of Sugar Factories to respond to technological developments in the sugar industry.

[141] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 102/54, 16.07.1943.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," 224-26.

[142] "1933 İstatistikler," Türk Şeker, accessed May 1, 2018, http://www.turkseker.gov.tr.

Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 22-26.

Hayri Benli, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," *Turizm Mecmuası: Eskişehir Özel Sayısı*, no. 10 (1963): 33.

Eskişehir Ticaret Odası, *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir*.

[143] Later, Sivrihisar Street was renamed the Eskişehir-Ankara Highway.

Figure 2. 31 Site plan from 1950 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir sugar factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1950)

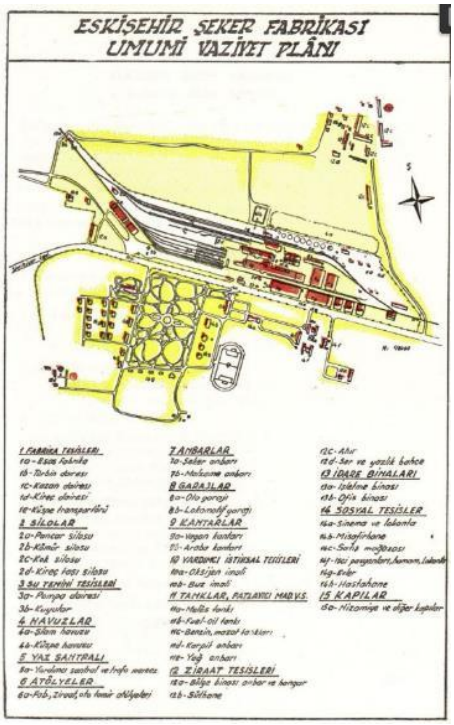


Figure 2. 32 Site plan of the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

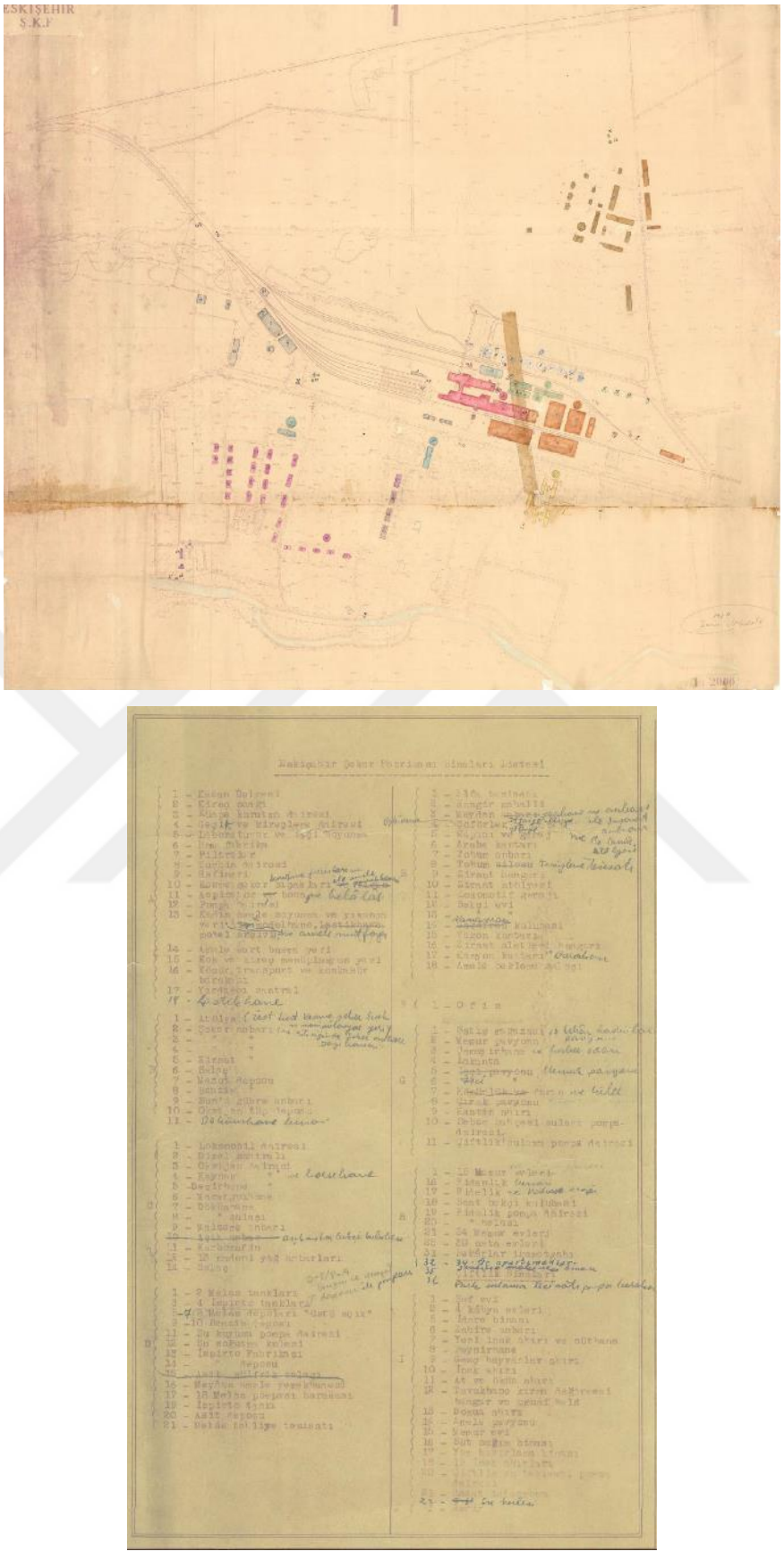


Figure 2. 33 Site plan of the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

The production zone consisted of three main factories: the main factory for sugar production, the machine factory, and the alcohol factory. (Figure 2.34) The *ham fabrika* (raw sugar /main manufacturing plant), comprised a series of buildings that supported the sugar production process. (Figure 2.35) Energy was supplied by steam turbines.[144]

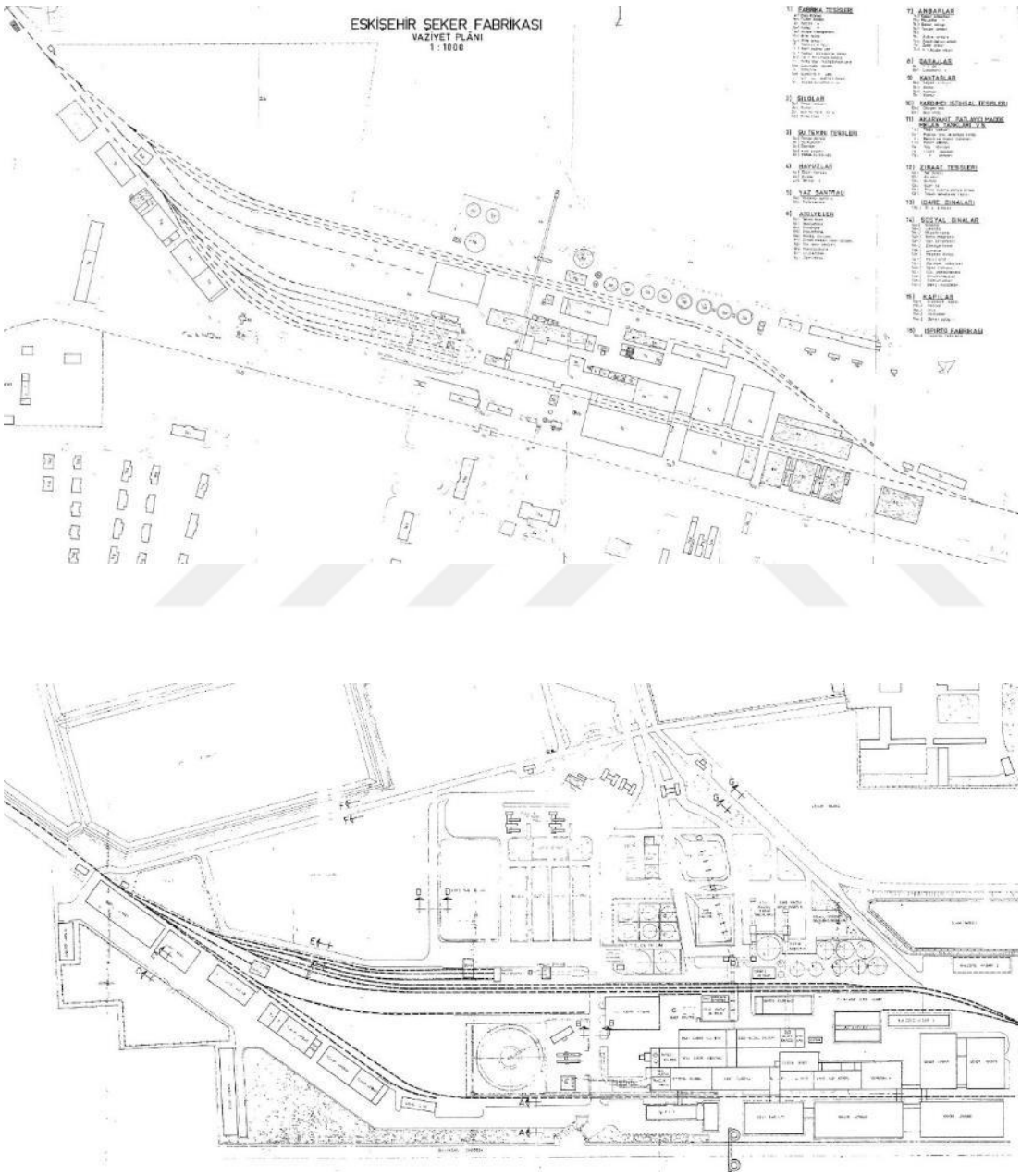


Figure 2. 34 Site plan of the production zone of the sugar factory (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories 1981)

[144] İzbırak, "Eskişehir'le Çifteler Çevresinde Bir Coğrafya Gezisi," 507-521.

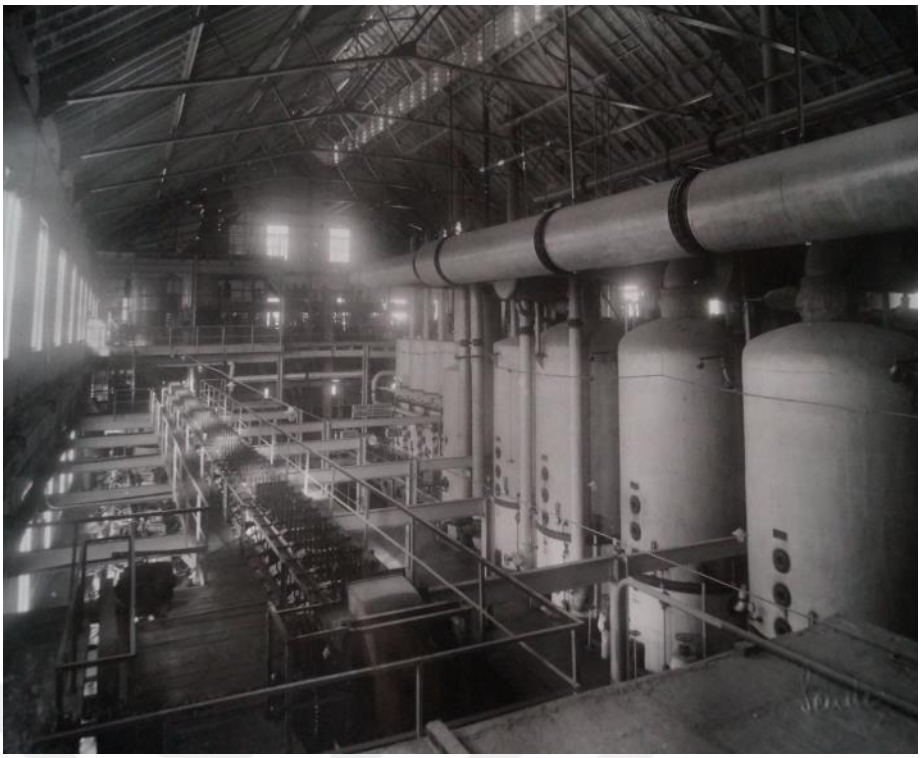


Figure 2. 35 The *Ham fabrika* (raw sugar /main manufacturing plant) (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

Two vacant alcohol factories in the Alpullu and Uşak sugar factories were dismantled and moved to Eskişehir. These construction elements were assembled in 1938 in the Eskişehir sugar factory to rebuild the alcohol factory within the production zone. (Figure 2.36) The factory not only produced sugar but also used the residues that emerged during sugar production. One of them was molasses, from which alcohol was produced through a series of processes.[145] After three boiling processes, molasses was distilled from the sugar beets, and the beet syrup was drained. Then, alcohol was distilled from the molasses. The alcohol factory produced 27,000 liters of raw alcohol and 25,000 liters of pure alcohol and transferred it to *Tekel* (General Directorate of Tobacco, Tobacco Products, and Alcohol Production).[146]

[145] Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 22-26.

Osman Bozok, "Türkiye Şeker Sanayiinin Kısa Tarihçesi," in *İşletme Mühendisleri Seminer Notları 3-18 Mayıs 1976,* ed. TŞFAŞ. Şeker Enstitüsü (Etimesgut: TŞFAŞ Şeker Enstitüsü, 1976), 7-8.

[146] Benli, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," 33.

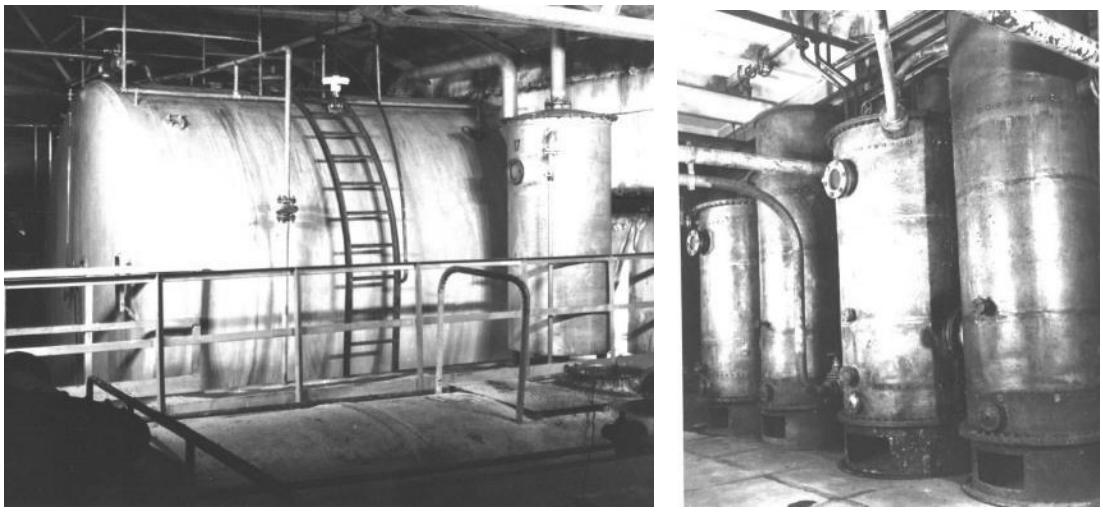


Figure 2. 36 The alcohol factory (The Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive 1967)

The residues from sugar beet production were used for different purposes in the Eskişehir sugar factory. For instance, sugar beet leaves, beetroot pomace, and molasses were used for animal husbandry and dairy farming in agricultural enterprises near the sugar factory.

To benefit from the residues that emerged from sugar production, a ranch with an area of 2,386 decares was built to produce manure and fertilize the rural lands. The second objective of this ranch was to produce animal products. Villagers came to the factory in their own vehicles to take the beet pulp and use it for animal nutrition. In addition, animals were raised on this ranch to set an example for the villagers.[147] The ranch contained a chief's house, four butlers' houses, an administration building, a granary, a milk house, a cheese making workshop, barns for horses, cattle, and pigs, a chicken coop, a hangar, a workers' pavilion, an official's house, a feed preparation unit, a water pump unit, and an infirmary. (Figure 2.37, 2.38)

[147] Gürol, *Eskişehir Klavuzu*.

Figure 2. 37 Ranch (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

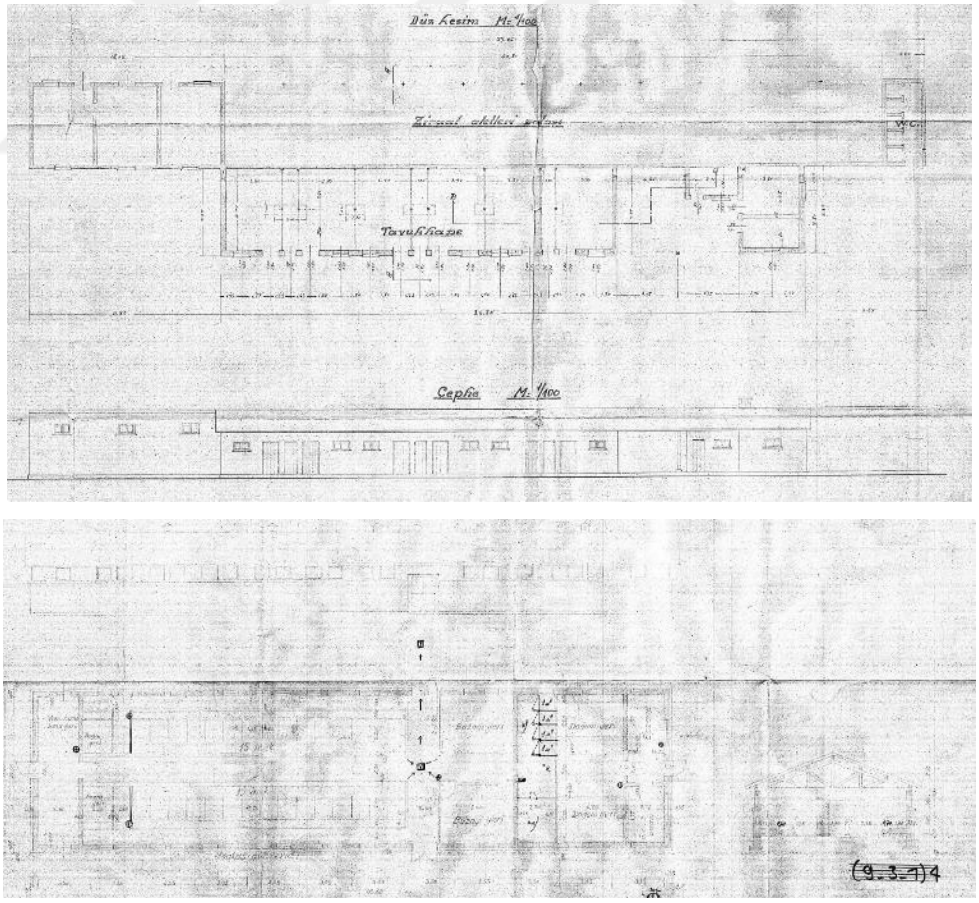


Figure 2. 38 Architectural drawings of chicken coop and cow barn (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories 1933)

The Eskişehir sugar factory was not only effective in industrial development and labor but also in the fields of animal husbandry and agriculture. Sugar beet was an agricultural product that provided many contributions to the industrial economy. A greenhouse was built for seed production and contained a planting area, a seedbed, a security building, and a water pump unit.[148]

These agricultural improvements brought about local development in rural areas while integrating them into the capitalist economy. Sugar beet production required collaboration between industry and agriculture. The sugar factory undertook a pivotal role in spreading modern agricultural methods to rural smallholders. The agriculturalists went to the villages to introduce new techniques and control them. They used modern tools such as plows, tractors, rakes, seed drills, and trailers instead of outmoded tools such as fertilizer, irrigation, crop rotation, pest control, and weeding. Thus, sugar production emerged as a pioneer of modern technology in agriculture.

For sugar production in Eskişehir, sugar beets were planted in eight regions surrounding Eskişehir. These were the city center, İnönü, Bozüyük, Yenişehir, Alpu, Çifteler, Sivrihisar, and Beylikahır. Thirty agricultural engineers were employed in these eight regions.[149] A legal contract between villagers and the factory was shaped to allow the planting of sugar beets for industrial production. The cost was given for each decare plowed. In 1933, 60,000 decares were planted for sugar beet production, with the aim of producing 70,000 tons of sugar.[150] (Figure 2.39)

[148] Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 22-26.

[149] Benli, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," 33.

[150] Cumhuriyet, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," *Cumhuriyet* 10, no. 3371 (September 24, 1933): 2.

Akşam, "Eskişehir'de Şeker Fabrikası için Hazırlık," *Akşam* 1, no. 5461 (20 December, 1932): 5.

Son Posta, "Eskişehir'de Şeker Fabrikası Bitmek Üzeredir." *Son Posta,* (July 2, 1933): 4.

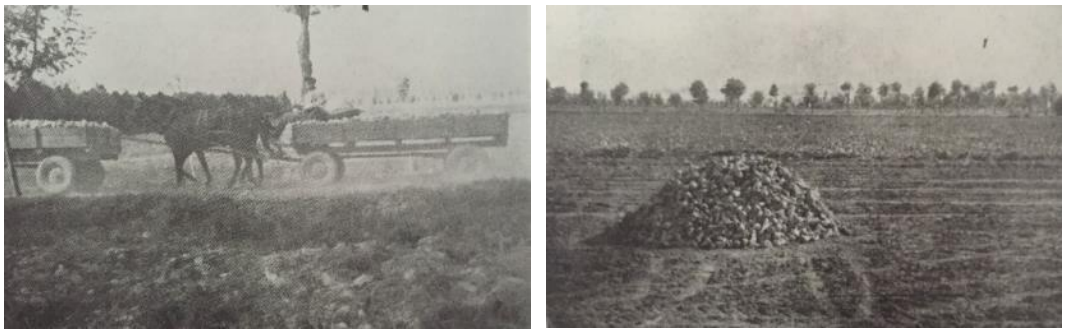


Figure 2. 39 Sugar beets taken to the factory by the farmers in Eskişehir (Çelikkanat 1963)

The factory was designed as a self-contained complex with various facilities: a guest house, a clubhouse, a cinema, a playground, a sales unit, a hospital, a stadium, and lodging blocks.[151] The welfare services provided by the factory were summarized as follows in the 1940 report of the State Supervisory Council of Prime Ministry:

- A sales unit for workers to purchase clothing and household items
- Music, fine arts, literary clubs, and sports competitions to enhance workers' social lives
- Social training for officials and workers
- Health and financial assistance for workers
- One meal, half a loaf of bread, and 250 grams of milk each day for employees and children under ten years old.[152]

The sugar factory built a hospital in 1947 under the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories. (Figure 2.40, 2.41) This hospital housed twenty beds and four doctors and served all employees and their families. It offered general treatment, an operating room, a delivery room, an acute inpatient ward, dental treatment, obstetrics, and gynecology. In addition, it had a modern operating theatre and a pharmacy to serve patients. The factory paid the medical and treatment expenses of the employees and their families. All or half of wages were paid to permanent workers and janitors who had worked more than one year in the factory during the days they were ill.[153]

[151] A mosque was constructed in the 1980s.

[152] Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti, *Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı* (Ankara: Ulusal Matbaa, 1940).

[153] Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*.

Figure 2. 40 Hospital in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

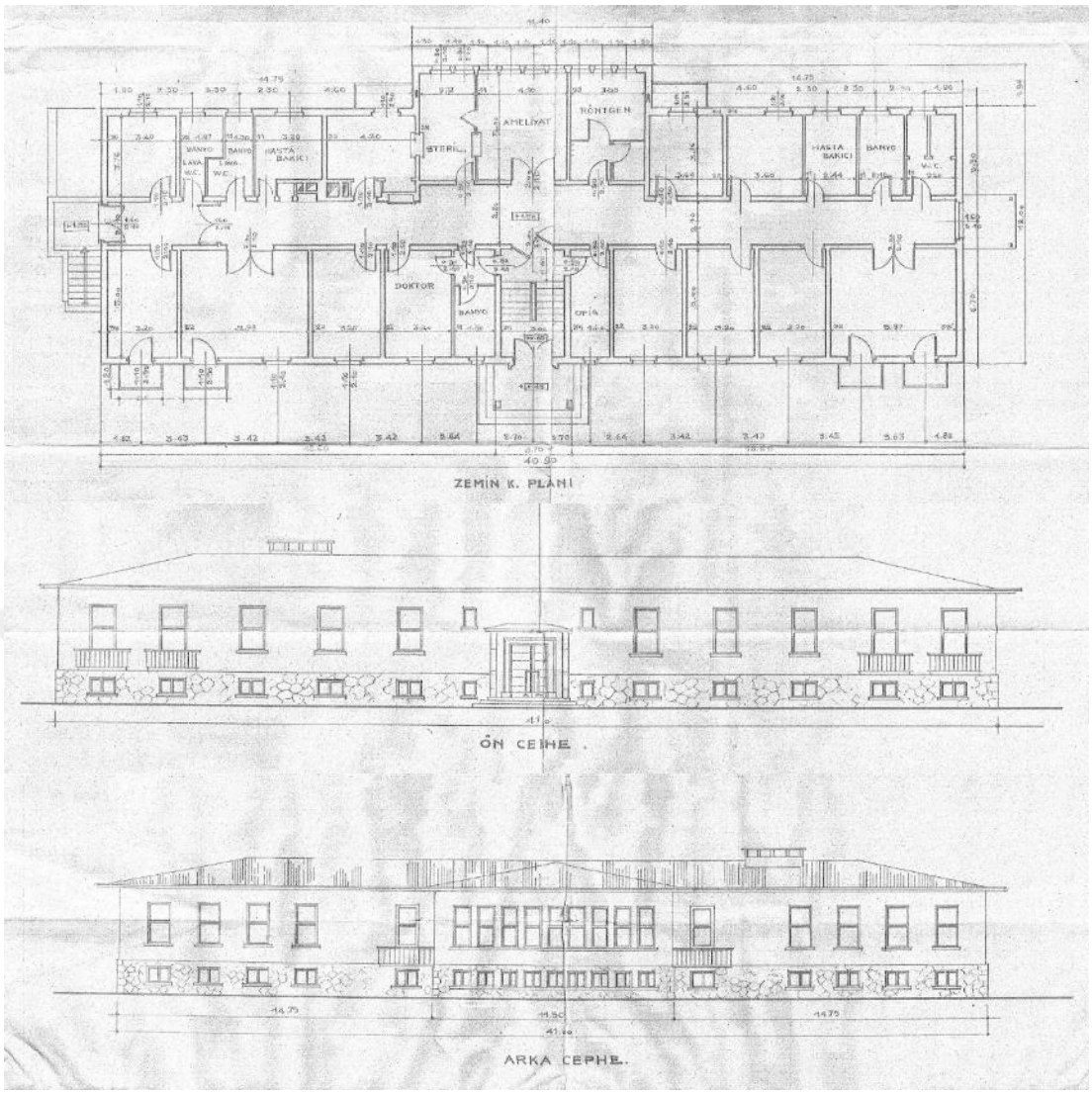


Figure 2. 41 Architectural drawings of hospital in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories)

Although the *lokal* (clubhouse) was designed in 1933, it was built in the 1950s. This building was called a garden clubhouse because it was surrounded by a dense green area. (Figure 2.42) The clubhouse consisted of two floors. The first floor was reserved for the stage, backstage, dining hall, kitchen, and additional services. The second floor included a dining area and projection rooms.[154] The two floors were designed as a single space, and the stage, which could also be used as a film screen, served for both floors. The clubhouse functioned as a cinema hall, conference hall, and meeting area. The cultural association and benevolent society of the Eskişehir sugar factory

[154] The film projector worked by coal, and the original decorations are still conserved in the restaurant area and registered by the Anadolu University.

organized their meetings in this building. According to urban historian Avni Güngörür, this building was used regularly. Dance music was performed in the garden clubhouse twice a week. Table d'hote and à la carte meals and drinks could be purchased at a low price.[155]

Figure 2. 42 The clubhouse in the Eskişehir sugar factory (photograph taken by the author during a site visit in 2018)

Green areas were also designed and divided into three main areas: a plantation, an orchard, and a playground. The playground was 60,000 square meters.[156] (Figure 2.43)

Figure 2. 43 Playground in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

[155] Güngörür and Conker, Eskişehir Kılavuzu, 77-78.

[156] Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*.

Physical training was considered important in the Eskişehir sugar factory. Sports activities and competitions were performed in the stadium. The factory had sports teams for volleyball, tennis, football, wrestling, and bicycling.[157] (Figure 2.44)

Figure 2. 44 A sports competition in the stadium in 1950 (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

2.1.2.2. The Second Phase of the Sugar Factory

In response to technological advancements in the sugar industry, some new buildings and machinery were constructed in the factory after the 1950s. The material and sugar warehouses and the warehouses for seeds, agricultural equipment, and machines were upgraded to address changes in production technology and capacity. These changes in the factory were officially recorded in 1967. These interventions were made to modernize the factory and replace human labor with mechanized technology. Technological advancements included installing truck loading equipment, a machine factory, and a Vibro sugar cube plant as well as renewing the sugar cube facilities and increasing the production capacity of the alcohol factory.[158] (Figure 2.45, 2.46)

[157] Pancar Aylık Çiftçi Dergisi, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," *Pancar Aylık Çiftçi Dergisi*.

[158] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 105/655, 00.00.1967.

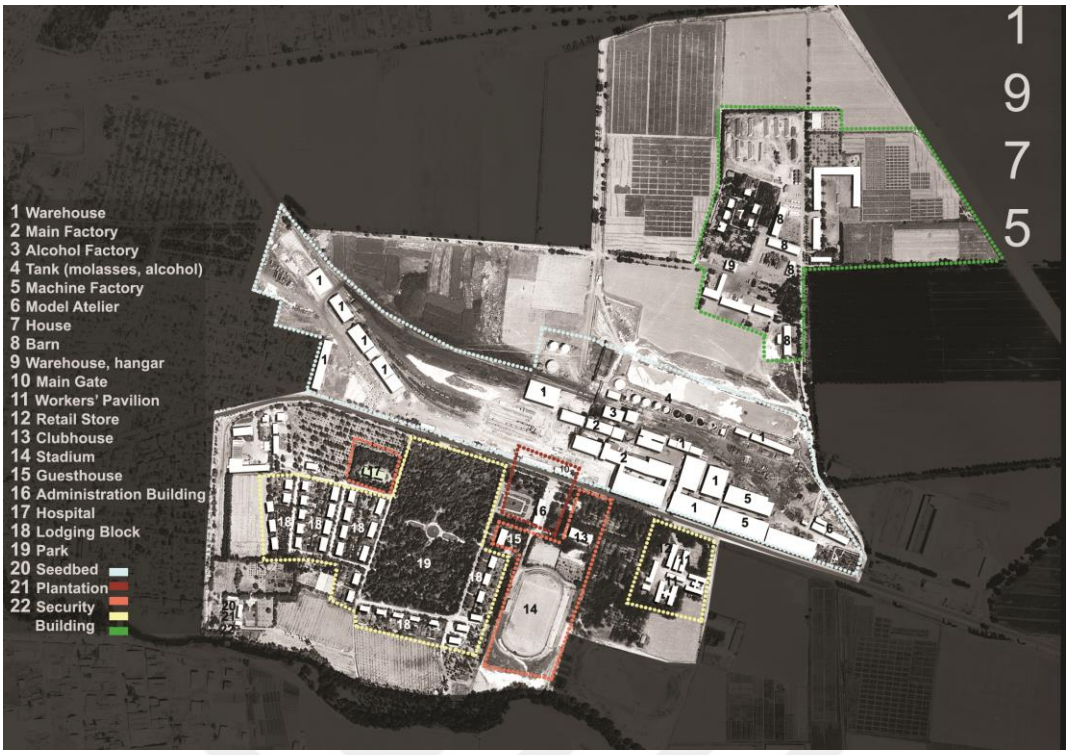


Figure 2. 45 Site plan from 1975 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir sugar factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

Figure 2. 46 Handling equipment and vibro sugar cube plant (The Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive 1967)

The Eskişehir machine factory began work in 1933 to solve any problems that might arise during the campaign period and to provide repairs and maintenance during the revision period. An independent building, the machine factory was built in 1969 on the east side of the main factory. The building area was 12,000 square meters, and its

expansion area was approximately 100,000 square meters. Its production capacity was 40 million TL in 1971. The factory employed 7 engineers, 465 workers, and 31 employees in 1972.[159]

There was an *atölye teşkilatı* (workshop organization) composed of a foundry, a carpenter's shop, a model workshop, a steel-iron unit, a lathe unit, a machine wheel unit, a Locomobile, and an oxygen unit to produce all the mechanical equipment needed by the factory. The factory's furniture was also produced in this unit.[160] The factory produced, repaired, and maintained its own spare parts, similarly to other sugar factories. This service was provided for agricultural tools as well.[161]

In the archival documents, the machine factory was described as "the factory that makes a factory" because the sugar factories established after the 1960s, such as those in Ankara and Kastamonu, were produced by the Eskişehir machine factory. (Figure 2.47, 2.48, 2.49) In addition, the factory produced all kinds of mechanical elements and machines except for large electric engines. Eskişehir had the largest machine factory in the sugar industry, even when compared to the Erzincan and Turhal factories.[162]

Engineer Ahmet Başöz worked in the development of trade unions since 1948 and served among the founders of the Şeker-İş Union and as chairman of the sugar factory's benevolent society. He prepared the architectural plans for the new model workshop, which was a part of the machine factory.

[159] Eskişehir Ticaret Odası, *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir*, 19.

[160] Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 22-26.

[161] C.H.P Eskişehir İl Yönetim Kurulu, *Cumhuriyetin 15'inci Yılında Eskişehir* (İstanbul: Kültür Matbaası, 1938), 93.

[162] Nazım Taygun, *Türkşeker'in Öyküsü* (Ankara: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. Yayınları, 1993), 185.

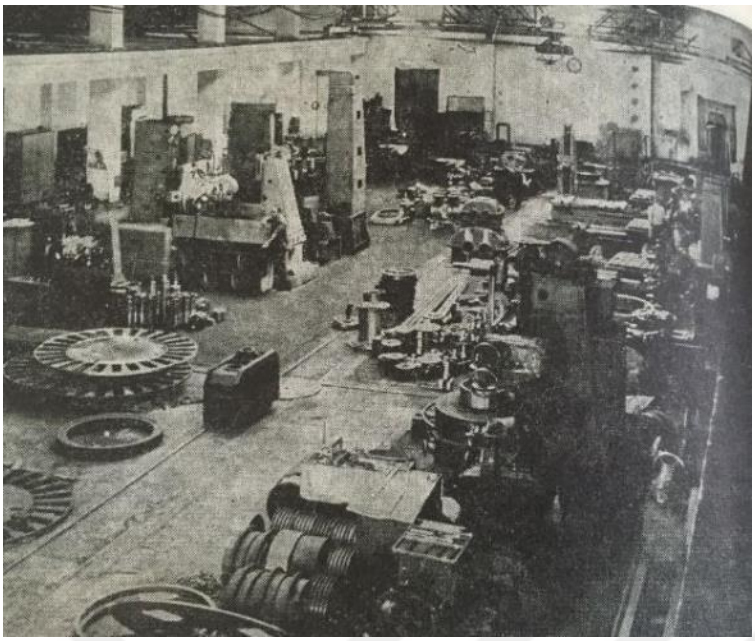


Figure 2. 47 Manufacturing unit in the machine factory (Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları 1973)

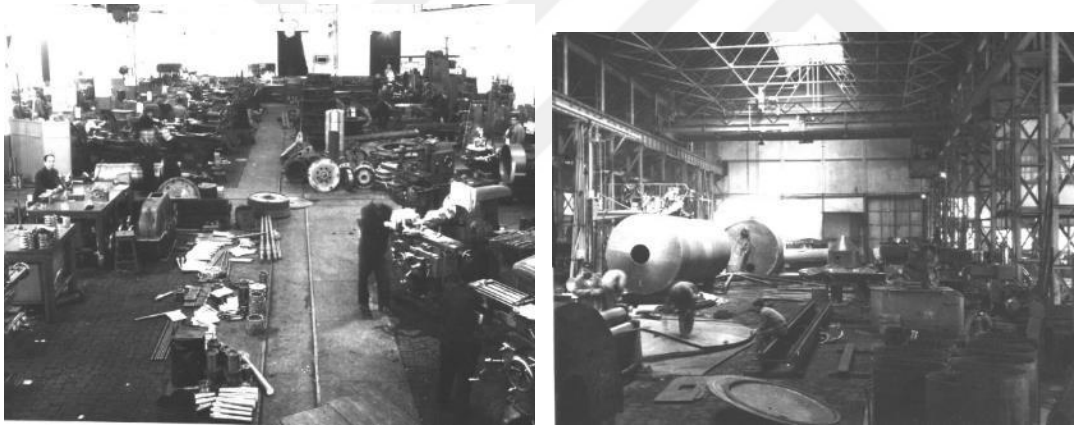


Figure 2. 48 The machine factory (The Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive 1967)

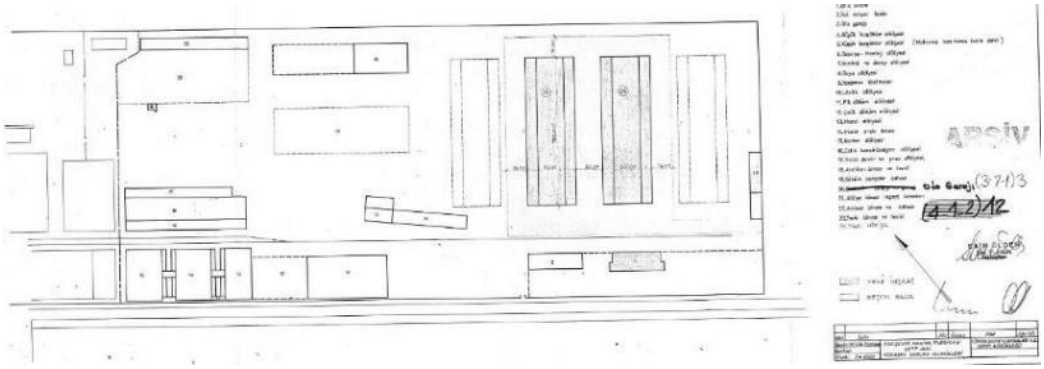


Figure 2. 49 Site plan of the machine factory (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories)

2.1.3. The Sümerbank Print Factory

The Sümerbank print factory was established on June 19, 1956, by the Turkish Joint Stock Company of Eskişehir Print Industry, which invested 6 million TL.[163] The factory cost 97 million TL, and 55 million TL was spent on machinery.[164] In the 1958 report of the State Supervisory Council of the Prime Ministry, the start-up cost was listed as $6.4 million, equivalent to 101.3 million TL.[165]

Following the First Five Year Development Plan, the Soviet scientific committee, headed by Professor Orlof Boris Pavlovic,[166] visited Turkey in August 1932. The committee, comprising Turkish and Soviet experts, prepared a report to determine the cities in which to construct textile factories and their financial need.[167] The Soviet committee prioritized military issues, and the textile factories were intended to be built in the interior of the country rather than on the coastlines. According to the report, the cities selected for future factories were Afyon, Ereğli, Eskişehir, Konya, Malatya, Kayseri, and Nazilli.[168]

During this trip, site proposals for a future textile factory in Eskişehir were drawn on the map. (Figure 2.50) The site selection criteria were a railway network, sufficient water supply, appropriate topography, an existing settlement pattern, and a natural context. Two potential sites were proposed for the Eskişehir print factory. The first one -number one on the map- was located on the city's east side. The second one -

---

[163] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 143/53, 19.06.1956.

[164] Ahmet Metiner, "Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," *Türk Gücü* 2, no. 372 *(*August 18, 1961): 3.

[165] Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti, *Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Tarafından 3460 Sayılı Kanunun 24 Maddesi Gereğince Hazırlanan Sümerbank 1958 Yılı Raporu* (Ankara: Gürsoy Basımevi: 1960).

[166] Professor Orlof was the manager of the Gosproyektstroy Company and an economics expert.

[167] Cumhuriyet, "Türkiye Sanayi Planı: Şehrimize Gelen Rus Heyeti Ne Yapacak?," *Cumhuriyet* 9, no. 2971 (13 August, 1932): 1.

[168] İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Uygulamaya Geçerken Türkiye'de Devletçiliğin Oluşumu* (Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1982), 107-33.

Faruk Şükrü, "Cumhuriyetten sonra Eskişehir," *Halkevi Dergisi*, no. 13-15 (1933): 41-197.

number two on the map- was located on the city's west side. Both sites were outside of the city's boundaries and along the Porsuk River. The first site was rejected based on the water flow of the Porsuk River, which would drag water pollution to the city. The Eskişehir sugar factory was thus constructed on the first site, and the Sümerbank print factory was constructed on the second site proposed by the Soviet committee. A railway connection to the main network was constructed, according to the report.[169]

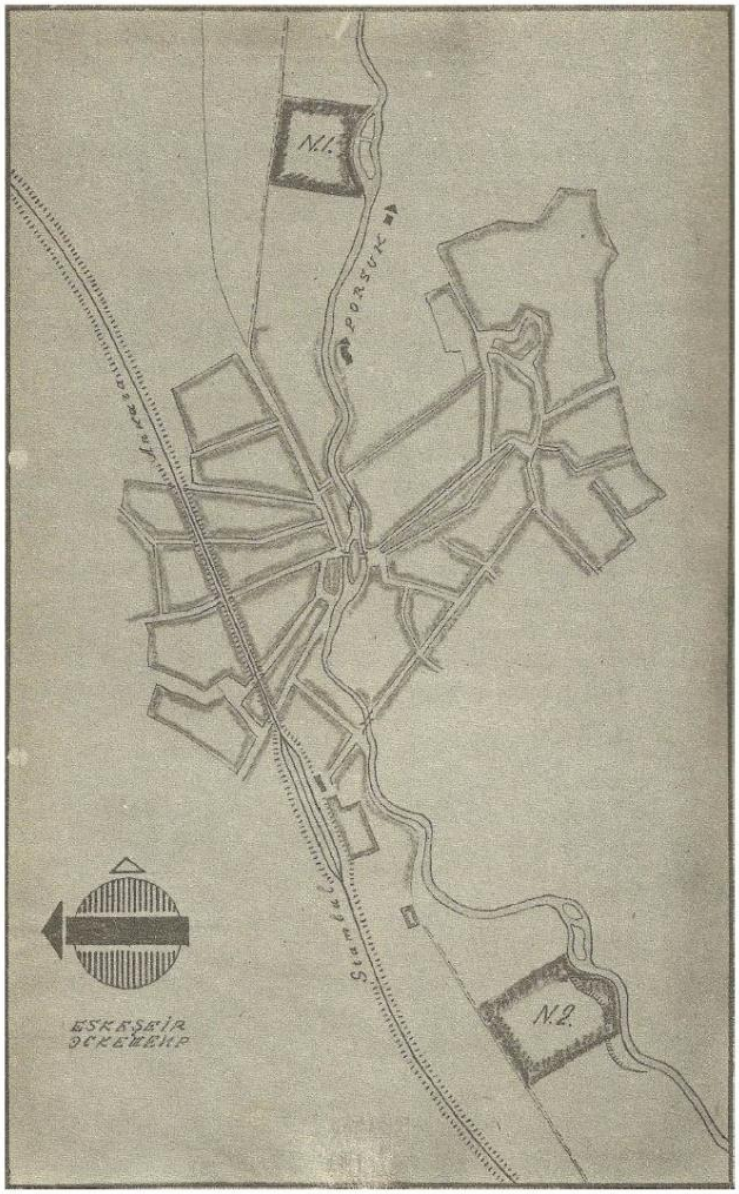


Figure 2. 50 Potential sites proposed by the Soviet Committee for the Eskişehir print factory in 1932 (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory 1932)

[169] Tekeli and İlkin, *Uygulamaya Geçerken Türkiye'de Devletçiliğin Oluşumu*, 117-42.

The factory was established 3 kilometers away from the city center, on a site with an area of more than 180,000 square meters. The site was in the Vişnelik district, a recreation area during this period, and located along the Eskişehir-Kütahya highway.[170] The site was surrounded by Es Feedmill, Erden Confectionary Factory, and the Sümer district. (Figure 2.51, 2.52) The machinery and other equipment were transferred from Italy and assembled onsite. [171] Construction began on May 27, 1957. The structural framework of the factories and social facilities was completed in 1957. All construction excluding the canteen was completed at the end of 1958. (Figure 2.53) Following construction, the factory's products were put on the market and sold in Sümerbank stores.[172]

Figure 2. 51 Aerial map from 1975 showing the location of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

[170] Sümerbank Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii* (Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. Matbaası, 1965), 1-2.

Hayri Benli, "Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," *Turizm Mecmuası: Eskişehir Özel Sayısı*, no. 10 (1963): 26-27.

[171] Metiner, "Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 3.

[172] Sümerbank Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii*, 1-2.

Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti, *Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Tarafından 3460 Sayılı Kanunun 24 Maddesi Gereğince Hazırlanan Sümerbank 1958 Yılı Raporu*.

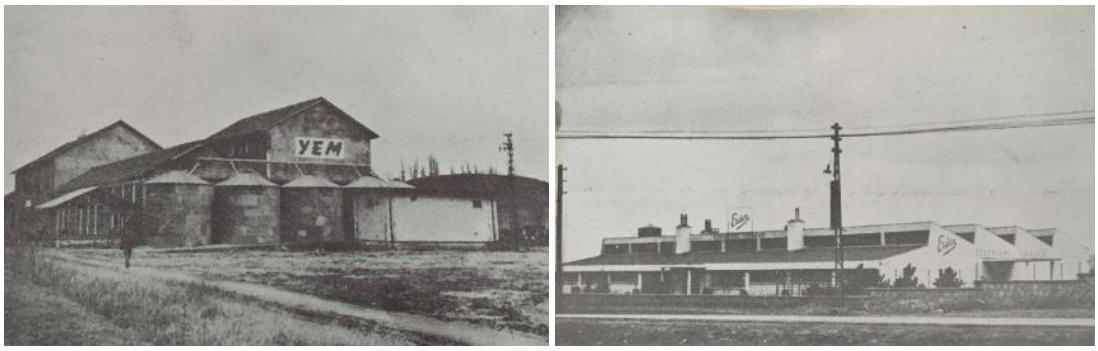


Figure 2. 52 Es Feedmill, and Erden Confectionary Factory (Turizm 1963)

Figure 2. 53 The Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory in 1965 (Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii 1965)

According to an archival document found in the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive, the General Directorate of Sümerbank decided to prepare a renewal project for the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory in 1972.[173] The machinery was upgraded, but new buildings were not built after the 1970s.

In 1957, some employees of the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory were accepted as specialized staff, according to official records.[174] Nuri Özdemir was recorded as the director of administration, and Faruk Beşpınar was recorded as the warehouse official.

[173] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 143/53, 02.10.1972.

[174] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 145/111, 11.02.1957.

In addition, a watchman was included on the list. According to the archival documents, the number of employees was as follows:

Table 2. 2 Table showing the number of employees in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory[175]

	Official	**Engineers**	**Worker**
1961	150-200		2500
1965	97		1200
1967	above 1300		
1973	56	19	1413

The Eskişehir Sümerbank factory was designed by Turkish architects working in the Office of Construction and Real Estate under the Head Office of Sümerbank Factories. The architects who worked in the Sümerbank Office of Construction and Real Estate between 1956 and 1960 are listed in the table below:

Table 2. 3 Table showing the list of the architects (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

Name	**Work Period**	**Graduation**
Abdül Kerim Arman	1944-1956	
Ahmet Hayrettin Kutal	1947-1958	
A. Orhan Tugsavul	1937-1960	Ankara State Engineering and Architectural Academy
A. Selahi Karaman	1944-1956	High Technical School
Celalettin Özkaynak	1946-1958	Kadıköy Faculty of Engineering and Architecture
M. Reşat Barbarosoğlu	1944-1962	High Technical School
M. Şinası Ötkünç	1944-1970	

The factory consisted of four main zones: production, administration, social, and residential. (Figure 2.54, 2.55) These zones interacted with each other through limited intersections. The production zone included the main factory, material store, product store, transformer, deep well, dyehouse, ironworks, water tank, junkyard, water treatment plant, and boiler house.[176]

[175] Metiner, "Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 3.

Sümerbank Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii* (Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. Matbaası, 1965), 1-2.

Benli, "Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 26-27.

Eskişehir Ticaret Odası, *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir*.

[176] Metiner, "Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 3.

Figure 2. 54 Site plan showing the buildings of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Factory)

Figure 2. 55 Site plan from 1975 showing the buildings of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

The main production unit was designed as a free space to support huge machines and a continuous manufacturing line. (Figure 2.56) It was a single-storey building with a saw-tooth roof. This roof was designed to supply the light needed for fine craftsmanship in weaving.[177]

[177] Halit Aksel, "Dokuma Sanayiinde Modern Fabrika Binaları," *Sümerbank,* no. 2 (September 1952): 238-239.

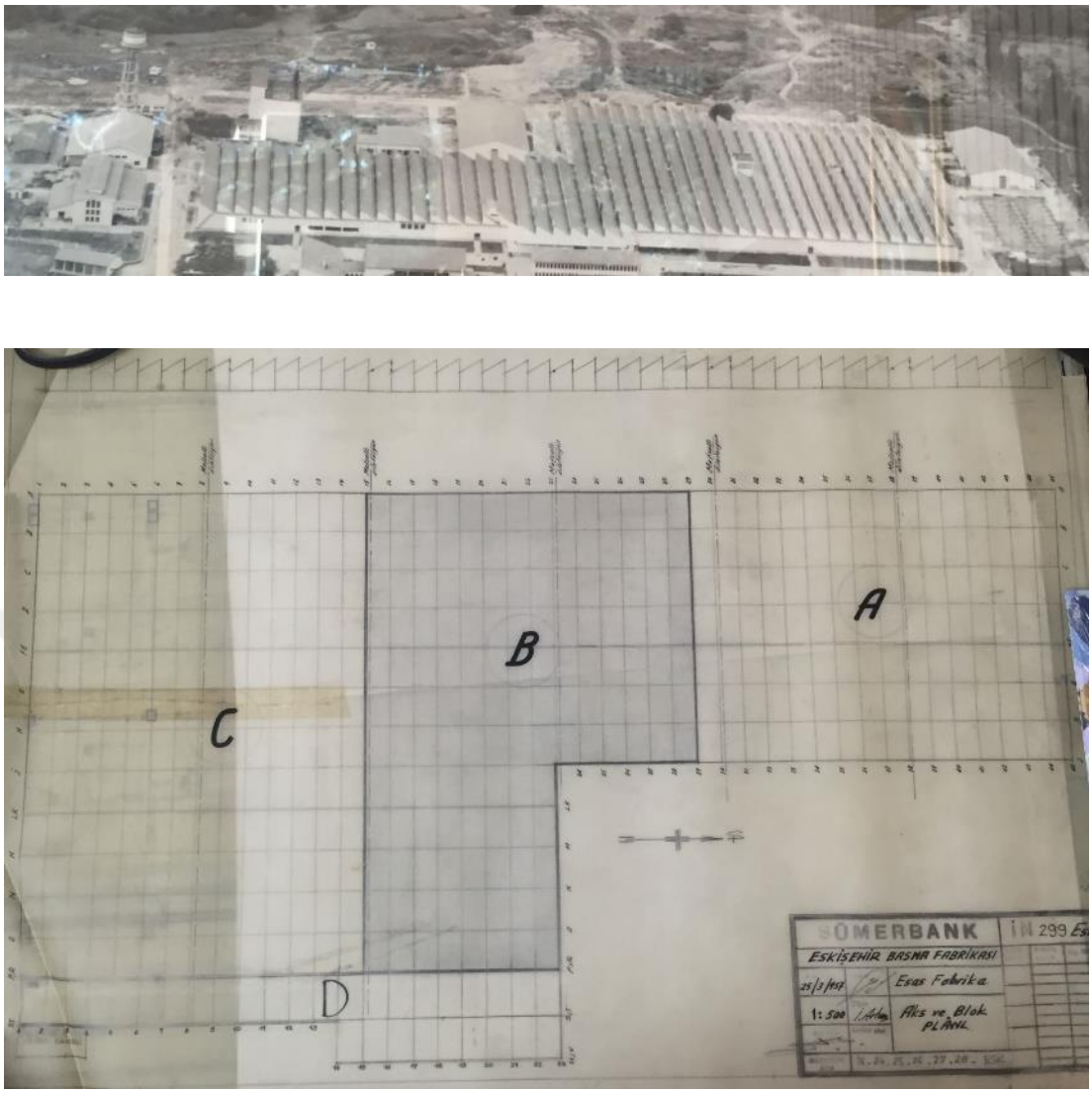


Figure 2. 56 The main production unit (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

The print factory had production machines for film printing, rotation printing, and roller printing. (Figure 2.57, 2.58) A Dornier loom was used in the weaving production, and the reed widths of the weaving loom varied between 115 cm and 130 cm.[178]

[178] Sümerbank, *Eskişehir Basma Sanayii Müessesesi* (Ankara: Sümerbank, n.d.), 1-4.

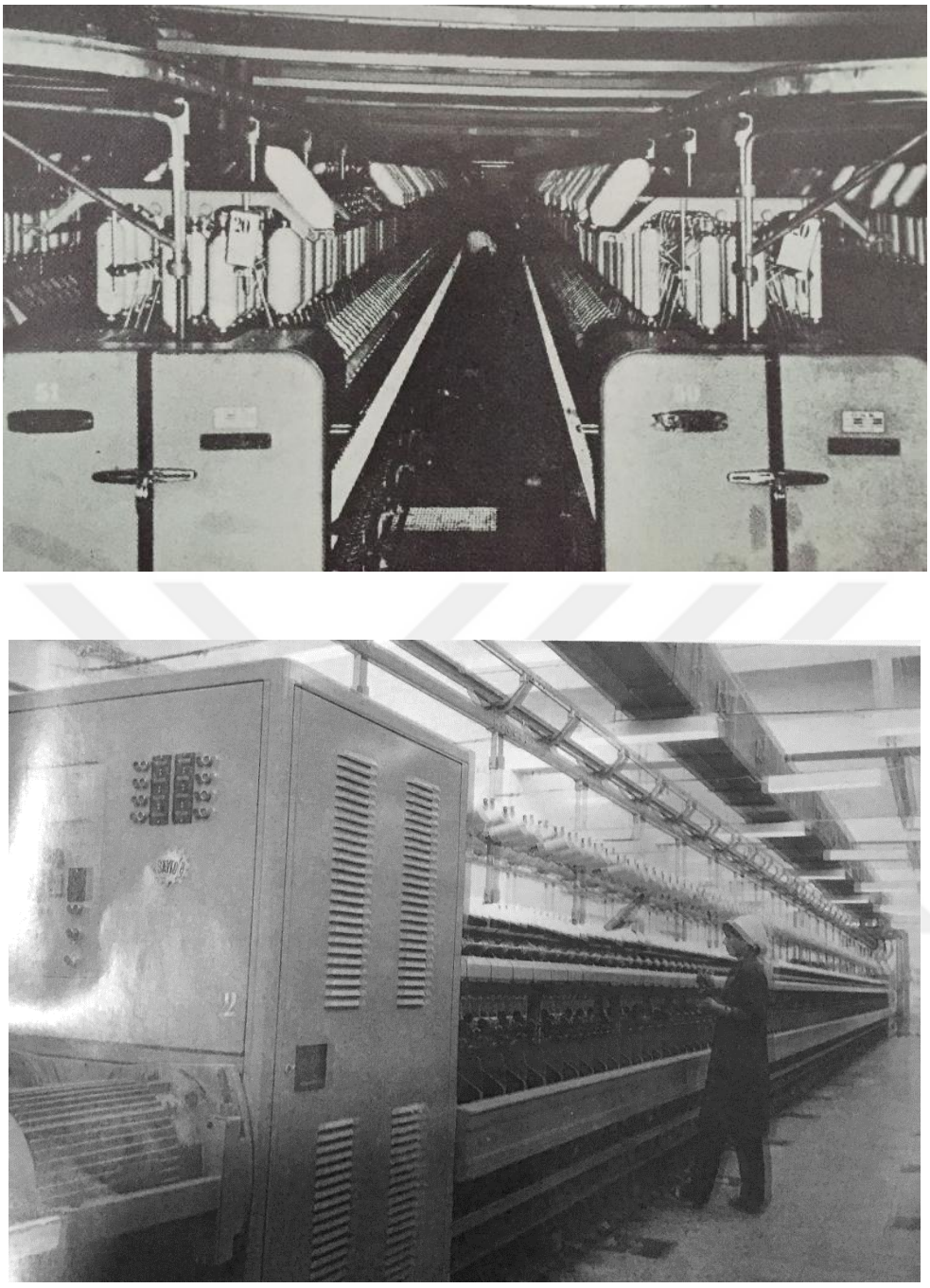


Figure 2. 57 Printing unit and printing machine in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (Turizm 1963 and Sümerbank n.d.)

Figure 2. 58 Printing machine and looms in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (Sümerbank n.d.)

In 1958, the factory had 22,000 spindles, and 660 looms. The annual weaving capacity was 19.8 million meters. In 1961, the factory had 674 looms with a 30 million meter weaving capacity per year. In the thread unit, 3,500 tons of cotton and 2,800 tons of thread were processed by 22,400 spindles in 1965. There were 660 looms in the weaving unit. The machines included three roller printing machines and one stationary printing machine. Twenty million meters of products were produced per year. These products, which were gradually exported to foreign countries, included flannel,

duvetyn, crepe, sateen, drapery, and cambric. In 1973, the factory had 63,200 tons of thread, 48,492 million threads per weft of loom, and a 24.5 million meter weaving capacity. The factory also exported $97,500 of raw cloth in the same year. In the 1980s, the thread unit had a production capacity of 3,000 tons, producing 22,400 spindles per year. The weaving unit produced 29.4 million products per year on 588 looms.[179] The data also showed that the production capacity increased over time, in line with the factory's technological advancements.

Along with product diversification and technological advancement, the factory upgraded its production through international guidelines and standards. All products were subjected to quality control to provide color, pattern, and other quality standards. The production quality of these products drew the attention of domestic and international markets. Woven fabrics were mercerized in order to increase the quality. The main products were flannel, duvetyn, printed material, drapery, poplin, and satin.[180] In 1976, garment production began in the facility.[181]

The facilities in the administration zone included the main gate, the worker's gate, the administration building, and the daycare facility. Two factory gates were constructed along the same axis with different designs. (Figure 2.59) The main gate was a part of the administration zone. The administration building's central role was visually underlined by locating the administration building and the main gate on the same axis. The second gate provided access from a more remote region, functionally connecting the city and the factory.

---

[179] Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti, *Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Tarafından 3460 Sayılı Kanunun 24 Maddesi Gereğince Hazırlanan Sümerbank 1958 Yılı Raporu*.

Metiner, "Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 3.

Sümerbank Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii*, 1-2.

Eskişehir Ticaret Odası, *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir*.

Sümerbank, *Eskişehir Basma Sanayii Müessesesi*, 1-4.

[180] Sümerbank, *Eskişehir Basma Sanayii Müessesesi*, 1-4.

Benli, "Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 26-27.

[181] Fikret Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*. (Eskişehir: Karaca Ofset, 1990).

Figure 2. 59 The factory gates of Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

The administration building was right across from the main gate and was surrounded by the dining hall, clubhouse, and daycare facility. (Figure 2.60) This was a typical layout that mirrored the Bergama and Manisa Sümerbank factories. The administrative building was located in front of the production building. The administration zone thus was integrated with production while also concealing it. The middle section of the administration building was reserved for the entrance and lobby. Offices connected to the main circulation area via corridors.

Figure 2. 60 The administration building in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (Yüce 1969 and photograph taken by the author during a site visit in 2017)

Social and cultural facilities became a primary concern of the factory as in all other state-owned industrial establishments. The clubhouse, dining hall, training hall, daycare center, and sports areas were designed to meet employees' social needs. The kindergarten was located between the main gate and the administration building. (Figure 2.61) It was a single-storey building with a basement and a terrace on its backside. This was a modern building that provided daycare and training for the workers' children aged zero to seven during work hours.[182]

[182] Benli, "Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 26-27.

Figure 2. 61 The Kindergarten in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

The *lokal* (clubhouse) was a two-storey building with a basement. The clubhouse was used for social gatherings and as the officials' guesthouse. The ground floor was reserved for the television room, lounge, game room, tea house, and waiting room. The first floor consisted of single and double guestrooms. (Figure 2.62, 2.63, 2.64) Ahmet Metiner mentioned in the journal *Türk Gücü* that the officials' clubhouse was an excellent facility serving this expansive establishment.[183]

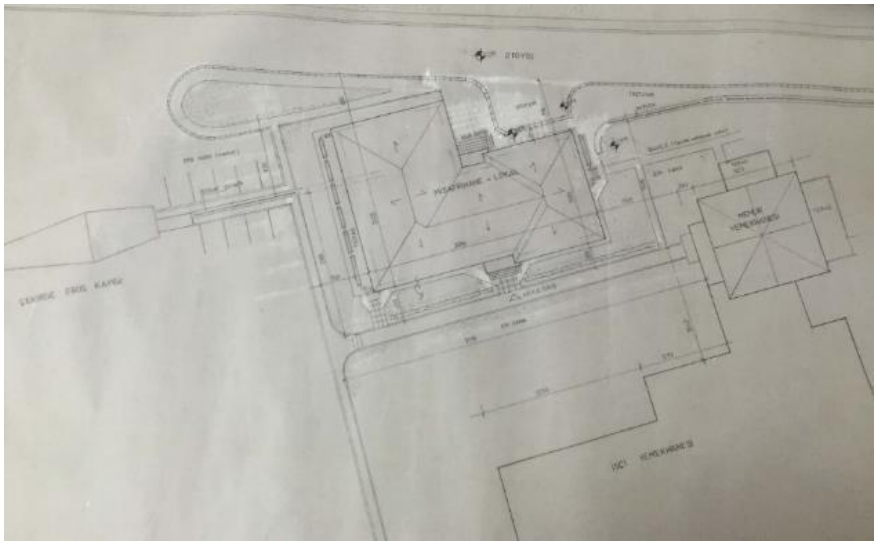


Figure 2. 62 Site plan of the *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

[183] Metiner, "Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 3.

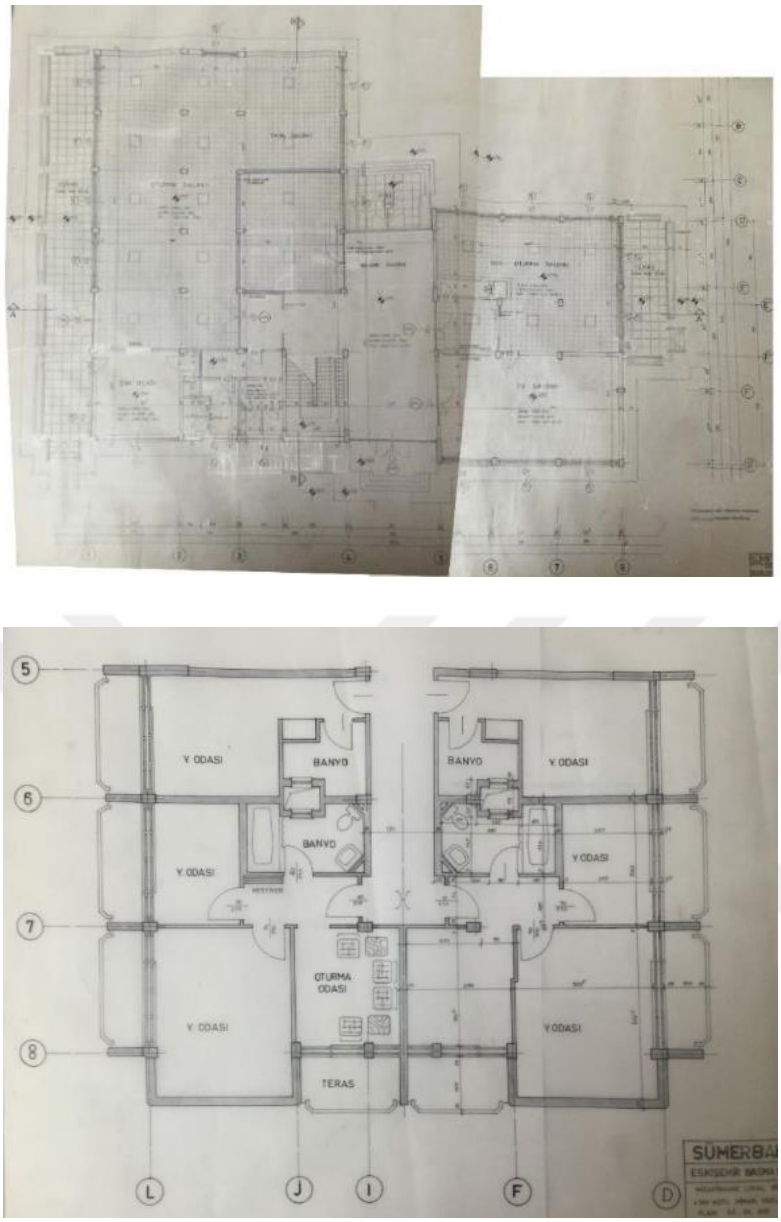


Figure 2. 63 The ground and first floor plans of the *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

Figure 2. 64 The *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (photograph taken by the author during a site visit in 2017)

The dining hall was composed of three parts: the officials' dining hall, the workers' dining hall, the kitchen, and the service units. (Figure 2.65) These buildings were connected by corridors that also served as distribution spaces. The officials' dining hall was a single-storey building with an area of 180 square meters. (Figure 2.66) The design of the building was unique compared to the other two buildings. Its square roof was composed of dynamic triangular forms and slender beams. These dynamic forms shaped the design of the roof and facade. The workers' dining hall consisted of a dining area and a projection room. The dining area had high ceilings and large transparent surfaces. The projection room and storage were located on the first floor. The dining hall was used for lunch during work time as well as meetings and film screenings. The kitchen area had spaces for preparation, cooking, dishwashing, and storage. Its first floor was reserved for the staff's dormitory and living room. The staff's dormitory consisted of two rooms with an area of 30 square meters, a bathroom, and a laundry room. (Figure 2.67)

Figure 2. 65 The dining hall in Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

Figure 2. 66 The officials' dining hall in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (Sümerbank n.d.)

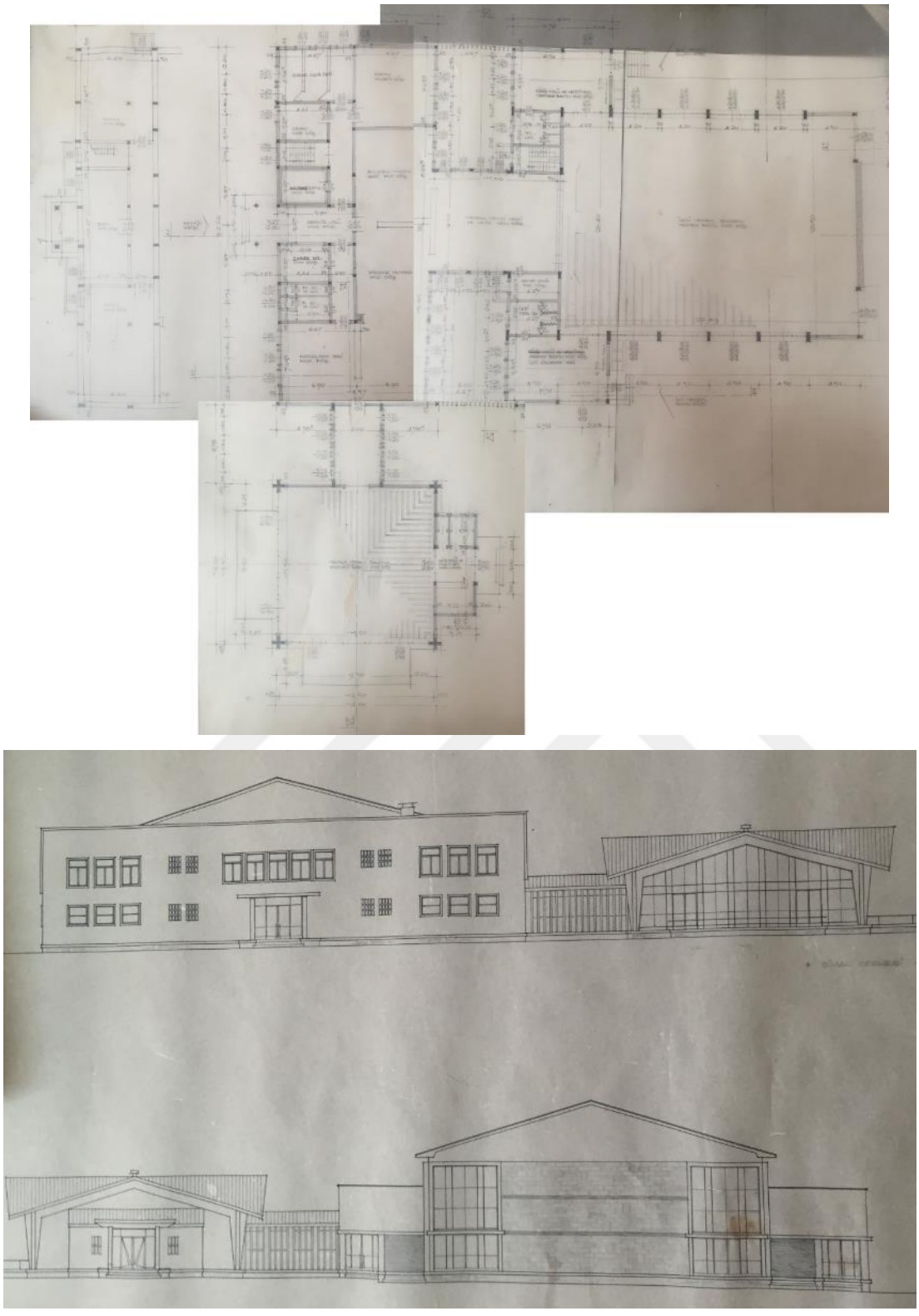


Figure 2. 67 Architectural drawings of the dining hall (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory 1957)

The training hall was constructed to further the employees' professional and technical knowledge and provide them with continuous training programs.

The lodging blocks in the residential zone were reserved for officials and managers. In 1961, the factory had four apartments comprising thirty-two residential units.[184] The manager's house was designed separately.

Many economic and social benefits were provided for the city by the Sümerbank print factory. The factory provided expansive social assistance for its employees and paid 8,574,000 TL per year. Apart from this assistance, the factory aided its employees with a welfare plan offering fringe benefits such as merchandise, food, child care, and incentive payments.[185]

2.2. Urban History of Eskişehir

The main focus of this section of the thesis is the urban history of Eskişehir, focusing on the period between 1923 and 1980, beginning from the statist formation of the city as a Republican development to the privatization process that changed the industrial character of Eskişehir. The time interval between 1923 and 1980 included overlapping parameters in urban history: migration, industrialization, and urbanization. However, it is critical to include the prior time interval in order to explore the ways in which these overlapping parameters formed a historical continuity and influenced the city. Eskişehir, located in Central Anatolia and having agricultural and commercial roots, is about 200 kilometers from the Republican capital Ankara and has a long history beginning in the Phrygian Period.

2.2.1. Urban Development before the Early Republican Period: The Transition Process

Migration was one of the most significant factors in the formation of urban character before the early Republican period. The first massive wave of migration to Eskişehir consisted of immigrants from Crimea, Turkestan, Caucasus and the Balkan States,[186]

[184] Metiner, "Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 3.

[185] Benli, "Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası," 26-27.

[186] The significant regions from which population flow occurred were Kazan (Crimea), Dobruca, Gümülcine, and Deliorman (the Balkan States).

who hoped to settle in Eskişehir after the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-1978). These *muhacir* (immigrants) brought with them the crafts they had learned in their hometowns, adapted these in Eskişehir, and worked with high levels of discipline and efficiency in order to prove themselves. This created a strong work environment in the city. Immigrants coming from different regions not only brought technology, they transferred ways of living, which gave Eskişehir a dynamic, tolerant, and diverse character compared to other Anatolian provinces.[187]

The initial settlement area, located on the south side of the city, was the Odunpazarı (Yukarı Mahalle) district, established on the northern side of the Karlık and Çatacık Ridges.[188] After the Ottoman-Russian War, the immigrants who came to Eskişehir started to settle on the opposite coast of the Porsuk, which shifted the expansion of the city northward after 1877. In his 1893 travel book, Heinrich Edmund Naumann underlined that the newly-emerged part of the right coast of the Porsuk River was formed by the settlement of immigrants.[189] Before the construction of the railway, immigrants had begun constructing settlements around the prospective train station site. The first settlement established by the immigrants in the city center was the Hacı Ali Bey district. Following the construction of new houses by immigrants around this settlement, new districts were formed as well: Hamidiye,[190] Şefkiye, and İhsaniye.[191]

On September 25, 1888, an agreement was signed between Deutsche Bank and the Ottoman State for the operation of the Haydarpaşa-İzmit Line and the extension of the line to Ankara. The new line, 486 kilometers long, was assigned to the Company of

---

[187] Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, *Eskişehir Sanayi: Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını* (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Sanayi Odası Yayınları, 1988), 145.

[188] Eskişehir Ticaret Odası, *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir*, 36.

[189] Edmund Naumann, *Vom Goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat (From the Golden Horn to Euphrates)* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1893).

[190] Catalogue of Department of Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet)* (ŞD), Catalog no. 1562/23, 23.10.1312.

Catalogue of Ministry of Interior (*İrade Dahiliye*) (İ.DH.), Catalog no. 1322/10, 18.11.1312.

[191] Catalogue of Yıldız Prime Ministry's Official Submission (Yıldız Sadaret Resmi Maruzat Evrakı) (Y.A.RES.), Catalog no. 126/21, 13.03.1322.

Ottoman Anatolia Railway[192] for a period of 99 years. The Anatolian Railways, extending eastward from İstanbul and consisting of the lines between İstanbul-İzmit, İzmit-Eskişehir, Eskişehir-Ankara and Eskişehir-Konya, were part of a broader project of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. Within this network, the location of the station in Eskişehir was determined in 1888, and *Cer Atölyesi*, a small scale maintenance atelier for locomotives and wagons, was established by the Company of Ottoman Anatolia Railway in 1894.[193] (Figure 2.68)

Figure 2. 68 Eskişehir Station in 1894 (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

Urban development in this period can be understood through the detailed descriptions in the itineraries. Clement Huart, in his 1978 itinerary *Mevleviler Beldesi Konya*, described his visit to Eskişehir in 1892 and offered a picture of the urban transformation introduced by the railway. Huart stated that there were new buildings, consisting of hotels, a restaurant, and an inn for Australian railway workers around the Porsuk River. These were located in the region around the prospective station.[194] According to Galts, urban development was improved by the flow of immigrants and

[192] The German name for this railway company was "Anatollsche Eisenbahgne Sellchaft." The French name was "La Societe du Chemin de Fer Ottomane d'Anatolie," and the Turkish name was "Anadolu - Osmanlı Şimendifer Kumpanyası."

[193] Catalogue of Editorial Office of Ministry of Interior *(Dahiliye Nezâreti Mektubî Kalemi)* (DH. MKT.), Catalog no. 1708/132, 25.07.1307.

[194] Clement Huart, *Mevleviler Beldesi Konya* (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1978).

accelerated by the construction of the station and the operation of the railway.[195] German archaeologist and philologist Alfred Körte stated that there were immigrant districts, hotels, and houses of Greeks around the station.[196]

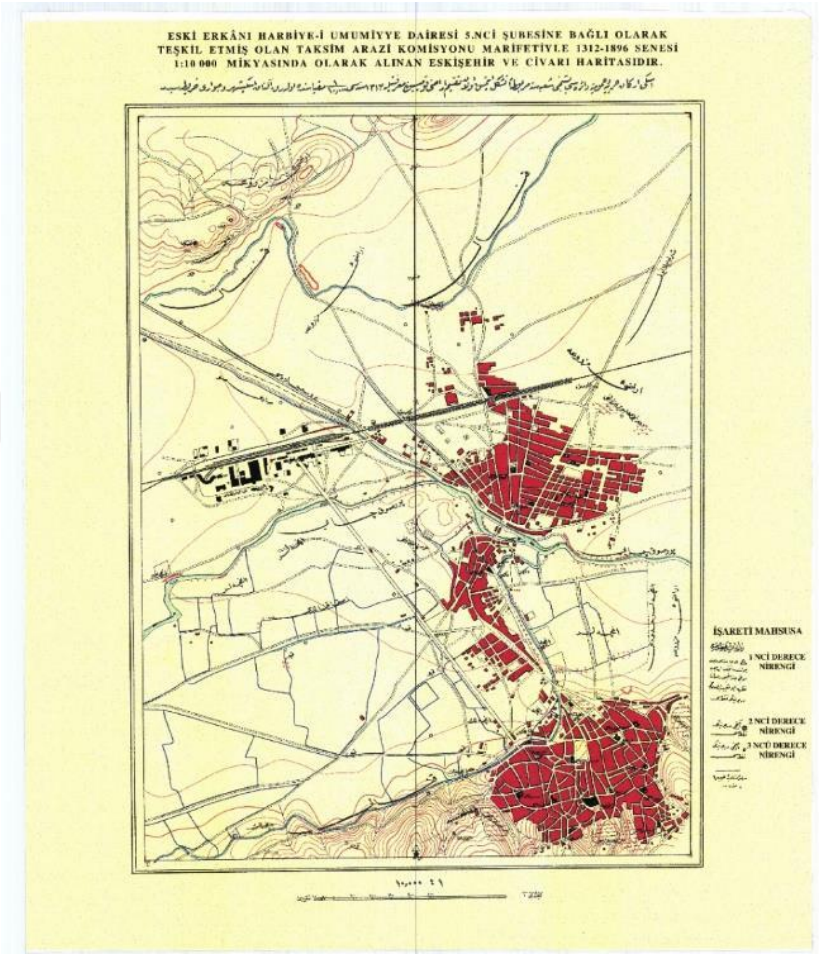


Figure 2. 69 Map (Taksim-i Arazi), dated to 1896, drawn by *Erkan-ı Umumiye Dairesi* (the Office of Commander in Chief) (Eskişehir Municipality Archive)

According to the map of Taksim-i Arazi, before the Republican period, the city consisted of the marketplace built at the southern ridge, and the historic district Odunpazarı, which *manav* (the local population) settled. (Figure 2.69, 2.70, 2.71) The new settlement area developed along the station in the north, and roads, bridges, and agricultural areas in the intermediate region connected all of the settlement patterns. The southern part of the city, with its traditional patterns, was marked by narrow and

[195] Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*, 41.

[196] Alfred Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1896).

curved streets. The region that expanded towards the railway in the north followed a regular urbanized pattern with wider streets and pavements, and it became a crowded marketplace.[197] These immigrant districts, with their adobe walls, earthen roofs, and grid-iron plan scheme, were different from the organic structure of the traditional fabric of the city. Between 1890 and 1920, residential areas with marketplaces, such as Acuncu, Macuncu, Hacı Seyit, Hayriye, Hacı Ali Bey, and İhsaniye began to be developed. Güllük was the first district in the settlement area that expanded towards the north side of railway.[198] As an agricultural city, Eskişehir served a role as a center of commerce as well as a center of agricultural production during this period. Between these loose settlement areas, the Tarla and Harman districts were the main sites of agricultural production.

Figure 2. 70 Odunpazarı, in the southern part of the city, with its traditional street patterns (SALT Research)

[197] İzbırak, "Eskişehir'le Çifteler Çevresinde Bir Coğrafya Gezisi," 512.

[198] Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*, 41.

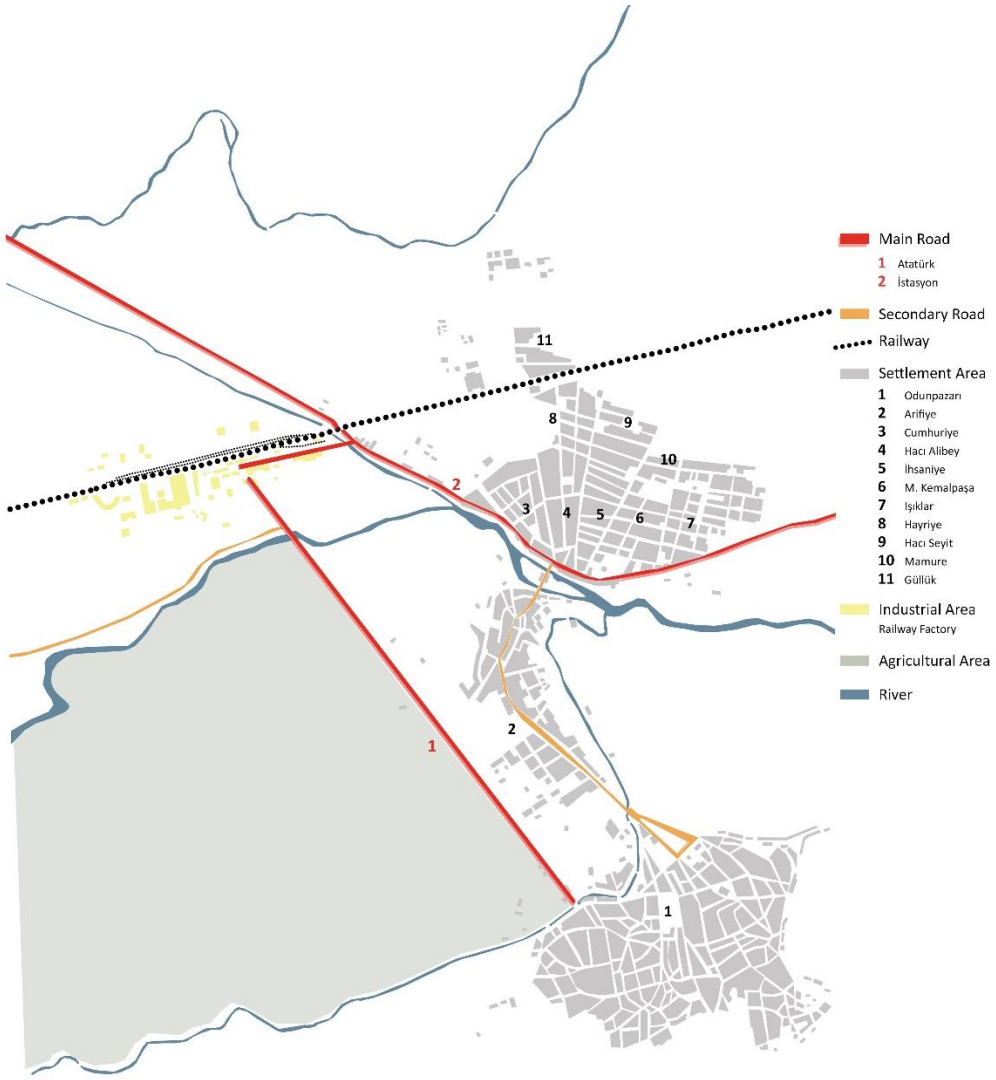


Figure 2. 71 Urban map indicating the development of the city at the end of the nineteenth century (adapted by the author from the map of Taksim-i Arazi and documents sourced from the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive)

2.2.2. Urban Development in the Early Republican Period: Statist Tendencies

In its transition from an empire to a republic, the state developed many policies for the construction of a new nation. The nation as a socio-cultural phenomenon could also be designed through its spaces in order to represent the objectives of the new state. One tool of the spatial formation was provided by industrial architecture. İlhan Tekeli noted that railways and factories symbolized the revolutionary ideology of the Republican regime.[199] In order to reach the economic level of developed countries, statist policies

[199] İlhan Tekeli, *Sanayi Toplumu için Sanayi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009).

were used due to the lack of private entrepreneurs. For this reason, various factories were established for basic consumer goods based on the available raw materials in the country. Anatolian towns, which were on the railway line, were selected for the construction of these factories, and thus the Republican project of modernization and development was extended to the whole country.

The Turkish War of Independence had serious negative effects on Eskişehir, largely destroying the city and its commercial center. The state enterprises became the principal instruments of industrial and urban development in Eskişehir, which in turn would lead to the construction of a modern Turkish state through the medium of statist policy. Three significant state-led factories were established that influenced the spatial development of the city: the railway factory and the Sümerbank print factory on the north and the sugar factory on the north-east side of the city. These factories marked a significant change that directed Eskişehir's ongoing narrative as an agricultural town that became an industrial center during the Republican period.[200] Even so, the agricultural character in the central parts of the city still continued producing many crops, such as sour cherries in Vişnelik, apricots in Gündoğdu, vegetables in Sümer, Kızıltoprak, and Gültepe, grain in Sazova, Emek, Çamlıca, Gündoğdu, and Gökmeydan, and sugar beets in Gökmeydan, Gündoğdu, Emek, and Sazova.

In the first years of the Republic, private industrial production depended on the agricultural and mining resources of the province. These small-scale factories were concentrated along the railway in order to ease transportation, which formed an industrial region known as the factory district. Due to the rich clay reserves, some enterprises based on clay products were built. These were the Kılıçoğlu tile and brick factory (built in 1926), the Kurt tile factory (built in 1929), the Çiftkurt tile factory (built in 1933), the Aslan tile factory (built in 1938), the Fil tile factory (built in 1942), the Kartal tile factory (built in 1944), the Güneş tile factory (built in 1946), and the Doğan tile factory (built in 1948).[201] As Eskişehir was in an area with abundant cereal

[200] Fikret Çelikkanat, *50. Yılda Eskişehir* (Eskişehir: Özgür Yayınları, 1973).

[201] Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 108/22, 04.04.1945.

production, there were also flour mills, including the Yasin Çakır flour factory (built in 1925), the Gamgam flour factory (built in 1938), and the Gümülcineli flour factory (built in 1948). (Figure 2.72, 2.73) These private factories arose in Eskişehir and brought together a group of dynamic entrepreneurs, contributing to the industrialization of the region starting from the first years of the Republican period. Entrepreneurs in the clay tile industry included Kurt Sait, Muhtar Başkurt, Sabri Kılıçoğlu, and Murat Atılgan. Entrepreneurs in flour production included Mehmet and Ahmet Kanatlı and Mehmet Ali Yasin. These immigrant industrialists were pioneers of industry whose families became well-established locally over time. [202]

Figure 2. 72 Aerial photograph showing the factory district (Güngörür 1952)

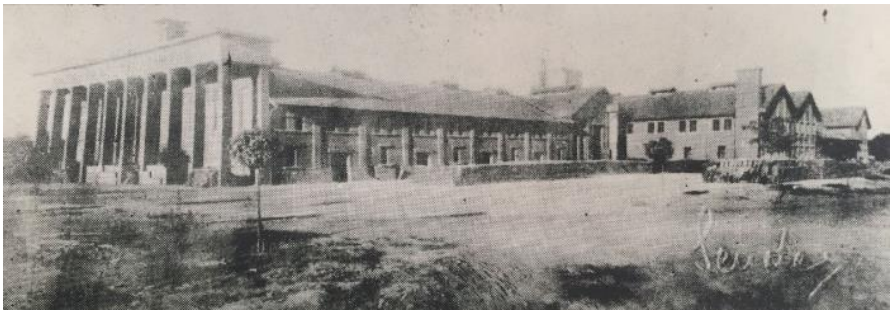


Figure 2. 73 The Kılıçoğlu, and Kurt tile and brick factory, the Gümülcineli flour factory (Güngörür 1952)

[202] Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, *Eskişehir Sanayi: Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını,* 147.

Between 1923 and 1950, there were several waves of migration, bringing people from Macedonia,[203] Yugoslavia, Bulgaria,[204] and Romania. Eskişehir was an ideal city for the establishment of state-led industrial institutions due to various parameters: it was home to a hardworking and skilled population consisting substantially of immigrants; there were also many craftsmen and workers; and it had a favorable location due to its transportation network, its proximity to consumer centers, and its proximity to the sources of multiple raw materials.[205] Beginning in 1925, the development of factories and the need for workers in these facilities attracted national and international migration. In these years, Eskişehir had the capacity to provide jobs for every foreigner. The flow from surrounding cities and towns, such as Sivrihisar, Kütahya, and Söğüt, started in 1945.[206] However, one of the most prominent reasons for the population flow was that the railway passed through the city. The railway network functioned as a backbone connecting the state-owned factories, in addition to its significant role in determining the location of these factories. Through the dense population of laborers that arose around the factories, the railways were effective in constructing new urban spatial and social patterns. Some of the districts that formed around the factories were Şeker, Yenimahalle, Işıklar, Kırmızıtoprak, Ömerağa, which was in the northeast surrounding the sugar factory, and Yenibağlar, which was in the northwest surrounding the railway factory. Streets crossed the city on the east-west and north-south axes, connected these factories, and defined the macrostructure of the city. The Sümerbank and railway factories, with their close proximity to the station, had a significant and transformative influence on the city. Thus, the urban phenomenon of expansion to the north, which began in the late nineteenth century, drastically accelerated in the early Republican period.

---

[203] The first wave from Macedonia occurred between 1923-1938, following the 1924 population exchange between Greece and Turkey. A second wave came in 1936, followed by a third one after the Free Migration Agreement in 1953.

[204] The first wave from Bulgaria occurred between 1925-1949, after the Residency Agreement, and the second one occurred between 1949-1951, after the establishment of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010).

[205] Gürol, *Eskişehir Klavuzu*.

[206] Necdet Tunçdilek, "Eskişehir ve Şehrin Tekamülü," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4, no. 8 (September 1957): 35-47.

Although Eskişehir Station was located outside of the settlement area when it was first built in 1894, it evolved into an urban magnet during the Republican period. With the construction of the new station within its urban square, this border line became a node of travel and communication, representing a new culture of mobility and exchange. This shifted Eskişehir's status from that of any small Anatolian town in the Ottoman Empire to an outward-looking city. This status also influenced Eskişehir's surroundings in terms of commercial and socio-cultural development. In addition, the station provided a social, economic and cultural interface to view the historical process of city through zoning changes, commercialization, and new building construction. Eskişehir Station as a symbol of railway development formed a threshold in the gradual evolution of the city's new character.

Eskişehir Station, as one of the most prominent landmarks of the Republican city, had a dominant role in the re-formation of the urban environment. Because of the way the station building was constructed, two main streets, Atatürk Street and İstasyon Street, integrated the station with the city's residential and market zones. (Figure 2.74) Atatürk Street became the most significant promenade, integrating north and south, old and new, traditional and modern. İstasyon Street, as a busy street, had a dominant role in the commercial and economic activity of the city. These streets began to gain social and spatial meaning as representations of the Republican formation. Atatürk Street was initially constructed when the traction workshop was opened, however it was only used physically as an access road connecting the station building with the Odunpazarı region, beyond being used within the residential or commercial zones. In the Republican period, this street became the main axis of the city, the space where the boulevard-square-institutional buildings were formed. This street became a site of central connection that represented new urban life.[207]

[207] Özlem Arıtan, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Modernleşme ve Cumhuriyetin Kamusal Mekân Modelleri," *Mimarlık*, no. 342 (July-August 2008), http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=353&RecID=1822.

Figure 2. 74 The station in the 1970s (Eskişehir Municipality Archive) and İstasyon Street (SALT Research)

The urban researcher, Osman Yalçın, compared Eskişehir with Ankara and stated that "the new buildings on both sides of Atatürk Street, represented the character of a newly-emerging city, and connected Eskişehir Station to the south region, where local inhabitants live. Eskişehir, like Ankara, is a developing city after the constitution of

the Republic."[208] Residential settlements were developed surrounding this main axis, including Akarbaşı, Arifiye, İstiklal, Hoşnudiye, and Kurtuluş. Due to its being the site of the most dynamic transition, the Akarbaşı district on Atatürk Street became the administrative, official, and bureaucratic center of the city. These administrative and public buildings, built between 1942 and 1949, were the Eskişehir Air Force Hospital (built in 1947), the government offices[209] (built in 1945-1948), the courthouse (built in 1947-1949), Eskişehir Station[210] (built in 1946-1955), the municipal building, the stadium, and an educational building block consisting of Eskişehir Trade Vocational High School (built in 1942-1943), Eskişehir Atatürk Technical and Vocational High School (built in 1944), and Gazi Girls' Technical and Vocational High School (built in 1946-1947).[211] (Figure 2.75)

Figure 2. 75 Government Square surrounded by the government offices, the courthouse, Central Bank, the municipal building, and the stadium (1957 İl Yıllığı, 7)

[208] Osman Yalçın, *Eskişehir* (İstanbul: Özyürek Yayınevi, 1957), 14.

[209] The government offices were designed by Architect Bedri Uçar.

[210] In the context of the modernization of Station Street, the station together with the square was redesigned in 1946.

[211] Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 9-16.

The major government projects in the urban development of Eskişehir were the municipal works and the design of the urban plan. There were also important municipal activities that paved the way for urbanization: the expansion of existing roads, the construction of new roads (connecting İstasyon-Köprübaşı, Sivrihisar-Köprübaşı, İstasyon-Atatürk-Tahıl-Odunpazarı-Muttalip, and Sakarya), the construction of bridges, and the establishment of bus transportation between Odunpazarı and Eskişehir Station and Odunpazarı and the Şeker district.[212] In the Republican period, the government initiated urbanization most directly through urban plans drafted by central and local governments. Urban planning was considered an essential effort to provide a modern outlook for Republican cities. The first development plan was prepared for Ankara in 1924, and this experience of creating a modern city that represented the Republican identity was adopted in other cities.[213] Engineers and architects were limited in number, and there were almost no technical staff skilled in cartography. In 1935, the Zoning Committee of Municipalities under the Ministry of Internal Affairs was granted the authority to design maps and development plans, including designing sports fields and drinking water and sewerage works, for municipalities with a population of more than 10,000. In this period, foreign companies were also appointed; for instance, German architect Hermann Jansen prepared development plans for Mersin, Adana, Ceyhan, Antep, İzmit and Tarsus between 1930 and 1939. As in Erzurum, French urban planner J. Lambert designed the development plan for Eskişehir in 1938-1939, although this plan was not applied. (Figure 2.76, 2.77) The further urban development, adapted from Lambert's design, focused on the creation of multiple centers, the construction of boulevard-square-institutional buildings, and the connection between traditional and modern. (Figure 2.78)

[212] Ertin, *Eskişehir Kentinde Yerleşmenin Evrimi*.

[213] Kudret Emiroğlu and Süha Ünsal, *Kentleşme, Yapı ve Konut, 1923- 1950 Dönemi* (Ankara: İntes, 2006), 43.

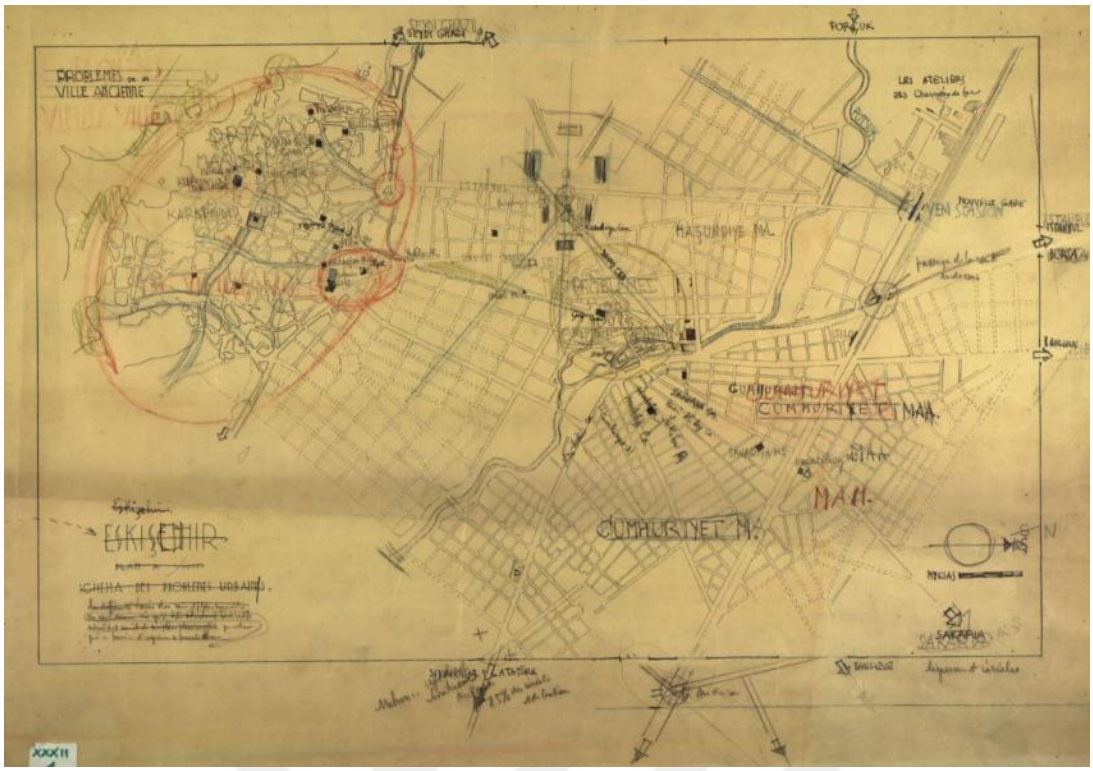


Figure 2. 76 Urban plan indicating the problems of Eskişehir, prepared by J. Lambert (SALT Research, Map Archive, Courtesy of IFEA)

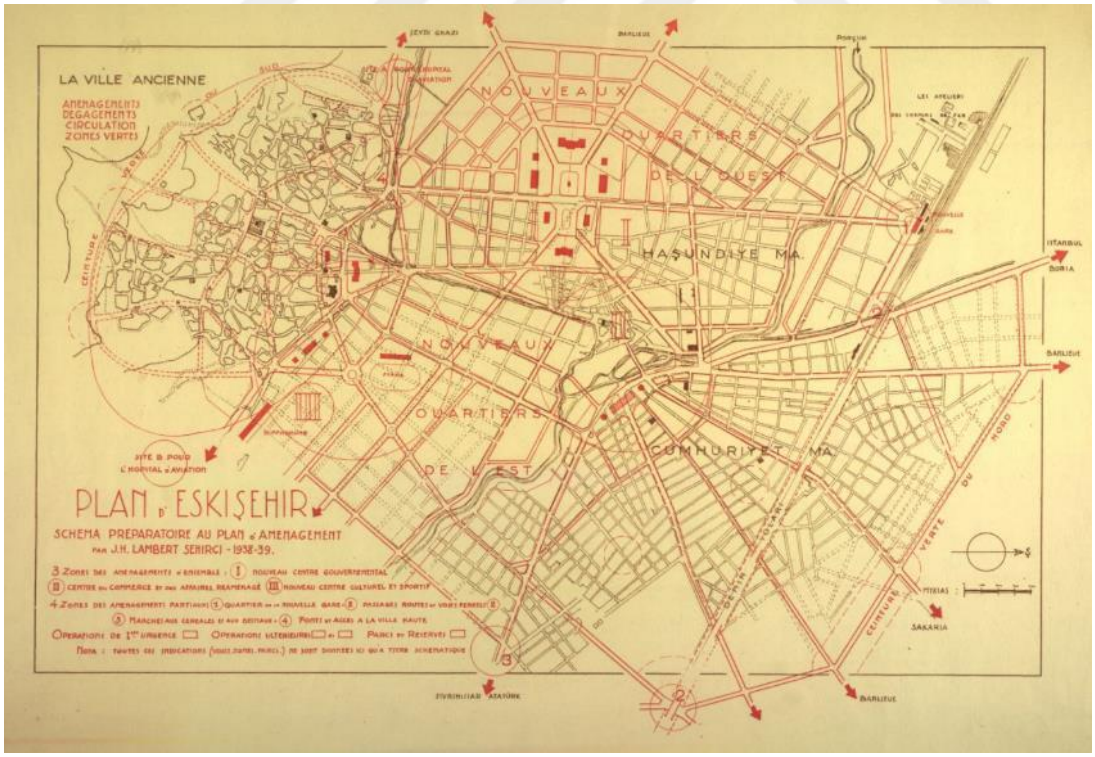


Figure 2. 77 Urban development plan of Eskişehir dated 1938-1939, prepared by J. Lambert (SALT Research, Map Archive, Courtesy of IFEA)

Figure 2. 78 Urban map indicating the development of the city in 1950 (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1950 and documents sourced from the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive)

2.2.3. Urban Development after 1950: Liberal Thought and Democratic Tendencies

After the 1950 elections, the Democrat Party brought about the adaption to economic liberalism within the multiparty system and ended the statist tendencies of the early Republican era.[214] Within this liberal model, economic growth was foregrounded, and the state became involved in a new political bloc pioneered by the United States. The economy of the country opened to foreign investment with assistance from the Marshall Plan, which led to the import of agricultural machinery, the arrival of Western experts, and the construction of highways.[215] Alongside these economic developments, the industrial growth that began in the early Republican period continued in Eskişehir. The industrial investments that were made in Eskişehir in the 1950s bore fruit due to its location choice and the accumulation of cultural knowledge, industrial experience, and improved skills. The rapid population growth in İstanbul and Ankara after the Republican era led to the establishment of the Eskişehir flour factories: the Mühendisler flour factory in 1953, the Örnek flour factory in 1959, the Pak flour factory in 1965, and the Kanatlı flour factory in 1969. [216] In line with the state's political and economic paradigm, the existing factories were improved, and new machinery was introduced.

This success led to political conjuncture, and there were diverse debates about whether "Eskişehir became the stronghold of the Democrat Party" through the emergence of Eskişehir's deputies. Meanwhile, the party prepared multiple projects for the urban environment as referenced in the journals and archival documents. This was also confirmed by a report in the media by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes:

> Hasan Bey (Hasan Polatkan), we are indebted to Eskişehir. In the establishment of the Democrat Party, Emin Sazak, who was the deputy of Eskişehir at that time, had great contributions, and we held our first expansive

[214] Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (USA: University of Washington, 1997), 141.

[215] Çağlar Keyder, "Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and in Republican Turkey, ca. 1900-1950," 148.

[216] Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, *Eskişehir Sanayi: Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını, 147.*

> meeting in Sakarbaşı in Çifteler with your participation. Eskişehir became the stronghold of Democrat Party in the years of both opposition and power. We are also obliged to serve Eskişehir, which has supported us since the establishment of the Democrat Party. I request you and your friends prepare projects in order to serve Eskişehir.[217]

An important political development affecting the urban platform was the fact that Eskişehir deputies became involved in politics. The consciousness and awareness gained from being an inhabitant of the city took part in the formation of this process. Two significant local figures were the Minister of Public Works, Kemal Zeytinoğlu, and the Minister of Finance, Hasan Polatkan. Even the Eskişehir Industrial Exhibition was opened with the participation of ministers in those years.

The beginning of the 1960s was a period of stagnation due to the May 27 coup d'état. Toward the end of the 1960s, the industrialization process and the economic policy were reconstructed with new perspectives and put into practice in 1963 through the first Five-Year Development Plan and the Ankara Agreement with the European Community.[218] Between 1962 and 1976, the conservative domestic market and the approach to industrialization based on import substitution increased foreign dependency due to technological transfer and limited input.[219] Beginning in the early 1970s, Eskişehir's manufacturing industry experienced rapid development, particularly in the private sector. The flour and tile-brick production, considered the conventional industries of Eskişehir, experienced a loss of market share due to the establishment of similar factories in other regions of the country. For this reason, the establishment shifted focus to specialize in preparing flour for food production, such as biscuits and confectionery, while those engaged in the manufacture of stone and soil focused on ready-mixed concrete and prefabricated construction technologies. Some

---

[217] "Hasan Bey, Eskişehir'e çok şey borçluyuz. Demokrat Parti'nin kuruluşunda o dönem Eskişehir milletvekili olan Emin Sazak'ın büyük katkıları olduğu gibi ilk büyük toplantımızı sizlerin de iştirakiyle Çifteler'de Sakarbaşı'nda yaptık. Gerek muhalefet yıllarında, gerekse iktidarımız döneminde Eskişehir Demokrat Parti'nin kalesi olmuştur. Biz de Demokrat Parti'nin kuruluşundan bu yana bizi destekleyen bize oy veren Eskişehir'e hizmet etmek mecburiyetindeyiz. Senden ve arkadaşlarından Eskişehir'e hizmet konusunda projeler hazırlamanızı rica ediyorum."

Eskişehir İstikbal, "Eskişehir," *Eskişehir İstikbal* (October 23, 1995): 1.

[218] Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, *Bir Sanayileşme Mucizesi: Kendini Var Etmek* (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, 2012), 48-49.

[219] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908-1985,* 14.

of the factories that were built in the 1960s were the Eskişehir feed plant (built in 1960), the Eti biscuit factory (built in 1962), ENTİL, which produced metal based products (built in 1964), the Eston concrete pillar factory (built in 1965), the Cici food industry, and the Erden food industry. These factories were constructed in vacant areas within the industrial or residential settlement area. (Figure 2.79)

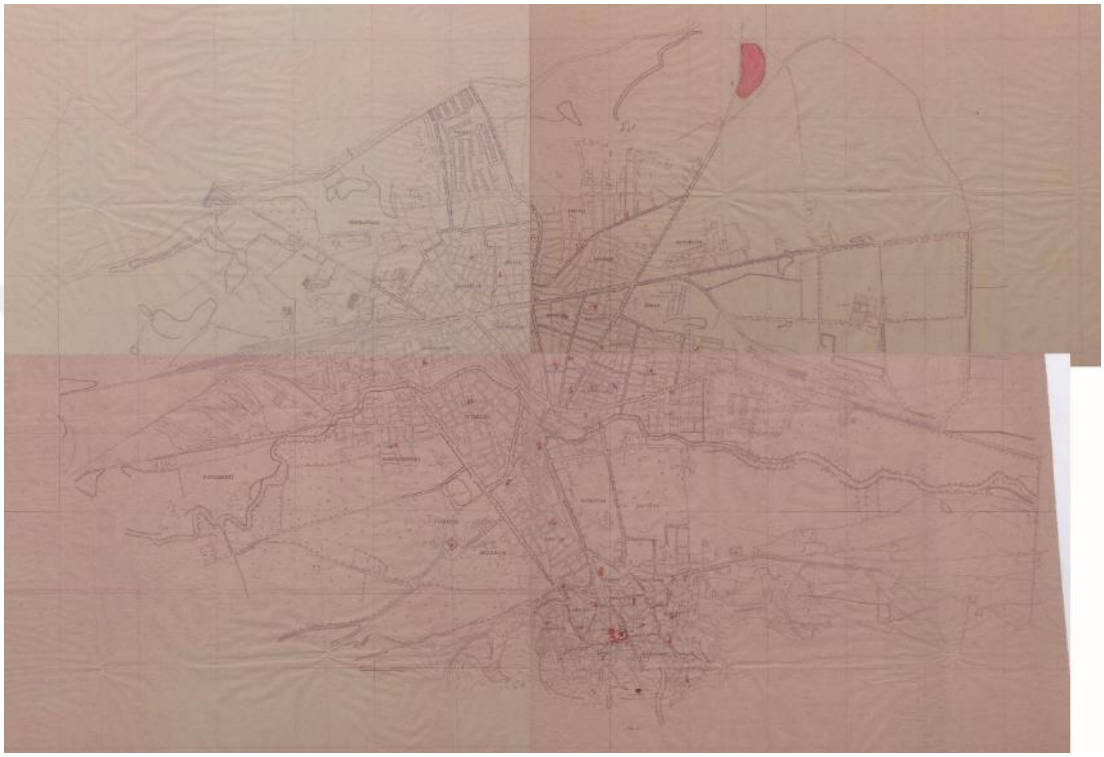


Figure 2. 79 Urban plan indicating the settlement area in the 1950s (SALT Research)

According to quantitative assessments made by the Directorate of Labor, there were 40,000 workers in the city in 1957. This assessment counted those working in the factories and workshops under the stipulations of the Labor Law. Of this population, 60 percent came from outside of the city, while 40 percent were locals. Thus, the city became a center with a labor population consisting of both locals and immigrants. The expansive state-owned establishments, banks, and government offices motivated the influx of a sophisticated labor force.[220] One of the reasons for this increase was the disintegration of the rural structure and the migration of agricultural populations to the industrial cities. Migration occurred from Bilecik, Afyon, Kütahya, Konya, Balıkesir, and Sivas to Eskişehir in the 1950s. The second reason was that the population of the

[220] Tunçdilek, "Eskişehir ve Şehrin Tekamülü," 35-47.

city increased more than the average growth rate of the country due to the migration from Bulgaria and Romania between 1950 and 1955. As a result of the economic and social appeal of the city, the knowledge and experience brought by the immigrants contributed to the economic development of the region.[221] Between the years of 1950 and 1951, 719 migrant houses were built for 23,000 immigrants in the Yenidoğan (built in 1953), Yıldıztepe and Alanönü (built in 1958) districts by the Eskişehir Directorate of Soil and Settlement.[222] Between 1923 and 1980, one of the main characteristics of the labor force of Eskişehir was the constant influx of immigrant labor. This continuity was a result of the perpetual income opportunities produced by the city, although industrialization gained diverse meanings in this process. While the urban population was 89,879 in 1950, this number increased to 153,096 in 1960. An urban population growth of 63,217 people (amounting to a 70 percent increase) occurred in just a 10-year period. In comparison with this, in the 23 years between 1927 and 1950, the population increased by 57,537 people.[223]

With the industrial markets accelerating and population rising along with the statist investments in the industrial field, the city experienced remarkable urbanization after the 1950s. In 1950, urbanization began to gain new meaning as a rapid and multi-functional model different from the nationalist-statist urbanization of the early Republican period.[224]The negative conditions of the Second World War were apparent in Eskişehir, as they were all across country before 1950. From the 1950s onwards, the financial consolidation within Turkey, focused on the development of the country, also left a mark on the urban environment. In the journal *Hareket*, M. Suat Okyay examined Eskişehir in comparison to its former period, and emphasized its considerable progress, noting the asphalt roads, regularly arranged buildings, significant

[221] Eskişehir Ticaret Odası, *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir*, 19.

[222] Nilgün Çuha, "Türkiye'de Göç Olgusu ve Eskişehir İl Merkezinde Kurulan Göçmen Mahalleleri," *Erdem* 12, no.34 (July 1999): 381-411.

[223] Eskişehir Valiliği, *1967 İl Yıllığı Eskişehir* (Ankara: Ajans-Türk Matbaacılık Sanayii, 1967).

[224] Hüseyin Tarık Şengül, "Türkiye'nin Kentleşme Deneyiminin Dönemlenmesi," in *1920'den Günümüze Türkiye'de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim*, ed. Faruk Alpkaya and Bülent Duru (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2012), 407- 453.

transportation facilities, electricity service, and financial institutions.[225] While there were discussions in Eskişehir about being the stronghold of Democrat Party, the Provincial Directorate of Public Works had accelerated urban developments in the city. Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan emphasized these developments in an open-air meeting held with other Democrat deputies:

> Eskişehir is endeavoring to complete construction of the main streets, which started one and a half year ago, and has begun to build workers' shelters, a tuberculosis hospital with 200 beds, a courthouse, a city stadium, workers' houses, irrigation channels that will irrigate the Eskişehir plain and save it from the flood, rural roads, and facilities for drinking water, Halkbank, and electricity…[226]

One of the most prominent factors that influenced the urban development of the city was the national project competition for the development plan[227] of Eskişehir held by Provincial Bank in 1952. (Figure 2.80) The jury declared the project designed by the Architects Melahat Topaloğlu, M. Ali Topaloğlu and Bülent Berksan to be the winning project out of sixteen participants. This project was accepted with further changes, and 1/2000, 1/1000 and 1/500 scale plans were to be completed by the specialists in nineteen and a half months. By that time, the Partial Development Plan was controlled by Rahmi Üzmen, to be implemented by the municipality.[228] Along with the development plan, the planned urbanization was initiated. The objective of the plan

---

[225] M. Suat Okyay, "Eskişehir," *Hareket* 1, no. 27 (February 19, 1954): 3.

[226] "Eskişehir'in hummalı bir faaliyet içinde bulunduğunu, bir buçuk yıl içinde şehrin ana caddelerinin asfalt yapılmasına başlandığını, işçi barındırma yurdunun, ikiyüz yataklı verem hastanesinin, adalet binasının, şehir stadyumunun ve işçi evlerinin inşasına, Eskişehir ovasını sulayacak ve feyezandan kurtaracak olan sulama kanallarının açılmasına başlandığını, koy yollarının, köy içme suları tesislerinin inşa halinde olduğunu, Halk Bankası açıldığını, Eskişehir'in elektrik dâvasının ve daha bir çok işlerin ele alındığını söylemiş, bu şekildeki çalışmaların yalnız Eskişehir'de değil bütün Vilâyetlerde ve bütün bir vatan sathı üzerinde devam ettiğini, bu çalışmalarla övünmediklerini, zira daha başaracak çok işleri olduğunu, Demokrat Parti iktidarında geçen yılın yeni başarılarla tamamlanacağını ilâve etmiştir." *Ayın Tarihi*, September 1951.

[227] The Provincial Bank managed the competition. Members of the jury included Orhan Alsaç, Hicri Sezen, Mithat Yenen, Cevet Erbel, Celal Uzer, and İlhan Ersoy. The winners were Melahat Topaloğlu, Mehmet Ali Topaloğlu and Bülent Berksan.

The Official Website of the Chamber of Architects in Turkey, *www.mimarlarodasiyarişmalar.com,* accessed on April 15, 2019.

[228] Güngörür and Conker, Eskişehir Kılavuzu, 152.

was to connect the railway and highway to the city's road network.[229] The highway was designed according to the railway. The city continued to expand through this network, around which new development areas were also defined. The expansion of the city to the north was possible because of the highway. The location of the industrial settlements was highlighted in the plan, and the urban void between the factories and settlement areas began to be filled in parallel to the main road. A connection to the urban center along the north-south axis was established through two main roads. In the council meeting, the name "Atatürk" was chosen for the longest street, along which the stadium and schools were positioned.[230] While the importance of the highway increased during this period, the railway continued to maintain its significance. In addition to the increase in population, the emerging facility of transportation had a great influence on the growth of the city's residential area.

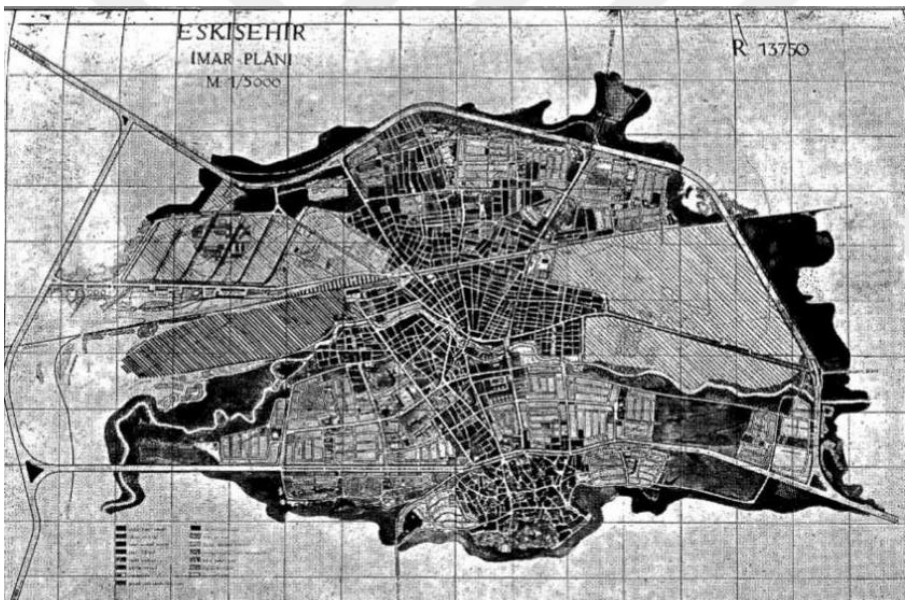


Figure 2. 80 The urban development plan of Eskişehir dated 1952 (Mimarlık Dergisi 1952)

The appearance of the modern city, which began to be shaped in 1923, was strengthened by the functional diversity of the 1950s. Administration buildings, such as Central Bank, the courthouse, and other buildings in the Provincial Square continued to be built around Atatürk and İstasyon Streets, the bureaucratic symbol of the city.

[229] Mimarlık Dergisi, "Eskişehir İmar Planı Müsabakası," *Mimarlık Dergisi* 9, no. 3/4 (1952): 2-20.

[230] Hareket, "Belediye Meclisi Toplantıları," *Hareket* 1, no. 13 *(* February 3, 1954): 1.

The rapid urbanization between 1950 and 1980 led to major changes in social life. After the 1950s, consumption patterns and economic welfare expanded, and Americanization changed the routines of daily life by changing cultural values. The districts in which this could be observed most clearly were Köprübaşı and the Porsuk waterfront. Köprübaşı, the city's downtown along with Çukurçarşı, responded by expanding its commercial function. (Figure 2.81) It became the most crowded district, with financial institutions, commercial and office units, the People's House, bakeries, stores and cinema buildings. Some of the cinemas located in this district were Asri, Atlas, Büyük, Doğan, Kılıçoğlu, Lale, Şan, and Yeni Cinema. The financial institutions, constructed after 1950, were Halkbank, Emlak ve Kredi Bankası, Ziraat Bankası, and Yapı Kredi Bankası. The Porsuk waterfront, with its direct connection to the commercial zone of Köprübaşı, was a popular place for entertainment, especially the area known as Yalaman Island, which had clubs, gardens, and summer cinemas.[231]

Figure 2. 81 Köprübaşı and the Porsuk waterfront (Turizm Mecmuası 1967)

The Eskişehir School of Economics and Administrative Sciences was established on the north side of the city, at the end of Bağlar Street. It first provided education services in the workers' shelters in 1958, and in 1963 it was transferred to a temporary building in the railway factory. In 1968, the Academy moved to its permanent location on a 110,000 square meter hill on the edge of the city, first filling four buildings and then twelve blocks.[232]

[231] Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 13.

[232] Turizm Mecmuası: Eskişehir Özel Sayısı 1967, no. 10.

After the 1950s, the agricultural areas and cemeteries in the area between the marketplace and the traditional historic settlement (Odunpazarı) disappeared within the construction process. The well-known vegetable gardens of Eskişehir around Atatürk and Akarbaşı Streets became a development site for the city as they were close to the industrial establishments. In this rapid building development, new districts were formed: the Şeker and Yenidoğan districts in the northeast side of the city near the sugar factory; and the Kızıl Toprak, Eski Bağlar, Güllük, Yeni Bağlar, and Yeni Güllük districts near the railway and Sümerbank factories were developed on the northwest side.

One critical outcome of rapid urbanization was the housing shortage that occurred after 1950. This problem was also outlined by the authorities in *Ayın Tarihi*: "The reason for this is obvious. Eskişehir has grown very quickly in a very short time. There is a housing crisis. We agree to help these citizens to own a house, even if they are tenants."[233] Apart from rapid population growth and urbanization, another significant parameter for the housing shortage was the 1950 flood disaster, which occurred because Eskişehir was on a flood plain. According to observers of the flood, because of "the melted snow on the mountains in addition to torrential rain, Sarısu, connected to Porsuk River, overflowed and invaded the central and northern districts."[234]

The flood led to a serious destruction of the urban environment, tallied in *Cumhuriyet*: "six brick and tile, one glass, one steel factories, and two thousand houses were totally destroyed; and one thousand five hundred houses were submerged and gradually demolished from their foundations. Thirty five thousand inhabitants became homeless, and almost 80 percent of these people were workers."[235] (Figure 2.82) This destruction greatly contributed to the housing shortage. Construction was begun on the Seylap district, adding a thousand houses to the north side of the city.

---

[233] "Bunun sebebi de, acıktır. Eskişehir, çok kısa bir zamanda çok büyümüştür. Mesken buhranı vardır. Kiracıda olsa bu vatandaşları birer meskene sahip kılmak için kendilerine yardım etmeyi kabul ediyoruz."

Ayın Tarihi, March 1950.

[234] Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*, 79.

[235] Cumhuriyet. 1954. "Eskişehir'de Yıkılan Evlerin Sayısı 2000'i Geçti: Yıkılması Muhtemel olan Daha 1500den Fazla Ev Var." *Cumhuriyet* 26, no.9187 (March): 1-3-6.

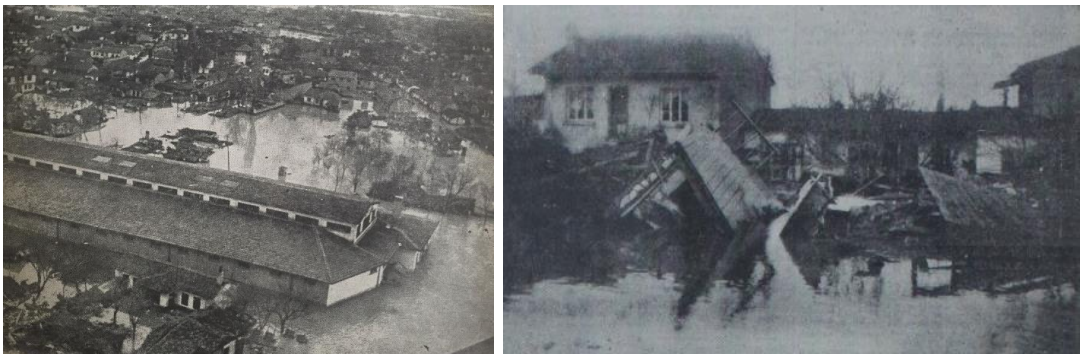


Figure 2. 82 The day after the flood disaster, showing the Bağlar region (Güngörür 1952) and destruction caused by the flood disaster (Cumhuriyet 1954)

The role of the disaster in the transformation of the urban environment was emphasized in the urban memoir *Eskişehir*, "After the great flood in Eskişehir, the urban environment became more developed, the roads were expanded, and the single-storey buildings began to be replaced by new and modern buildings. Today, modern buildings rise in Eskişehir, commercial buildings are established, and industrial life is constantly improving."[236] Within the framework of the Marshall Plan, the relative improvement in the welfare of society allowed increased housing production.[237]

Because of the flow of immigrants into the city and especially into the factories compounded by the flood disaster, the need for housing was accelerated, which led to both planned and patchy housing production. The integrated morphology of the city started to change, and people settled in the areas near the industrial complexes. Within the housing cooperative model, a new type of living that was different from the Republican period began to be developed. Due to the expansive state-owned factories and the lack of housing for the industrial subjects, the cooperative model was initiated around the factories, beginning with Osmangazi, Ertuğrulgazi, and Gökmeydan. This model was later applied by diverse professional groups in the city, such as military officials, security, and the air force.

During the 1950s and 1960s, workers responded to the massive housing deficit by constructing illegal settlements throughout the country. Squatter dwellings were built

[236] Yalçın, *Eskişehir.*

[237] Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, *Eskişehir Sanayi: Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını*, 147.

in Şarhöyük and Esentepe by workers who were seriously affected by the housing crisis. As the number of slums in the city increased, *775 sayılı Gecekondu Kanunu* (Slum Law No. 775) was enacted in 1966, and accordingly, the municipality declared that Gündoğdu, Bağlarderesi, Erenköy, Şarhöyük, Zafer, Esentepe, Şirintepe, and Büyükdere were slum areas.

Between 1950 and 1980, the macroform of the city was initially changed by the decisions of the development plan and the creation of highways; then the 1965 *Kat Mülkiyet Kanunu* (Flat Property Act) led to further changes. Following the establishment of the Republic, one- or two-storey privately owned dwellings were

constructed due to the availability of vacant lands around the existing settlements. In line with the Flat Property Act, one- and two-storey dwellings were demolished in Sakarya, Muttalıp, Yunusemre, İsmet İnönü, Cengiz Topel Street. In their place, eight-storey attached apartment buildings were constructed, and every storey had different owners. These apartments came to dominate the city's skyline.

These developments in the urban context between 1930 and 1980, were formed through the intricate network of relations among industrialization, urbanization and population growth. While the early period of the Republic between 1923 and 1950 formed a modern Anatolian industrial city dominated by statist policies, the years after 1950 were the period in which industrialization and urbanization gained momentum through the influence of liberal tendencies. While urbanization was a prevalent phenomenon in both periods, it is possible to conclude that the urbanization after the 1950s progressed within a different paradigm that included multiple factors such as consumer practice, collectivity, and housing development. During this period, the city grew rapidly and passed through phases of construction as residential settlements were built around the industrial establishments. Industrialization not only created a fragmented urban terrain but also introduced new cultural, financial and consumer services to the city. In line with this fragmentation, the urban environment in Eskişehir was progressively specialized by a myriad of functions contained within a particular architectural form. (Figure 2.83, 2.84)

Figure 2. 83 Urban map indicating the development of the city in 1975 (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975 and documents sourced from the Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive)

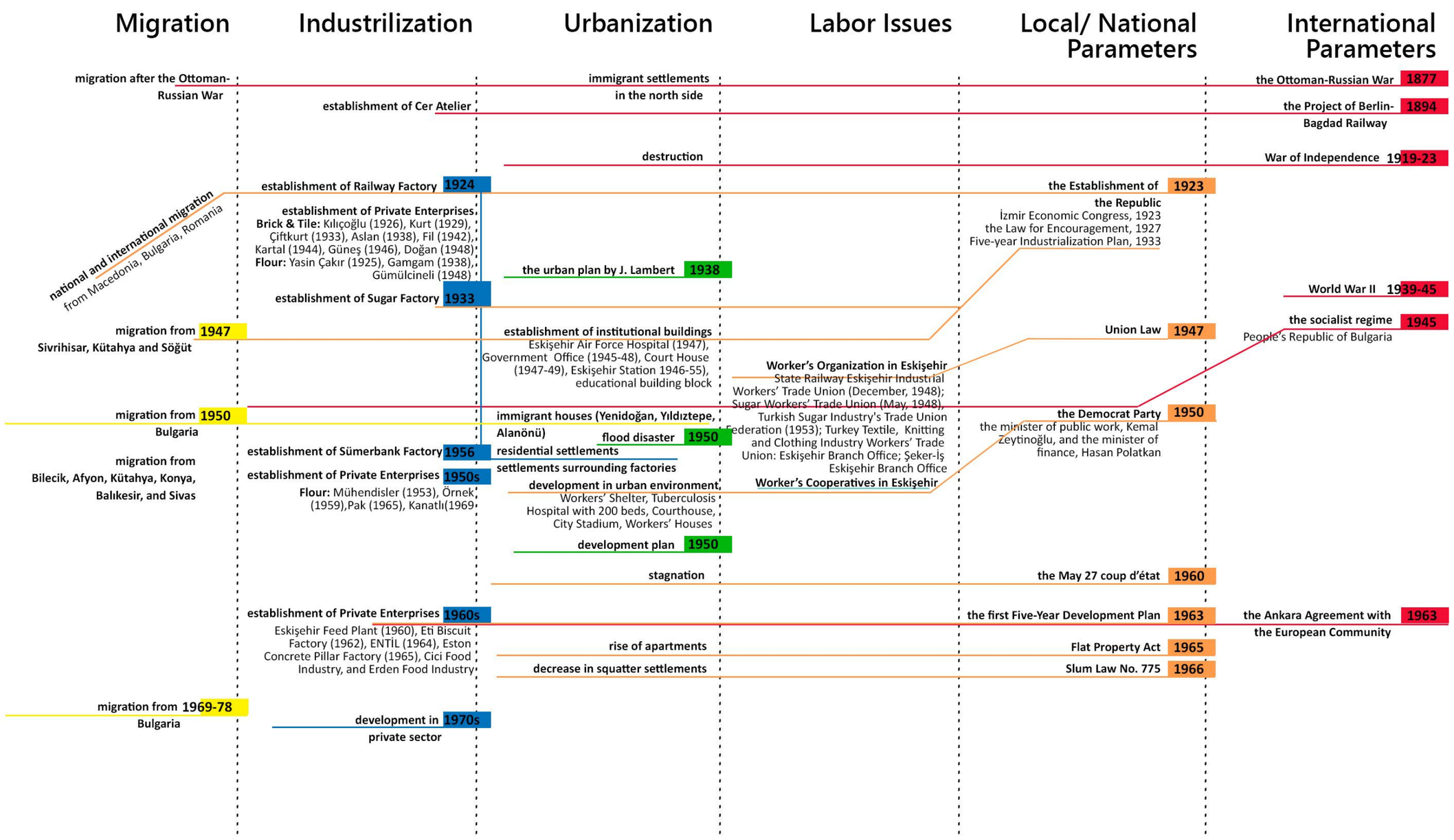


Figure 2. 84 The timeline between 1923 and 1980 (adapted by the author from the archival research and historic documents)

2.3. Policies Concerning Industry and the Labor Force in Turkey

The relation between the workers and the state that developed through industry and the policies resulting from industry is divided into five main themes: new industrial methods, trade union policy, housing policy, industrial training policy and health policy.

2.3.1. The Emergence of New Industrial Methods

According to the architectural historian and theoretician Mary Mcleod, "Taylorism, popularized in the first years of the century, was a method of labor discipline and plant organization based upon ostensibly scientific investigations of labor efficiency and incentive systems."[238] The scientific management, associated with Taylorism, was introduced to Turkey with the state-owned development in the 1930s and became a prevailing phenomenon in the 1940s. The continuity of production with the highest efficiency was the key objective of industrial developers. Main principles to provide this objective, such as rationalization, standardization, specialization, efficient production, industrial order, and social arrangement, were apparent in industrial spatial designs.

Taylorism appeared in the literature of industrial production and economy under the name of rationalization and labor division. Beginning from the 1930s, considerable literature was published by the state for presenting rationalization: *Devlet Teşkilatı ve Rasyonalizasyon* (State Organization and Rationalization, 1949) by Gıyassettin Akdeniz, Undersecretary of the Treasury, and *Rasyonalizasyon ve İnkılap* (Rationalization and Revolution, 1937) by the Ministry of Finance. Rationalization was a concept also discussed in the publications of the General Directorate of Turkish Railways. Hüsamettin Berkes in his book (1947), *Endüstride Ölçülük-Rasyonalizasyon: En Yüksek Verimle Çalışma ve Metot ve Prensipleri* (Proportionality and Rationalization: Working with the Highest Efficiency and Methods and Principles) explained the principles of Taylor's production, labor division between

[238] Mcleod, "Architecture or Revolution": Taylorism, Technocracy, and Social Change," 133.

official, chief, and manager, efficient worker, and wage policy. Railway Directorate was the first institution that introduced Taylor's mechanisms. American experts were transferred to work on the issue of job definition in 1948. The training courses, based on the job definition, were also operated in the railway factory.[239] These experts underlined the importance of rationalization in the industrial development of Turkey. The peasant origins of industrial workers increased the importance of regulated industrial rhythm by rationalization. Through this concept, workers were molded technically and socially as a wheel of the machine through scientific management and training.

The state-owned industries in Turkey were established with expansive production areas with many employees and machines. This spatial organization required uninterrupted and efficient production areas where production sequences and labor division were integrated. The industrial workplace, produced according to the machinery specific to diverse production types, consisting of broad open spaces. The division of production spaces was regulated according to the scientifically specialized tasks, the allocation of roles, and their placement. Expansive size and diversity of production were regulated by the division of work, responsibilities, and specialization. The objective was to provide "the right man in the right place."[240] Labor division, emerged by the scientific training, improved the specialization in the profession.

2.3.2. Trade Union Policy

During the mid-1940s, the labor population grew as a result of the statist industrial policy in the 1930s and the economic growth in Turkey after the Second World War. At the same time, the migration from rural to urban areas, which produced an urbanized labor force, originated in parallel to diverse social, economic and political parameters: the mechanization of agriculture, the fragmentation of rural lands, and the

[239] Erdem, "ELMS'de Eğitim ve Öğretim Faaliyetleri," 7-8.

[240] Gıyasettin Akdeniz, "Devlet Teşkilatı ve Rasyonalizasyon," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 9, no. 1-2 (1949): 55-72.

construction of roads.[241]

As outlined by sociologist and writer Oya Baydar, one of the major determinants of the period was the economic policies, which caused poverty and difficult living conditions for workers and thus led to the spread of the trade union movement among this group.[242] Yıldırım Koç, an important researcher who studies the conceptual framework of the discourse of the labor movement in Turkey, determined that the motivations of this workers' movement were the economic development, the increased workforce, and the dense population of workers becoming the voters in parliamentary order within the conditions of the Cold War.[243] Koç emphasized that the Cold War, as a critical juncture in the World, developed an ideological conflict that led to the division between the Soviet Bloc and the USA. This ideological division produced new policies and divisions in the union movement and, as a result, formed the concept of the welfare state toward the end of 1946. The 1945 United Nations Charter, prepared in the Conference of San Francisco, resulted in the transition to a multi-party system and an outward-oriented economy in Turkey.[244] The Democrat Party adopted this liberal approach and developed private enterprise and private funds rather than the former statist practices.

The problems and needs of workers within the social, economic, and political context in Turkey resulted in concerns about their position, raised initially by themselves and later by the state. Labor lawyer Tahsin Atakan encapsulated this inevitable process in the journal *Eskişehir İşçi Postası*:

> In the last four or five years, there has been an observable union movement. Workers are coming together, and unions are being established to discuss the problems and requests of workers. Finally, a number of legislations have been formed to protect the workers' rights. This matter, which had been considered

[241] Hüseyin Tarık Şengül, *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar* (İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı, 2001), 76.

[242] Oya Baydar, *75 yılda Çarkları Döndürenler* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları,1999).

[243] Yıldırım Koç, *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık Hareketi Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2003).

[244] Zafer Toprak, "1946 Sendikacılığı, Sendika Gazetesi, İşçi Sendikaları, Birlikleri ve İşçi Klüpleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 6, no. 31 (July 1996): 19- 29.

> an unpleasant topic to discuss, inevitably influences the social structure of the country, and the political parties and their governments in power have to deal directly with the workers.[245]

In this context, the Democrat Party, constituted on January 7, 1946, included workers' issues in their party's program. Article six in the party program clarified that it was a necessity for workers and farmers to establish societies, cooperatives, and trade unions for professional, social, and economic purposes. Further, *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar* stated that the government supported the development of trade unionism in Turkey, and assistance was provided for issues such as constructing buildings and providing textual material during the formation of unions.[246] Nevertheless, workers' increasing population made them dominant figures in the election process, and the efforts of workers to make their voice heard forced politicians to address their concerns in their party's programs.

Although workers were the country's producers, they experienced poor conditions. Thus, they wanted to raise their standard of living, regulate their working conditions and hours, express themselves about social and political issues, expand their culture, and participate in the development of the country.[247] According to Kemal Sülker, an eminent unionist, journalist and researcher on the comprehensive history of the labor movement in Turkey, the union, as a continuous and democratic organization, protected these rights and interests.[248]

Beginning in 1946, legal regulations accelerated the development of workers' organizations. After the establishment of the Democrat Party, the Ministry of Labor was constituted on June10, 1946, and the prohibition of the establishment of a society was abolished in *Cemiyetler Kanunu* (the Association Law). This law covered the establishment of organizations based on class-based systems. As a result of this

---

[245] Tahsin Atakan, "İşçi Mevzuunun Düşündürdükleri," Eskişehir İşçi Postası 1, no. 3 (December 1, 1951): 1.

[246] Çalışma Vekaleti, *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar* (Ankara: Çalışma Vekaleti, 1957).

[247] İsmail Suakar, "Sendika Nedir?," *Çalışanlar* 1,no.1 (August 1, 1965): 4.

[248] Kemal Sülker, *Türkiye'de Sendikacılık* (İstanbul: Sendika Kültürü Serisi, 1955).

development, the trade unions began to organize the Turkish socialists to establish a legal political party that would implicitly serve the working class. The main characteristic of the union movement in 1946 was its independence from the ruling party due to its leftist approach.[249] After the creation of Association Law, the state decided that these organizations could not be controlled within this realm of freedom, and as a precaution, the Law No. 5018 on Unions and Trade Unions of Labor and Employer was adopted on February 20, 1947. In order to provide controlled unionism, the right to strike and lockout was abolished by the 1947 Union Law. [250] Zafer Toprak asserted that politics and social objectives should be kept separate in trade unionism, and that the trade union as an institution was formed as a result of economic and social conflicts between workers and employers. However, the union was neither a non-profit economic entity nor a socialist party. Joint economic enterprises in the first category were called co-operatives, which were social and economic enterprises.[251]

In 1952, the progress of the workers' movement continued within the establishment of the confederation system based on professional federations. In accordance with this process, Türk-iş was formed, which resulted in an increase in the number of trade unions from 88 to 377 in the 7 years between 1950 and 1957.[252] The 1960 coup d'état and the new constitution granted the workers the right to strike and form labor agreements.[253] On July 24, 1963, Trade Union Law No. 274 and Collective Bargaining, Strikes and Lockout Laws No. 275 were enacted. Through these laws, the regulation of these rights was provided, and more independent trade unionism in Turkey was established.[254] Nevertheless, collective bargaining agreements had been signed in Turkey before 1963 as well.[255] Beginning in the second half of the 1960s,

[249] Toprak, "1946 Sendikacılığı, Sendika Gazetesi, İşçi Sendikaları, Birlikleri ve İşçi Klüpleri," 19- 29.

[250] Koç, *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık Hareketi Tarihi.*

[251] Toprak, "1946 Sendikacılığı, Sendika Gazetesi, İşçi Sendikaları, Birlikleri ve İşçi Klüpleri," 19- 29.

[252] Çalışma Vekaleti, *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*.

[253] Koçak, "50'leri İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumunun Kritik Bir Uğrağı Olarak Yeniden Okumak," 71.

[254] DYF-İŞ, *Sendikalının El Kitabı,* (Ankara: Nam Matbaacılık, 1971).

[255] Koç, *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık Hareketi Tarihi.*

the trade union movement in Turkey accelerated in a combative and independent manner. The attempts by the union law to prevent this development were met with reactions from the workers. Although workers' organizations stagnated on March 12, 1971, the period between 1975 and 1980 played a significant role in the achievement of workers' rights.[256]

The development of workers' organizations between 1946 and 1980 was considered from different perspectives by the researchers. Yıldırım Koç[257] and M. Şehmus Güzel[258] presented a Marxist-oriented perspective, emphasizing the political content of unionism. They marked the revolution of May 27, 1960 as the beginning of the trade union movement and, accordingly, put forward that the trade union movement did not produce much benefit for workers without the right to strike. Hakan Koçak attached fundamental importance to the years between 1947 and 1960, and stated that the dynamics of the workers' movement could not be solely limited by political and ideological parameters, even though these were important inputs for the workers' movement to create social change. Although the political framework was deficient in the 1950s, this period represented the beginning of the workers' cooperation, as they gathered to consider the development of their living standards, housing needs, and social welfare. Many unaddressed questions and weaknesses within the labor movement became visible amidst the complex dynamics of this period. Rather than considering 1960 as a rupture, Koçak viewed the process as a whole.[259] Yüksel Akkaya also confirmed this approach, stating that the unionism between 1947 and 1960 marked the beginning of the union movement, as it allowed workers to accumulate experience for the next period, despite the lack of the right to strike and form collective agreements.[260] Political and legislative matters are directly linked with social needs, and because of that, it is important to consider that the political and economic

[256] Oya Baydar, *Türkiye'de Sendikacılık Hareketi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998).

[257] Yıldırım Koç, "İşçi Hakları ve Sendikacılık," *11.Tez*, no. 5 (February 1987): 32-75.

[258] M. Şehmus Güzel, *Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketi 1908-1984* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1996), 166.

[259] Koçak, "50'leri İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumunun Kritik Bir Uğrağı Olarak Yeniden Okumak," 74-83.

[260] Yüksel Akkaya, "Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık-1(Kısa Özet)," *Praksis*, no. 5 (Winter 2002): 131- 176.

breakpoints are shaped within social dynamics rather than seeing these dynamics as being driven solely by the legal regulations and economic policies.

2.3.3. Issues Concerning Housing Policy

Industrialization was a response to the ever-increasing needs of society that resulted in lower costs and improved production principles. It brought about material wellbeing as well as critical social problems in industrial countries. In line with mechanization and the demand for labor, population migrations from rural to industrial areas emerged, which formed groups of workers in urban centers. Initially, workers were subject to the will of their employers, leading to conflicts between the two actors. Therefore, a number of ideas and studies were produced to ensure social justice, and workers' efforts were adapted in accordance with the context of each country. In Turkey, as labor issues gained prominence, laws, regulations, and acts were produced to regulate labor dynamics. One of these measures was social insurance. In Turkey, the Institution of Worker's Insurance was constituted on July 1, 1946 in order to secure the livelihood, health, and future of workers. (Figure 2.85) The Worker's Insurance Institution established a fundamental bedrock for the formation of a social state that consisted of employers and representative workers in equal number. Furthermore, the institution established hospitals, sanatoriums, dispensaries, and health centers in various cities.[261] This was the initial phase of the worker-oriented social state, which brought workers together under the umbrella of social security.

Figure 2. 85 The General Directorate of Labor in Ankara (İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu 1954)

[261] Cahit Talas, "Sosyal Sigortalarımız Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 11, no. 2 (1956): 1-17.

İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu, *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?* (Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. O. Matbaası, 1954).

Urbanization within the growing population in the urban areas made the housing shortage an important issue for the social economy, particularly for those with low income and fee-earners.[262] The housing problem was more critical for the newcomers to the city, who demanded low-cost housing. The housing crisis after the Second World War led to the creation of squatter settlements with different names in different countries: in England, they were "slums;" in Germany, they were "*elendviertel*;" and in France, they were "*taudis*." One of the most important reasons for the formation of squatter settlements was industrialization, which increased the mobility of the population. The majority of workers settled in areas with problematic sanitary conditions. Therefore, the workers' housing issue was seen as a matter of saving inhabitants with low income from the slums. This problematic condition led to workers' housing with sanitary facilities becoming one of the main objectives of social policy. The provision of housing with basic conditions was included in national legislation and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[263] In fact, workers' unsafe dwellings led states to deal with the issue of housing.

2.2.3.1. Housing Cooperatives

In Turkey, the number of industrial employees' dwellings with a basic comfort level including electricity, water, bath, toilet, and kitchen, were limited in big cities, apart from the lodging blocks, called *Hizmet Evi* (service house), that were built by state-owned industrial establishments such as Sümerbank and Etibank. It was therefore necessary to design a public housing policy, and to cover workers' housing under the framework of overall housing politics.

The initial regulation covering low-cost housing was enacted in 1930 and required the building of cheap municipal dwellings. However, this law was inapplicable due to an article that defined the construction of low-cost buildings as an optional activity. Furthermore, there was no fund reserved for this construction, unlike obligatory

[262] Sait Kandan, *Ucuz Mesken Kredisi (Muhtelif Memleketlerde ve Türkiye'de)* (Ankara: Başvekalet Devlet Matbaası, 1953).

[263] Ali Özcan Kaya, *Cumhuriyet Devrinde Mesken Meselesi* (Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü, 1961).

building activities such as constructing stadiums and leisure spaces.[264] Law No. 5228 on Promotion of Building Construction, enacted on June 28, 1948, developed as a solution to the problem of land provision in the process of housing construction. This law provided for the transfer of unallocated lands to the municipalities over tax value, thereafter to be sold to the cooperatives over their cost:

> …the land which is not allocated for a distinct purpose, shall be transferred to the municipalities on the condition that their values are paid in ten years and ten equal installments over the last value of the land tax base. These lands will be distributed to the citizens with certain conditions by lot. The construction should be started within one year and be completed within two years by the landowners.[265]

In addition, construction materials were tax exempt and ease of transportation was provided.

The severe housing crisis, the unhealthy housing standards, and the growth of slums led political parties to discuss housing as a social policy. In 1947, the Democrat Party included a low-cost housing policy in Article 88 of its party program: "We will improve the nutrition, clothing and housing conditions of the citizens with low-income."[266] It was evident in the symbolic motto of the 1954 election, "Her işçiye bir ev" (a roof for every worker), that the Democrat Party was concerned with the primary demands of the workers and focused on the housing issue as its key strategy.[267] (Figure 2.86) After World War II, the authorities of many countries included housing issues in their political programs and doctrines, and housing became one of the vital requirements of citizens. The Democrat Party's program was accepted in the 7th General Assembly, which took place between November 17 and December 4, 1947. The Assembly extensively covered the housing problem and provided supportive measures on the formation of building plan schemes while considering local building

[264] Fehmi Yavuz, *Memleketimizde Sosyal Güvenliğin Gelişmesi* (Ankara: İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü, 1952).

[265] Sait Kandan, *Ucuz Mesken Kredisi (Muhtelif Memleketlerde ve Türkiye'de).*

[266] Demokrat Parti, *Demokrat Parti Tüzük ve Programı* (Ankara: Güneş Matbaacılık, 1952).

[267] Kemal Sülker, *Sendikacılar ve Politika* (İstanbul: May Yayınları, 1975), 90.

materials and regulations, reserving land for the establishment of low-cost housing, and encouraging the establishment of housing cooperatives. The party planned to provide low-cost land, building materials, and long-term low interest rates and to strengthen the financial and technical resources of the Real Estate Credit Bank while receiving support from cooperatives. In order to bond the workers to their home and work, areas to build small houses with gardens were reserved in the cities, where industry would be established. This construction also sought to avoid separating the workers, who had been peasants, from the soil.[268] This approach aimed to help the workers, who had previously been farmers, adapt to new working conditions by respecting their daily habits and their agricultural roots.[269] Architect Orhan Alsaç argued that workers should have a house with a garden in order to improve their living standards. It was felt that the workers in industrialized countries could overcome the class struggle if they were made landowners and homeowners.[270]

Figure 2. 86 A Democrat Party poster (Microfilm Archive of the National Library)

The leaders of the Democrat Party worked on this issue. Hasan Polatkan, Democrat Minister of Labor and Eskişehir Deputy, and Hulusi Köymen, Minister of Defense,

[268] Emiroğlu and Ünsal, *Kentleşme, Yapı ve Konut, 1923- 1950 Dönemi*.

İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi, 1996).

[269] Bilge İmamoğlu, "Workers' Housing Projects by Seyfi Arkan in the Zonguldak Coalfield: A Case of Modernization in Early Republican Turkey" (master's thesis, METU, 2003), 133.

[270] Orhan Alsaç, "İşçi Evlerine Dair," *Çalışma Dergisi*, no. 2 (November 1945): 50-51.

considered the workers' problem and tried to address the shortage of workers' housing through the design of houses with two or three rooms.[271] Historian Barış Alp Özden considered this attempt unrealistic since it did not secure financial support from the government.[272] A legal proposal on building low-cost houses with sanitary conditions was formed by Professor Dr. Nihat Reşat Belger, the Health Minister and Istanbul Deputy, and circulated to the Commission. This proposal discussed the construction of low-cost rental houses as well as low-cost housing cooperatives and considered possible funding, such as credits from the banks and tax exemptions.[273] Minister of Labor Hayrettin Erkmen also focused on the housing shortage and supported the idea of workers building cooperatives to meet their financial and material needs. Hayrettin Erkmen worked to better understand these needs and stated that "10,000 houses will be built for the workers in various regions of the country in 1954."[274]

Workers' trade unions were the key actors in the formation of housing cooperatives. They worked to secure legal and financial support, select the architect, and serve as a mediator between the workers and the state and its institutions. Housing was the main issue that unionized workers were concerned about. In Turkey, with significant support from the Real Estate Credit Bank, the Cooperative Housing movement was formed by the cooperatives, whose partners were also members of the trade unions.[275] The cooperative was a social institution and a private entity. The journal *Emre* underlined the social role of the cooperatives: "Multiple requirements of modern economic society and difficulties in provision of them led to unite individuals around a common purpose." Cooperatives existed as diverse institutions specialized in different areas such as consumption and housing. Consumer cooperatives were organized in 1941 due to the rising price of consumer goods. Housing cooperatives were established by

[271] Faik Ahmet Fenik, "İşçileri Süratle Tatmin Etmeliyiz," *Zafer* 2, no. 600 (December 1950): 1-4.

[272] Barış Alp Özden, "Health, Morality and Housing: The Politics of Working Class Housing in Turkey, 1945-1960," *New Perspectives on Turkey* no. 49 (September 2013): 91-120.

[273] Kandan, *Ucuz Mesken Kredisi (Muhtelif Memleketlerde ve Türkiye'de).*

[274] İş Yolu, "Sakarya Bölgesi Federasyonunun kurduğu Eskişehir İşçi Evleri Yapı Kooperatifi Faaliyete Geçti," *İş Yolu* 1, no. 14 (January 24, 1954): 1.

[275] Kandan, *Ucuz Mesken Kredisi (Muhtelif Memleketlerde ve Türkiye'de).*

people who wanted to own a home but could not afford to do so on their own; the cooperative provided them with personal credits against the mortgage of their land.[276] This use of low-cost housing credits was very popular, not only in large cities like Ankara and Istanbul but also within the building cooperatives that were being established across the country.

In 1944, the Law on the Housing for the Civil Servants, a regulation on class-based housing, was enacted and civil servants' cooperative housing emerged. Early designs for civil servants' housing cooperatives in the 1940s, such as "Bahçeli Evler," "Güven Evleri," and "Tasarruf Evleri" in Ankara, were not standardized according to family size, which resulted in an unbalanced distribution of housing credits. (Figure 2.87) The gap in housing regulations led to the building of luxury dwellings that were unaffordable for workers with low-income.[277] This approach was criticized by the architects and researchers of the period, and these settlements were labeled as "capitalist cooperatives" constructed for investment.[278] Architect Zeki Sayar emphasized the need for low-cost cooperatives built for workers, similar to those in Germany. Subsistence[279] cooperatives had to be proposed to replace capitalist cooperatives to address the difficult living conditions.

Figure 2. 87 Ankara Bahçeli Evler Cooperative (La Turquie Kemaliste 1943)

[276] Ali Fuat Bahçeli, "Tarım Kredi ve Satış Kooperatifleri," *Emre*, no. 17 (September 1965): 11-12.

[277] Zeki Sayar, "Şu Mesken Davamız," *Arkitekt* 25, no. 283 (1956): 3-4.

[278] Muhlis Ete, "Türkiye'nin Mesken Davası ve Siyaseti," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (1947): 84-117.

Zeki Sayar, "Müşterek İkametgahlar," *Arkitekt*, no. 3 (March 1931): 97-98.

[279] The term "subsistence" is used in the text to refer to "the state of having what you need in order to stay alive, but no more."

During the First and Second Cooperatives Congress (the *Türkiye Birinci Yapı Kooperatifleri Kongresi* in 1944 and the *İkinci Kooperatifçilik Kongresi* in 1947), the problem of housing cooperative was discussed by the draft law.[280] Nafiz Oytun, a representative of the Ankara State Railway Housing Cooperative, prepared a report consisting of seventeen articles under the motto "yurt içinde her yurttaş için bir yuva" (a home for every citizen in the country).[281] The provision of credit and land as well as organizational problems were also highlighted in this report. Zeki Sayar emphasized the insufficient credit distribution to low-cost houses caused by the lack of standardization according to family size.[282]

Workers' housing cooperatives became widespread within the provision of the low-cost housing credit by the Worker's Insurance Institution. The first one was Kayseri Sümer Housing Cooperative. (Figure 2.88) By the end of 1956, about 10,000 workers had become homeowners. Workers' housing cooperatives became more widespread in the 1960s and 1970s.[283]

Figure 2. 88 Kayseri Sümer Housing Cooperative (İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu 1954)

[280] Nafiz H. Oytun, "Teşkilatlı Kooperatifçilik," *Demiryolları Dergisi* 272-274 (1948): 25-27.

Nafiz H. Oytun, "İmar Politikamızda Yapı Davası," *Demiryollar Dergisi*, no. 239-240-241 (1945): 47-51.

[281] Oytun, "Teşkilatlı Kooperatifçilik," 26.

[282] Sayar, "Şu Mesken Davamız," 3-4.

[283] Koç, *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık Hareketi Tarihi*.

The Worker's Insurance Institution began to offer housing credits to the cooperatives through a financial agency after the 1950s. Emlak ve Eytam Bankası (Housing Credit and Orphans Bank), established on June 3, 1926, transformed into the Real Estate Credit Bank and offered subsidized credit for housing in 1946. Financial support for housing was provided by this establishment. The principles of the low-cost housing credit were determined in Article 11 of the Law as follows:

> Those who do not themselves or through their spouse own a house in the same city or town can establish co-operatives for housing. The mortgage can be up to 75 percent of the construction cost determined by the Turkish Real Estate Credit Bank with up to a 5 percent interest rate determined by the Ministry of Finance in order to build a house.[284]

The cooperative housing model for workers was established by the formation of financial institutions that provided credit, rather than through state financing, and accordingly it functioned as a self-help method. (Figure 2.89)

In 1949, the General Directorate of Labor Insurance started to offer credits for workers' housing through the Insurance of Old Age Act:

> It is determined that the credit is opened at the rate of 50 percent of the value of the real estate for the construction of housing for the insured persons under the mortgage of these dwellings… and those who want to benefit from the housing credit should establish a cooperative… 80 percent of the appraised value is given to the cooperatives, which will buy the land by the Real Estate Credit Bank. The credit to the Workers' Building Cooperative is given with 4 percent interest and 20 years maturity date.[285]

The amount of credits was estimated according to the cost of the land and the construction.

The interest applied on housing credits for workers' cooperative housing was 4 percent, and this credit was drawn from the accumulated Age Insurance Fund. The

[284] Yavuz, *Memleketimizde Sosyal Güvenliğin Gelişmesi*.

[285] T. C. Resmi Gazete, *İhtiyarlık Sigortası Kanunu (Insurance of the Old Age), no. 7227* (Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1949).

amount listed in the public legislation is lower because the workers needed more financial assistance in accordance with their problematic living standards and their low income.[286] Although this law was enacted in 1949, workers' housing cooperatives could flourish only after 1953 due to financial reasons as the accumulated credits from the insurance needed to reach a certain amount. From 1954 to 1957, the number of subsidized housing units built increased from 1,169 to 10,000.

Figure 2. 89 Worker's house in Turkey (*Hürbilek* Journal 1957)

The following conditions were applied to receive credit from the housing insurance fund:

- The establishment of a cooperative is required.
- The cooperative status, to be established, should be designed in accordance with the type status formed by the institution.
- Partners should be workers and janitors who are subject to old age insurance. [287]

In 1954, *Bina Yapımını Teşvik ve İzinsiz yapılan Binalar hakkında Kanun* (the Law on Building Construction and Unauthorized Buildings)[288] was promulgated, which encouraged the workers in the state-owned factories to participate in housing cooperatives.

[286] Yavuz, *Memleketimizde Sosyal Güvenliğin Gelişmesi*.

[287] İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu, *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.

[288] T. C. Resmi Gazete, *Bina Yapımını Teşvik ve İzinsiz yapılan Binalar hakkında Kanun (the Law on Building Construction and Unauthorized Buildings), no. 8470* (Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1953).

Sait S. Kandan, a member of the administrative council of the Turkish Real Estate Credit Bank, in his seminal publication *Ucuz Mesken Kredisi (Muhtelif Memleketlerde ve Türkiye'de* (1953), compared the financial and administrative dimensions of housing in Turkey with other countries, and asserted that Turkey's problems were a result of the lack of institutional integration and national policy. This was also asserted in the chapter "İşçi Meskenleri:"

> Today, Social Insurance, the Ministry of Zoning and Settlement, and municipal and private administrations are dealing with housing question. However, if the state handles this work within an independent institution and integrates social insurance, retirement funds, zoning and settlement facilities under this institution, the result can be more prosperous. This institution, to be established, will determine the types of dwellings according to local determinants and search for low-cost building material.[289]

The architect for the American Aid Committee, Bernard Wagner, also underlined the need for an institution such as a Central Housing Organization or National Housing Directorate and the need for a national housing policy that would coordinate the housing construction. The establishment of a Housing Ministry was also suggested in *Türk İskân ve İmar Kongresi* in 1955.[290] The mission of this institution was comprehensively encapsulated by Wagner as provision, coordination and control of building materials, regulation of standards and instructions, formation of new financial methods, collaboration between institutions, and provision of research programs. In order to resolve technical, administrative, and financial issues within the draft of a Law on Workers' Housing Institution (see Appendix B), the constitution of the Workers' Housing Institution was presented to the Grand National Assembly by Eskişehir Deputy Muhtar Başkurt. Mümtaz Tarhan, the Minister of Labor, stated that Güvenbank (Trust Bank) would be established with 300 million capital and include the entire community of workers.[291] However, the establishment of this institution remained only a legislative framework and was not implemented.

---

[289] Kaya, *Cumhuriyet Devrinde Mesken Meselesi*.

[290] Bernard Wagner, "Türkiye'de Mesken Meselesi I," *Arkitekt* 2, no. 285 (1956): 79-80.

[291] *Ayın Tarihi*, January 1957.

The economic crisis that emerged in the 1950s led to limited financial capacity and restricted flexibility in thought and design in Turkey.[292] Standardization and rationality were the only available tools for the creation of an extensive number of houses. As a result of these social and economic boundaries, the 1949 Old Age Security Act No. 31 and the 1964 Public Housing Standards were promulgated to create standards for sanitary, affordable, and adequate housing. Building more moderate houses and building more houses with the same amount of funds were the main solutions for the housing problem. These regulations limited the maximum size of low-cost housing, making it similar to post-war housing standards in other countries. Standardization and mass production in architecture were considered to be manifestations of the machine age.

From land provision to building construction, housing design was directly influenced by financial parameters. As architect Abidin Mortaş explained, "No matter how modest and unpretentious, there is no need to explain and prove that building an individual house will cost much more than the houses built in series. As a result of such discussions, the idea of building a low-cost house by coming together and establishing building cooperatives emerged."[293] The difficult economic conditions led to the design of standardized houses that maximized internal space by minimizing the number of rooms. In fact, the number of rooms had already been economized as a result of the state's lending assistance program, which set specific limits on the space.

Therefore, architects had to consider economics in the design of their buildings. Accordingly, in addition to the usage area in the home, materials and construction techniques had to be standardized.

As a result of the standardization of scale and the limited financial resources, architecture was shaped by a rational and "anti-snobbish" design, creating buildings that were the direct expression of their function. This functionality did not only mean

[292] Tekeli, *Sanayi Toplumu İçin Sanayi Yazıları*, 250.

[293] Abidin Mortaş, "Az Para ile Ev Yapmak ve Bizde Kooperatifçilik," *Arkitekt* 03-04, no. 147-148 (March-April 1944): 90-92.

"the full use of modern technology and its honest expression in design," but also "a scientific approach to human needs and uses in programming, planning, and design," which was much "more than a style."

The standardization inspired by economic boundaries had dual effects. On one side, standardization of design and materials conformed to the *zeitgeist*, as an expression of the machine age. On a darker side, it limited "variety" and "individuality."[294] Esra Akcan outlined this contradiction:

> …the industrial age standardized the modern dwelling, made it identical and repeatable, and used architectural elements that were industrially reproducible; on the other hand, the Enlightenment ideal cherished the idea of an individual who was liberated from any transcendent power and thus in full control of his own life, an individual who could make his or her own decisions and shape his or her own future… Perhaps the hardest quandary that modern collective housing presented to some architects was how to reconcile the standardizing impact of industrialization that made mass housing possible in the first place with the modern ethics that put the free individual on a pedestal.[295]

This change was also integral to the formation of new social order, beyond rationalized technological systems and industrialized mass production.

Along with addressing the financial difficulties, it was necessary to determine minimum public housing standards and carry out tax and credit measures. The Ministry of Construction and Housing prepared its "Public Housing Standards" following the First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967). [296] Minimum standard housing at larger density was offered rather than luxury houses due to economic limitations. According to the minimum standards, the functional space was determined to be between 30.5 and 63 square meters for a family with zero to five children. (see Appendix C) This standardization led to similar standards in housing cooperatives,

---

[294] Catherine Bauer Wurster, "The Social Front of Modern Architecture in the 1930s: 1930s More Than a Style?," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24, no. 1 (March 1965): 48-52.

[295] Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (USA: Duke University Press, 2010), 246-47.

[296] İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, *İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Halk Konutları Standartları* (Ankara: İmar İskan Bakanlığı, 1964).

where a house with two bedrooms, a living room, a bath, and a kitchen had a maximum size of 63 square meters.

In 1964, the Second Turkish Labor and Building Conference took up the discussion on these standards and determined that the minimum size of workers' houses was insufficient. The maximum size was changed from 63 square meters to 100, and workers planned to go on strike rather than build houses of smaller size.

The objective of public housing standards was to ensure that worker housing met minimum health and comfort standards as opposed to the problematic conditions in the squatter settlements. It was possible that a house with a construction area of 75 square meters and a usage area of 63 square meters could meet the needs of a family with low income. Research in *İşçi Konutları ve Sosyal Standartlar* found that the minimum size of social housing was 68 square meters in France, 63.5 in West Germany, 50 in Switzerland, 50 in Spain, 55 in Finland, and 58 in the Netherlands. These usage areas were confirmed by the housing reports of foreign experts. Frederick Bath, a well-known expert in workers' housing, studied the average size of workers housing and advised more modest houses, with usage areas not exceeding 50 square meters, for the benefit of Turkish workers. This plan enabled a 60% increase in housing using the same amount of resources. In 1955, Bernard Wagner examined workers' economic interests and suggested the efficient use of materials to build more houses. Financial resources for this development had to be provided by the Institution of Labor Insurance along with other official and semi-official institutions. [297]

From the perspective of Turkish industrial policy, housing was considered to be essential for the creation of a permanent, qualified, and skilled labor force and a necessary foundation for production efficiency.[298] The seminal theoretical framework was developed on the principles of low-cost housing (ucuz mesken), affordable housing (iktisadi mesken), public housing (halk meskeni), living in a sanitary house (sıhhi evlerde oturmak), building houses for large masses (geniş halk kütlelerini

[297] Cevat Geray, "İşçi Konutları ve Sosyal Standartlar," *İş ve Sigorta* 14 (1964): 6-8.

[298] Ahmet Ali Özeken, "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," 103-130.

mesken sahibi yapmak), and a home for every family (her aileye bir ev). However, neither this architectural framework developed by national and foreign architects nor the work on European housing estates after the Second World War was applied to produce a permanent and inclusive solution to this issue. Although politicians and experts discussed these issues, there was a gap between practice and theory. The national housing policy, an efficient and rational model, was not implemented. This failure to enact effective housing production practices and mechanisms reflected the state's shortcomings in terms of administrative and economic advancement.

The first reason for this failure could be the state's attempt to control workers' organizations through restrictive trade union regulations after the 1950s. It was feared that the cooperative model with its collective living practices could bring about the formation of a class-based society. The second reason could be a lack of awareness of the different layers of society. In order for state institutions to produce inclusive social policies, the institutions first had to recognize and accept the different groups and their needs. The press frequently sought to increase workers' visibility and present their views. However, neither the bank managers nor the state institutions that worked with building cooperatives had such awareness. Zeki Sayar underlined the particular position of workers in society in 1952 and concluded that

> It is impossible to accomplish the housing issue without considering the country's real requirements, statistical information, the concept of family, and financial opportunities. Our cooperatives were still constructing the detached house model with a garden that had been left in Europe. According to universal economic and rational principles, our housing design was not prepared due to the lack of research offices. Housing credit is not distributed according to the real needs of the country.[299]

Sayar considered the detached house with a garden as an outmoded model. However, the garden was generally associated with the workers' rural origins. Because workers found it difficult to adapt to the city based on their agricultural roots, the private garden was a prevalent concept in designs for workers' housing.[300] The house with a garden

[299] Zeki Sayar, "Mesken Davasında Teşkilat," *Arkitekt* 11-12, no. 253-254 (November-December 1952): 213-214.

[300] Donald Quataert, *Workers and the working class in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, 1839-1950* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995).

aimed to ease the workers, who had previously been farmers, into new working conditions and respect their daily habits by not separating them from the soil. The workers' house with a small garden provided the tie between urban and rural and was included in the Republican People's Party program. Gustav Oelsner and Orhan Alsaç underlined the significance of this model. According to Oelsner, "The largest room of these houses are gardens. These gardens will protect the health of the inhabitants, relieve the fatigue of the work, have a positive effect on nutrition, and even feed the family."[301] Along with these approaches, Wilhelm Röpke's[302] notion of forming a new type of industrial worker by giving them land as a counter to industrial labor was emphasized. Zafer Toprak explained that the goal of the Sümerbank was to unite urban living with rural society. In this way, workers could undertake agricultural activities such as growing vegetables, raising poultry, and beekeeping in the garden in their spare time, and these activities would benefit industrial production.[303]

2.3.3.2. Design for Living for Industrial Labor Force

Towards the second decade of the twentieth century, the initial work on workers' housing emerged with the establishment of the factories in Turkey, and the emerging housing deficiency started to be searched. Towards the second half of the twentieth century, the discourse on housing increasingly associated with the notions of low-cost housing (ucuz mesken), affordable housing (iktisadi mesken), and public housing (halk meskeni) introduced by architects, architectural theorists, and foreign experts. Accordingly this issue was politically considered in the scope of the Democrat Party's housing policy for workers. Many seminal works were published to further debate on

[301] Gustav Oelsner, "Modern İskan Semti ve Şehircilik," *Arkitekt* 07-08, no. 175-176 (July-August 1946): 170.

[302] Wilhelm Röpke was one of the German economists and scientists who came to Turkey after the Nazis seized power.

Orhan Tuna, "İçtimai Siyasette Yeni Temayüller," *Çalışma*, no. 2-3 (November 1945): 16-19.

[303] Haluk Togay, "İşçi Meskenler Meselesi," *Arkitekt* 03, no. 296 (March 1959): 115-116.

the housing issue.[304] These studies not only interrogated housing deficit, living conditions, and solutions to these; but also revealed these developments as an integral part of social order and a catalyst for further socio-cultural and economic progress. The housing issue, interpreted in the architectural articles and journals such as *Arkitekt, Mimar*, *Sosyal Bilimler, İş ve Sigorta* in the former period, started to be included in the state's documents, regulations, and laws between 1950 and 1980.

While major projects were assigned to Austrian and German architects, Turkish architects, on the other hand, focused on residential works in the early Republican period. These architects discussed concepts and precepts related to modern house, such as its formations and its relations with a democratic society. The debates brought about the modern house, including the workers' home, "as a democratic product" precisely designed for the public. Architect and architectural historian Behçet Ünsal, in the article "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor", clarified that "the modern requirements are same for every individual.[305] Beauty and comfort in genuine architectural works are identical in an urban apartment, a villa, a private house, a weekend house, and a small family home. We are looking for maximum comfort and beauty even in *amele evi* (worker's house)." Cubic house, with its guise of rationality and neutrality, had to be definitely egalitarian.

Along with this egalitarian approach, the high-rise buildings in Turkey emerged due to progress in building technology and economic conditions in the post-war years. Considering the international and national tendencies, the apartment production was considered a progressive and up-to-date attempt, aided by financial and political development over the course of the mid-twentieth century. The interest in the high-rise building within International Style emerged in the United States and then integrated into Turkey's architectural context. In terms of its innovative and aesthetic

[304] For the seminal works, see: Abidin Mortaş, "Az Para ile Ev Yapmak ve Bizde Kooperatifçilik," *Arkitekt* 03-04, no. 147-148 (March-April 1944): 90-92; Muhlis Ete, "Türkiye'nin Mesken Davası ve Siyaseti," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (1947): 84-117; Ahmet Ali Özeken, "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," in *İçtimai Siyaset Konferansları, Kitap 3,* ed. İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Enstitüsü (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat ve İçtimai, 1949), 103-130; Zeki Sayar, "Mesken Davasında Teşkilat," *Arkitekt* 11-12, no. 253-254 (November-December 1952): 213-214; Bernard Wagner, "Türkiye'de Mesken Meselesi II," *Arkitekt* 3, no. 285 (1956): 119-139.

[305] Behçet Ünsal, "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor," *Arkitekt* 03-04, no. 99-100 (March-April 1939): 60-62.

character, the İstanbul Hilton Hotel (1952) became the precursor of this shift.[306] Such canonic buildings inspired modern architects and theorists and led to design with a formal canon of cubic forms, reinforced concrete, and glass shaped by ideas of functionality, practicality, simplicity, and rational construction.

2.3.4. Industrial Training Policy

The First Five-Year Plan, which introduced statist industrial development, reserved extensive funding for industrial training. It outlined the establishment of educational institutions in order to train technical staff.[307]

The professional training institutions in the industrial settlements, where the workers initially interacted with new production techniques and methods, developed within the educational emphasis of the First Five-Year Plan. Article 3457 intended to expand the professional knowledge of the apprentice, the *kalfa* (qualified workman), and the *usta* (master workman) in industrial enterprises employing more than a hundred workers. The state offered industrial training spaces and programs consisting of vestibule schools, vocational schools, training halls, knowledge transfer, printed media, and professional events.

The deficiency in the number of qualified workers in textile, machinery, lathing, and metalworking led to inefficiency in industrial production in the 1940s. In order to overcome these problems, education reform was promulgated by the Ministry of National Education in order to open vocational schools and provide employees with advanced technical knowledge. The Department of Vocational and Technical Education was established under the Ministry of National Education in 1941.[308] An

---

[306] Sibel Bozdoğan, "Democracy, Development and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," in *Modernism in the Middle East*, ed. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 117-39.

[307] T. C. Resmi Gazete, *Sınaî Müesseselerde ve Maden Ocaklarında Meslekî Kurslar Açılmasına dair Kanun No. 3457* (Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1938).

Afet İnan, *Devletçilik İlkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci Sanayi Planı 1933* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972).

[308] Sabri Oran, *Erkek Orta Sanat Okulları ve Erkek Sanat Enstitüleri* (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1952).

educational model transferred from Belgium was adopted in these schools with the inclusion of foreign experts. The vocational schools were sub-grouped under five categories: art schools for boys and men, construction master schools, tailoring schools for boys and men, commercial schools, and institutes for girls and women.

Another training method included in the First Five-Year Plan was technical training in foreign countries. The state reserved 1.2 percent of its resources for scholarships to send industrial engineers and technicians abroad for training.

2.3.5. Health Policy

As in any modern society, health, hygiene, and sanitary conditions were significant points of focus in the first years of the Republic. The state developed many health policies and crafted the motto: "a healthy mind in a healthy body." The state addressed the issue of health in an inclusive manner, including physical, mental, and moral welfare. Thus, healthy environments and leisure time were promoted in the state-owned industrial factories by various policies: *Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu* (the Public Health Law of 1930) containing Article 7 on *İşçiler Hıfzıssıhhası* (the Workers' Health), *Hafta Tatili Kanunu* (the Weekly Holidays Act of 1924), and *Ulusal Bayram ve Genel Tatiller Hakkında Kanun* (the National Holidays Act of 1935).

The constitution of the Worker's Insurance Institution in 1946 was instrumental to further policies promoting the health and welfare of industrial actors within a wide range of programs, such as home-ownership programs, health facilities, life insurance, and recreational activities. It paved the way for a new understanding of the issue of workers' health.

Law No. 5018 on Unions and Trade Unions of Labor and Employers allowed the creation of workers' organizations, which had an important role in the struggle for workers' rights. In the 1950s, parallel to the provision of workers' rights and benefits, the regulation of leisure time, holidays, and wages were significant issues in the organized workers' struggle. Later, the Democrat Party included these regulations in

its party program: *İşçilere Hafta Tatili ve Genel Tatil Günlerinde Ücret Ödenmesi Hakkında Kanun* (Law on the payment of wages for workers on Weekdays and Public holidays, passed in 1951), *Öğle Dinlenmesi Kanunu* (Law on lunch break, passed in 1954), and *Yıllık Ücretli İzin Kanunu* (Law on paid annual leave, passed in 1960).[309] These attempts not only responded to workers' needs for healthy living but also were a reaction to the poor living conditions brought about by industrialization and urbanization and acted as a catalyst for further organizational development.

2.4. The Workers' Organizations in Eskişehir: New Roles in Industry

The question of agency for industrial subjects in Eskişehir cannot be reduced to the workers or workers' organizations. Industrial employees (workers, administers, officials, engineers, janitors, and other employees) and their families (women and children), workers' organizations, state, financial, and legal institutions, architects, planners, political figures, as well as social agencies, media institutions, and critics were all actors involved in the process of securing better conditions in Eskişehir. Without the involvement of these diverse actors, a gap emerged in the network of relations in workers' organizations. Recognizing these new industrial roles that explicitly flourished between 1947 and 1980, this dissertation is grounded on everyday architecture composed of work, living, and collective spaces built and used by non-state actors, while also incorporating the state, its agencies, and other actors into this paradigm.

2.4.1. Trade Unions

The population increase in Eskişehir began with migration, the construction of the railway, and agricultural development in the nineteenth century. After 1925, the development of the state-owned factories and the deficiency in the labor force in these facilities attracted both immigration and domestic migration of an intellectual population. According to the accounts of the Directorate of Labor, the population of workers in the city, registered within the labor law, was about 40,000, and 60 percent

[309] Çalışma Vekaleti, *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*.

of this population consisted of immigrants.[310] In fact, an expansive population of workers was formed by immigration from Bulgaria and Romania between 1950 and 1955, and this population, which were settled in the Alanönü, Yıldıztepe, and Yenidoğan districts by the Housing Department of Eskişehir, became the core of the workers' movement in Eskişehir.

According to Kemal Sülker (1955), due to the Takrir-i Sükun Law of 1925, the first workers' organization established in Eskişehir, *Anadolu Bağdad Şömendöferciler Cemiyeti/ Amele Birlikleri* (Anatolian Baghdad Railway Society or Labor Union) did not show much progress in the 1920s. Their role became more evident within the workers' organizations that were established after 1946 following the Association Law. The first trade union was *Serbest Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası* (Self-Employed Industrial Workers). Until this time, the representation of workers was carried out through the concept of *işçi mümessilliği* (workers' agency), appointed by the employer. Alongside this ongoing structure, workers' organizations were derived from the industrial institutions. Under the 1947 Union Law, Eskişehir became a "regional working hub" of trade unions, and multiple trade unions were established: State Railway Eskişehir Industrial Workers' Trade Union in December 1948; Sugar Workers' Trade Union in May 1948, Turkish Sugar Industry's Trade Union Federation in 1953; and Turkey Textile, Knitting and Clothing Industry Workers' Trade Union, which had an Eskişehir branch office and a Şeker-İş Eskişehir branch office.[311]

In the 1950s, federations were formed by the integration of unions in the same profession, including the Turkish State Railway Overall Trade Union in 1950, the Turkish State Railway Workers' Trade Union Federation in 1952; and the Sugar Industry Workers Trade Union Federation in 1954.[312]

---

[310] Tunçdilek, "Eskişehir ve Şehrin Tekamülü," 35-47.

[311] Devlet Demiryolları Eskişehir Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası, *Devlet Demiryolları Eskişehir Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası Ana Tüzüğü* (Eskişehir: Sesışık Matbaası, 1948).

Türkiye Şeker Sanayi İşçileri Federasyonu, *Türkiye Şeker Sanayi İşçileri Federasyonu Ana Nizamnamesi* (Eskişehir: Hamiyet Matbaası, 1953).

[312] Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*. (1990)

A class party, *İşçi ve Çiftçi Partisi* (the Worker and Farmer Party), was even established in 1951. The objective of the party was to protect the interests of the class it represented, and to prevent the excessive abuse of workers by investors. Another objective, declared in Article 52 of the party program, was to provide for the welfare of the workers through private hospitals, nurseries, and sports and recreational spaces.[313]

In the journal *İşçinin Sesi*, journalist and doctor Tevfik Zeytinoğlu analyzed the necessity of trade unions for workers in the state-owned factories and emphasized that, although these factories offered various facilities for the welfare of workers, the workers in these factories required trade unions as well. He concluded that the establishment of unions was inevitable. In the case of conflicts, the workers' involvement in a strike might disrupt the industrial production process. In order to regulate the relations between workers and employers and the provision of social aid, wages, and work safety, the workers in all professions should be organized. In addition, the unions played a significant role in the formation of the workers' characteristics. Zeytinoğlu added, "As a matter of fact, the idea of a union was based on the idea of self-help… The union is an organization that will claim and obtain workers' rights."[314] Membership dues provided income for the unions to cover the rent of union buildings and the daily needs of the organization.[315] In order to provide self-help, workers were encouraged to join workers' organizations.

The industrial workers' involvement and interest in the political processes was shaped through diverse channels depending on their political position, associational level, and basic needs. According the workers' journals and interviews, the relationship between politics and workers was complex. Their support of the Democrat Party was underlined in various documents in the beginning of the 1950s. Hamit Kızılkaya, a railway worker and trade unionist, emphasized that "eighty percent of the railway workers voted for

[313] İşçi ve Çiftçi Partisi, *İşçi ve Çiftçi Partisi Program ve Tüzüğü* (Eskişehir: Ticaret Matbaası, 1951), 16.

[314] Tevfik Zeytinoğlu, "Devlet veya İktisadi Devlet Teşekkülleri ve Sendika," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 8 (December 30, 1951): 1-3.

[315] Tevfik Zeytinoğlu, "Sendika ve Gelir Kaynakları," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 5 (December 1951): 1- 3.

the Democrat Party. In the Republican People's Party era, the phrase to refer to us was "amele." During the Democrat Party period, we were conceived as citizens. In these years, the deputies visited the trade union in order to ask what we wanted. The Democrat Party had 24 branch offices in Eskişehir, consisting of railroaders."[316] The reason for this support was emphasized by Salahaddin Erkap: "Those who were not considered human being in the past experienced the pleasure of being considered as a human being during the Democrat Party period and were therefore connected to the party. The Democrat Party brought many rights to the worker, but the most important one was psychological, being replaced by a man."[317] This approach was emphasized by workers' lawyer Tahsin Atakan, who stated that "before 1947 the workers were considered as a commodity (meta)" and also indicated that workers were still waiting for the Democrat Party to keep the promises it made in the elections.[318] In agreement with this approach, the journal *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* asserted that the image of the worker as a contented, devoted builder of civilization was not adequately established, and in order to develop this objective, new regulations should be promulgated.[319]

The unionist workers developed a dynamic relationship with the Democrat Party. Eskişehir deputies were also active on workers' issues and built the Workers' Shelter and the workers' houses.[320] Beginning in 1954, workers' journals criticized the limited support of the Democrat Party for workers' issues, and after 1957, these reactions became more frequent. Even though they complained about the cost of living and the

---

[316] Hamit Kızılkaya was the secretary general of the Eskişehir Railway Trade Union between 1949 and 1961. "Demiryolu işçisinin yüzde 80'i DP'liydi. CHP döneminde ismimiz 'amele' idi. DP döneminde adam yerine konduk."

Hamit Kızılkaya, "Hamit Kızılkaya," in Türk-iş *Tarihinde Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar ve Portreler (1),* ed. Yıldırım Koç (Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yayınları, 1998), 52-54.

[317] "Geçmişte insan sayılmayanlar DP döneminde insan sayılmanın hazzını yaşadı ve bu nedenle DP'ye bağlandı. DP işçiye birçok hak getirdi ama en önemlisi, psikolojikti, adam yerine konmaktı."

Yıldırım Koç, *Türk-İş Tarihinden Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar-Gözlemler (I)* (Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yayınları, 1998), 141.

[318] Atakan, "İşçi Mevzuunun Düşündürdükleri," 1.

[319] Eskişehir İşçi Postası, "İşçi Davası," *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 3 (December 1, 1951): 2.

[320] *Ayın Tarihi*, September 1951.

lack of freedom of association and the right to strike, many workers still used their vote for the Democrat Party. [321] A 1954 article written by workers' leader Ahmet Aras in *İş* Yolu emphasized this: "While the Democrat Party came to power, it did not fulfil any of its promises to the workers." [322] Aras maintained that the DP had not addressed the right to strike, the housing issue, or the regulation of holidays and time off. Especially in the post-1957 period, when the Democrat Party developed a more authoritative orientation, the workers' journals harshly criticized the party. The article in the journal *Hürbilek* underlined this issue: "the Democrat Party, which we embraced in 1946, is still in our hearts ten years later, but it has demoralized us with some unnecessary actions… The Democrat Party lost its emerging dynamic and challenging nature."[323] After 1960, the tone completely reversed and propaganda against the Democrat Party began, changing the well-known motto of "Eskişehir became the stronghold of the Democrat Party" to "Had Eskişehir ever been the stronghold of the DP?"[324]

Kemal Sülker explained that the unionism after 1954 was faced with the scarcity of scholars who addressed unionist discourse, the repressive manner of employers and politicians, and the conservative approach of small city environments.[325] Workers' journals in Eskişehir played a major role in providing an intellectual framework for workers' organizations while defeating the conservatism and authoritative attitudes. Through the legislative frameworks of the 1950s, workers' organizations became institutionalized, and accordingly were more visible as a representation of collectivist approaches.

---

[321] Kemal Karpat, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Sistemin Evrimi: 1876-1980* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007), 138.

[322] Ahmet Aras, " İşçi Davaları Halledilmemiştir: İşçi Vatandaş Reyini Verirken Dikkatli ol, Seni Boş Vaitlerle Aldatanlara Rey Verme," *İş Yolu* 1, no. 21 (April 23, 1954): 1-2.

[323] "1946 yılında milletçe gönül verip bağrımıza bastığımız DP on sene sonra yine gönlümüzde olmakla beraber bir takım lüzumsuz hareketleri ile bizleri üzüntüye sevk etmiş bulunuyor."

Abdülkadir Gürol, "Demokrat Parti Nereye Gidiyor?," *Hürbilek* 1, no. 6 (March 9, 1957): 2.

[324] Eskişehir Ekspres, "Eskişehir DP'nin Kalesiydi Ha?," *Eskişehir Ekspres* 1, no. 7 (August 11, 1960): 2.

[325] Kemal Sülker, *Türkiye Sendikacılık Tarihi, Üçüncü Baskı* (İstanbul: Tüstav Yayınları, 2004a), 177-178.

The union movement in the 1950s in Eskişehir was described as being in a "core" or "crawling" period;[326] nevertheless, many significant steps were taken in that period. Even though the right to strike and lockout was not secured, what was most important was that workers learned to come together, develop a network between the press and the union, and discuss their issues.

In the 1950s, multiple issues that were attributed to the period after 1960 had already been discussed and even addressed. On July 24, 1963, Trade Union Law No. 274 and Collective Bargaining, Strikes and Lockout Law No. 275 was enacted, which brought about more independent action by the trade unions. Food shortages for laborers were so severe that 6,000 railway laborers in 1961[327] and 4,000 railway laborers in 1962 along with apprentices from the vocational school, declared a strike.[328] The union and factory administrators discussed the situation. In a related case, the industrial laborers in the sugar factory declared a boycott due to the inequality of food services for workers and employers.[329] Wages, work hours, and working conditions were other issues that led workers to strike or boycott.

2.4.2. Housing Cooperatives

Beginning in the 1950s, the primary motivation of workers' organization was to improve daily living conditions by organizing around particular issues, including housing, retail, and other social concerns. Due to the rapid urbanization, industrialization and migration into the city, the need for housing began to manifest

[326] Feyzi Önüt, "Memleketimizde Sendikalar Gelişirken," *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 10 (January 19, 1952): 2.

[327] Türk Gücü, "6 bin D.D.Y. İşçisi Grev Yapıyor: Nedeni; Yemeklerden Başka Madde Çıkması," *Türk Gücü* 2, no. 462 (December 2, 1961): 1.

[328] Sakarya, "Dört Bin Demiryolu İşçisi Yemek Yüzünden Üç Günlük Greve Başladı," *Sakarya* 16, no. 4036 (March 22, 1962): 1.

[329] Türk Gücü, "Şeker Fabrikası'nın İşçilerine Yaptığı Haksızlık Örneği: İşçilerin Yemekleri İşverenlerinkinden Az Olduğu Halde Kurtarmadığı Söyleniyor," *Türk Gücü* 3, no. 628, (June 21, 1962): 1-4.

itself as a serious problem in Turkey in the 1950s. *Ayın Tarihi* stated that the city had rapid growth in a short period, and there was a severe housing shortage.[330]

Industrialist George Pullman's idea of designing a controlled workforce could only be achieved to a certain level in Eskişehir, by providing lodging blocks for limited employees in the industrial establishments. Workers in Eskişehir asked for welfare, and crucially, organized workers put the housing question back to the union leaders. The workers' housing movement formed organically rather than as a planned housing program as workers searched for their own homes.

Trade unions put housing issues on their agendas and connected happiness to the concept of home. Through the notion that "not having a home is a sense of unhappiness," the unions aimed to develop a happier community by solving the housing problem through building cooperatives, a collective working organization gathered together with an economic purpose and free will. The workers had a permanent connection to the trade unions because these unions guided and assisted them in becoming homeowners.[331]

The Democrat Party's role in housing was interpreted from diverse perspectives by different groups of workers in the publications. *İş Yolu* criticized the party's promise to make all of the workers homeowners and its unrealistic depictions of housing with two floors, five rooms, and a garden in posters, speeches, and other election propaganda.[332] In national and international policies framed after the Second World War, the authorities predominantly utilized the concept of "a house for each family" in their election programs and propaganda. According to architect Zeki Sayar, a similar confrontation occurred in the 1959 American Exhibition in Moscow 1959. The typical American house was exhibited, and Russia asserted that this was American propaganda, stating that "claiming that this house is the typical house of the American

[330] *Ayın Tarihi*, 1951.

[331] Türkiye Demiryolları İşçi Sendikası Eskişehir Şubesi, *2. Olağan Genel Kurulu Çalışma Raporu 1987* (Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1987).

[332] H. T, "İşçi Evleri." *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 13 (March 15, 1952): 2.

worker is no different than claiming that the Taj Mahal is the typical house of a textile worker in Bombay, or Buckingham Palace is the typical house of a British mining worker."[333]

At the same time, Eskişehir Deputies were active in the housing process, and the Democrat Party made important contributions to worker's housing. These deputies supported the housing development and cared about the unionists' ideas. Minister of Labor Nuri Özsan, Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan, Minister of Public Works Kemal Zeytinoğlu, and Eskişehir Deputy Abidin Potuoğlu discussed workers' housing and other issues including retirement, salary scale, and occupational diseases, with worker's representatives to establishment the Railway Housing Cooperative. Hasan Polatkan described the building development that had occurred in the city in September 1951, covering improvements for workers such as the Worker's Shelter and workers' housing in Eskişehir. Polatkan also formed a verbal motion to improve wages, housing, and taxes for workers. Hasan Polatkan's enquiry regarding minimum vital wages, an issue that had been solved by other countries, became one of the conditions that regulated social life on a bilateral basis through temporary or permanent agreements between the trade unions and employers.[334] According to the 1952 article "Milletvekillerimiz Cer Atölyesinde" in the journal İşçinin Sesi, Eskişehir Deputies Muhtar Başkurt and Ekrem Baysal visited the railway factory and heard the workers' demands regarding housing, the discrepancy between officials and workers, and the involvement of trade unions in the decision process. Eskişehir Deputy Şevket Asbuzoğlu, Ertuğrul Gazi Sakarya, Celalettin Uzer, İbrahim Cemalcılar, and Aziz Zeytinoğlu submitted a legislative proposal on the expansion of workers' housing credit for the workers of the General Directorate of Turkish Railways from 5,000 TL to 20,000 TL.[335] This credit was given by the Railway Worker's Pension Fund. (see Appendix D) Through this credit, 209 houses were built in Building Cooperative No.

[333] Zeki Sayar, "Mesken-Politika ve Baraka-Okul," *Arkitekt* 27, no. 295 (1959): 44-68.

[334] *Ayın Tarihi*, 1947.

[335] İşçinin Sesi, "Milletvekillerimiz Cer Atölyesinde: İşçi Temsilcilerimiz bilhassa İşçi Evleri üzerinde Durdular," *İşçinin Sesi*, 1, no. 9 (January 15, 1952): 1-2.

3 by Eskişehir railway workers.[336] In 1957, the workers announced that 241 homes had been constructed in the Tepebaşı workers' housing cooperative, but the workers demanded help from Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan and other deputies for basic services such as electricity.[337] Another collaborative effort, a draft law on the provision of housing for homeless workers, was formulated by the trade union and Aziz Zeytinoğlu, the Eskişehir deputy from the Justice Party between 1961 and 1969.
In order to solve the housing problem that had been caused by the population increase, municipal and public institutions worked collaboratively on legal means. For this purpose, the municipality made development plans for the areas reserved for workers' building cooperatives across the whole of the city. Some of these areas were Osmangazi with 150-160 houses, Ertuğrulgazi with 262 houses, Gökmeydan, and Şeker.

Land for housing cooperatives was purchased by the Ministry of Labor, Hayrettin Erkmen, as a result of discussions with union representatives. Erkmen worked on the housing question in Eskişehir and stated that "10,000 houses will be built and given to the workers in various regions of the country in 1954, and land will be bought for houses in Eskişehir."[338] Branch Office XV, the Directorate of Real Estate and Workers' Housing, carried out land acquisition and allocation related to the workers' building cooperatives.

The Directorate of the Eskişehir Branch of the Institution of Worker's Insurance solely dealt with the problems of the workers' dwellings in Eskişehir. (Figure 2.90) The Social Insurance Board played an active role in housing construction beginning in 1953 as a result of its agreement with the Real Estate Credit Bank to provide housing to workers insured by the cooperatives. (Figure 2.91) In addition to the credit provided

[336] T. C. Resmi Gazete, *Devlet Demiryolları İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü İşçilerine Mesken Yaptırılması için Borç Para Verilmesine Dair olan 5954 Sayılı Kanunun 6173 ve 121 Sayılı Kanunlarla 1nci Maddesinde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi* (Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1962).

[337] Hürbilek, "Bizi de Zulmetten Kurtarınız! İşçi vatandaşlar Maliye Vekilimiz Polatkan ve Mebuslarımızdan Alaka ve Müzaheret Bekliyor," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.1 (January 10, 1957): 1-6.

[338] İş Yolu, "Sakarya Bölgesi Federasyonunun kurduğu Eskişehir İşçi Evleri Yapı Kooperatifi Faaliyete Geçti," *İş Yolu* 1, no. 14 (January 24, 1954): 1.

by the Labor Insurance Agency, the Railway Old Age Pension Fund was also used.[339] In Eskişehir, 14 housing cooperatives were established between 1953 and 1961, with 475 partners. The number of housing cooperatives established between 1961 and 1971 was 81, with 2,218 partners. A survey conducted on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce found that this increase in the number of housing cooperatives brought various problems, especially in terms of land provision and construction costs for both cooperative partners and producers.[340]

Figure 2. 90 The Worker's Insurance Institution in Eskişehir

Figure 2. 91 The Real Estate Credit Bank in Eskişehir

[339] İşçinin Sesi, "Demiryol İşçilerinin Ev Kanunu Bu Yıl Çıkmak Üzere," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 16 (May 5, 1952): 1.

[340] Çelikkanat, *Eskişehir*.

In addition to the development of trade unions and housing cooperatives, other financial-aid and socio-cultural organizations were formed by the industrial subjects. In all factories, the industrial employees responded their consumption needs by the formation of retail cooperatives strongly attached to unionist activity. These cooperatives included the Eskişehir Railway Officials and Workers Retail Society (formed in 1942), the Eskişehir Sugar Industry Workers Retail Society (permission was sought to establish this in 1949), and the Eskişehir Beet Planters' Cooperative (formed in 1951).[341] The benevolent and friendly societies organized the social and cultural life of the factory. These friendly societies were internal organizations, formed by officials and workers, but were also dependent on the factory management in Eskişehir's state-owned factories.[342] (Figure 2.92)

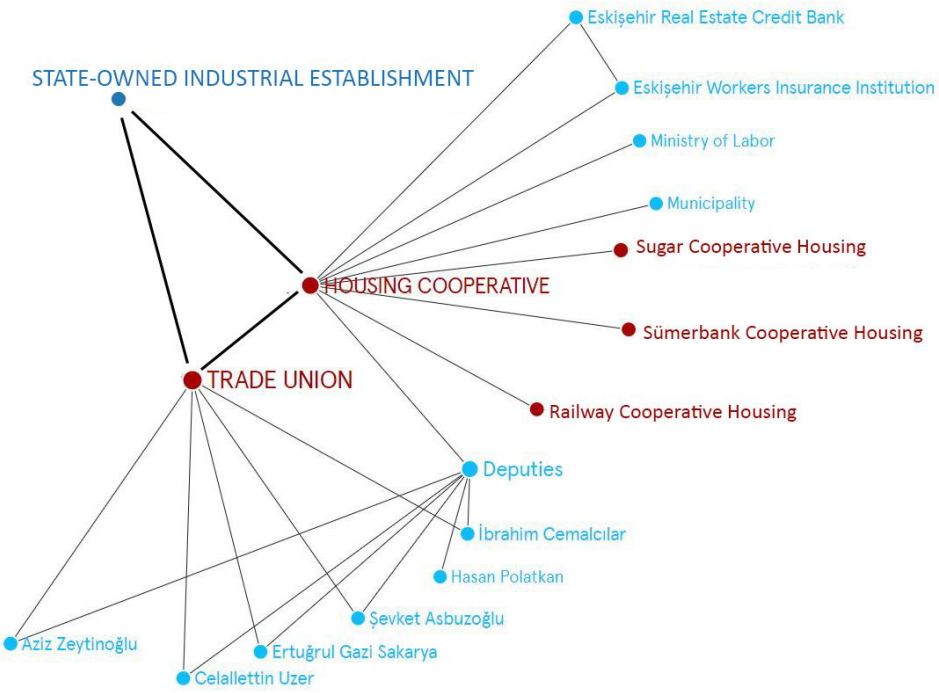


Figure 2. 92 The network of the actors in the Eskişehir workers' movement (Figure by the author)

[341] Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Memurları ve İşçileri İstihlak Kooperatifi, *Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Memurları ve İşçileri İstihlak Kooperatifi 1942 Bilançosu* (İstanbul: Hüşnütabiat Basımevi, 1942).

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 119/26, 06.04.1949.

[342] Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Mensupları, *Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Mensupları Para Biriktirme ve Yardımlaşma Sandığı Tüzüğü* (Eskişehir: Kral Matbaa, n.d.).

CHAPTER III

BUILDING THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT: SPACES OF WORK, LIVING, AND COLLECTIVITY

Industrialization is a mode of production involving mechanization, procurement, distribution, and service. In addition to this technical definition, in his seminal book American sociologist Herbert Blumer focused on the agency and interpreted the nature of the change that industrialization brought about. According to Blumer, this change was not only about "the manufacturing scheme of production" but also about social order, and included the inquiry of "what is industrialization as a social process in social life?"[343]

Parallel to this conceptual framework, the Turkish Republic introduced industrial development as an instrument for technical and social progress starting from the early years of the regime. Small Anatolian cities were selected to spread this national ideology, and Eskişehir was one such city developed by statist industrialization policies between 1923 and 1950. The years after the 1950s brought about liberal and democratic tendencies in the urban environment that emerged with the transition to the multi-party system. However, statist policies started to be readapted from 1952, according to the historian Kemal Karpat.[344] Industrialization in Eskişehir was a social, cultural, and ideological phenomenon that evolved in diverse ways while maintaining statist and liberal tendencies over time. Regarding this conceptual and gradual change in the city, multiple industrial actors were influenced by evolving industrial, social and political interactions.

---

[343] Blumer, *Industrilization as an Agent of Social Change: A Critical Analysis (Communication & Social Order)*, 49.

[344] H. Kemal Karpat, "Political Developments in Turkey, 1950-70," *Middle Eastern Studies* 8, no. 3. (October 1972): 353.

Throughout this dissertation, the actor is the industrial employees such as workers, officials, engineers, janitors working in the state-owned industrial institutions in Eskişehir, while also including the state, its agencies, and other related actors. Industrial employees, who played the most crucial role in forming workers' organizations, are the study's focus due to their changing interactions with others in the urban environment. The central issue was not only their attempt to politically establish workers' organizations, but their efforts to shape their activism and consciousness through social and cultural initiatives in the urban environment. In the production areas, workers were depended on the production regulations and ethics. Beyond the factory, they began to form and use their work, living and collective spaces within this organizational development. The changes in the industrial actors can be traced from their production of or interaction with spaces of daily life. In this way, everyday rhythms of the factory translated to everyday life in the industrial city.

Along with the focus on the industrial built environment in Eskişehir, this chapter is about two main issues. The first section examines the production of work, living and collective spaces in the factories and urban environment. As the second section, the discussion part deals with these spatial themes as a whole and explores the change in agency within two realms: the urban setting and the national context. Together these two chapters seek to understand how work, living and collective spaces were produced and used in interaction with by multiple industrial subjects.

3.1 Production of Space

According to the architect and architectural historian Margaret Crawford, everyday space lies "in between such defined and physically definable realms as the home, the workplace, and the institution, [it] is the connective tissue that binds everyday lives together."[345] As an industrial city between 1923 and 1980, everyday of Eskişehir had multi-layered components consisted of work, living and collectivity. The main research question is to understand how work, living and collective spaces were produced and used in everyday by the industrial actors and how this built environment was evolved within social, economic and political change. The fundamental issue is the agency of the industrial subjects in the spatial formation.

[345] Crawford, Margaret, and Michael Speaks, *Everyday Urbanism,* 18.

3.1.1 Production of Workspace

The industrial workspace in the state-owned factories was the location of both technical and social processes. This led to industry being considered a multi-faceted process rather than a merely technical one and formed the basis of the etymological origins of the word *sanayi*. In Ottoman Turkish, the singular form of this word, *sına'i*, is *sanat*, a word used in both arts and crafts to mean "craftsmanship, ability, talent, and skill."

During this period, *sanat* meant a production process involving apprenticeship and mastery rather than fine arts. For fine arts, as in the case of *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, the word *nefise* was included to indicate fine arts. There were no words to distinguish industry and art. This form of use may be due to the fact that industrialization occurred later in Turkey compared to Europe, and the industry of handicraft production had already greatly expanded before becoming mechanized in the late Ottoman period.

In the early Republican period, *sanat* (art) was used to mean industry. *Endüstri* (industry), which was of French origin, transferred to Turkish in the later period. The notion of *sanat* continued to be used rather than industry until the 1950s. The names *Sanat Okulu* (The School of Art) and *Sanat ve Spor* (*Art and Sport* - the journal of the Eskişehir railway factory) are examples of this.[346] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk also emphasized the role of *sanat* (art) in the Republican industrialization and claimed that "this age was based on economy, and one of the arteries of an artless nation is considered as broken."[347] The term *sanat* (art) connoted what the word *techne* indicated in Greek. *Techne* was defined as "an art, skill, or craft; a technique, principle, or method by which something is achieved or created."[348] Thus, *techne* referred to both

[346] Demirspor, "Sanat ve Spor," *Sanat ve Spor* 2, no. 23 (1951): 1.

[347] "Bence halk devri iktisat devridir ve sanatsız bir milletin hayat damarlarından biri kopmuş demektedir."

Celalettin İmat, "Cumhuriyette Sanayileşme," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no. 111-112 (May-June 1934): 496.

[348] "The term 'art' is the English translation of the Latin 'ars', which translated the Greek 'Techne'": Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1996), 305.

technical and artistic activities and meanings, including the ability to create (*poiesis*), and mastership in professional methods and rules.[349]

Thus, the study of *sanat* (art) not only requires researching technical processes but it also calls for addressing the issue with a multi-dimensional perspective that includes social and cultural dimensions. The multidimensionality of *sanat* (art) was better understood in the institutional journals, which indicated the ideal of creating productive and proficient employees in every field of life. These journals were not only published to provide technical knowledge to industrial employees on topics such as technical literature, marketing, productivity, and quality control, but also to train them in social and cultural fields. Along with technical issues, the institutional journals presented articles about workers' conditions, labor, sports, health, and education. *Demiryollar Mecmuası* included issues about railway museums, exhibitions, public trainings, health, and sports. The journal *Sanat ve Spor*, which was first published in 1949 by the Demirspor Sports Club, included articles on contemporary and technical knowledge. This journal had sections specializing in railway education, health, and sports. The journal *Şeker* published many articles on technical issues while the final section was reserved for articles about social issues and self-improvement. The journal *Sümerbank* included articles on the craft of weaving, literature, and cinema. Health was a common topic, and many articles were written about psychology, psychosomatic medicine, tolerance, stress, and resting requirements, among other themes.

According to journalist Faruk Şükrü, "The factory was considered not only a workshop that provided industrial production but also a *san'at mektebi* (school of art)."[350] Social and cultural themes, handicrafts, gymnastics, and literature were included in the curricula of industry-related trainings in the factory. Thus, under the multidimensionality of *sanat* (art), the aim was to transform industrial employees into versatile individuals who were great at learning new things through the in-factory trainings and journals. The social and cultural building program of the factories was another reflection of this multidimensionality. With the knowledge they acquired in

[349] "Techne," Oxford University Press, accessed May 1, 2020, https://www.lexico.com/definition/techne.

[350] Faruk Şükrü, "Cumhuriyetten sonra Eskişehir," *Halkevi Dergisi*, no. 13-15 (1933): 114.

different fields in the factory, the employees were able to envision and create beyond basic technical production. As this evidence demonstrates, the factory was more than the technical arena of industry. It became a space where "the ability to create" emerged and was cultivated by industrial actors. This section, which examines the production of the workspace, not only focuses on industrial production and its spaces but also investigates how the industrial subjects acquired the ability to create.

3.1.1.1 Statist Representation and Urban Monumentality in Industrial Workspace Design

The national network of industry was started to be formed in the early Republican period, and as a result, the state-owned establishments in Eskişehir were founded as a part of this network. Statist representation and urban monumentality had two stages, one included the national network of industry, and the second included emerging industrial settlements as a part of this national network.

3.1.1.1.1. The National Network of Industry

In transition from an empire to a Republic, the state developed many policies to build a new nation. The nation as a socio-cultural phenomenon designed through the spaces to represent and enact the objectives of the new state. Two phenomena were significant in statist representation concerning the industrial architecture of the Republican period.

The first one was the introduction of *New Architecture*. The Ottoman intellectuals were influenced by the French Enlightenment notions such as positivism, rationalism, and the works on *Kultur* (culture) of the German philosophers. The liberating premises of modernism, such as rationalism and functionalism, emerged in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century. Progress was the most important aspect of modernism, and James C. Scott, a political scientist and anthropologist, also identified high modernism with human progress in science and technology.[351] In the establishment of the Republic, the state developed a reformist and revolutionist ideology compatible with

[351] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 97.

the notion of progress and opposing the early traditional model. Progress was identified with *muasır medeniyet* (contemporary civilization) that accomplished remarkable developments in technology and industry.

> Factories were particularly significant, both as quintessential modern buildings and as built manifestations of republican success in catching up with contemporary civilization.[352]

The formal canon, including cubic forms, reinforced concrete and glass, was formed parallel to the intellectual doctrine expressing the *zeitgeist* of the modern age. It is possible to claim that the factories and industrial exhibitions were the manifestations of these visual and spatial features. In the context of İzmir International Fair, which started to institutionalize in 1933, emerged as an arena to present this modernist doctrine. The pavilions, representing the modernist industrial design, were Railway and Sümerbank Pavilions produced by an architectural competition.[353] (Figure 3.1, 3.2)

Figure 3. 1 Sümerbank Pavillion in İzmir International Fair (Arkitekt 1948)

[352] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 124.

[353] Arkitekt, "1948 İzmir Fuarında Sümerbank Paviyonu," *Arkitekt*, no. 7-8 (July-August 1948): 155-159.

Figure 3. 2 Railway Pavillion in İzmir International Fair (Devlet Demiryolları 1958)

One of the spatial consequences of this modernist tendency and rationale dominated in the Republican period, was the construction of the state-owned enterprises. In order to interpret the state enterprises, the socio-economic actors of the period should be determined. The elimination of the Non-Muslim power in industry resulted in the formation of the Turkish bourgeoisie. In the 1920s, the Turkish bourgeoisie was inadequate due to their lack of experience. The state started to search for a solution and examined the industrial models of other countries. In that context, the Soviet Union was successful in overcoming the Economic Depression with minimum damage. The First-Five Year Plan provided this progress in 1928 that offered a rapid growth of the heavy industry under state control. Çağlar Keyder (1994) indicated that the model of Turkey's state-owned industrialization was introduced according to the Soviet experience. The state enterprises became the principal instrument to construct a modern Turkish state through the medium of the statist policy.[354]

The statist industrialization was presented in the First Five-Year Industrialization Plan (1934) with an article referred to the construction of 21 State Economic Enterprises comprising of various industries such as textile, food, mining, paper, chemistry, glass, and cement.[355] The small and medium-sized towns were selected as their location to

[354] Çağlar Keyder, "Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and in Republican Turkey, ca. 1900-1950," 123-63.

[355] İnan, *Devletçilik İlkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci Sanayi Planı 1933*.

convey the modern culture across the country. In addition to Çağlar Keyder's perspective of the adaptation of the Soviet model, some researches included the effect of the European capitalist model.

At this juncture, it is essential to highlight the relation between two models and challenge the contradictions such as: is it possible to obtain a clear cut between two, or is this relation formed by multiple interactions. Albert Kahn was an eminent German architect on the formation of a geographical and conceptual network on the discourse of industrial architecture.

Kahn's practice, as designed according to the parameters of Fordism, offered replicable forms and procedures. These architectural and technical solutions were highly appropriate for rational planning. Therefore, his practice was interpreted as the manifestation of technology. The architects and engineers, like Walter Gropius, observed Kahn's practice and adapted his system. The prefabricated factories were exported to India, Turkey or Sweden as a transfer of standardization or rationalization. This expansion also influenced the Soviet Union. The early Soviet Factories imported the prefabricated materials from the United States and were affected by Fordism and its notions. The Stalingrad Tractor Plant, the key element in the Volga industrial zone, was constructed by the interaction between Soviet planners and Kahn's design office in the scope of the First Five Year Plan and led to the construction of 500 plants. In the 1930s, a thousand foreign architects were employed in the Soviet Union for urban and industrial projects.[356] Besides, the publications expressing the European experimental projects were issued. These interactions demonstrated that the European capitalist building program highly influenced Soviet industrial architecture. In line with these interactions, the industrial architecture of early Republican Turkey was also affected by Europe and implemented the European building program and organization scheme. The European architects and engineers were commissioned to design factories in Turkey. This practice accelerated within a systematic program, including some of the outstanding figures of European modern architecture. Sir Owen Williams, the British architect-engineer, designed the Adana cotton-crushing mill (built in 1926); Robert Aebi & Cieag, Swiss architect, designed the Kılıçoğlu tile and brick factory

[356] Gillian Darley, *Factory* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2003), 88.

(built in 1926); Werner Issel, German architect, designed the Maltepe gasometer complex (built in 1928); Rob Mallet-Stevens, French architect, designed the İstanbul distillery (built in 1930); Fritz August Breuhaus, German architect, designed the sugar factories in Eskişehir and Turhal (built in 1933); Ernst Egli, Swiss architect and urban planner, designed the Ankara beer and malt factory (built in 1937).

Briefly, early Republican Turkey, in parallel to its own statist development, adapted the European model but was not grounded on the bourgeois power, rather, on state control as in the USSR. Turkish model's relation to the Soviet Union was also provided in terms of equality, solidarity, and collective lifestyle. It should be considered that these innovative and rational solutions in industry, produced within the universal methods and collaboration in industry[357] was highly transferable across the boundaries and became a platform for development, change, and progress for every nation.

The agency of "official-architect" was dominant in the spatial production of the state-owned factories, and these architects were more recognized figures in the early period of the Republic according to the architectural historian Uğur Tanyeli.[358] After 1950, this figure became anonymized, and the producer of the state-owned factories appeared as "architecture without architects" in the literature. However, the design practice under the head offices[359] turned into a collective production. Collective design teams dealt with architectural design, inherently technical, rational, and well-arranged. The architects working under the head offices were not simply passive actors who implemented completely identical projects into these factories. They integrated their own architectural articulation. In fact, the foreign and local architects under the head

[357] Mary Mcleod, "Architecture or Revolution": Taylorism, Technocracy, and Social Change," *Art Journal* 43, no. 2 (1983): 137.

[358] Uğur Tanyeli, *Mimarlığın Aktörleri Türkiye 1900-2000* (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007), 93.

[359] Bernard Wagner also defined architectural production under the Head Office of Sugar Factories, which had architectural and construction departments. The head office contracted out construction work to the contractors and supplied the building material at the wholesale price through the Central Trade Directorates. All activities were organized beforehand.

Wagner, "Türkiye'de Mesken Meselesi I," 79-80.

The architects, working in the Office of Construction and Real Estate under the Head Office of Sümerbank Factories between 1950 and 1980 were listed in Section 2.1.3.

The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding.

offices of the state-owned factories produced these factories within a national network of bureaucracy to represent the state's ideology.

The second notion was "industrial iconography" as a representational agency of statist representation concerning industrial architecture. Industrial iconography was defined as a mirror of social transformation by cultural theorist Leo Marx (1964). Sibel Bozdoğan's book, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (2001), is pivotal to understand the technological icons of modernism, and the relation between the state's policy and industrial architecture as developed in the chapter on "Imagining an Industrial Nation." Through the medium of industrial iconography, bridges, railways, silos, gasometers, and industrial establishments were praised as aesthetical objects in the architectural journals. These objects formed the Republican visual culture of "modern Turkey." Tony Garnier's *Cité Industrielle* and the Italian Futurist's drawings of the factories, dams, and power plants inspired the Turkish industrial iconography. The Turkish publications issued in that period were affected by the developments in Europe. The journal of *Sanayi Risalesi*[360] (1918) had a reference to the life of Henry Ford. The promotion of the progress was done through the iconography of industrial architecture as in the collages of the collage "Ankara Construit" and models of Kayseri Cotton Mill in *La Turquie Kemaliste* or the station buildings of Sivas, Malatya, and Manisa in the journal *Demiryolu* with their identical modernist aesthetics: vertical and horizontal volumes, flat roof, geometrical facade composition, and plain surfaces. In the journal of *Arkitekt*, silos and the Paşabahçe Rakı Factory were represented as "the Corbusian archetypes of modern architecture" with their photographs and descriptions in 1943.

Urban planner İlhan Tekeli expressed that railway and factories symbolized the revolutionary ideology of the Republican regime. In line with Tekeli's view, *Türkiye'yi elektriklendirme* (electrification of Turkey), *ulusal demiryolculuk* (national railway), and *anayurdu dört baştan demir ağlarla örmek* (covering the motherland with an iron web of railroads) indicated the leading mottos during the first decade of

[360] In the Republican period, Sanayi Risalesi was published with the name of Endüstri.

the Republic[361]. The industrial development in the early Republican period not only brought about technical improvement, but also a national network illustrated by the maps.[362] (Figure 3.3)

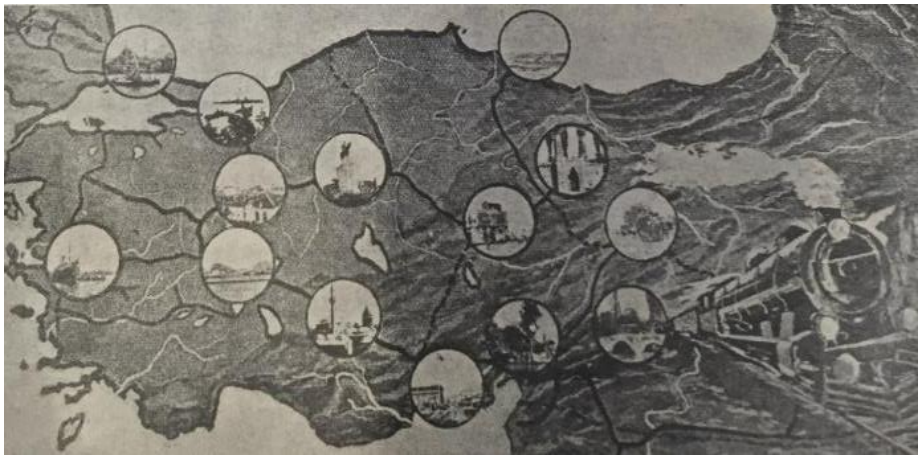


Figure 3. 3 The national network of Turkish Railways (Demiryollar Mecmuası 1934)

3.1.1.1.2. Being a Part of the National Network

The transfer of expertise and knowledge to Turkey by foreign experts had a prominent role in the industrial formation. In Eskişehir, the influence of foreign knowledge and experience also appeared in designing the state-owned factories. The Eskişehir sugar factory was designed and constructed by the eminent German Architect, Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot. With the technical experience in the industrial buildings, the Maschinenfabrik Buckau R. Molf Aktien Gesellschaft Magdeburg (the Buckau R. Wolf Company and Machine Factory) constructed the technical buildings. Furthermore, foreign expertise was influential in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory, founded in the 1950s. Although the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory was built by Turkish architects working in the Office of Construction and Real Estate under the Head Office of Sümerbank Factories, the design was based on the standardized projects developed by Soviet expertise for Nazilli and Kayseri Factories.[363] The site proposal for the factory was also offered by Soviet experts during their visit to Eskişehir in 1933.

[361] İlhan Tekeli, *Sanayi Toplumu için Sanayi Yazıları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009).

[362] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü, "Cumhuriyet Demiryollarının Eskilerinden Farkları," *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.100 (1933): 56-57.

[363] Tekeli and İlkin, *Uygulamaya Geçerken Türkiye'de Devletçiliğin Oluşumu*, 107-33.

The architectural projects were designed by the construction departments of the state-owned factories, the main intent in architectural design was based on standardized projects. In every design phase, adaptation to the technical and social setting was included in standardized projects.

In the Eskişehir railway factory, the inclusion of the prominent Turkish modernist architect, Sabri Şekip Akalın, was also critical in addition to the transfer of knowledge by foreign architects and experts. Şekip Akalın designed the entrance complex of the railway factory, consisting of the gate and the administration building with a dining hall, which manifested the state's new objectives. (Figure 3.4) As a part of the national railway network, this complex, with its formal elements and dominant position in the urban environment, indicated similarities with Ankara Station and its additional buildings, also designed by Şekip Akalın. (Figure 3.5) This similarity was a consequence of being part of the national railway network.

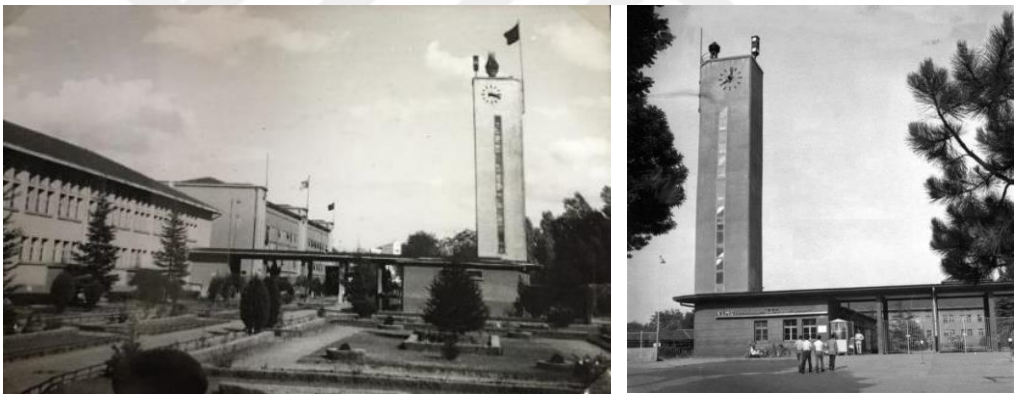


Figure 3. 4 The factory gate of the Eskişehir railway factory (TCDD 1973 and the Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory 1973)

Figure 3. 5 Ankara Station and its additional buildings (SALT Research)

Industrial architecture and its monumentality dominated the city and emphasized the state's centralist approach. The grandeur scale and expansive extent of the factories formed a topography of statist power in Eskişehir that underlined economic achievement, technical progress, and rapid improvement by the state. James C. Scott stated that the state used spatial production to manifest its hegemony and presented these spaces to its subjects. These industrial landscapes were particularly to convey the power of the emerging regime with their grand scale dominating the city in contradistinction to the small production workshops with outmoded manufacturing techniques of the former authority. In Eskişehir, this approach was emphasized by identical formal elements and spatial configuration in these industrial establishments. Their location was selected in the nodal points of the city: a prominent location that easily captured the gaze of the urban inhabitants in order to strengthen this representational power. The railway was the most significant transportation network for urban passengers in this period. This network served as an industrial route for industrial actors, starting from the sugar factory continuing with the railway and Sümerbank factories. In the case of the sugar factory, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk elaborately selected its location to highlight this representational power.[364]

Administrative spaces of the factories clearly represented the nationalist modern style, with their similar characteristics to the industrial architecture produced in other cities by the head offices of the state-owned factories. As produced between 1923 and 1956, the industrial architecture in Eskişehir was designed with the symbols of the new regime. Republican identity was indicated by the identical formal elements in these industrial establishments. The entrance zone of the factories was open to the use of visitors and regarded as the spaces that represented the institutional identity. This zone was formed by the network among Atatürk square, administration building, and production units. The Atatürk square with an Atatürk statue surrounded by a green belt defined the entrance zone. This spatial network was apparent in the railway factory, the sugar factory, and the Sümerbank print factory. (Figure 3.6)

[364] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 171/187, 31.01.1933.

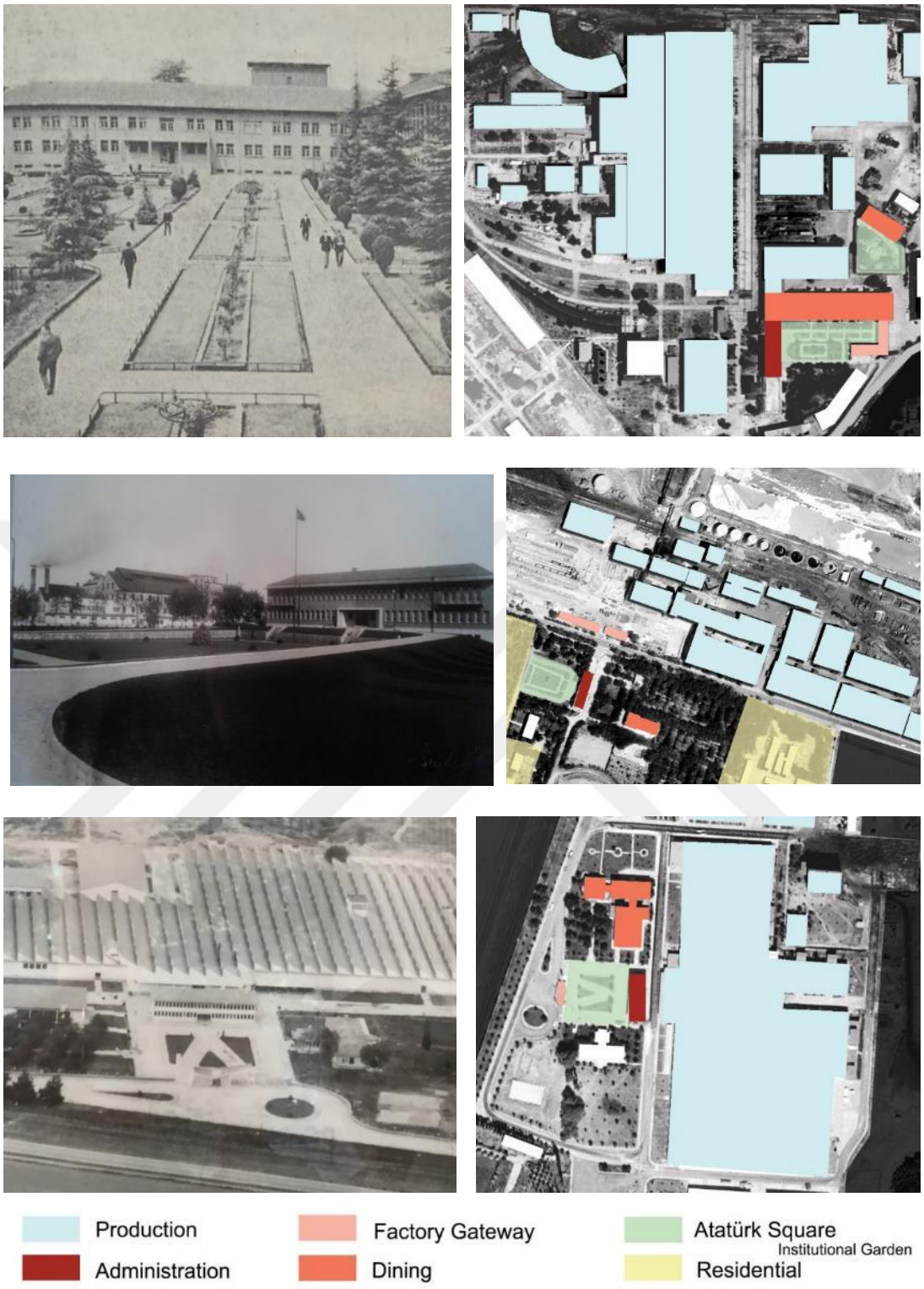


Figure 3. 6 The network in the entrance zone of the Eskişehir railway, sugar and Sümerbank print factories (TCDD ELMS 1971, The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory and Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

The notion of "industrial iconography", as a representational agency, was used in the publications in Eskişehir. This visual medium was transferred to Eskişehir by the head-offices' institutional publications and addressed the national network of industrial development within statist industrilization.

Railway, locomotives, factory gateways, chimneys, mills, and silos were illustrated on the cover page of local journals, memoirs, and books along with the essays on the accomplishment of industrial architecture in Eskişehir. (Figure 3.7) With their modern functional archetypes, these works were considered significant for future development in the publications. These visual materials were used to introduce the city with its industrial progress and brought about admiration for these industrial establishments that emerged within a nationalist network.

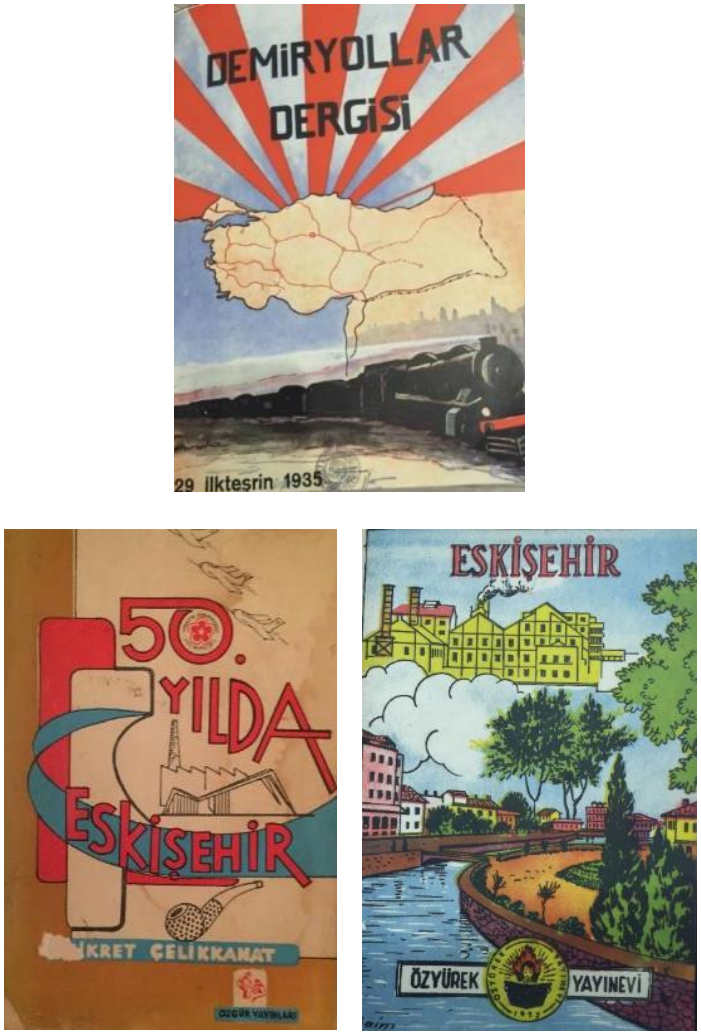


Figure 3. 7 Front cover of the journal *Demiryollar* (Demiryollar Dergisi 1935) and illustrations in local publications designed for Eskişehir state-owned factories

The leading precepts, covering national progress and uplift, used in the Eskişehir state-owned factories as a tool of Republican propaganda and praise for technical knowledge of Turkish expertise. This could be exemplified by the triumphal arch designed for the Eskişehir railway factory with the expressions: *Yurdumuzu demir ağlarla örmek en büyük azmimizdir* (It is our greatest determination to cover our country with iron webs), or the opening arch of the Eskişehir sugar factory as *Cumhuriyet'in 10.uncu yıldönümünde Ulu Gazi'nin yeni büyük bir eseri* (A great new work of Ulu Gazi on the 10th anniversary of the Republic). (Figure 3.8)

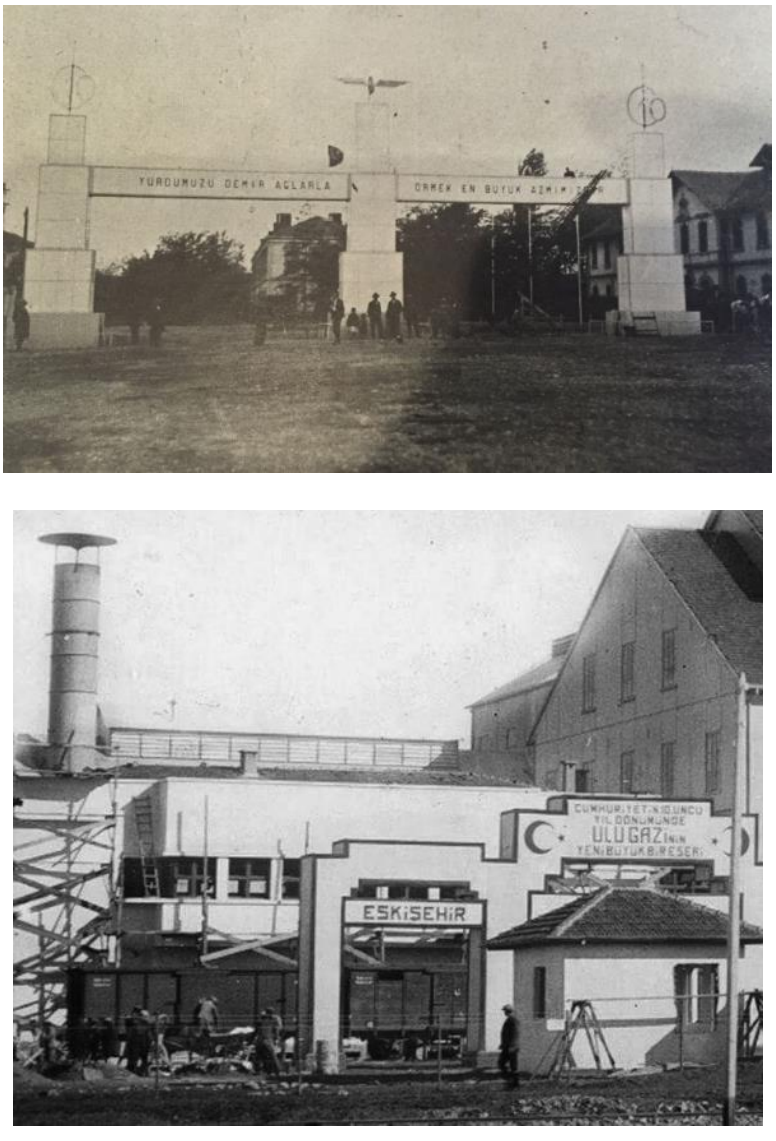


Figure 3. 8 Triumphal arches for the Eskişehir railway factory (Demiryollar Mecmuası 1934) and the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

These visual and audial instruments, such as signboards and anthems, were beneficial to form *aile ocağı* (national family) consisting of its workers and officials.[365] This approach was apparent for the kids of workers by the signboard in the Sümerbank day-care facility stating that "My mother is from Sümerbank, my father is from Sümerbank, my parents are both from Sümerbank, we are proud we are happy." (Figure 3.9)

Figure 3. 9 Signboard in the day-care center of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (photograph taken by the author during a site visit in 2017)

3.1.1.2 Adaptation to Industrial Calendar and Cultivating the Industrial Subject

Industrial production required for disciplined, educated and stabilized industrial labor force. The steady and permanent labor force could only be provided by the educational spaces and program. The main objective was not solely to produce industrialized and modernized workers, but the production efficiency could only be realized by industrial training. In the proletarianization process, the first phase of cultivating workforce from diverse origins was carried out by professional training, an integral part of technical and industrial progress.

[365] This concept of *aile ocağı* (national family) was emphasized by the Sümerbank anthem published in 1970.

Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük, *Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük Genelgeleri 1970* (Ankara: DSİ Matbaası, 1971): 148-49.

3.1.1.2.1. Industrializing Diverse Origins in Eskişehir

> "You can not get enough of watching this street during work hours in the morning and break in the evening. Female and male workers, heading to the sugar factory on their buses and bicycles, seems so dynamic with their determination to re-conquer the horizons."[366]

> "Urban life can be described in day and night as follows: In the early hours of the morning, the streets become crowded with people, vehicles, and industrial workers. This is a noisy crowd that continues from five to seven in the morning. After seven to eight or eight-thirty, the city becomes silent. "[367]

As described above, the Eskişehir's daily life in 1948 and 1973 was associated with dynamism, noise, and crowd. These notions, introduced by the factories, were new to the emerging industrial labor force due to the changing time concept. According to the art historian Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, there are different time concepts before modernism. One of them is "mythological time", regulated by the rhythm of nature. Seasonal change, day-night cycle, and climatic change were the determinants formed the daily rhythm. This rhythm regulated urban and rural peasants before industrialization.[368] These agricultural laborers worked day and night at harvest season and never worked other periods of the year. Thus, the workday of an agricultural laborer was slow, monotonous, and self-regulated.

---

[366] "Sabahları iş saatinde ve akşamları paydos vaktinde bu caddenin temaşasına doyum olmaz. Ellerinde çıkınları Şeker Fabrikasına kadın ve erkek işçiler, otobüslerinde, bisikletlerinde ufukları yeniden fethetmek azmiyle uyanan kahraman vatan evlatları havacılar yan yana her beraber ne kadar hareketli görünürler."

Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 15.

[367] "Şehirde hayat genel olarak gündüz ve gece şu durumdadır: Sabahın erken saatlerinde fabrikalarda kendi atölyelerinde ve kendi yerlerinde çalışan işçilerle sokak ve caddeler insan ve vasıta kalabalığından dolup taşmaktadır, bu umumiyetle sabahın beşinden yedisine kadar devam edegelen gürültülü bir kalabalıktır. Sonradan yediden sekize veya sekiz otuza kadar şehir tekrar sessizliğini muhafaza eder…"

Çelikkanat, *50. Yılda Eskişehir*, 56.

[368] Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Resimde Zaman ve Mekan Kavramı," *Ankara: Middle East Technical University* (1990), 1.

Figure 3. 10 Documentary film about the daily life of Eskişehir railway workers (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

With industrialization, time evolved into a modern concept that can be measurable, variable, and controllable, and accordingly, the industrial calendar had a different rhythm regulated by industrial production. This new concept of time, dependent on the machine, brought about new changes and precepts in physical and social settings and social interactions. The industrial calendar, an integrated notion of industrialization, was formed by the rhythm of production. (Figure 3.10)

> "The railway factory has been the time regulation of Eskişehir for nearly fifty years. In order to determine the start and end of working hours, *kampana* (campane) in the steam production workshop of the factory, also known as the "yayın" in Eskişehir, tolled in the determined hours. The workday was five and a half-day in a week until 1977. The bell would be tolled at 6:30,

> 7:00, 12:00, 13:00, and 16:30. In 1977, the work shift on Saturday was removed. The last announcement of campane changed from 16:30 to 17:00. As I stated, this system provided the time regulation of Eskişehir for fifty years. Sometime in the seventies, this regulation was adapted by the sugar factory, Air Supply Maintenance Center, and Kılıçoğlu Tile Factory. It was festive those years. But our factory, as a precursor, continued this daily routine for long."[369]

During the period of statist industrialization in Eskişehir, the labor force had diverse origins, consisting of agricultural laborers in the rural and urban environment, and proto-industrial immigrants used to conventional crafting culture. In the beginning, the most significant difficulty was considered as the "peasant-worker" phenomenon by the researchers of the period. Industrialization was in close contact with the transformation of the peasant community, not used to neither technical and nor labor codes, ethics, and regulations.[370] There were two critical reasons to understand how industrial workers were connected to agricultural production during industrialization in Eskişehir. The first was the arrival of rural peasants from the surrounding countryside. According to Çağlar Keyder, this labor force was produced by the policy of the statist industrialization in the 1930s. Small towns like Eskişehir, where laborers could easily move from the surrounding rural lands, were selected to build state-owned factories. Although there were some disadvantages in the employment of such laborers who had a high level of absenteeism at the harvest time, they were preferred in order to provide cheap labor and, more significantly, to form an obedient labor force that did not oppose

---

[369] "Tülomsaş 50 yıla yakın bir süre Eskişehir'in saat ayarı olmuştur. Kendi mesai saatlerinin başlaması ve bitişini belirtmek üzere fabrikanın buhar üretim atölyesindeki kampana, Eskişehir'deki yayın adıyla bilinen adıyla boru, belli saatleri çalardı. 1977'ye kadar beş buçuk gün çalışılırdı. Saat 6,30 7,00, 12,00, 13,00 ve 4,30'da bağırırdı boru. 1977'de Cumartesi günkü mesai kalktı. 4,30'da öten boru 5,00'de ötmeye başladı. Dediğim gibi elli yıl boyunca Eskişehir'in saat ayarı olan bir durumdu. Bir ara yetmişli yıllarda bundan esinlenerek, Şeker Fabrikası'nda, Hava İkmal Merkezi'nde, Kılıçoğlu Kiremit Fabrikası'nda da bir takım borular çaldı. Şenlikli oldu o yıllar. Ama en önce başlayan ve uzun devam eden Tülomsaşımız olmuştur."

Cezmi Karasu, "Bulgular ve Yorumlar," interview by Hasan Çiftçi and Ali Kıvrak, *Tülomsaş (Türkiye Lokomotif Ve Motor Sanayi Anonim Şirketi) Toplumsal, Kurumsal Ve Ekonomik Yaşamda Üstlendiği Öncü Rol ve Bunun Üzerine Tarihi Tanıklıklar*, January 25, 2009.

[370] Since eighty percent of the Turkish citizens were peasants in the early Republican period, the social concern in the peasant-worker phenomenon was introduced to Turkey with the contribution of the German economists, philosophers, and experts, Wilhelm Röpke and Alexander Rüstow.

Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies 34*, no. 4 (October 1998): 69.

the coercive regulations of the period.[371] Secondly, agricultural laborers had already been present in Eskişehir due to its agricultural origin. According to the demographic records of Eskişehir in 1932, 62.15 percent of the total population was agricultural laborers, while 8.42 percent worked in the industrial facilities.[372] Eskişehir, as a former agricultural town, many of its inhabitants grew up with a "peasant mentality" and used to the agricultural cycle.[373] However, they were not strongly attached to rural habits as rural peasants due to their connection with the urban environment, and this connection formed a peasant-like manner.

Industrial workers reverted from the peasantry were higher in number in small towns than large-scale cities.[374] As a provincial town, the percentage of workers drawn from the peasantry in Eskişehir was less than other small cities in the industrialization process because Eskişehir differed from other provincial towns with its demographic structure broadly consisted of immigrants. According to the journal *Hareket*, 2,039 immigrant families arrived in the city in 1954.[375] From the heavy population flow to Eskişehir in the late nineteenth century, the labor force was not simply agrarian but proto-industrial. Pre-modern work habits were transferred by the immigrants' artisanal origins, mainly based on metalworking such as forging and stove production. Other types of craftsmanship were ironworking, tinsmith, carpentry, shoemaking, and weaving.[376] This population used to proto-industrial labor and determined to work under strict regulations more than the peasant population. The immigrant population paved the way for industrialization in Eskişehir with their artisanal roots.

---

[371] "1930'ların devletçi sanayileşme dönemi sırasında, Türk hükümeti imalat sanayi tesislerini işçilerin civardaki kırsal alanlardan taşınabileceği küçük kasabalarda kurmak yönünde bir eğilim gösterdi. Hasat zamanı ortadan kaybolacağı kesin görünen böylesi emekçilerin istihdamında bazı dezavantajlar olmakla birlikte, ücretlerin düşük tutulabilmesi ve daha da önemlisi dönemin baskıcı yasalarına karşı gelmeyen itaatkâr bir işgücü yaratılabilmesi tercih edilmişti."

Çağlar Keyder, *Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın İflası* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2004), 77.

[372] *Eskişehir,* (Eskişehir, 1932), 42.

[373] Yıldırım Koç, "Türkiye'de 1923-1950 Döneminde Daimi İşçi Sıkıntısı," *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi* 18, no. 168 (June 1994): 39-41.

[374] Sümerbank, *Tekstil Semineri, 12-14 Temmuz 1971* (Ankara: Sümerbank Yayınları, 1971), 45.

[375] Hareket, "Göçmenlerle Vali Belediye Reisi Görüştü," *Hareket* 1, no. 30 (February 23, 1954): 1.

[376] *Eskişehir,* (Eskişehir, 1932), 81.

The density of workers' origins varied according to the production type of factories. According to the interviews, the sugar factory bought beet from rural peasants working in the surrounding villages, and they knew about the factory. Besides, they were trained by the sugar industry to increase production capacity. These rural peasants were free to work in the factory during the *kampanya* (campaign) period, which was not harvest season.[377] These were seasonal and unskilled industrial workers with no training. The un-trained workers consisted of 90 percent of the campaign workers in the sugar factory.[378] While the peasant-workers in the railway and the Sümerbank factories were lesser in number, the immigrant population was higher. The immigrant population, with proto-industrial origins, were aided by the state to work in the state-owned factories by giving priority, and low tax rates.[379]

From agricultural to an industrial society, the adaptation to industrialization in Eskişehir differed for diverse industrial actors. Two groups of workers, as immigrants and peasants, encountered the norms and ethics of industrial production in different ways. The first group, used to production techniques, adapted more easily. The second group, urban farmers or rural peasants, used to self-regulated time management in labor, the process brought about crucial difficulties. "Mythological time" inherited from rural origins, shifted by the rhythm of industrial production. Ahmet Makal explained the critical role of the rural origin in the delay of the proletarianization process.[380] The most significant return of this delay was the high labor turnover, absenteeism, and strict control mechanism.[381] Regarding labor turnover, it was frequent for peasant workers to quit industrial work and return to the field. Some of these workers did not attend work regularly due to adaptation problems. For the labor force of the sugar factory, the military police collected workers from nearby villages

[377] Pancar Periodical was printed to train these farmers and sent to 6000 villages free of charge positioned in the library of villages, lecture rooms, and schools to train them technically and culturally.

D. A. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 5, 2020.

[378] Z. T. Ş., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 27, 2020.

[379] İ. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 20, 2020.

[380] Ahmet Makal, "Türkiye'nin Sanayileşme Sürecinde İşgücü Sorunu, Sosyal Politika ve İktisadi Devlet Teşekkülleri: 1930'lu ve 1940'lı Yıllar," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 92 (Spring 2002): 44.

[381] For more information, see the Glossary.

before the 1970s, and later Sugar Trade Union provided this service.[382] For that reason, the relatives of workers were given priority in the recruitment process. For instance, the railway factory took 400 unskilled laborers in 1968 through the kinship model.[383]

The state-owned factories in Eskişehir, with their self-contained facilities, offered physically and socially healthy environments to attach industrial employees to the factory by a sense of belonging and increase efficiency. However, there was a dissent of peasant workers, who were separated from their villages. Social policies and welfare services of these factories, such as education, health, nutrition, or social aid, were given under strict ethics and regulations of the workspace. Besides, the industrial calendar differed from agricultural time. The instability of peasant workers in industrial labor was not only about difficult working and living conditions but also based on their sense of justice brought by self-regulated mentality rooted in their rural origins. On the other hand, the gap between the urban and rural population in Eskişehir was closed by other statist projects of *Halkevi* (People' House) or *Köy Enstitüsü* (Village Institute).

The adaptation of administers and officials to industry differed from workers. These highly-educated individuals migrated from large cities, Ankara or İstanbul, and rapidly adjusted to urban industrial life within their educational and demographic background.

In the industrialization process of Eskişehir, how to convert the society from versatile craftsmen, urban farmers, and rural peasants to permanent and stable industrial laborers brought about a prominent difficulty. Adaptation of the first generation workers, some of whom were peasants before, was more difficult. These first-generation workers secured their connection with the rural and their peasant mentality. Unlike the first generation workers[384], who had a strong physical and mental bond with the countryside, the second generation workers were more easily adapted to industrial labor due to the change in the perception towards industrial workers, and more

[382] H. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 4, 2020.

[383] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası, *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1967-1968* (Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1968).

[384] By introducing the term the first-generation workers, the workers who worked between 1923 and 1950 were indicated.

developed workers' welfare and rights in the 1950s. The change in the meaning of institution was underlined in the archival documents:

> "*Kumpanyalılık* (belonging to the company, the railway factory) is a privileged status for Eskişehir, and *kumpanya* is used as an expression referred to the railway factory. It is a term referred to the company in the West. Being the first heavy industrial plant in Turkey, *kumpanya* becomes a significant institution in Eskişehir. *Kumpanya*, becomes a leader in terms of multiple progress in industry, and apprenticeship. For this reason, the factory has a very prestigious place in urban life."[385]

Along with these accomplishments, the belonging to the inclusive industrial family, *Kumpanyalı* or *demiryolcu* (railroader), *şeker ailesi* (sugar family), and *sümer ailesi* (sümer family) was formed. Accordingly, this concept evolved into the symbol of privileged status in the urban environment. The interviewed workers stated that to set up an independent family during these days was difficult due to financial conditions. The factory supported the workers to save enough money they needed to establish their own families. Thus, the factory offered a privileged status for workers for whom the concept of family was the primary concern.[386]

3.1.1.2.2. Industrial Training and Program in the Railway Factory

The professional training concerning industry was introduced by the First Five-Year Plan (1934-1938). The vestibule school in the Eskişehir railway factory was established to give professional training for the members' children by the General

---

[385] "Kumpanyalılık Eskişehir için çok özel bir durumdur. Çünkü kumpanya adı Tülomsaş'ı ifade eden bir isim olarak yerleşmiştir. Batıda şirketi ifade eden bir kavramdır. Ama Türkiye'de ilk ağır sanayi tesisi olmasının belki bir avantajı olarak benim çalıştığım dönemlerde Kumpanya çok özel bir statüydü Eskişehir'de. Çünkü kumpanya her şeyden önce hem sanayi anlamında, hem iş çıraklıkları anlamında, pek çok alanda hem şehir için, hem de Türkiye için önderlik etmiş bir kurumdu. O nedenle çok ayrı prestijli bir yeri vardı Eskişehir hayatında. Veciz şekilde şöyle ifade edersek; biliyorsunuz bir kurumda çalışıyor olmanın, toplum katmanlarında en önemli prestij göstergelerinden birisi kız isteyince verilmesidir. Kumpanyada çalışıyorum diyenlerin bu konuda hiçbir problemi olmamıştır. Ben de evlenirken o avantajı kullandığımı söyleyebilirim."

Cezmi Karasu, "Bulgular ve Yorumlar," interview by Hasan Çiftçi and Ali Kıvrak, *Tülomsaş (Türkiye Lokomotif Ve Motor Sanayi Anonim Şirketi) Toplumsal, Kurumsal Ve Ekonomik Yaşamda Üstlendiği Öncü Rol ve Bunun Üzerine Tarihi Tanıklıklar*, January 25, 2009.

[386] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

Directorate of the Turkish Railways on the 1st March, 1932.[387] (Figure 3.11) After the establishment of the repair workshop in the late nineteenth century, as analysed in Section 2.1.1, the professional education had been integrated as a part of industrial production in the Eskişehir railway factory. Towards the Republican period, these schools were closed within the nationalization process, and only an apprentice unit remained within the traction workshop.[388] The architectural project of the vestibule school was designed by German Engineer Gerstner who worked with Mithat Ersöz, the director of the factory.[389]

Figure 3. 11 The vestibule school in the Eskişehir railway factory (The Archive of the Institute of Turkish Revolution Institute)

The significance of the vestibule school was emphasized in an interview "I started the railway vestibule school in 1936. It was a tremendous school, just like the village institutes, and closed in 1978. The vestibule school was a particular institution, and the engineers were trainers."[390] The objective of the school, expressed in *Devlet Demiryolları San'at Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi* (The Guide book of State Railway Vocational Apprenticeship School) (1940), was to respond to the labor deficiency in the traction and road workshops and to adapt these workers to the requirement of the age by theoretical and practical knowledge, and to eliminate the fear of workbench in

[387] Şenol, "Çırak Mektebi," 28.

[388] Davud, "Yeni Gün Milli Hat Güzergahında: Eskişehirde'ki Müesseseleri Ziyaret," 2.

[389] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 78/77, 07.09.1937.

Sevük, "Söyleşide Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası," 57.

[390] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

early ages. This could be considered as an exercise that increased skills on the workbench.[391] These schools provided training for four years after primary school to train workers specialized in diverse professions: *tesviyeci* (metalwork), *tornacı* (lathe operator), electrician, *kazancı* (stoker), and *demirci* (blacksmith).

As the industry emerged with its modern basis, industrial education brought about new technical and social learning models. These educational institutions were determining agents in molding individuals as the industrial subjects through their procedures, methods, and curricula. The applicants to this school should have been aged between fourteen and sixteen, and evaluated through an exam and health control conducted once a year. The expansive education program was underlined in the Guidebook of State Railway Vocational School.[392] The theoretical education consisted of Turkish; social science lectures including history and geography, governmental organization, state railway organization; mathematics, physics, and mechanics; professional lectures, such as electric, machine and technical drawing -to form a railway specialist-. In addition to this curriculum; gymnastics, morning discussion hour, and handicraft were also included.

The first year of training was reserved solely for theoretical education. In order to prepare apprentices for forthcoming years, handicraft and gymnastics were included in the curriculum for the improvement of basic skills. In the second year, the exam on psychotechnology was applied to evaluate handicraft skills.[393] Practical training for the professionalization of the apprentices was conducted under the supervision of a teacher, laborer, or master. In the gradual process of training, the apprentices worked at the workshop of vestibule school in the second and third grade; and finally, the industrial shop floor in the fourth grade. The period of education was one year in four periods. After a four-year training, these apprentices became assistants of workers,

[391] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü, *Sanat Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi*, 1-25.

Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, *Eskişehir Sanayi: Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını*, 145.

[392] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü, *Sanat Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi*, 1-25.

[393] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

which was a transitional stage to become an industrial laborer. The apprentices worked in this position for three years to become a second class laborer, and an exam was held to become a first-class laborer.

The transfer of industrial knowledge was operated bothways. While the workers of the state-owned factories were sent abroad, foreign workers were employed in these factories. The effort to transfer industrial knowledge and expertise was expressed in the archival documents as well: the payment of daily wage to the director of the traction workshop, Mithat Ersöz, for his duty in Germany, the permission to bring an autogenous welding specialist from Germany and the permission to employ Hans Herrwertts from Germany as a senior worker.[394]

Along the line of this knowledge transfer, new institutions were also established in the factories. The employee of the railway factory, Nüvit Osmay, was sent to Germany for training in 1936. In his return, Osmay established a welding house in 1937 through the technical knowledge transferred from Germany. (Figure 3.12) The construction was completed between 1942 and 1943 under the supervision of Nüvit Osmay when Şevket Akyazı managed the factory.[395] This building was a training center for welding courses and seminars. But more than a training center, the building became a manifestation of the transfer of industrial knowledge and expertise for the factory.

Figure 3. 12 The welding house in the Eskişehir railway factory (photograph taken by the author during a site visit in 2018)

[394] Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 102/64, 08.09.1943.

Catalogue of General Directorate of Transactions (*Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü*), Catalog no. 19/22, 01.04.1931.

Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 74/32, 20.04.1937.

[395] Özcan, "Anılarda Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası: Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikalarında Bir Gün," 58-63.

3.1.1.2.3. Industrial Training and Program in the Sugar Factory

In the sugar factory, there was a vestibule school before the 1960s. After this school closed down, the workers of the factory attended Eskişehir Vocational School. In the sugar factory, the professional training was based on the master-apprentice relation rather than the institution-based formal education, and the shop floor was considered as the fundamental educational platform. There was also on-the-job training that covered theoretical education, given by a master or an engineer, and gradually adapted apprentices to the workbench.[396] In the first decades of the factory, the interaction of master and apprentice was more apparent as the master was the respected figure on the shop floor. Moreover, the interplay between two positions was evolved by the exam-based promotion system, according to the interviewee Cavit Bayram.[397]

To establish the training hall was considered among the institutional objectives, and the directorate gave primary importance to it. (Figure 3.13) The general manager, Kazım Taşkent (1894-1991), the founder of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories, underlined the deficiency in labor training and a training program. Along with this deficiency, *Personel Yetiştirme Politikası* (Personnel Training Policy) was implemented for administrators, technical laborers, and farmers who worked for the factory.

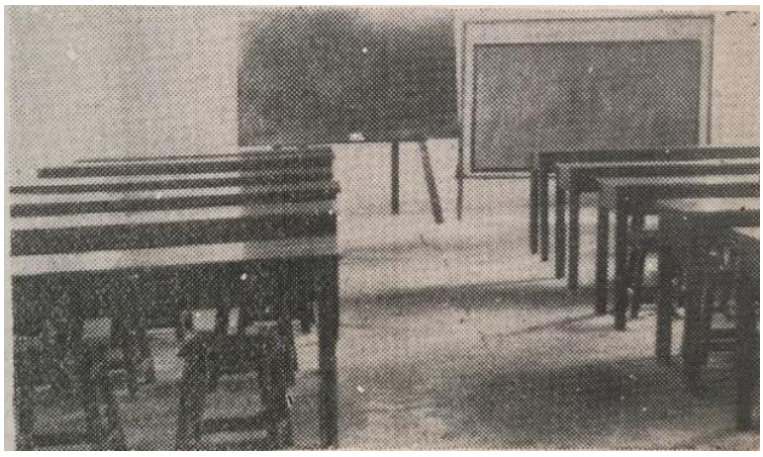


Figure 3. 13 The training hall for workers in the sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

[396] D. A. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 5, 2020.

[397] C. B., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 15, 2020.

In the sugar factory, the training model for abroad education particularly in Germany and Finland was an engine for prospering students with a scholarship for eight months or a year. According to the interview with Durmuş Ali Kutlu, average students were sent to Ankara or İstanbul with dormitory facilities under the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories. The experts, living in other cities, could also be transferred to the sugar factory. Engineer Muammer Tuksavul was one of these experts, recruited for the technical management of the factory. The executive board director Recep Zühtü and general manager Kazım Bey were sent to Germany in 1934.[398] The transfer of employees and experts was applied significantly during the establishment of the factories. The administrators and engineers with a high level of technical knowledge transferred to other factories within the national network of the industries to disseminate knowledge throughout the country.

3.1.1.2.4 Industrial Training and Program in the Sümerbank Factory

Although apprenticeship in industrial training was comprehensively and systematically applied in the railway factory, the master-apprentice model was the most important training method used in all factories. Apprenticeship was also apparent in the Sümerbank print factory according to the article in *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi* (The Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory Collective Agreement), and individuals under the age of sixteen received six months of preliminary training.[399]

The training hall was one of the main facilities in Sümerbank complexes across the country. (Figure 3.14) An industrial worker who began to work in Sümerbank should complete a forty-day pre-training program to use a simple machine. On-the-job training and seminars, given by the directorate, were an integral part of this process. This training method was explained by the interviewee Galip Bayraktaroğlu "In any department, the institution provided training on the factory machines for a certain period. If you are going to work in the thread section, they introduce the machines on

[398] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 42/01, 07.01.1934.

[399] Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi* (Eskişehir: Nur Matbaası, 1965), 16.

thread production. If you are working on the weaving unit, they teach the looms. If you are going to work in the printing section, they give information about whitening, washing, printing machines, and dye house in the printing section. The chiefs give training for one and a half months." Besides, there were technical and professional training operated by other public institutions. The first expected level to reach was to utilize the machines at full capacity and overcome all kinds of maintenance and repair. The initial requirement to be *ustabaşı* (head foreman), is to attend a one-month management seminar covering management strategies, motivation techniques, occupational safety, worker health, and even family planning.[400]

Figure 3. 14 The training hall in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

According to the Sümerbank Law No 2262 Article 2-D[401] (1933), the Sümerbank factory was responsible "for opening schools to train masters and workers concerning the requirement of the country and the directorate, educate industrial engineers and specialists in the national high schools of the country, and support these schools to be

[400] Sümerbank, *Sümerbank Personel Rehberi* (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1976), 70-71.

[401] "Madde 2-D: "Memlekete ve kendi fabrikalarına lüzumu olan usta ve işçileri yetiştirmek üzere mektepler açmak ve sanayi mühendis ve mütehassıslarını yetiştirmek için dahildeki yüksek mekteplerde talebe okutmak veya bu maksatla iktisat Vekâletince açılacak mekteplere yardım etmek ve ecnebi memleketlere talebe ve stajyer göndermek."

T. C. Resmi Gazete, *Sümerbank Kanunu No. 2262* (Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1933), 819.

opened by the Ministry of Economics, and sending students and trainees to foreign countries." (Figure 3.15)

The Sümerbank print factory paved the way for official permission for abroad education, and leave of absence with pay was granted for foreign education and seminars by the Sümerbank Trade Union and Türk-İş. Abroad education was a prevalent method for Sümerbank, that the Directorate sent 355 engineers, technicians, and workers to the USA, England, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and France for training, and provided 834 students higher education between 1933 and 1961.[402]

Figure 3. 15 The workers of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory sent to training in the Nazilli print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory 1964)

3.1.1.2.5. Interaction between Industrial Training and Workspace

The workbench in the railway vestibule school or the workshop in the Sümerbank training hall was designed as the archetype of the industrial workspace. Apprentices were the initial form of laborers, as being paid laborers and with their work hours. The curriculum was formed by industrial production and shop floor dynamics. On-site

[402] Sümerbank, "Sümerbank'ın Yetiştirdiği Elemanlar," *Sümerbank Aylık Kültür ve Endüstri Dergisi,* no. 1 (July 1961): 42.

training, the apprentices acquired the ability to use machinery with professional skills and techniques while concurrently get used to supervision, discipline, and control between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The strict regulations could be exemplified by the dress code applied to the apprentices in the railway factory. The apprentices had to dress according to these regulations. Work and daily wear, overalls, sleepers, and sports clothes (two short trousers, two flannels, and two training shoes) were determined by the factory and delivered to the workers.[403] These regulations were all produced to reinforce industrial social order, designed according to the principles, codes, and precepts of industrial production "such as punctuality, attendance, reliability, and respect for authority."[404] This adaptation was provided by the specialized practice, and exercises, rather than conventional pedagogical methods and tools.[405]

The professionalized training, as an extension of workspace, was formed by industrial labor-oriented interactions. This training not only intended to develop professional skills but also regulated by social interactions such as work ethics, sense of mission, labor division, and mentor system between master-apprentice. The training was conducted and supervised by the apprentices' superiors such as vocational teachers consisting of *ustabaşı* (head foreman) and his assistants, school manager, and factory manager. This hierarchical interaction was designed to adapt inexperienced and undisciplined inferiors to the institutional hierarchy.

In three of the factories, industrial education was based on the same educational methods and tools: the mentor system by master-apprentice, on-site training, transfer of knowledge and expertise, training activities, and printed media. The educational

---

[403] Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü, *Sanat Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi*, 1-25.

[404] Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Town* (London & New York: Verso, 1995), 177.

[405] "…Ameleden beklenecek başlıca kalifikasyon emir alma ve maksadını ifade etme kabiliyetleri, göz ve kulak intibalariyle hareketlerini iyi koordine edebilmek, sürat, ağırlık ve mesafe hakkında bozulmamış tabii canlı idraklere sahip olmalarıdır. Bunların yenmiyesi de klasik mektep tedrisinden ziyade, sırf bu noktalara spesyalize edilmiş oyunlar ve idmanlarla olur..."

Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti, *Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı*, 19.

institutions, such as vocational school, vestibule school, or training halls, were part of industrial culture. In addition to technical and professional knowledge production, these educational landscapes were determining agents in producing future workers and officials as part of an industrial labor force and specifying each workers' professional position within industrial production.

In all factories, printed media and professional events were the instruments to increase workspace productivity. The use of the printed media was an integral instrument in the industrial training by the state-owned factories. Education was not limited to the spatial-cultural production, such as vocational schools or training halls, and transcended its spatial boundaries by the printed media in that the training continued in leisure time. In parallel to the curricula offered in these spaces, the journals published by the factories and directorates covered not only technical but also social and cultural issues to develop the intellectual formation of their subjects. Main journals, concentrated on industry and industrial settlements, can be categorized as institutional and local print media. The institutional publications were *Demiryollar Mecmuası, Sanat ve Spor, Şeker, Pancar, and Sümerbank.* There were also supplementary activities related to training in the factories: providing international publications, onsite training programs, and publishing printed media.[406] The professional seminars, conferences, and language courses were organized in these industrial establishments.[407] Some of them were the seminar of work-study in railway factory, the meeting of laboratory chiefs in the sugar factory, and the seminar of monitoring innovations in weaving.[408] In line with this tendency, health conferences were prevalent activities in the Railway Hospital. (Figure 3.16)

---

[406] Ömer Alp, "Türkiye Şeker Sanayi 70.Yılını Tamamlarken," *Şeker, 70.Yıl Özel Sayısı* (December 25, 1996): 27-29.

[407] Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları, *Cumhuriyetin 80. yılında Türk şeker sanayi* (Ankara: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A. Ş., 2003).

[408] İsmail Hakkı Erdem, "ELMS'de Eğitim ve Öğretim Faaliyetleri," *Demiryol*, no. 606 (July 1976): 7-8.

Kazım Canatan, Kazım, "Türkiye Şeker Sanayiinden Haberler: Laboratuvar Şefleri Toplantısı," *Şeker,* no. 40 (July 1961): 59.

Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük, *Dokumacılıktaki Yeniliklerin İzlenmesi Semineri* (Ankara: Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük, 1967).

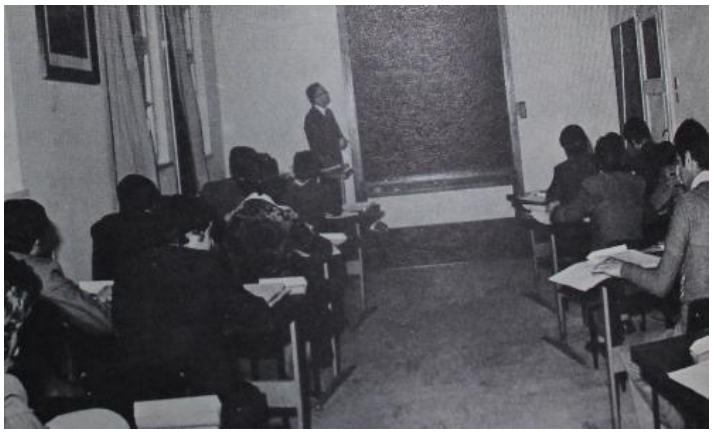


Figure 3. 16 The seminar of work study in the Eskişehir railway factory (Erdem 1976, 8) and the meeting of laboratory chiefs in the Eskişehir sugar factory (Şeker 1961, 59)

3.1.1.2.6. The Vocational School in the Urban Environment

Along with the education reform by the Department of Vocational and Technical Education, Eskişehir Vocational School was founded within an expansive complex in the institutional and governmental center of the city in 1944.[409] German Architect Paul Bonatz, a professor at the Stuttgart Technical University, was appointed as the design office manager working under the Undersecretariat of Technical Education. Between 1943 and 1954, the construction of technical education school for boys in Ankara, and the schools of technical education in Turkey were assigned to Bonatz.[410] During this period, the standardized projects for vocational schools were designed. (Figure 3.17)

[409] "Tarihçe," Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, accessed May 1, 2020. http://esata.meb.k12.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/26/01/967488/icerikler/tarihcemiz_191175.html?CHK=9112d25cfbad5ff9884d524f1eab74c7.

[410] Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 103/74, 11.10.1943.

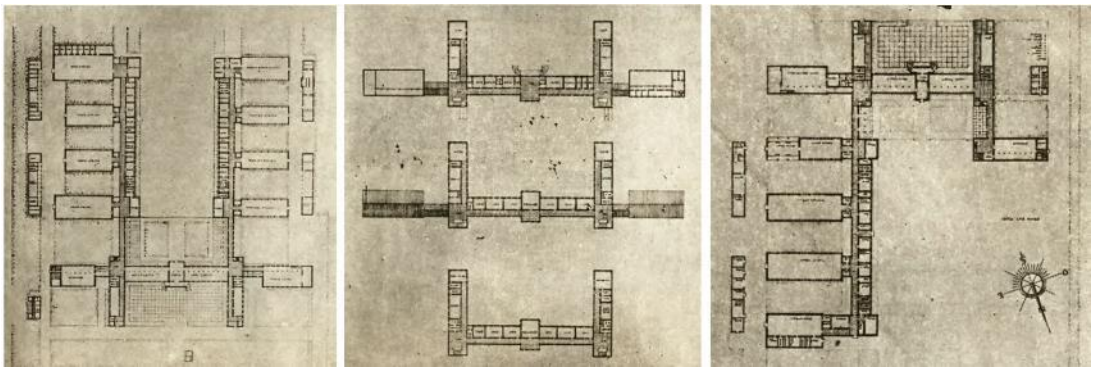


Figure 3. 17 The standardized projects for the design of the vocational schools (The Archive of National Education)

Eskişehir Vocational School was designed according to the standardized project-III by the Ministry of National Education. (Figure 3.18, 3.19) It included multiple facilities: administration unit, dining hall, and canteen, classrooms, workshops of decoration, furniture, metalworks, machine modeling, machine modeling.

Figure 3. 18 The Eskişehir vocational school (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

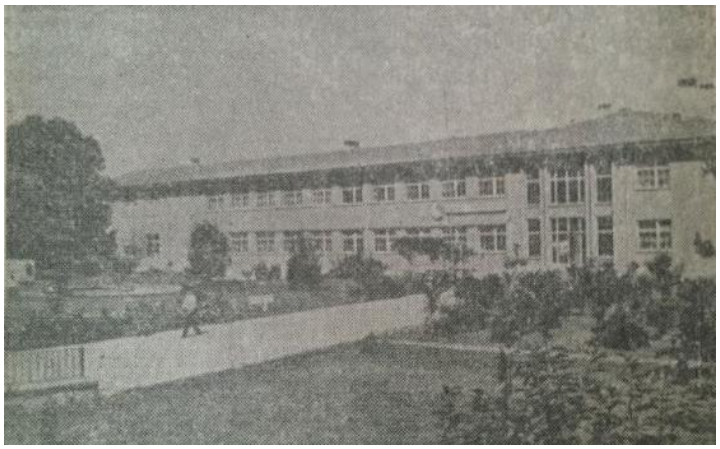


Figure 3. 18 (cont'd) The Eskişehir vocational school (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

Classroom, administration unit (1), workshops of decoration and furniture, metal works, machine modeling, canteen (2), and machine modeling workshop (7) were constructed in 1944. In 1967, machine drafting, printing area, dining hall, and in 1975, classrooms, industrial automation technology workshop, and other technological workshops were included in the building program. (Figure 3.20)

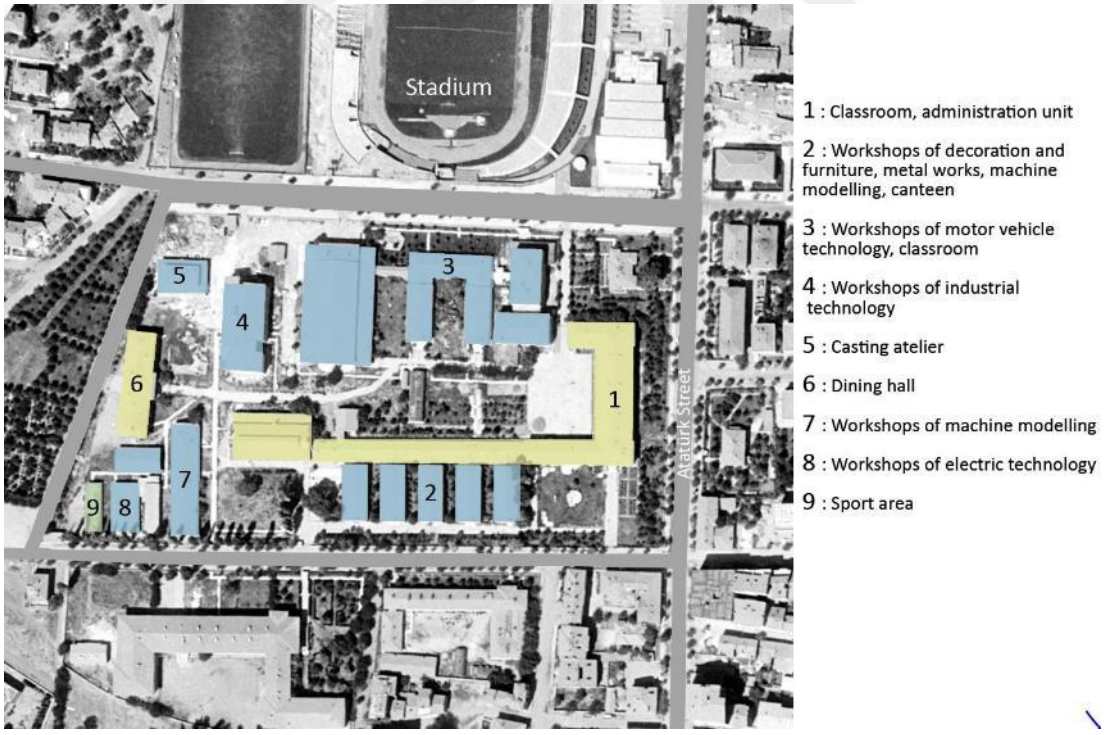


Figure 3. 19 The plan scheme of the Eskişehir vocational school (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975 and from the site plan sourced from Eskişehir Municipality Archive)

Parallel to its expansive educational program, vocational school graduates started to work in the industrial factories as skilled laborers. Between 1944 and 1980, this building, located in the city center, provided technical training for all factories.

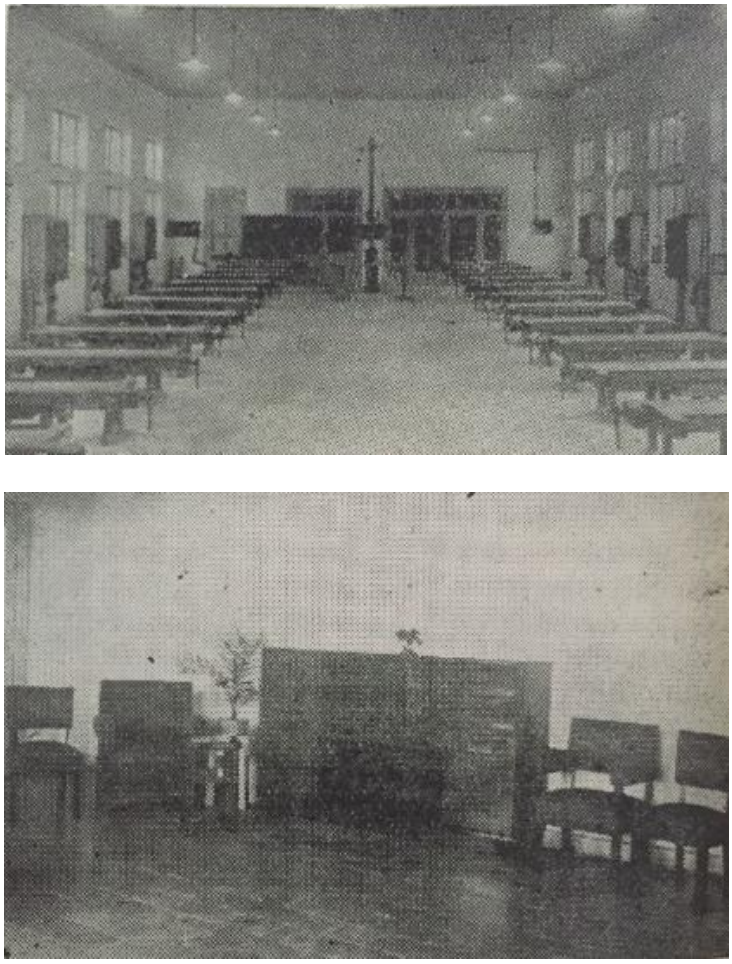


Figure 3. 20 Classrooms and workshops of furniture in the Eskişehir vocational school (Güngörür 1952)

3.1.1.3 Mechanisms of Time Management, Discipline and Control

> "It is only here, my friend, that the machinery and buildings can be found commensurate with the miracles of the modern times- they are called factories…" [411]

[411] A German visitor Peter Beuth, wrote to the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel about Manchester in 1823.

Darley, *Factory*, 27.

The modern discourse, with its notions of rationalism and mechanization, expressed itself directly through industrial architecture. The initial modernizing institution in Eskişehir, where the issues of time management, discipline, and control were introduced as the procedures and norms of industrial production, was the state-owned factories in the early twentieth century. Before these factories, the industrial production was based on small repair and maintenance workshops. The change in time concept, from agricultural to industrial, brought about new regulating mechanisms and notions in industrial and social terrain to manage and control the labor force. This labor force consisted of agricultural laborers and craftsmen, who were not used to this new production practice and industrial calendar.

As rational, deliberate, and efficient built environments, industrial production spaces were designed in parallel to the mechanism of time management, discipline, and control. These parameters defined a particular social order through a pre-production route from the factory gate to the production area by spatial organization. In all of these factories, the factory gate was an initial control point for the workers, most of whom lived outside of the industrial settlements, designed to highlight its disciplinary, supervisory and governing function. The workers were obliged to pass the gateways to reach their production areas. These monumental fences with a limited entrance and exit corridor supervised workers to provide minute supervision, control workers for robbery, and prevent unauthorized departures. The rooms of *bekçi* or *kapıcı* (watchman), and *puantör* (timekeeper)[412] were located in the factory gate.

The workers reacted to the daily control consisting of body search, which underlined in the journal *İşçi Postası* "Workers in almost all factories in our country are subject to body search while their return to home. This procedure is not ethical and causes heavy psychological damage to the worker…" According to the article, the solution offered was the conferences to inform the workers about the harmful outcomes of their unethical attempts. Workers could be controlled by self-regulation and social

[412] *Puantör* (timekeeper) was also responsible for the regulation of wage, payroll, insurance inventory.

Ç. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 15, 2020.

pressure.[413] According to the interviews, the labor discipline and rhythm were based on mutual trust, and self-regulated discipline emerged from collective labor.[414]

Even though architectural configuration differed, this spatial sequence is approximately the same in all factories, and this path was the daily routine in pre-production, from entry to production. Just like a product in mass production, the worker was molded by time management, control and discipline by following this sequence everyday. This pre-production route was controlled by the integration of physical and visual elements, while workers following this route at every entrance and departure. The factory gate, with its additional units, served for the first phase of the control mechanism of the state. This sequence continued in the production zone by control of the workers by timetables and visual control mechanism. This monitoring and supervisory mechanisms, integrated with the spatial organization and worked as a contract shaped by the tendencies of the Republican period, was used in all of the state-owned factories in Eskişehir. Such mechanisms and regulations aimed to form disciplined and controlled industrial workers while securing efficient production.[415]
In these factories, the pre-production route was formed among Atatürk square[416], administration building, and production units. This spatial organization between production and administrative buildings emphasized the role of time control and management in production. The administrative building dominated the gate, where

[413] "Memleketimizdeki hemen hemen bütün fabrikalarda işçi günlük mesaisini tamamlayarak evine dönerken yoklanmaya tabidir. Bu usulün işçi ruhu üzerinde icra ettiği ağır tesiri düşünmeden devam ettirilmesinde ahlak namına hiç bir fayda göremiyor… Günlük yoklama ile değil de başka usullerle meydana çıkarmak kabil ilen bütün işçilerin arama muamelesine tabi tutulmasının doğru olmayacağı kanaatindeyim… Az bir gayret sarf edilerek imkan dahilinde konferanslarla işçi morali yükseltilir ve onlara aralarında kötü huylu arkadaşın barınmasına müsaade edildiği takdirde daha büyük fenalıklar yapılabileceği anlatılırsa eminim ki kötü huylu olanlar daha çabuk ele geçer ve işçi arasında barınamaz. 12 senelik meslek hayatımda karşılaştığım en acı şey, çoluk çocuğumun günlük nafakasını alın teri dökmekle namusumla kazandım diye müsterih ve sevinç içinde evime dönerken Fabrika kapılarından vakarla geçtikleri halde, temiz temiz olduğu kadar da vatanperver olan işçinin muhakkak hırsızdır çalar damgasından kurtarılamayarak aranma işkencesine mahkum olmasıdır…"

Feyzi Önüt, "İşçiyi Tanıyalım," *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 7 (December 29, 1951): 2.

[414] Ç. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 15, 2020.

N. E., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

[415] Makal, *Türkiye'de Çok Partili Dönemde Çalışma İlişkileri: 1946-1963.*

[416] Atatürk square with an Atatürk statue surrounded by a green belt defines the entrance zone.

the entry and exit control was carried out. The pre-production route directed workers to the production zone, and could visually supervise the workers along this route. This spatial organization underlined the significance of administration; as being the control and power mechanism with its dominant location and outward face of the factory.

This circulation zone between the factory gate and administration was under the supervision of workers' superiors. In addition to entry and exit supervision, the workers should pass through the pre-production route while going to the dining hall or day-care center. The shop floor dynamics integrated with time regulations that brought about a strict production schedule in the production zone. "The employer is free to approve latecomers up to 10 minutes -except force majeure-.[417] However, if these delays exceed two times a month, an hourly salary deduction for absence is made from their wages. For those who are late up to 30 minutes due to force majeure, a half-hour salary deduction for absence is made. Those who are late for more than 30 minutes due to force majeure will take unpaid leave that day."[418] In the sugar factory, the same regulation was applied: "A half-daily wage will be cut for the workers who do not start their work within 15 minutes."[419] The pre-production route ended on the shop floor, and every worker had to be ready in the workshops' gathering space. *Usta* (master workman or skilled laborer) provided the division of labor among workers. The quality control department, consisting of engineers and technicians, was responsible for controlling the labor division.[420]

---

[417] For more information, see the Glossary.

[418] "10 dakikaya kadar (mücbir sebepler hariç) geç kalanları işe alıp almamakta işveren serbesttir. Ancak bu geç kalmalar ayda iki defayı geçtiği takdirde ücretlerinden her defasında bir saatlik kıstelyevm yapılır. Mucbir sebeplerle 30 dakikaya kadar geç kalanlar işe alınarak yarım saatlik kıstelyevm yapılır. Mucbir sebeplerle 30 dakikada fazla işe geç kalanlar işe alınmadığı taktirde de o gün ücretsiz izinli addedilecektir."

Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi*, 26.

[419] "11: Cezalar: b) İş başı düdüğü çaldığı halde azami 15 dakika zarfında işleri başında bulunmayanların yarım yevmiyeleri ve tekerrürü halinde bir yevmiyeleri kesilir."

Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları, *Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. Dahili Talimatnamesi* (İstanbul: Kaatçılık ve Maatbacılık A.Ş, 1938), 13.

[420] V. S., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

With the order of machinery, workspace design was produced to maximize visual contact, light, and air. Time management, disciplinary mechanism, production speed, output, and efficiency were determining factors in the spatial arrangement of these buildings. The shop floor and laborers had to be rationally sub-divided according to the production process and relations. The factory layout not only responded to technological and scientific requirements but also organized and controlled the industrial operations and other activities. Through hierarchical interaction and supervision, the use of coercive force by superiors was eliminated.

In parallel to the multiplicity in the production flow, the spatial partitioning by specialized divisions facilitated disciplinary regulations and production efficiency. Machines were stationed at regular intervals, within a grid-like serial order, divided by slender aisles. However, almost none of the units were unconnected apart from superiors' offices or service units, and the aisles linked these units by a non-hierarchical circulation. This circulation was designed to provide visual control over industrial operations and laborers in a unit with minimum difficulty while supervising subordinates' circulation and absence.

In addition to the spatial arrangement, one of the prominent control and disciplinary instruments was time management. In all the factories, the payment policy, including daily fee and deduction from salary, was based on time-based work.[421] Payment systems in industry were categorized into two, as time-based and output-based payment systems -the accord system-. In these factories, the time-based payment system, regarding the work cycle spent at work rather than the number of products, was used.[422] Therefore, the superiors prepared the timetables to determine the time required for specific work and efficiently spend the production time. In this payment model, each work's operation time was determined according to the production quotas assessed by superiors. The daily wages were stable, and the workers had to complete these production quotas. Workers were grouped according to their skills and responsibilities under units. The production amount among workers could be evaluated by the parallel placement of machinery and laborers in the same rank. This spatial

[421] Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi,* 26.

[422] Ç. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 15, 2020.

organization became an integral part of the payment system. The time-based system was based on the trust-based relation between superiors and subordinates and workers were expected to adjust their own performance.

3.1.1.3.1. The Railway Factory

The time management and control started from the factory gate in the railway factory. (Figure 3.21) The factory gate consisted of divisions with closets, *zımba saat* (time clock),[423] and circulation. The time clock was a device to assess the efficiency of the workers. Every worker had to punch the time clock while being monitored by the timekeeper's room. One interviewee explained the pre-production route as "After entering the gateway, the timekeeper collected and controlled the identification cards of workers, and kept the absentee record. This process was provided during the entry and exit. There were also watchmen in the gateway. One of the labor units provided maintenance and repair of the time clock. As the wages were given within a time-based system, each foreman controlled his unit consisting of ten workers."[424]

The north wing of the building, directly reachable by the main street, was designed as a bicycle garage. Workers were obliged to go outside the building and pass through the control area after parking their bicycles because there was only one entrance to the gate. The gateway was designed by Sabri Şekip Akalın, as already mentioned, a prominent architect in the Republican period. Beyond administrative decisions, it is essential to include that Akalın considered the local context. Most of the workers used bicycles as a transportation vehicle, according to historical documentaries and photographs. The gateway with its clock tower, visible by the urban inhabitants, was a symbol of railway industry.

[423] The time clock is "a special clock that records the exact time that somebody starts and finishes work."

"Time clock," Oxford English Dictionary, accessed May 1, 2020, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/time-clock.

[424] İ. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

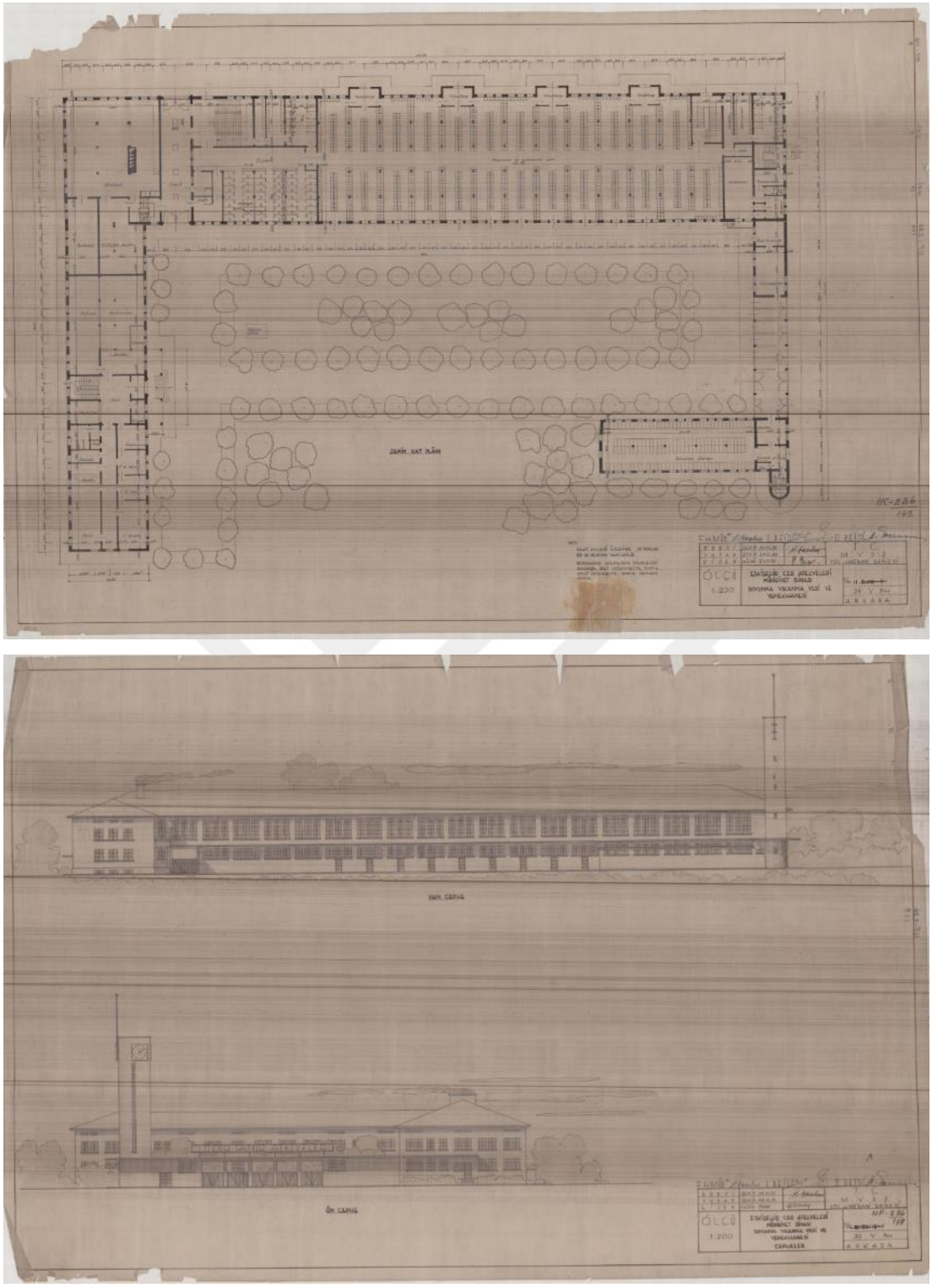


Figure 3. 21 The architectural drawing of the Eskişehir railway factory gateway, administration unit, and dining hall (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Railways 1944)

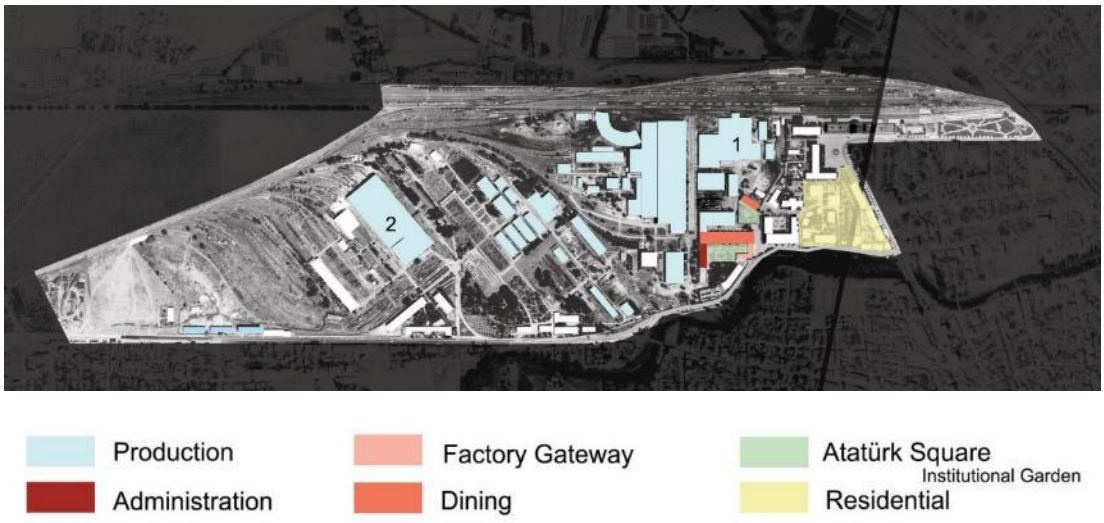


Figure 3. 22 Aerial map from 1975 showing the building functions in the Eskişehir railway factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

The railway factory had two production zones: The *cer atölyesi* (traction workshop) and the *yol atölyesi* (road workshop). (Figure 3.22) These were self-contained workspaces with their changing rooms and dining halls. Traction workshop consisted of two dominant buildings in function and scale: Diesel locomotive and wagon factory. The transport line, positioned in the middle, served both of the buildings. The factories were designed according to the production and transport line. In all workspaces, the machines were placed serially to allow superiors' circulation and observe inferiors. The workshops, with their rectangular plan, were highly replaceable and adaptable in both form and function. One of the examples was Wagon Factory, divided into production units. (Figure 3.23) One unit on the west side of the building was designed as access to the transport line. Locomotives and wagons, as heavy railway elements, were carried into the factory by parallel rail lines named transport line with the help of a sliding crane. Diesel locomotive factory was designed as one open space to produce gigantic locomotives. Wagon and equipment factory had four production divisions: tin preparation, wagon manufacture, steel construction units, and an office zone, in the core of the building, for chiefs and responsible workers. (Figure 3.24)

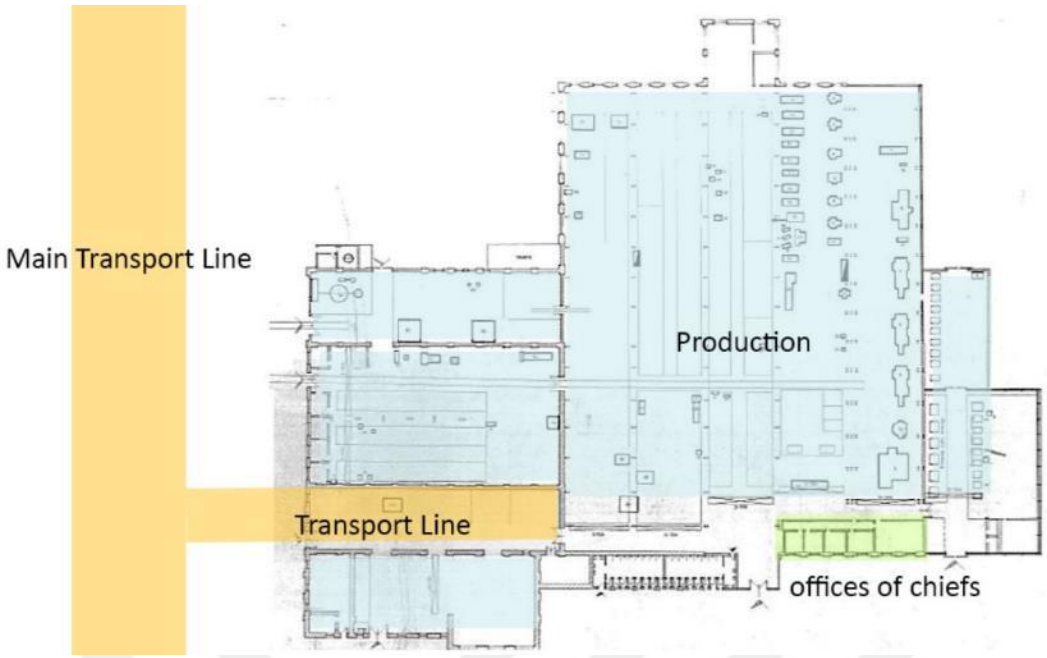


Figure 3. 23 Wagon factory in the traction workshop (adapted by the author from an architectural plan of the Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

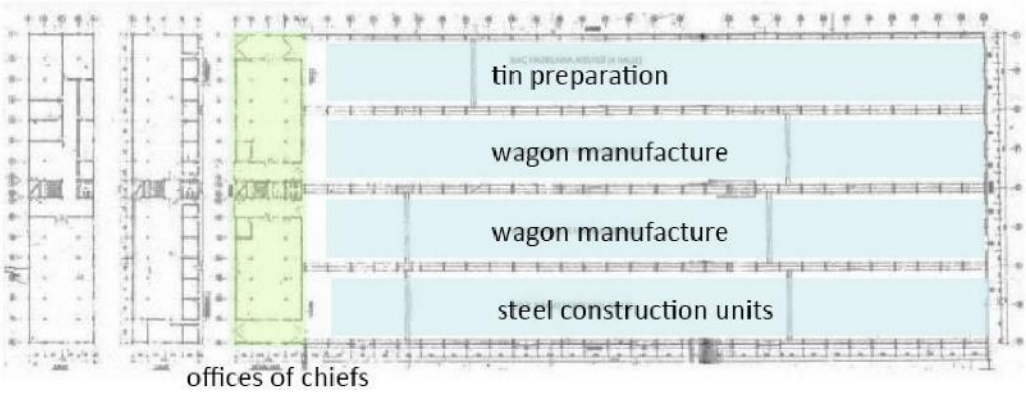


Figure 3. 24 Wagon and road equipment factory in the road workshop (adapted by the author from an architectural plan of the Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

3.1.1.3.2. The Sugar Factory

Access from the city to the sugar factory was provided by *dekovil* (narrow-gauge railway) and highway. Therefore pre-production buildings were designed in line with this access. The timekeeper room was designed on the axis from the railway stop to the production unit and supervised workers who entered both from the main gate and railway. The factory gate was designed with an information office, watchman's office, dining hall, and toilet. (Figure 3.25, 3.26) This design was modest compared to the other two factories due to its low visual contact from the highway.

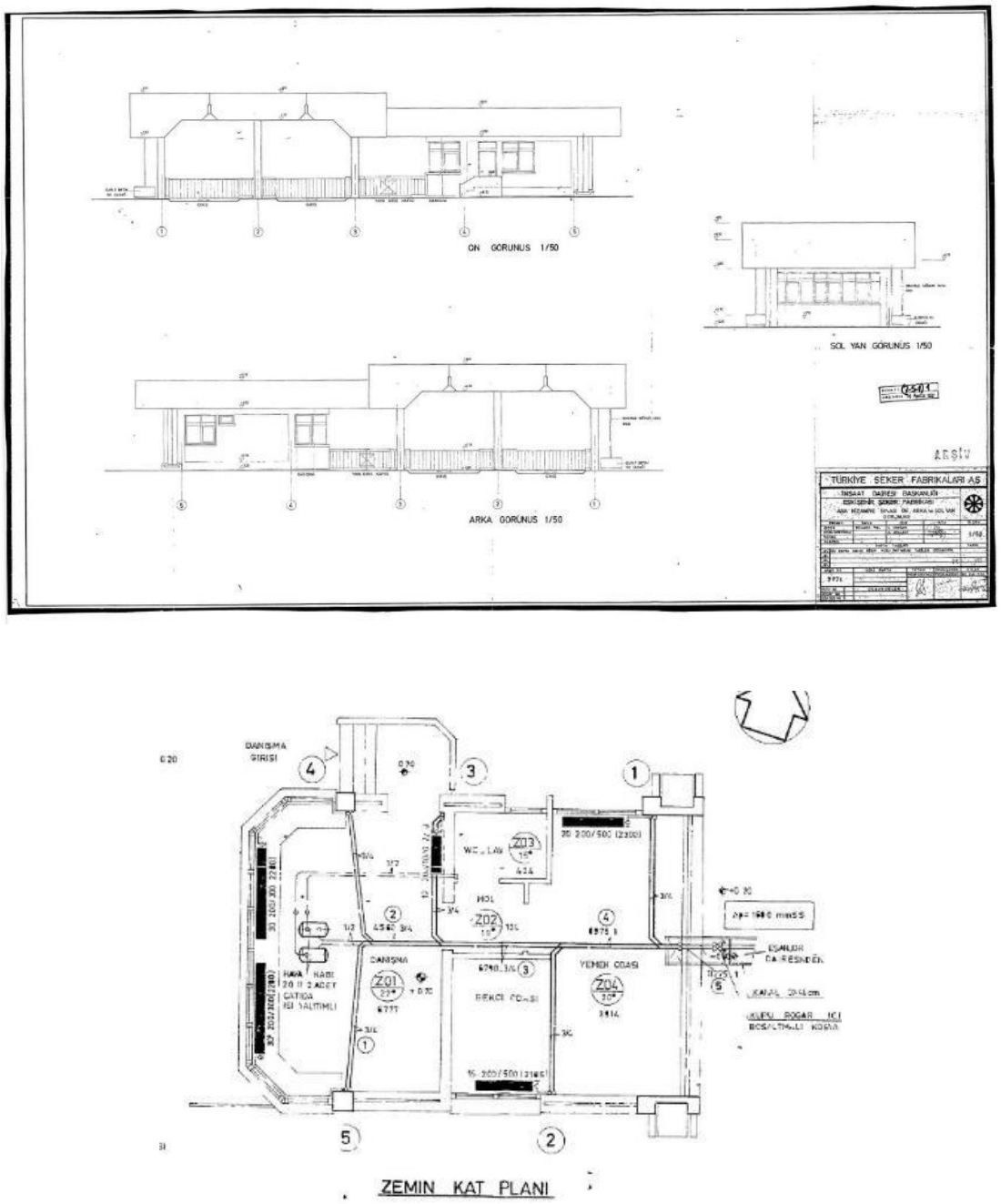


Figure 3. 25 The factory gate in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories)

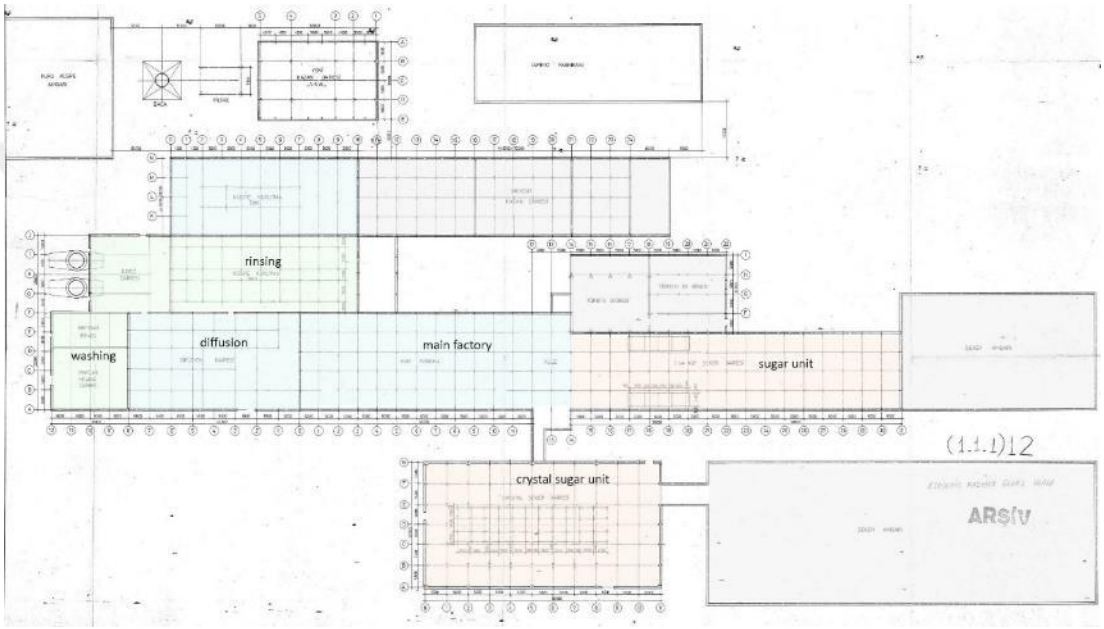
Figure 3. 26 The factory gate in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

Figure 3. 27 Aerial map from 1975 showing the building functions in the Eskişehir sugar factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

In the sugar factory, there were three industrial buildings: sugar factory, alcohol factory, and machine factory. (Figure 3.27) The technology and spatial character of these buildings were differed due to production type. In sugar manufacturing, the

production progressed by stages, and accordingly, the spatial organization was produced. The *ham fabrika* (raw sugar /main manufacturing plant) (Figure 3.28), specialized in sugar production, consisted of sequential spaces according to the production stages indicated in the table below:

	Agricultural stage - Preparation		Raw Factory Process				Refinery	
PROCESS	Storage	Washing- Rinsing	Milling- Diffusion	Purification	Filtration	Concentration	Formation	Package
SPACE	Beet Silo	Beet Washing Unit	Diffusion Unit	Main Factory	Main Factory	Main Factory	Sugar Cube Production Unit Crystal Sugar Production Unit	Sugar Depot



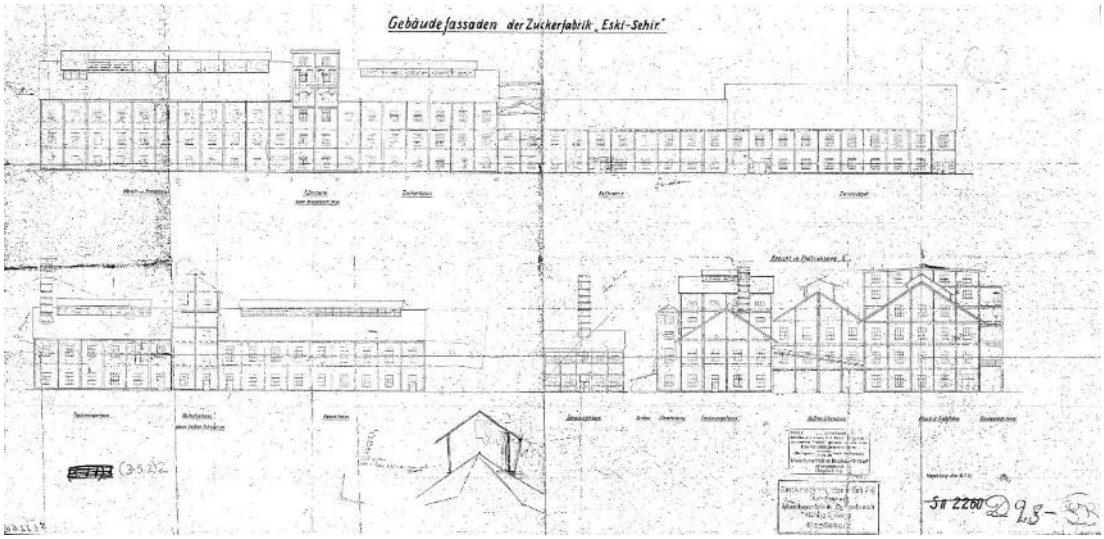


Figure 3. 28 The production process and the architectural drawings of the *ham fabrika* (raw sugar /main manufacturing plant) in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories)

Inside the factories, the spatial organization was designed in line with large machines in an open scheme. For example, the sugar cube production unit was designed as an open space, according to the allocation of vacuum devices and syrup depot. (Figure 3.29)

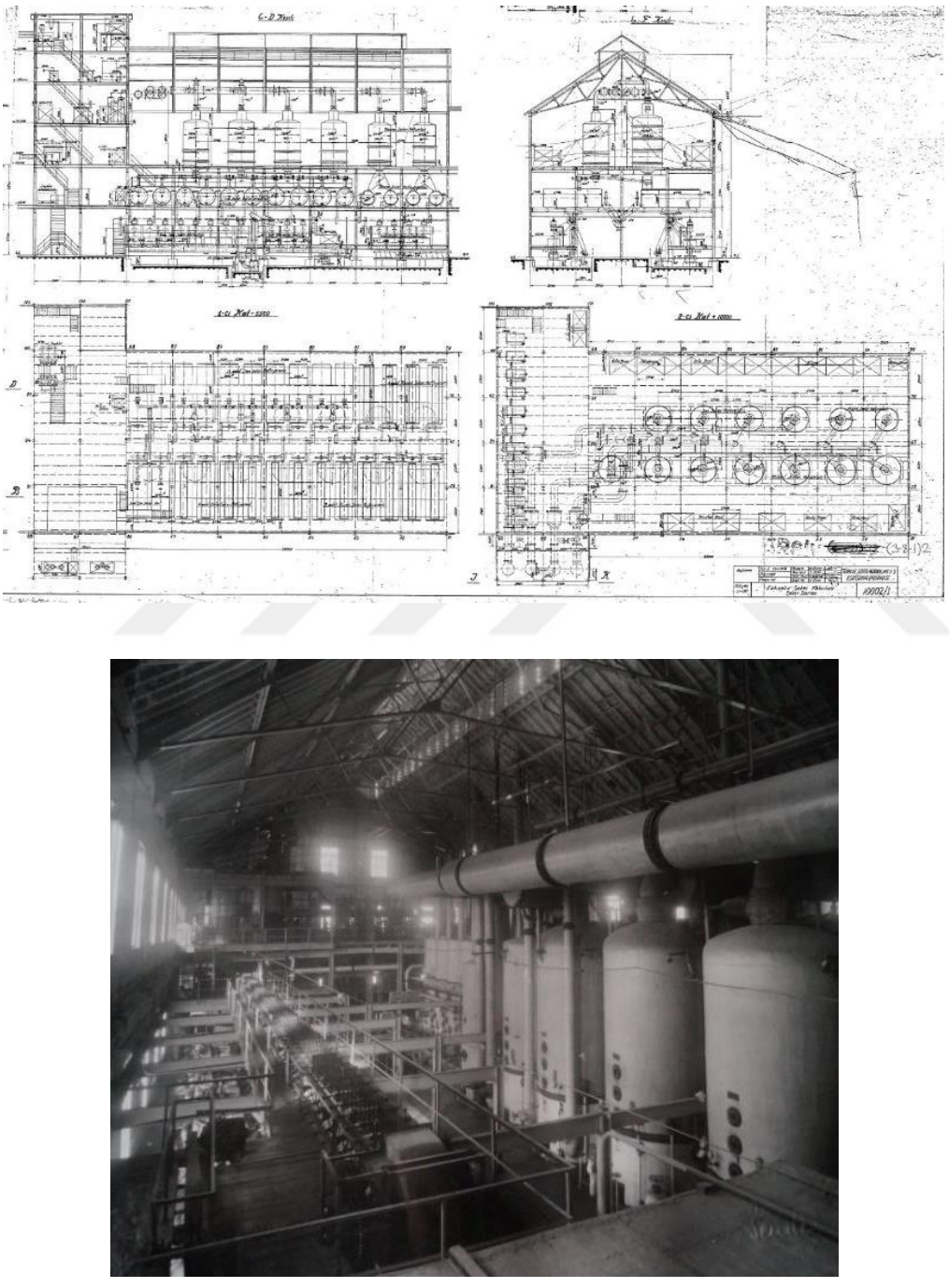


Figure 3. 29 The architectural drawings of sugar cube unit (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories) and the sugar cube unit in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

3.1.1.3.3. The Sümerbank Factory

Çekirge[425] (grasshopper), the factory gate of the Sümerbank factory, was a security unit. This structure was designed with an administration office and watchman's room. (Figure 3.30, 3.31) Another entrance was designed for workers in 1964[426] and served for the workers' neighborhood. This was a modest building consisted of three rhythmically planned structures, designed as an office of timekeeper, watchman, and waiting room. (Figure 3.32, 3.33) The facade of the building was composed of a glass surface to control workers. On the opposite side, a building, consisted of a large waiting room with a tea house and a consumption cooperative, was designed. Sümerbank regulated the control of workers in article 37, "Workers should enter and exit the factory through the gates assigned to them. It is forbidden to enter and exit the workspace from another location. They are obliged to show the identification cards given during their entrance and be searched by the staff in charge of this job during their departure. If necessary, a body search can be done in the worker's locker during work time. In exceptional cases, a search can also be done at the entrance."[427]

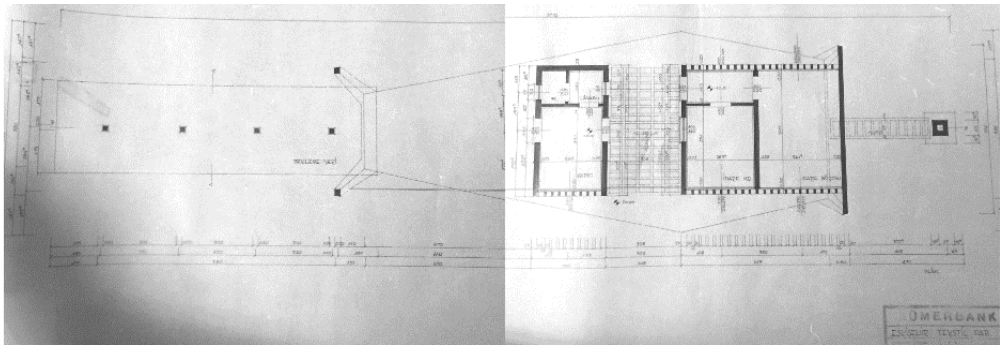


Figure 3. 30 The architectural drawings of *Çekirge,* the factory gate of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

[425] The name *Çekirge* was given by the employees to the factory gate because the structure resembles a grasshopper.

[426] The architectural drawings were drawn by B. Erbağ according to the archival documents. His/ her first name was not mentioned in the archival documents.

[427] "İşyerine Giriş, Çıkış ve Arama: Madde 37: İşçiler işyerlerine kendilerine tahsis edilen kapılardan girer ve çıkarlar. İşyerine başka bir yerden girmek ve çıkmak yasaktır. İşyerine girerken kendilerine verilen tanıtma kartlarını göstermeye mecburdurlar. İşçiler işten çıkarlarken işverenin bu iş ile vazifelendirdiği kimseler üzerlerini aratmaya mecburdurlar. Ayrıca lüzum görüldüğü takdirde işin devamı sırasında işçinin soyunma dolaplarında ve üzerinde de arama yaptırılabilir. Fevkalade hallerde girişte de arama yapılabilir ."

Sümerbank Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii*, 27.

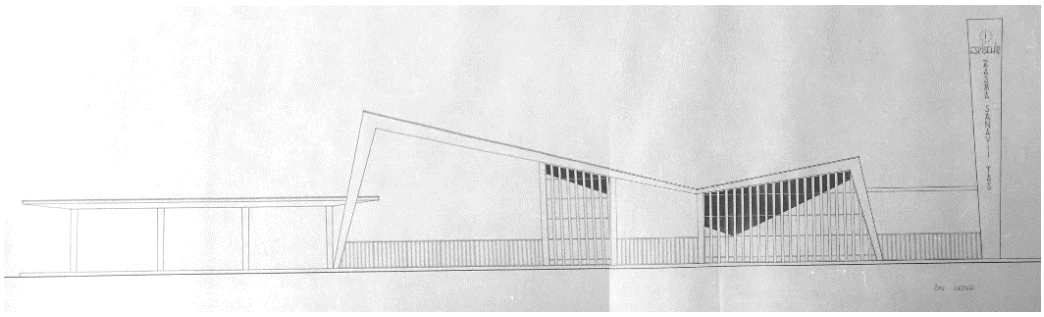


Figure 3.30 (cont'd) The architectural drawings of *Çekirge,* the factory gate of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

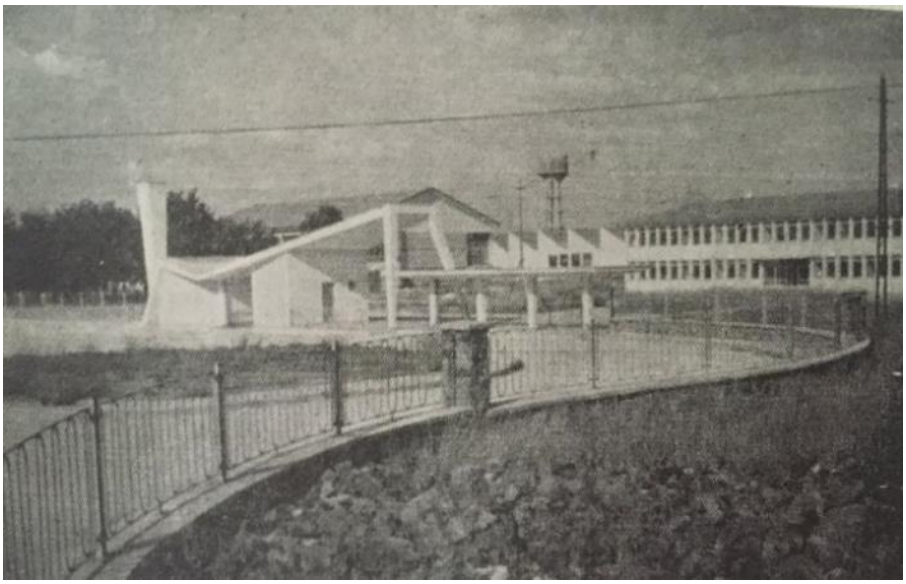


Figure 3. 31 Çekirge (grasshopper), the factory gate of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory (Çelikkanat 1973 and photograph taken by the author during a site visit in 2018)

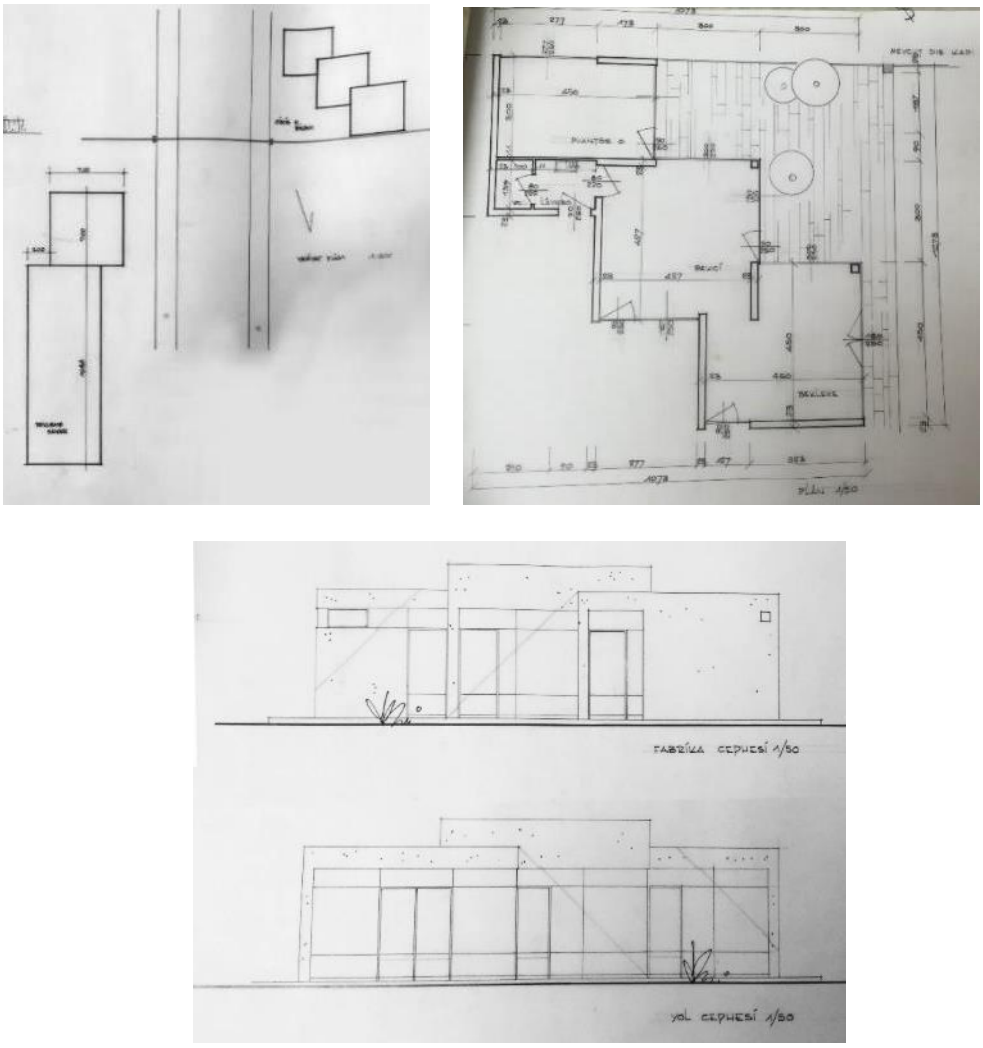


Figure 3. 32 The architectural drawings of the factory gate for workers of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

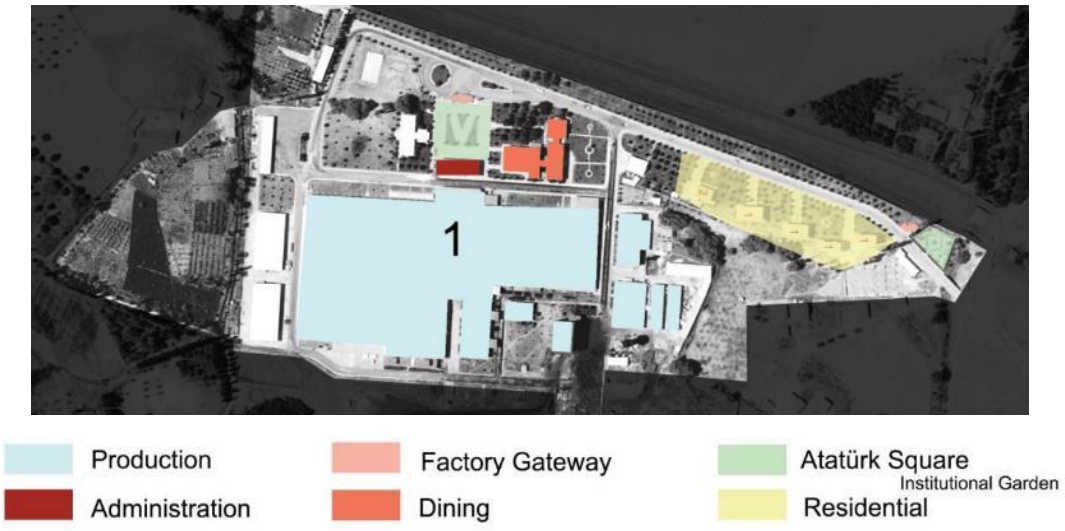


Figure 3. 33 Aerial map from 1975 showing the building functions in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

It is understood from *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi* (Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory Collective Agreement) that time control was strictly implemented for the activities related to the day-care facility.[428] The permission to go to the day-care facility was solely given to the breastfeeding mother with a maximum of thirty minutes long. These mothers who were given a breastfeeding card could enter the nursery and breastfeeding room.[429]

Strict disciplinary regulations also applied for the children, aged between two and six. These children had to dress in uniforms and forbidden to wear these uniforms outside of the day-care center. Beyond its social meaning, this facility was considered as the extension of the production area and provided its service regulated by the work hours. In addition to social welfare, the significance of time was also underlined by the strict time regulations: "Children have to be left in half an hour before the work time, and have to be picked up at the latest half an hour after work."[430]

The main factory in Sümerbank was a single-storey building with a saw-tooth roof. From the backside of the administration unit, the main access to the building was provided. This access vertically divided the building into two units: one part for thread units and the other for weaving. (Figure 3.34) The machines were placed serially around the supervision route.[431]

---

[428] Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi,* 66.

[429] "Madde 62: Kreşe ve emzirme odasına sadece kendisine emzirme kartı verilen anneler girebilir. Madde 63- Emzikli anne, işaret edilen saatten itibaren en çok 30 dakika içinde çocuğunu emzirip tekrar iş başına dönmek mecburiyetindedir. "

Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi,* 66.

[430] "Madde 60: Çocuklar annenin veya babanın işe giriş saatlerinden yarım saat önce getirilir. İşten çıkış saatinden en geç yarım saat sonra alınır…"

Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi,* 66.

[431] From the interviews, the plan of the building was redrawn over the survey drawing.

Figure 3. 34 The architectural drawing of the main factory in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (adapted by the author from an architectural plan)

3.1.1.4. Scientific Management, Organization of Production and Labor Division

The social and economic paradigms in production, such as Taylorism and scientific management, are critical to understand spatial organization and labor division in industry. Industrial architecture is a mirror of these socio-economic models. The specialized production types in railway, sugar and textile factories, have their particular production techniques that shaped their spaces. These social and economic paradigms introduced production relations and managerial techniques that influenced the production of space and every aspect of life.

3.1.1.4.1. Industrial Labor Division and its Spatial Production

As a series of processes and services constituted industrial production, the workspace relations were hierarchically grouped in the state-owned factories in Eskişehir. (Figure 3.35) The position of industrial actors was shaped with a strict hierarchical order. This strict order was directly reflected on the spatial organization and labor interactions in the workspace derived from control mechanism, scientific management, and maximizing production efficiency. The publication by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, *Sevk ve İdarecilik: Sanayide Eğitim* (Management: Training in

Industry) explained this occupational hierarchy.[432] As a complex model, hierarchical interactions were vertically and horizontally designed.

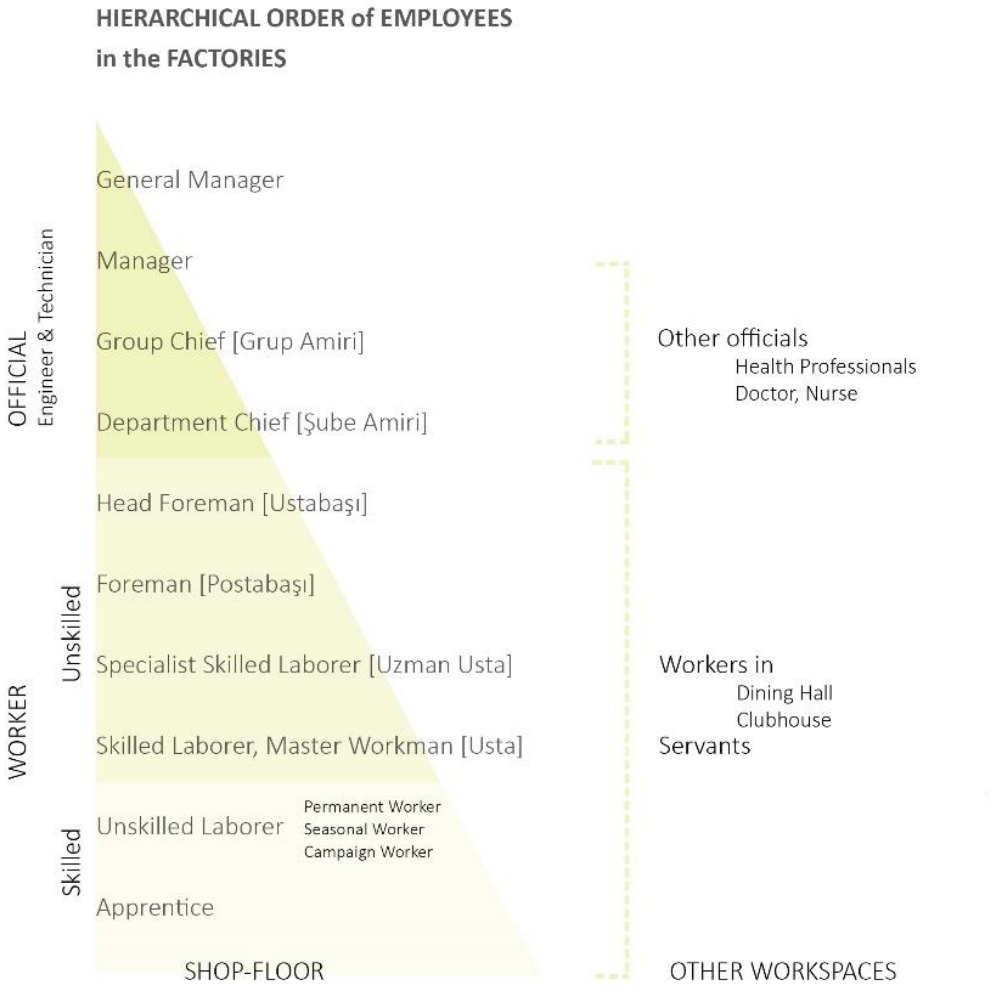


Figure 3. 35 Hierarchical order of employees in the Eskişehir railway, sugar and Sümerbank print factories (adapted by the author from the interviews, the archives of the factories, and the regulations)

The ranks in labor division were provided by the interviews, the factories' archives, and the regulations. There were mainly two groups of employees that emerged in the workspace as workers and officials. While workers usually doing the physical work, officials were responsible for controlling, evaluating, and arranging inferiors with a superior position and dealt with office works.[433] These workers and officials could

[432] Mustafa Gürses, *Sevk ve İdarecilik: Sanayide Eğitim* (İzmir: Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu İzmir Bölge Müdürlüğü, , n.d.).

[433] Rıza Tetik, "Kabahati İşçide Bulmayalım," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 12 (February 29, 1952): 1-2.

only be promoted within their own hierarchical order, and the control mechanism was under the authority of the officials. Hierarchical ranking within the factories was arranged in a vertical order.

The top layer reserved for officials, included general manager, manager, group chief, and department chief. Some of them, such as general managers and managers, had offices in the administration building. Group chief and department chief's office could be located on the shop floor.[434] Engineers and technicians had an effective role in this ranking, and the factory governed and managed by these industrial technocrats, who had technical expertise and authority to manage the industry. These "technocratic elites" generally took their education from the high schools in large cities or foreign countries and transferred their knowledge to these factories within a national network.[435] This group was responsible for the management of industry. The officials working in other departments, such as doctors and nurses in the hospitals, were under this category of officials, too.

The second layer consisted of skilled laborers, responsible for technical and physical work on the shop floor: *ustabaşı* (head foreman) and *postabaşı* (foreman). Each *posta* (unit) in the factory consisted of 8 to 10 laborers, operated by a foreman, and the head foreman was responsible for 3 or 4 units with the control of time, tasks, and responsibilities of workers. The significance of skilled laborers was also indicated in *Modern Fabrika Teşkilat Esasları* (Organizational Principals of Modern Factory), written by Dr. Engineer Sachsenberg.[436] *Ustabaşı* (head foreman), with an administrative role like technocrats, had less interaction with inferiors. The lowest positions responsible for supervision were *postabaşı* (foreman), *usta* (master workman or skilled laborer), or *uzman usta* (skilled laborer). The production process depended on their skills, ability to interpret, and training they took. Foreman had limited contact with laborers than the master workman who operated daily labor, team, and space.[437]

---

[434] İ. K., a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

[435] M. O., a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 4, 2020.

[436] Sachsenberg, "Modern Fabrika Teşkilatı Esasları," *Demiryollar Mecmuası* 10, no. 121 (March 1, 1935).

[437] İ. K., a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

Thus the master workman was a prominent figure operating and organizing the shop floor with direct contact with unskilled laborers. These workers were responsible for operating machinery, performing specialized manual labor, and quality control.

The lowest layer in the labor hierarchy, with the least seniority, dealt with manual work on the shop floor. Unskilled laborers consisted of permanent and seasonal workers. The permanent workers graduated from the Eskişehir vocational school or the vestibule school to a large extent, while seasonal workers commonly consisted of peasant population as primary school graduates.[438]

Workers, being in the second and third categories of the occupational hierarchy, were grouped from below to the top as apprentice, laborer, skilled laborer, master workman (usta), specialist skilled laborer (uzman usta), foreman (postabaşı), and head foreman (ustabaşı). According to Özeken, 98 percent of the industrial employees were workers.[439] In the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory, the total number of workers was 1,200, while officials, engineers, and technicians consisted of 97 in 1965.[440]

The lower cadres, as unskilled laborers, were densely populated.[441] The exam-based seniority was applied for the transition between hierarchical ranks. This hierarchical division emerged in the spatial production of three factories. The unskilled laborer was divided into different groups in terms of working period and space. Apart from the shop floor workers, there were unskilled laborers in administration, dining hall, clubhouse, and other service units.

Parallel to the interaction within the labor division, the industrial workplace was a fragmented terrain formed by diverse tasks and skills. The fragmentation between officials and workers began from the pre-industrial route. (Figure 3.36) Contrary to the industrial laborers, controlled and supervised during their entrance and departure

---

[438] Z. T. Ş., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 27, 2020.

[439] Ahmet Ali Özeken, "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," in *İçtimai Siyaset Konferansları, Kitap 3,* ed. İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Enstitüsü (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat ve İçtimai, 1949), 103-130.

[440] Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası, *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi*.

[441] V. S., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

through the gateway, the technocrats in their suits and ties were not subjected to supervision. For the factory bourgeois, the factory gateway was re-functioned as a circulation area, rather than a control and supervision aisle. The time control over them was also loose, and their breaks were not regulated that they were free to get out to the garden that surrounded the administration building. The administration building had limited access and was only used by the factory's technocracy, by not providing access to workers.

Administrative offices were located in the administration building or shop floor according to the labor classification. The offices of group chiefs, such as the production and technical manager, whose departments related to the technical production, were mostly located on the shop floor. Naci Gelendost, in the essay *Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası*, underlined the differentiation of work-life between technical departments and shop floor. Unlike the social life in the factory, working conditions in production was difficult.[442]

Figure 3. 36 Maps from 1975 showing the routes of administrators and workers in the Eskişehir railway, sugar and Sümerbank factories (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

[442] Naci Gelendost, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," *Çalışanlar,* 1, no.8 (November 15, 1965): 2.

Figure 3.36 (cont'd) Maps from 1975 showing the routes of administrators and workers in the Eskişehir railway, sugar and Sümerbank factories (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

Experience, know-how, and technical accumulation of officials provided a formal relation with workers based on hierarchical order, rationalized production, and strict discipline regulations. However, unskilled laborer's interaction with the master workman, hierarchically closest to them, was intense compared to other superiors. By

the agency of technical experience, know-how, authority, and respected status, the master workman had a significant role in industrial interactions. The shop floor training was produced through the interaction between master workman and unskilled laborer. As a reflection of statist paternalism, the master workman controlled and protected unskilled laborers "in a way that is similar to that of a father controlling his children"[443], and not giving them full responsibility.

The hierarchical differentiation was apparent in the distribution of earnings and work hours. The hand-out, *Sendikalarımıza ve Demiryolu İşçilerimize*, clarified that workers demanded to become high-paid employees as the officials.[444] The differentiation between workers and officials also apparent in seniority rights. These cases exemplified that welfare possibilities for workers were limited compared to officials and administrators, and workers expected mutual agreement between the employer and the employee in terms of legal and social equality.[445]

There was a distinction between workers in production and other workers in service facilities. It was stated in the essay, "Şeker Fabrikasında 15 saat çalışan İşçiler" in *İşçi Postası* while the industrial laborers working eight hours a day, cooks and club-waiters worked for fifteen hours, not owned same rights with the shop floor laborers, and associated their condition with "a foster child."[446] Another similar treatment was evident in the railway factory and emphasized in the essay "Bekçi ve Hademeler" in the journal *İşçinin Sesi*, the watchmen and gatekeepers could not benefit from child and maternity benefit.[447]

---

[443] "Paternalism," Oxford English Dictionary, accessed May 1, 2020, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/paternalism?q=Paternalism.

[444] Türkiye Demiryolları İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu, *Sendikalarımıza ve Demiryolu İşçilerimize* (Eskişehir: Altan Matbaası, 1960), 1.

[445] Rıza Tetik, "Kanunda Eşitlik Bekliyoruz!: İşçi Bu Devletin Emektarı Değil mi?," *İşçinin Sesi,* 1, no. 8 *(*December 30, 1951): 1.

[446] Eskişehir İşçi Postası, "Şeker Fabrikasında 15 saat çalışan İşçiler," *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no.1 (November 17, 1951): 3.

[447] İşçinin Sesi, "Bekçi ve Hademeler," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 11 *(*February 15, 1952): 1.

Although workers had solidarity and unity brought by their training and shop floor dynamics, they had limited authority in the workspace between 1923 and 1950. After 1950, unions emerged as the primary mechanism to ensure the common interest and collectivity. They reacted to hierarchical order, such as for improving the physical conditions of the dining hall.[448] With the unions, the agency of workers evolved, and workers confronted with the unbalanced approach brought by state paternalism and welfare. Workers' reactions to control mechanisms and hierarchy in the workspace formed the first phase of the workers' organizations. In line with this attempt, workers began to issue their journals, become active in organizational activities, and convey their demands to the authorities. On 30th November 1951, a council consisting of three workers went to Ankara to report the deficiency in promotion according to the journal *İşçinin Sesi*.[449]

3.1.1.4.2. Labor Division and Leisure in Workspace

According to the interviews, the dining hall of workers was in a separate building, while the clubhouse, a prestigious space, was used by the technocrats for lunch. In the railway factory, both groups had used the meeting house during tea breaks, but workers were forbidden to enter the building upon officials' complaints. Although there were *teşrik-i mesai* (cooperation) between officials and workers during work time, the hierarchical order was apparent in non-work time.

The workers' and officials' dining halls were separately designed in the railway and the sugar factories. (Figure 3.37, 3.38, 3.39) At the dining hall of the Sümerbank factory, the building was designed with diverse blocks connected by corridors and separated into workers' and officials' zones. The discrimination between the two groups was so apparent that the interviewed worker stated that "until the collective agreements promulgated in 1966, the lunch came to the industrial unit in the railway factory. Every workers' fork and spoon in their own pockets and they had to wash their

[448] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası, *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1967-1968*.

[449] İşçinin Sesi, "Terfi Miktarının Azlığını tebarüz ettirmek üzere üç kişilik bir heyet Ankara'ya gitti," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.6 (November 30, 1951): 1.

own dishes after eating." [450] The conditions of workers were difficult that 4,500 railway workers, with vocational school apprentices, declared a strike in 1962.[451] The inequality of food services for workers and employers in the sugar factory was also examined in Section 2.4.1. While spatial differentiation through the hierarchical division between officials and workers was apparent, they were united under the sub-categories of workers and officials. The workers' reaction to the spatial segregation was also emphasized in the archival documents. Even if the industrial workers gradually adapted to the production process and workspace through training and institutional procedures in his/ her early age, he/ she was suffered from these discriminatory treatments. These treatments were criticized in the workers' journals. Rıza Tetik[452], owner and editor-in-chief of *İşçinin Sesi*, interrogated that "Isn't the worker a laborer of this state?"[453], and criticized the position of employers: "However, some of them are so greedy that if you give Eskişehir they will not be satisfied and try to own the Konya Plain."[454]

---

[450] "1966 senesinde toplu sözleşmelerin Tülomsaş'a gelmesine kadar, yemekler her ünitenin bulunduğu yere geliyordu. Herkesin çatalı, kaşığı cebinde dururdu. Herkes yemekten sonra kendi bulaşığını kendi yıkıyordu. Daha sonraları yemekler merkezi yerlerde yenmeye başlandı**.** Daha sonra büyük bir yemekhane yapıldı ve herkes orada yemeye başladı. Sıcak yemekler yenmeye başlandı. Ondan sonra cumartesi öğleyin paydos edilir ve bir ekmek verilirdi evde ailesiyle paylaşsın diye o zamanlar böyle alım gücü yok tabi."

N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

[451] "…bozuk çıkan yemek ve Demiryolu işçi yemek grevi (Sakarya) Sendika ve fabrika idarecileri görüştü. Grevde yabancı ideoloji sahiplerinin tahriki arandı. 4500 demiryolu işçisi. Çırak okulu işçileri de katılmış, büyükleri boykot yaparken, onlar bigane kalamazlardı."

Sakarya, "DDY Çırak Okulu Öğrencileri de Greve Katılmış: Böylece Grevci Sayısının 300 Kişi Olduğu Anlaşılıyor," *Sakarya*, 16, no. 4038 (March 24, 1962): 1.

[452] *İşçinin Sesi* was published in Eskişehir between September 1951 and December 1954 on a fortnightly basis. Its owner and editor-in-chief was Riza Tetik, who was one of the leaders of Eskişehir Railway Workers' Union.

Kolektif, *Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi, III* (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996), 21.

[453] Rıza Tetik, "Kanunda Eşitlik Bekliyoruz!: İşçi Bu Devletin Emektarı Değil mi?," 1.

[454] "Ancak bunların içerisinde o kadar muhteris ruhlu olanları var ki, Eskişehir senin desen yine doymaz. Konya Ovası'nı da kendine mülk etmeye çalışır"

İşçinin Sesi, "Ancak bunların içerisinde o kadar muhteris ruhlu olanları var ki, Eskişehir senin desen yine doymaz. Konya Ovası'nı da kendine mülk etmeye çalışır," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.4 (October 29, 1951): 1.

Figure 3. 37 The workers' dining hall in the Eskişehir railway factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

Figure 3. 38 The workers' dining hall in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

Figure 3. 39 The officials' dining hall in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

3.1.1.4.3. Gender Roles in Industry

This section presents an analysis of the role and spaces of women working in the state-owned factories in Eskişehir. In order to analyze gender roles, it is first necessary to focus on the origins of the labor force. The women workers and officials in the factory were originally peasants and immigrants. Peasant women had always had a role in agricultural production, which was based on cooperation within the extended family and shared ownership of land. Distribution and production in rural work required sustained relationships across the rural community. Thus, men and women worked together on farms as a part of that rural community. In the villages, agricultural works were done by *imece* (collective work), which gathered together the resources of a community to meet a challenge. The workers' journals stated that women worked in agricultural production in Eskişehir. Women played an important role in the cultivation of sugar beets. (Figure 3.40) The second group, immigrant women, also had a mentality in which the work of the whole community was encouraged. This mentality was developed for survival in their new city and was also a product of the collaborative social order in their home countries.

Figure 3. 40 Women farmers working in sugar beet cultivation (Hürbilek 1957)

"With economic progress in the 1930s came a certain amount of freedom for women. Women had always worked on the land. But now virtually every major industry from

textiles to cigarettes used their labour."[455] According to historian Feroz Ahmad, this development during the 1930s helped pave the way for women's rights such as voting and running for office. Women had always been important actors in home production, providing nursing, tailoring, and other domestic services. With industrialization, mass production, which was easier and cheaper, replaced home production. To buy these mass-produced products, cash income was needed to increase the family income. This development also brought women to work in the factories. The other reasons for women's employment in factories included the emergence of capital-intensive sectors, economic necessities, the evolution of the family structure, and increases in education. Additionally, the presence of women in the factory had a meaning that paralleled the concepts of being secular and equal, which were the main precepts of the state's modernization policy. The existence of women working in the society was initially discussed in the Young Turk period and was identified with the welfare level of the society.

By the early 1930s, women were becoming part of the workforce in the railway and the sugar factory. In these factories, women workers and officials were selected for clerical and service professions. The service professions were considered extensions of domestic service: housecleaning, cooking, childcare, care of the sick, weaving, and sewing. However, beyond this generalizing approach, the service professions in the factory included men and women, and male and female workers were employed in the hospitals, clubhouses, and dining halls together. Women were mostly employed as nurses or other types of care providers in hospitals and took part in service and preparation services in the clubhouses and dining halls. These departments in the factories were not gendered spaces.

In all factories, female officials served in various facilities such as the administrative, health, and technical departments. They were employed in many administrative jobs such as accountants, secretaries, and drafters. One of the spaces where female officials worked as technical drafters was the drawing office in the administration of the railway and sugar factory. (Figure 3.41, 3.42)

[455] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1992), 89.

Figure 3. 41 Female technical drafters in the Eskişehir railway factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

Figure 3. 42 An illustration showing women working in the Railway Hospital (Balo Gazetesi 1955, 4) and Nurses in the Sugar Hospital (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

When women workers began to work on the shop floor, new patterns of occupational segregation were established. Women could work in certain specializations within these factories, and these workspaces emerged as “female departments.” In the sugar factory, female labor on the shop floor was used in post-production: sugar cube casting and packing. Women were also responsible for weighing sugar before packing. This work required precise workmanship, patience, and attention. (Figure 3.43)

Figure 3. 43 Female workers in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory)

The need for labor continued to grow as the state industrialized. Following the foundation of the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory after 1950, women workers started to be recruited for industrial production in higher numbers. (Figure 3.44) This gender-based approach was based on the Ottoman Period, when woman workers were dominant actors in cigarette making and the weaving of textiles and carpets. In the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory, women worked intensely on the looms in the weaving and thread departments.

Figure 3. 44 Women workers in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (The Personal Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Factory worker, Beytullah Ergün)

In the Eskişehir sugar and Sümerbank factories, women worked in industrial production areas that required fine craftsmanship and aesthetic consideration. According to the interviews, women workers were attentive and patient employees. They easily coped with difficult and time-consuming tasks that required manual dexterity.

The female workforce was apparent in the Sümerbank textile factories that were designed between 1923 and 1950, so the programmatic necessities of these factories

were designed according to the presence of female workers. A similar architectural program was implemented in the Sümerbank factory. For an efficient and steady female labor force, the primary need was a kindergarten. This building was designed as a day-care facility with various functions: medical rooms, bedrooms, feeding rooms, and a playroom with an expansive terrace providing light and air, bathrooms, a kitchen, and laundries. (Figure 3.45, 3.46) Through these daily services, the factory became open to female workers, and a quasi-domestic environment was created for their children while they were at work. The improvement of family life was the primary concern, and this was provided through the education of the workers and their children. The kindergarten was a social welfare service to reform and uplift the children of the workers. It also served as a contract between the factory and workers. According to the institutional regulations, this service was provided not only for female workers but also for male workers.

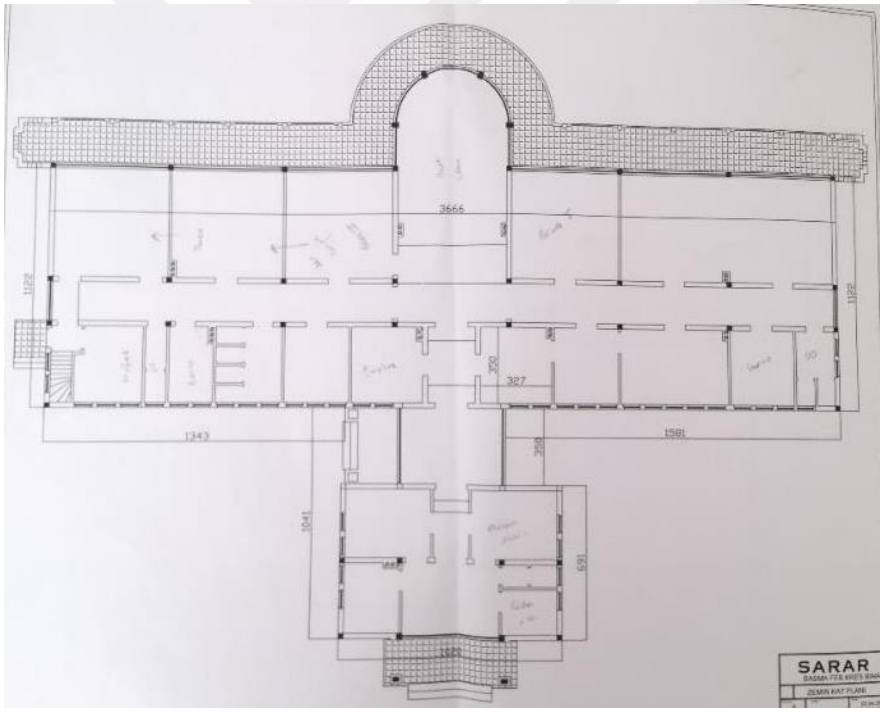


Figure 3. 45 Architectural plan of the day-care center (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

Figure 3. 46 The day-care center and playroom with terrace and bathroom in the day-care center in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (photograph taken by the author during a site visit in 2018)

The other presence of women in the factory took place when the employees living in the factory went to work. These women, usually the wives of technocrats, came together on certain days of the week and organized various events in the factory's club.

The workers' journals focused on the discriminations caused by labor divisions, not gender, as the root of inequality at work. According to the interviews, the women workers worked together in harmony with other employees. The female workforce was willing to accept discipline and to perform tedious, repetitious, and monotonous work. With the rise of industry, the female labor force began to be a part of professional production, rather than being a part of family-based production as they were in agricultural or immigrant communities. They started to exist in the society with their own identities as industrial employees contrary to the previous traditional structure.

3.1.2 Production of Living Space

The housing problem in Eskişehir was put on the agenda after the establishment of the state-led factories in the 1930s as an underdeveloped city in Anatolia. The housing need for the industrial labor force was solved to a limited extent by the factories' lodging blocks. Due to this insufficient housing production, workers started to search for living spaces in the city. However, there was a housing deficiency in the urban environment. According to *the 1960 Sample Survey of Housing Condition in Eskişehir* (1960), it was underlined that 60 percent of houses had owners while 40 percent of houses were rented in 1960 in Eskişehir. The vacant houses were only 0.83 percent. The majority of the workers lived in houses without kitchens and bathrooms.[456] Housing deficiency led many workers to settle diverse housing types in different regions of the city: squatter settlements, migrant houses, and *seylap evleri* (disaster houses). On the other hand, workers had considerable agency in the urban-housing development after the 1950s. Industrial workers began to produce housing cooperative between 1950 and 1980. Thus, "the industrial subjects" in Eskişehir went beyond being shop floor actors by shaping domestic environments and lives in individual and collective ways. In some cases, they conveyed their demands to the factories' administrations and government. In addition to living in the factory and other living alternatives, the search for housing became more pluralistic and inclusive as workers collectively struggled around the housing question. Furthermore, these concerns and ventures lead new collectivities in living space.

This section aims to define the production of housing cooperatives, as the major living spaces produced by worker's organizations, in addition to multiple housing alternatives produced for/ by the industrial actors in Eskişehir. It explains how multiple living spaces were designed, organized, and inhabited while interacting with urban space. Besides, it searches for living spaces, where industrial actors' everyday routines and practices were produced. The further research questions for this part are:

[456] Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, *20 Şehirde 1960 Mesken Şartları Anketi Örnekleme Sonuçları- 1960 Sample Survey of Housing Condition in 20 Cities* (Ankara: Ankara Basım ve Ciltevi, 1962), 44-49.

- How was the housing question managed in terms of design, location, financing and use? Was the housing problem directly related to the social concerns of users, their demands and wellbeing? How did these designs respond to the problems of society and architecture?

- How did diverse actors contribute with their objectives and visions to the workers' housing design solutions and to economics and policy decisions? How did industrial workers as inhabitants themselves participate in this process?

- How were the residential conditions of workers before the construction of the housing cooperative in Eskişehir? Which deficiencies, such as sanitary conditions or housing shortage, emerged in the urban environment and affected housing development? Which requirements motivated housing cooperative construction, besides government policy on housing? Did the housing cooperative development become a local movement with the state's policies and the workers' initiatives and professional attitude? How could the role of the state be interpreted within these web of interactions? How to interpret standardization and rationalist design within modern thought and context of the period?

3.1.2.1 Living in the Factory: Lodging Blocks, 1930-1980

The expansive industrial complexes in Eskişehir not only responded to the industrial development of the state but were also representative of a way of living brought by modern thought and living practices. Parallel to the economic situation of the city, providing housing services was the central issue that the state had to deal with. In Eskişehir, as a rural small town, the existing living spaces such as traditional houses and immigrant houses, were both quantitatively and physically insufficient. This led to a severe housing deficit, real estate speculation, and housing policies throughout the years.

Çağlar Keyder identified the early Republican workers by absenteeism, turnover, and resistance to work discipline. According to him, factories had to propose some attractive amenities to prevent these negative behaviours. The most effective instrument with which to respond to this deficiency was to offer housing possibilities by linking workspace to living, and accordingly provide a steady and permanent labor force adapted to industrial calendar. Nevertheless, housing was rarely offered to the workers who were the most densely populated segment and hierarchically the lowest ranks in Eskişehir's state-owned factories. The first reason why the housing facility in the factories was introduced to the technocrats rather than workers based on the rareness of technocrats in the urban environment, a small town in Anatolia.[457] The technocrats educated in the large cities, where higher education institutions were established, and emerged as the engines of the factory with their management skills and technical accumulation. Secondly, industrial workers were considered as temporary employees with their high turnover, instability, and absenteeism. This labor force, not expected to have technical knowledge and trained at the factory after their recruitment, could be replaced easily with others compared to the technocrats. Another reason discussed by the authority was the social disorder that might be ignited by workers' collective living. The Minister of Labor Hayrettin Erkmen[458] (1954) in the article "İşçi Meskenleri Politikası" stated that "the significant point to be highlighted in a social context is that the workers' houses should be scattered in various districts of cities rather than large and self-contained housing estates." As the statement made clear, the obedience and social stability of the labor force had to be realized by the formation of industrial workers not belonging to a particular social group. Collectivity in living could form collective workers with a class identity in opposition to the authority. This situation contradicted the Republican ideal of creating industrial

[457] V. S., a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

[458] "Mülk sahibi olan işçinin, mülkiyet müessesesine düşmanlığı ve bu yüzden gelebilecek sosyal ve politik tehlikeler bertaraf edilmiş olur. İşçi evlerinin inşasında sosyal bakımdan dikkat edilecek husus, büyük ve müstakil işçi siteleri yerine, şehirlerin muhtelif semtlerine yerleştirilme ve serpiştirilme olmalıdır. Bu sayede işçi vatandaş, kendisini cemiyetin kucakladığını, ayrı ve aşağı telakki etmediğini her gün kendi şuurunda hisseder ve vatandaş şuurundan ayrı bir şuurun arkasında koşmaktan kurtulur. Hemen ve şükranla belirtmek isterim ki, Türk işçisi böyle bir komplekse düşmekten çok uzaktır ve onun vatandaşlık vasfı her şeyin üstündedir."

Hayrettin Erkmen, "İşçi Meskenleri Politikası," Akis, no. 31 (July 31, 1954): 5.

employees who conformed to the state's authority. Therefore, the collective living of workers was controlled by spatial production rather than strict regulations. Parallel to industrial labor division, the living space in the factories was reserved for the technocrats, as loyal representatives of the new state. Therefore, the technocrats' living spaces were produced as a statist manifestation allegedly embracing modernity, progress, and modern family.

The lodging blocks in Eskişehir that were produced between 1923 and 1965 as detached or semi-detached houses with gardens for the officials. They were either *memur evi* (official's houses) or belonged to governors of the factory in manager's houses[459], and the distribution of these houses was determined in terms by the protocols of the Eskişehir sugar factory.[460] The direct reflection of hierarchical division between officials and workers appeared also in the spatial formation within factories. A limited number of workers could stay in *hizmet evi* (duty house) inside the factories to partake in round-the-clock uninterrupted production. These were the technical workers needed at any time in the case of a technical breakdown or workflow disruption. The head foremen, and the workers responsible for assistance and the protection of machines in the state of emergency, and senior workers working in the dining hall could stay in the lodging blocks, too.[461] In all of the factories, the lodging blocks were designed and used according to work hierarchy. This hierarchy produced by the industry reflected itself in the production of living space. In this way, work and living spaces became intertwined for those living in the factory. The diverse housing types in the factories determined according to the shop floor hierarchy ranked from bottom to top. (Figure 3.47) The more units and higher living standards the house possessed the higher the employee's position who lived there. As the symbol of the modern industrial way of living, the manager house was the most privileged building in all these factories regarding its scale, living standards, and location. In these

[459] These two groups consisted of general manager, manager, group chief, and department chief.

[460] "The industrial workers, for whom housing service in the factories not provided, were given rental assistance."

V. S., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

[461] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

extensive houses, a separate floor was reserved for the room of live-in maid and services such as laundry room and cellar. [462]

Figure 3. 47 Architectural drawings showing the lodging blocks designed according to labor hierarchy - manager's house and *hizmet evi* (duty house) in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories)

The hierarchical approach was clearly exemplified by the railway lodging blocks, designed by the architect Bekir İhsan Ünal. Ünal designed two units for the two officials in upper position: the engineer Mustafa Bey, and the security chief Fethi Bey. Typically, both design schemes included an entrance hall, living room, dining room, kitchen, toilet, bathroom, and two or three bedrooms.[463] (Figure 3.48)

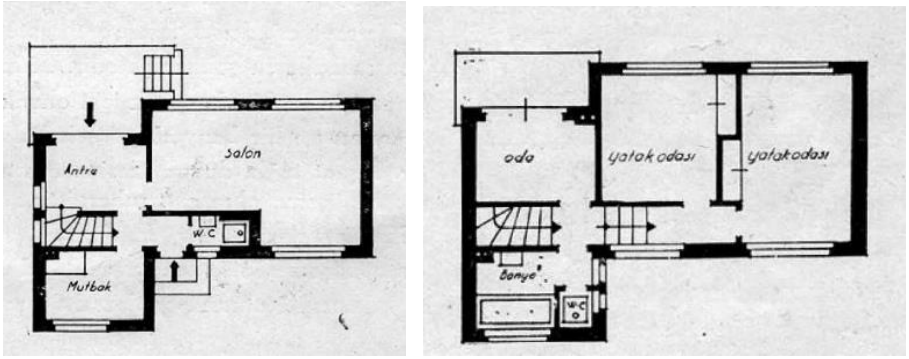


Figure 3. 48 The lodging block of security chief Fethi Bey (Ünal 1933)

[462] D. A. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 5, 2020.

For more information on housing hierarchy, see Tables between 3.1 and 3.18.

[463] Bekir İhsan Ünal, "Ev Projeleri," *Arkitekt* 01, no. 25 (January 1933): 17-18.

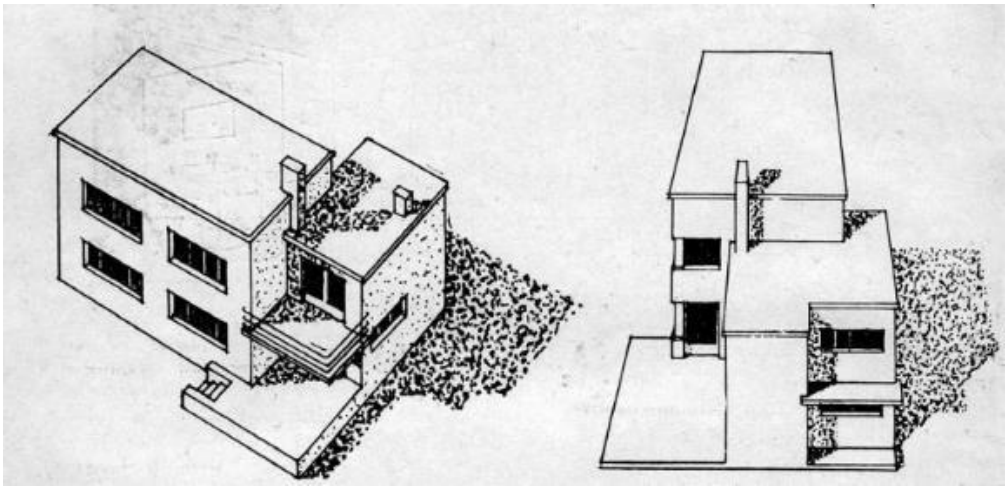


Figure 3.48 (cont'd) The lodging block of security chief Fethi Bey (Ünal 1933)

In another article written in the same year, Ünal offered two designs for the railway staff. The small house was designed for an official, while the second was for a well-to-do department manager. (Figure 3.49, 3.50) The official house was approximately the same as Ünal's design for the engineer Mustafa Bey and the security chief Fethi Bey. However, the manager's house consisted of three floors. The basement was reserved for maid and service functions. Ground and first floor consisted of an entrance hall, living room, dining room, kitchen, toilet, bathroom, two rooms with a dressing room, and a large terrace.[464]

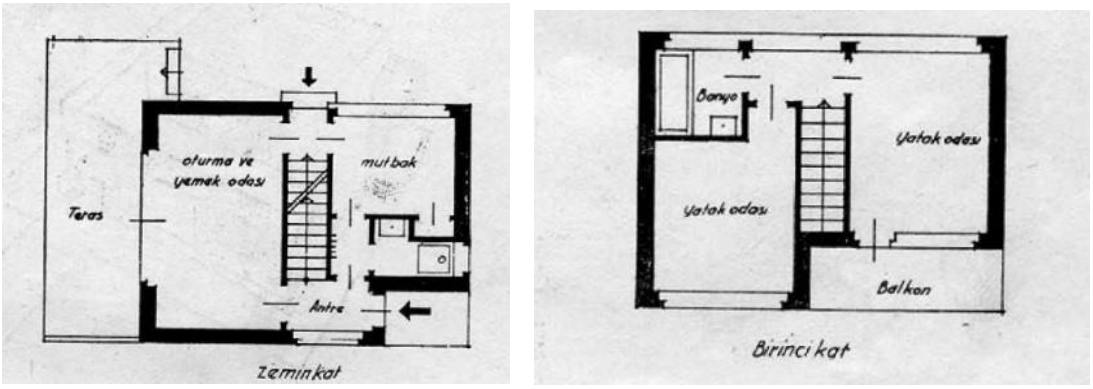


Figure 3. 49 The official's lodging block in the Eskişehir railway factory (Ünal 1933)

[464] Bekir İhsan Ünal, "Küçük Ev Projeleri," *Arkitekt* 02, no. 26 (February 1933): 53-54.

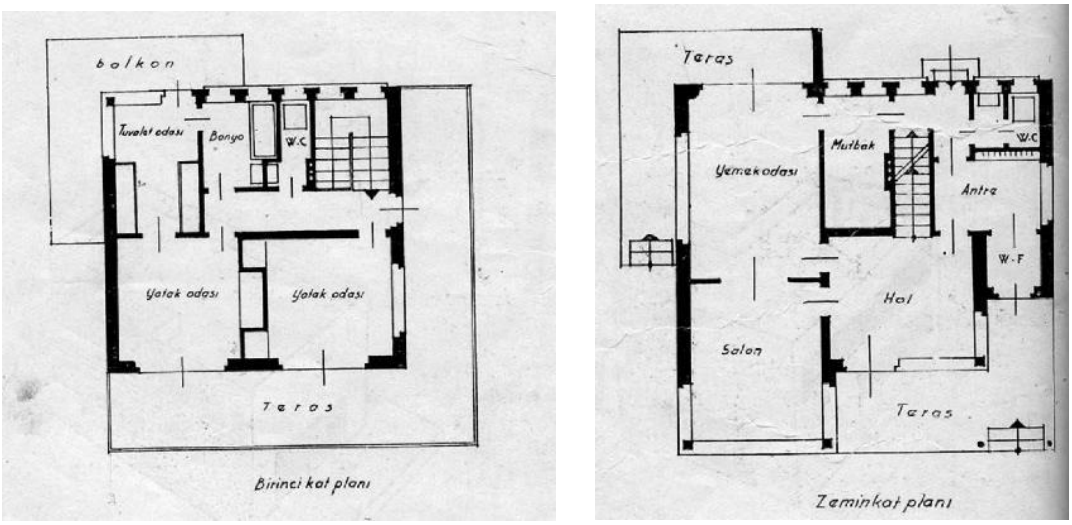


Figure 3. 50 The manager's lodging block in the Eskişehir railway factory (Ünal 1933)

The lodging blocks in the state-owned factories manifested modernist ideals in their form, materials, and inclusion of building services such as electricity, drinking water, and sewage management. Their cubic forms, straight lines, and rhythmical arrangements reflected elements of modern housing design. (Figure 3.51) The most significant factor that differentiated the lodging block design from modernist precepts was its hierarchical order, which contradicted the state's nationalist-modernist vision of social equality. The lodging block was not "a democratic product" that provided the same standards for every industrial actor. While the technocrats benefited from "maximum comfort and beauty," only a small group of workers were offered minimal living space. Most of them could not even live in the lodging blocks.

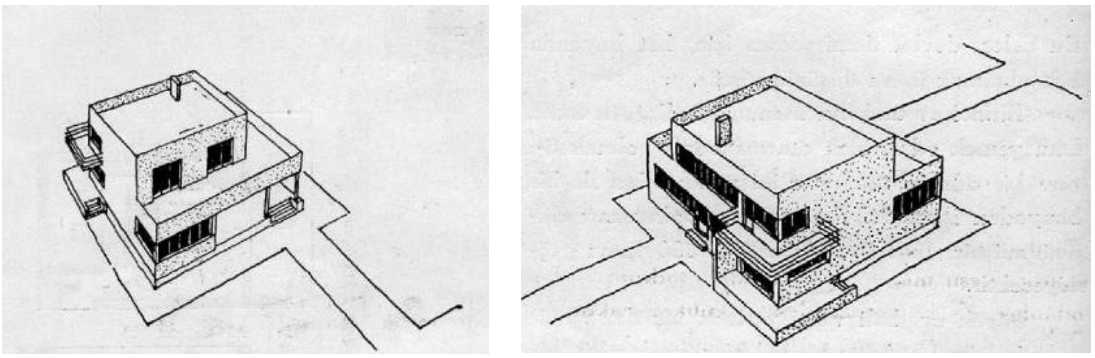


Figure 3. 51 Perspectives showing the modern design of the manager's lodging block in the Eskişehir railway factory (Ünal 1933)

The housing design was not only modern in form and function but also in its approach to social order. According to architect Bekir İhsan Ünal, the lodging blocks were designed for industrial employees whose families were nuclear rather than extended, consisting of parents and a child. The nuclear family home was associated with reformist ideology and was heralded as the sacred place of national rebirth by the Young Turks. Before industrialization, rural production relied on an extended family structure where multigenerational family households worked together on farms while living under one roof. During industrial development, family members were spread to industrial districts, and the extended family dissolved. As a modern production practice, industrialization necessitated its own modern way of living and led to changes in the structure of the family. The change in the built environment similarly produced new domestic practices and family orders. As a consequence of industrialization, the spatial configuration of lodging blocks transformed the family from extended to nuclear. Although the lodging blocks were produced for different types of users, each house was clearly designed with a spatial articulation that was well-planned for a nuclear family, in contrast to earlier types of housing that offered multi-functional spaces. The well-defined spaces in the lodging blocks were designed for particular functions: living room, kitchen, bathroom, master bedroom, and a room or rooms for children. (Figure 3.52) These houses were not designed to support additional family members in the home. The lodging block design can be considered an instrument for reinforcing the new familial context while educating industrial employees about modern lifestyle at an institutional level.

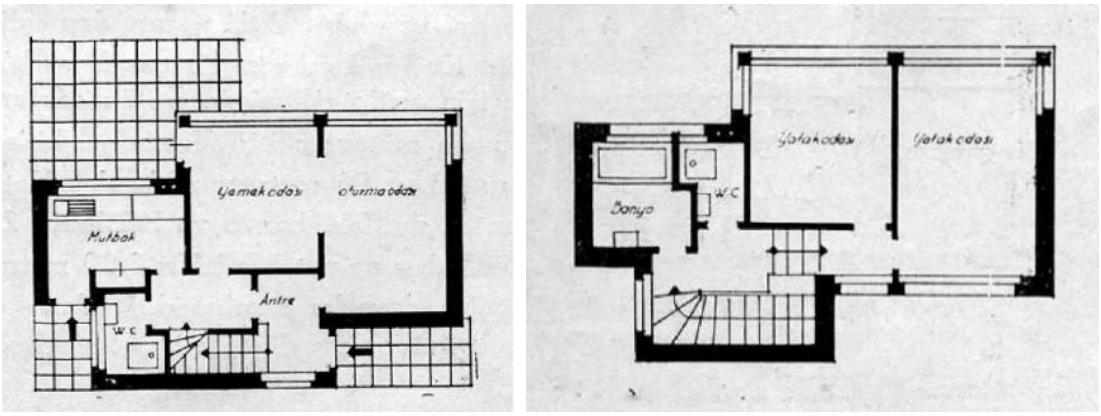


Figure 3. 52 The house of engineer Mustafa Bey (Ünal 1933)

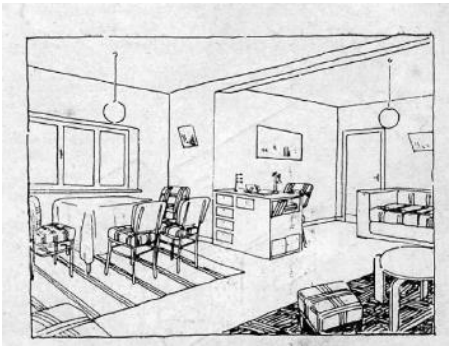
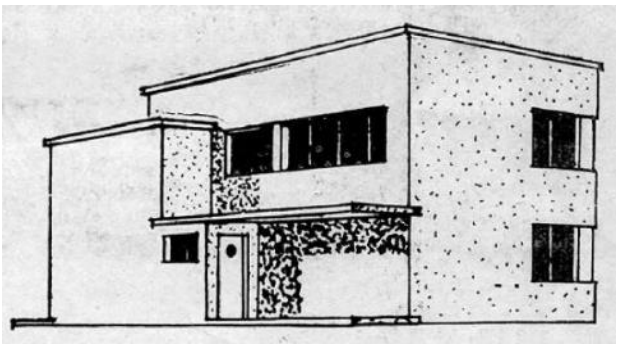



Figure 3.52 (cont'd) The house of engineer Mustafa Bey (Ünal 1933)

The lodging blocks introduced similar characteristics. These were spaces produced by functional requirements, the concept of public and privacy, and the formation of personal space. All of the houses entered via an entrance hall as an intermediate space between interior and exterior. The *sofa*, adapted from the traditional Turkish housing typology, continued to be used in the lodging blocks by the name of "hall" in the 1930s. This was an area both with transit, and occasionally, a living function that served other rooms.[465] (Figure 3.53) In the lodging blocks, designed after the 1950s, the traditional *sofas* were replaced by narrow long corridors. In the 1950s, the concept of hall functionally divided for day use (connecting living room, kitchen, and rooms used for daily activities) and night use (connecting bedrooms) in the housing plans. (Figure 3.54) Two different plan solutions were used in this period: a distributed plan scheme from the living room or the hall.[466] The living room was designed as a large room, integrated with the entrance hall. This hall was both the guest reception area and the extraverted face of the house. This plan organization can be interpreted as the traditional continuity of hospitability. As the largest room in the house, the living room was designed as a guest reception, with a direct connection to the kitchen, as a preparation area. At the end of the corridor or on the upper floor, the private rooms were clustered with a more intimate spatial organization. Wet areas were gathered together due to financial and technical necessities.

[465] Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (USA: Duke University Press, 2012), 246-47.

[466] Berna Üstün, "Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Yerleşkesi Lojman Konutları Plan Tipolojileri Üzerine bir Çalışma," Tasarım + Kuram, no. 11-12 (2011): 47.

Figure 3. 53 The design of hall in the lodging block (no S4)[467] before the 1950s (adapted by the author from original drawings of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories)

Figure 3. 54 The distributed plan scheme from the living room in the lodging block (no P1) or the hall in the lodging block (no S7)[468] after the 1950s (adapted by the author from original drawings of the Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory and the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories)

Between 1923 and 1950, the state-owned factories could offer more extensive housing plan schemes that could provide labor force stability for the technocrats. After the 1950s, the plan organization was usually based on two rooms. This design was parallel to the housing production with minimum standards in the urban environment. Besides, the workers suffered from a serious housing shortage that led to low-cost housing production in the factories. One of the most important facilities, which the lodging

[467] For more information on the design of lodging block no S4, see Appendix E.

[468] For more information on the design of lodging block no P1 and S7, see Appendix E.

blocks offered, was technical services, including clean water, electricity, and gas. The other living spaces in the urban terrain had no electric supply and mostly based on individual wells with hand pumps.

As a progressive and modern phenomenon of the 1950s, the high-rise buildings were transferred to Eskişehir. This architectural expression was initially developed in the design of Porsuk Hotel[469] (1955) and Emek Hotel (1960-1964) in the downtown. (Figure 55) As the pioneers of the multi-storey building development, these buildings also influenced the housing production in the factories. Between 1950 and 1980, the apartments began to be built in the state-owned factories. Surrounded by residential neighbourhoods, the state-owned factories in the 1960s had limited plots to build detached houses. With high-rise development, the apartments used the land more efficiently to accommodate more employees.

[ERDAĞAN BAYRAKTAR

ESKİŞEHİR HİLTON'U Emekli Sandığı tarafından Eskişehir'de 5,5 milyon liraya inşa ettirilen Turisti Porsuk Oteli faaliyete geçmiştir. Uzun zaman kiralanmayan otell Emekli Sandığ idare etmektedir. Otelde 36 tek, 52 çift yataklı oda mevcuttur. Otelde, gazino, lokanta, bar ve pastahâneler bulun maktadır. Belediye rayici dışında fiat tesbit edilen otelin odalarının tek ve çift yataklılarının geceliği 18 - 20 liradı

Figure 3. 55 Porsuk Hotel (Bayraktar 1959)

[469] Porsuk Hotel, entitled as Eskişehir's Hilton, publicly financed by the Turkish Pension Funds. In 1960 the army seized the building, and in later years used as the Officer's Club. In the hotel, there were 26 single and 53 double rooms.

Figure 3.55 (cont'd) Porsuk Hotel (Bayraktar 1959)

This new type of living expressed many social tenets and ideals of modernist architecture, such as social change, domestic comfort, health, and hygiene. High-rise in the factories connotated egalitarianism as integral notions of modern architecture. This building production paved the way for more workers to be sheltered in the factory. The technical services and sanitary conditions were superior compared to the lodging blocks produced between 1923 and 1950. Early in the apartments' emergence, the allocation of the lodging blocks directed by the hierarchical division. Thus the introduction of the apartments became the catalyst for the shift. The living standard started to decline in the detached lodging blocks due to infestation problems and the lack of heating installation towards the 1950s. Thus, the technocrats moved to the apartments. In the 1970s, the detached lodging blocks were renovated by the technical upgrade, and the technocrats moved back to the detached houses. The apartments, produced for the inferiors, were given to the officials, workers, and head foremen.

According to the interviews, the lodging block in the factories emerged as the symbol of higher living standards and defined as "comfortable"[470], "luxurious"[471], "designed with latest systems"[472], "well-facilitated"[473], "elite"[474], and "in the garden"[475] by the interviewees. Naci Gelendost in the article "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası" in the journal *Çalışanlar*, described these houses as such "peaceful lives of the residents in the sugar country, reached the standards of Western countries with its modern houses and parks."[476] Parallel to this statement, the technocrats illustrated this built environment with the notions of intimate, coherent, philanthropist, and supporting. The social relations were also alive in this intimate neighbourhood formed by the inhabitants with close hierarchical status. The factory's living spaces formed diverse meanings for the technocrats and workers. By providing modern living space with various services in the factory, the technocrats considered the factory with the romantic vision of "the machine in the garden." This vision, formed by a hierarchical order, led to a collective living with those like them, which the workers could not easily adapt. This modern living space expressed the sociocultural superiority of the factory elites. In contradistinction to the technocrats, a limited number of workers temporarily stayed in these dwellings. Due to their low status in the labor hierarchy, workers could not easily adapt to living in the factory with the technocrats who constituted the majority of the factory's inhabitants. After living in the factory in a short period, many workers left [477] the lodging blocks as a reaction to the sociocultural superiority of the technocrats. They searched for living spaces in the urban environment.

[470] İ. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

[471] D. A. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 5, 2020.

[472] A. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, January 11, 2020.

[473] İ. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 20, 2020.

[474] M. S., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 18, 2020.

[475] N. E., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

[476] Gelendost, "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası," 2.

[477] Z. T. Ş., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 27, 2020.

3.1.2.1.1. The Railway Factory

Lodging blocks in the railway factory was designed by the Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories. The lodging blocks of the engineer Mustafa Bey (No. R1) and the security chief Fethi Bey (No. R2) were designed by the architect Bekir İhsan Ünal between 1923 and 1935. As seen in Appendix E, the lodging blocks in the railway factory had diverse spatial development in time. The periodical differentiation in plan and building typology was apparent in the lodging blocks of the railway factory, which differed from two-storey detached houses with a garden to apartment blocks. (Figure 3.56) Six types of lodging blocks were built between 1923 and 1935 (No. R1, R2, R3, R5, R6, R7). These were two-storey houses with a garden. A row house with two-storey (No. R4) was constructed between 1935 and 1950, facing İstasyon Street. Between 1950 and 1980, two types of apartment blocks were included in the factory (No. R8, R9). Within a hierarchical approach, the location of lodging blocks was determined in the design process. The lodging blocks in İstasyon Street, a vibrant and prestigious street, were given to the superiors. The five-storey lodging blocks in Kütahya Street was given to the subordinates.[478]

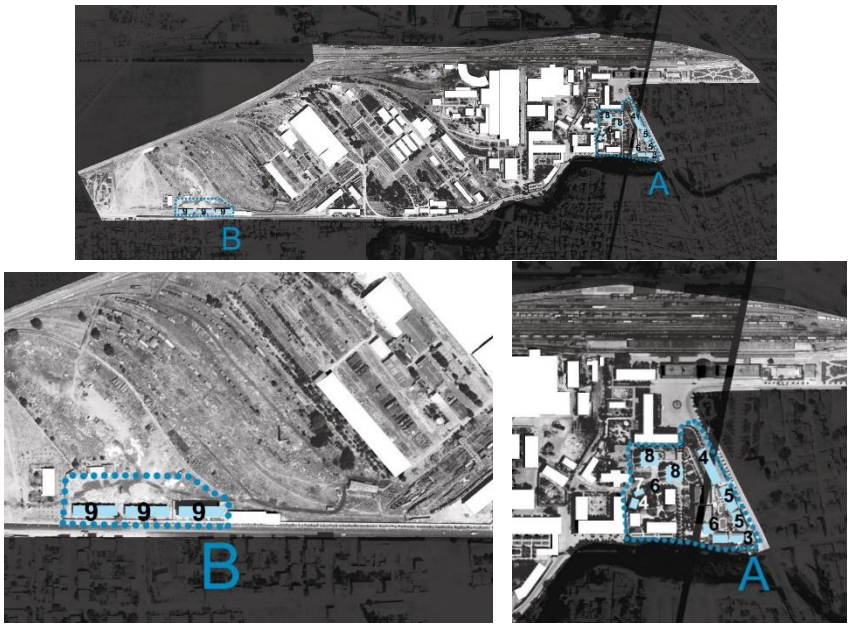


Figure 3. 56 Map showing the lodging blocks in the Eskişehir railway factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

[478] E. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 11, 2020.

3.1.2.1.2. The Sugar Factory

In 1933, Sugar lodging blocks were designed by German Architect Fritz August Breuhaus. (Figure 3.57) The apartment blocks were designed by the Office of Construction and Real Estate, working under the Head Office of Sugar Factories as a collective product in 1975.

As seen in Appendix E, sugar lodging blocks had regular and systematic plan schemas. The hierarchical classification in housing from bottom to top was those for seasonal workers (No. S1), laborers (No. S2, S3), skilled laborers (No. S4), officials (No. S5), chief officials (No. S6), and manager. (Figure 3.58)

According to the marital status, a different hierarchical order was provided, and single pavilions (No. S1) were designed isolated with their daily living services, laundry, dining hall, and canteen from superior's lodging blocks. In these pavilions, the seasonal workers temporally inhabited in three or four months at the campaign period. These pavilions with modern services were significant motivators in adapting these seasonal workers to modern living.

Figure 3. 57 Lodging blocks in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory 1933)

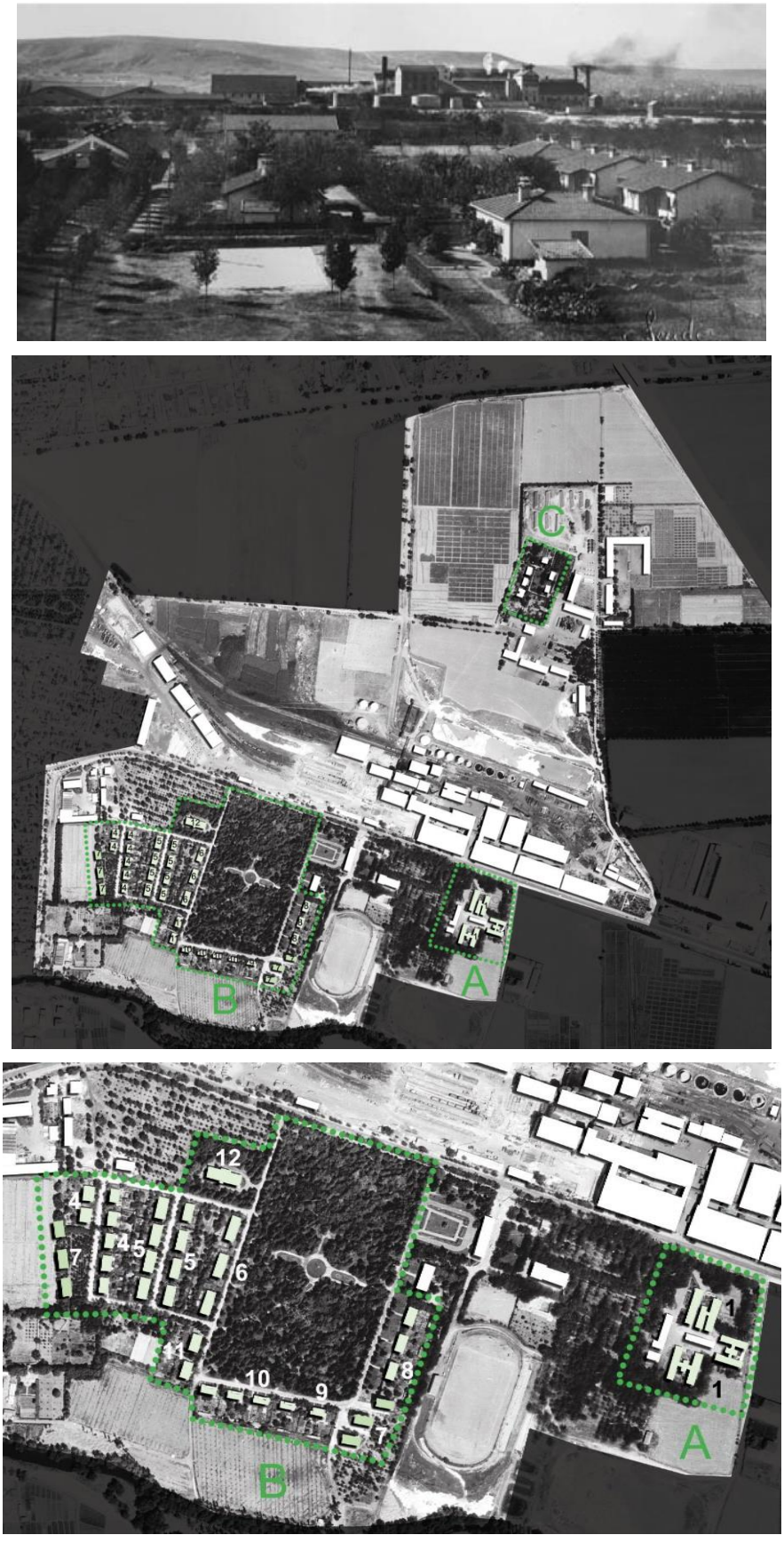


Figure 3. 58 Map showing the lodging blocks in the Eskişehir sugar factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

3.1.2.1.3. The Sümerbank Factory

Lodging blocks in the Sümerbank print factory was designed by the Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Sümerbank Factories. As seen in Appendix E, The lodging blocks were classified within two plan typologies from the smallest units with 60 square meters (No. P1) to a two-storey house for the manager. (Figure 3.59) All the lodging blocks, designed in the Sümerbank factory, were apartments except the manager's lodging block.

The smallest units for officials consisted of two rooms, a living room, kitchen, toilet, and bathroom. Public and private relation was designed by a gradual transition between spaces. Three types of hall were designed: entrance (connecting exterior with interior), day (connecting living room and kitchen), and night (connecting bedrooms).

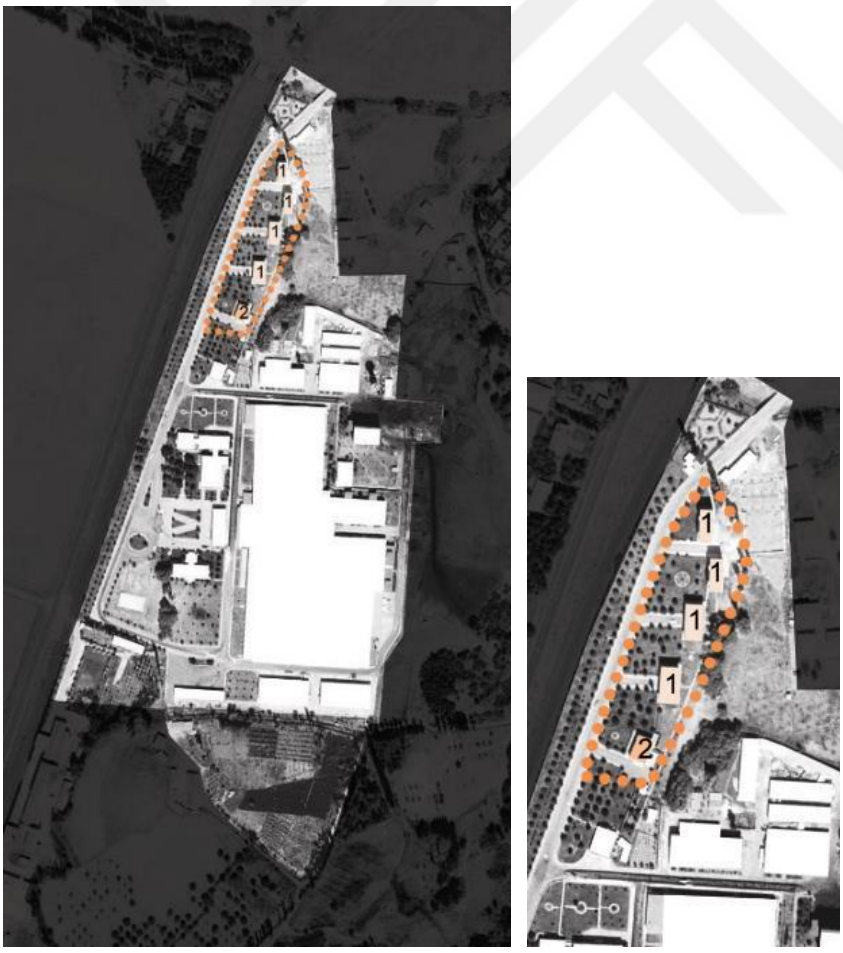


Figure 3. 59 Map showing the lodging blocks in the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

3.1.2.2 Alternatives for Living in the Urban Environment: Workers' Sheltering, 1930-1980

As the state-owned industrial establishments developed in Eskişehir, the rapid growth of the industrial economy in Eskişehir brought about a dense flow of migrant population to the city. These new arrivals included immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania in the 1950s, and migrants from surrounding cities, Sivrihisar, Kütahya, and Söğüt. Another factor that increased the housing shortage was the flood that occurred in 1950. The housing crisis was underlined in the journal *İşçinin Sesi*, that the members of the railway factory settled neighbourhoods far from their workplace.[479] The housing shortage with overcrowding and poor housing standards resulted in the denser population of labor force searching for diverse housing alternatives. These difficult living conditions, as the consequences of urbanization, migration, and disaster, transformed housing typology, designs, and standards. By surveying workers' sheltering alternatives, an inclusive understanding can be developed of the living space.

Housing possibilities for newcomers were limited, and the housing shortage led many workers to settle in different regions of the city in diverse housing types: squatter settlements, migrant houses, and *seylap evleri* (disaster houses).[480] Three of the factories had lodging blocks, reserved for the workers serving round the clock with a limited capacity, and for the technocrats to a large extent.

The housing deficiency was partially solved by workers' dormitory built in in Bağlar Street, close to Railway Trade Union, Real Estate Credit Bank and Sümerbank Retail Cooperative Building in 1952. *İşçi Barındırma Yurdu* (the Worker's Shelter) was established by the Ministry of Labor in order to shelter the migrated jobseekers in the job-search period of fifteen days. (Figure 60) This building had a dormitory with a

[479] İşçinin Sesi, "Seylap Paraları Hakkında," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 6 (November 30, 1951): 1.

[480] Rıza Tetik, "DDY Eskişehir Seylap Zedelerin bir Dileği," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 1 (September 22, 1951): 1.

İşçinin Sesi, "Seylap Komisyonu Faaliyete Geçti, " *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 5 (November 15, 1951): 1.

hundred beds, a meeting room served for the meetings of trade unions or ceremonies,[481] and a small office functioned as an employment agency.[482] This agency provided public service for applicants to find suitable jobs or state-owned factories to find suitable employees. In 1958, this building transformed into *Eskişehir Yüksek İktisat ve Ticaret Okulu* (Eskişehir College of Finance and Commerce).

Figure 3. 60 *İşçi Barındırma Yurdu* (the Worker's Shelter) (Güngörür 1952 and Çalışma Vekaleti 19)

3.1.2.2.1. Immigration: Immigrant Housing

In Eskişehir, migration was one of the determining factors in the formation of the city's urban environment after the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-1878). The first settlement

[481] İş Yolu, "İş ve İş Bulma Kurumu Müdür Vekili İstifa Etti: İdarecisizlik Yüzünden İsmi Var Cism Yok. Bu Muazzam Binanın Kuruluşu Gösteriş için midir. Genel Müdürlükten Cevap Bekliyoruz," *İş Yolu* 1, no.8 (December 1, 1953): 1-2.

[482] Çalışma Vekaleti, *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*.

Ayın Tarihi.

established by immigrants in the city center was the Hacı Ali Bey district, followed by the new districts of Hamidiye[483], Şefkiye, and İhsaniye.[484] Thus, the concept of "the settled immigrant" was formed as the country moved towards the Republican period. As the immigrants were craftspeople with a strong work ethic more similar to the industrial calendar, their group evolved into a considerable labor force for the newly established state factories in the underdeveloped city. According to the interviews, between 1923 and 1980, one of the main characteristics of the industrial labor force in Eskişehir was the constant influx of immigrant labor. As a result of being displaced from their own countries, the immigrants respected the settled lifestyle and private property ownership in Eskişehir and strived for a place of their own.

The construction of immigrant housing can be examined both in terms of time period and approach. The first period between 1923 and 1950 had the immigrants managing the construction themselves with financial assistance from the state. The second period saw the state actively involved in the design of settlements. Although the second period offered a greater number of planned settlements for the immigrant population, workers started to construct their own settlements by developing housing cooperative, and the use of migrant housing gradually decreased.

The state's policies focused on a deficiency in housing among immigrants until the Second World War.[485] Between 1923 and 1960, 172,480 houses were built for this sector of the population. According to the General Directorate of Land and Settlement, between 1940 and 1949 financial assistance totaling between 50-300 TL was provided to construct houses for immigrant families. Between 1951 and 1960, an average of 16,150 TL was spent per house.[486] According to archival documents Eskişehir

[483] Catalogue of Department of Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet)* (ŞD), Catalog no. 1562/23, 23.10.1312.

Catalogue of Ministry of the Interior (*İrade Dahiliye*) (İ.DH.), Catalog no. 1322/10, 18.11.1312.

[484] Catalogue of Yıldız Prime Ministry's Official Submission (*Yıldız Sadaret Resmi Maruzat Evrakı*) (Y.A.RES.), Catalog no. 126/21, 13.03.1322.

[485] Ruşen Keleş, "Sosyal Konut Kavramı Üzerinde Bir Deneme ve Türkiye de Sosyal Konut Politikası," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 21, no. 2 (1959): 167-234.

[486] Cevat Geray, *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler ve Göçmen İskanları* (Ankara: Ajans-Türk Matbaası, 1962).

benefited from this financial assistance, being an immigrant city.

Although financial support was provided for immigrants before the 1950s, the immigrant workers built their houses by themselves in Eskişehir. Parallel to financial problems and housing crisis in the city, the families of workers shared rooms in a house around the courtyard. These families had to establish a collective way of living in order to survive in this industrial city. The interviewees, who lived in these houses before moving to housing cooperative, described immigrant houses as "with 55 m^2 area around a large courtyard, consisting of a room and a living room, and the toilet was out of the building. There was no electricity, water supply, and transportation. This house was described as *bakla sofa, nohut oda* (a very small and narrow house)."[487]

In accordance with immigrants' culture and lifestyle, immigrant neighborhoods were differentiated from traditional ones by their gridiron plans, adjacent layouts, and single-storey houses with gardens. The relationship between the street and the garden had primary importance, while the house was usually reached from the garden. The plan scheme included an exterior *sofa*, constructed with masonry adobe walls and sloping roofs. Zahide Molla, a *muhacir* (the term for migrants from Bulgaria and Romania) whose son worked in the railway factory, described the *muhacir evi* (the houses of *muhacir*) as single-storey high with low ceilings and eaves.[488]

To accommodate the immigrants arriving in Turkey between 1950 and 1959, 58,193,186 TL was reserved for 35,325 immigrant homes, and $30,000 was allocated from the Marshall Plan.[489] Through this housing program, 719 houses for 23,000 *muhacir* were designed and built by *Eskişehir İli Toprak ve İskan Müdürlüğü* (the Directorate of Land and Resettlement) in Eskişehir's Yenidoğan and Alanönü districts between 1950 and 1951.[490] (Figure 3.61, 3.62) These houses were single-storey high

[487] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

[488] Kamil Uğurlu and ZahirEnçevik, *Eskişehir Şehrengizi* (Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2011), 54.

[489] Mesken Umum Müdürlüğü, *Mesken Durumumuz Hakkında Etüd* (Ankara: Mesken Umum Müdürlüğü, 1960).

[490] Nilgün Çuha, "Türkiye'de Göç Olgusu ve Eskişehir İl Merkezinde Kurulan Göçmen Mahalleleri," *Erdem* 12, no. 34 (July 1999): 381-411.

with gardens and had simple plans consisting of a living area, two rooms, and a toilet. They lacked access to basic services.

Figure 3. 61 Urban map showing immigrant houses in Eskişehir (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

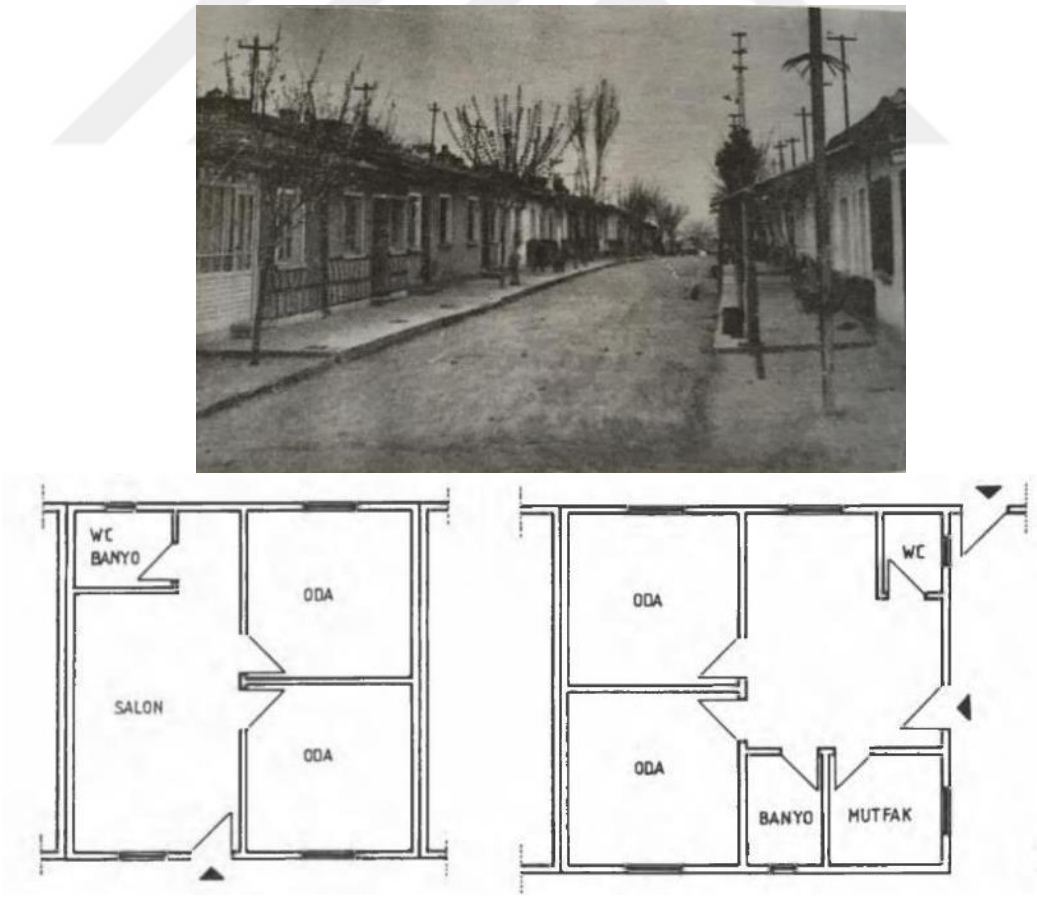


Figure 3. 62 The immigrant houses in the Alanönü and Yenidoğan districts (Çuha 1999)

3.1.2.2.2. Disaster: Disaster Housing (Seylap Evleri)

Apart from rapid population growth and urbanization, another important parameter leading to the housing shortage was the flood of 1950. According to newspaper reports about the flood, due to "the melted snow on the mountains in addition to torrential rain, Sarısu overflowed and invaded the central and northern neighborhoods. Sarısu was connected to Porsuk River out of the city by a parallel canal to the existing one." Thirty-five thousand inhabitants became homeless, and almost 80% of these people were workers.[491] The Porsuk River passed alongside the railway factory, and railway workers had constructed squatter settlements around the Sarısu due to the housing shortage. These homes were seriously damaged.

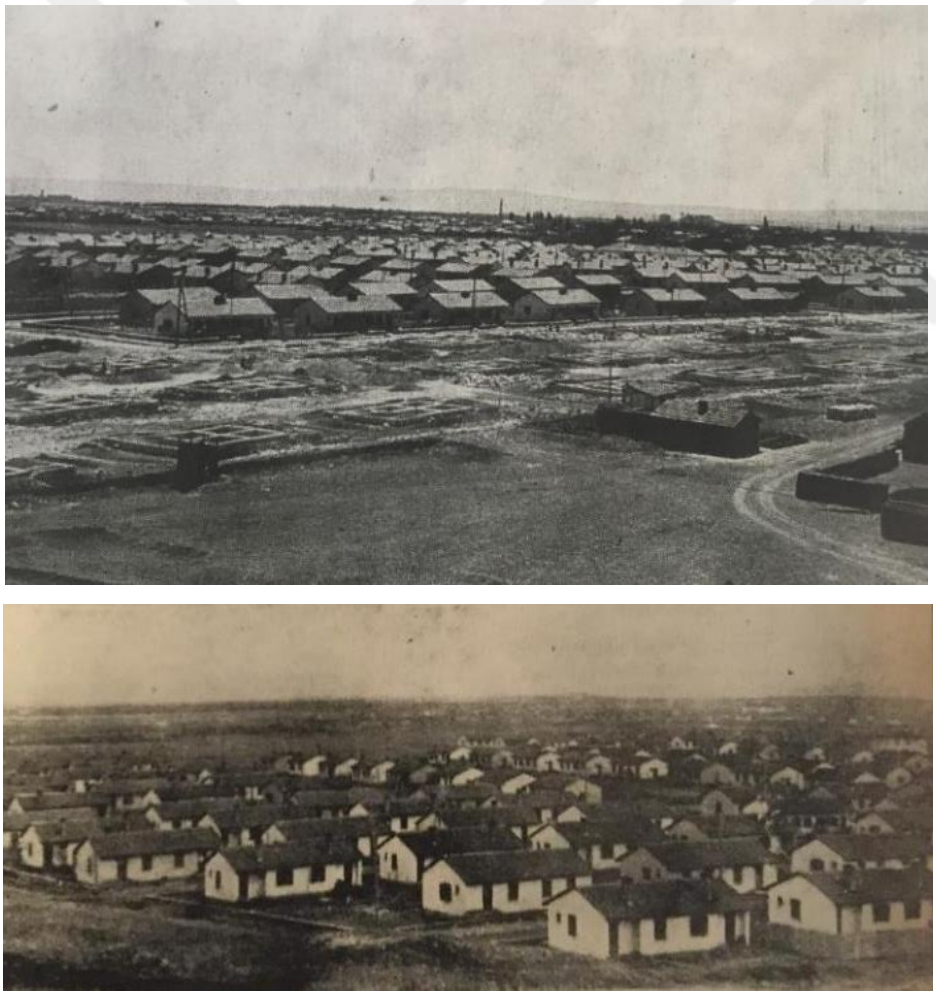


Figure 3. 63 *Seylap evleri* (disaster houses) (Başbakanlık Devlet Matbaası n. d. and Güngörür 1952)

[491] Cumhuriyet, "Eskişehir'de Yıkılan Evlerin Sayısı 2000i Geçti: Yıkılması Muhtemel olan daha 1500den fazla Ev var," *Cumhuriyet* 26, no. 9187 (March 8, 1950): 1- 3.

Seylâp neticesi olarak ev siz kalanlar için Eskişehirde kurulan mahalle, 703 ikiz bina nürekkeptir. Yani burada 140 6 aile için ayrı meskenler vardır. Bunlar ayda on lira gibi ki bir taksit ödüyorlar. Evlerini kiraya veriyorlar. Yüz liraya yakın kira alabiliyorlar.

Figure 3. 64 *Seylap evleri* (disaster houses) (Güngörür 1952)

The squatter settlements, which were made of adobe, were easily destroyed by the 1950 flood. According to the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, this flood, caused by the overflowing of the Sarısu River, left 5,000 railway workers homeless.[492] Approximately 4,000 houses were exposed to damage, and 1,000 houses became unusable, which caused a serious housing deficit in the city. During the flood, wagons were sent from the Ministry of Transportation to be used as post-disaster shelters[493] and temporary accommodations for railway workers. The authorities focused on the condition of the railway workers and their families because of their considerable numbers. Workers' organizations endeavored to capture the national interest and secure assistance through both political channels and the press. Rıza Tetik noted that a meeting was organized between the representatives of the Railway Trade Union and the Ministry of Transport, resulting in the provision of financial aid to 800 workers.[494] Thus 80,000 TL was collected by the head office of the Flood Commission and transferred to the director of the Eskişehir railway factory, Feridun Menemencioğlu.[495] With these funds, on March 5, 1950, the government announced the construction of

[492] Cumhuriyet, "Sel Felaketine uğrayan Vatandaşlara Yardım: Dün Şehrimizde bir Toplantı Yapıldı: Yardım Yekunu 100 bin Lirayı Aştı," *Cumhuriyet 26, no. 9190 (*March 11, 1950): 1-3.

[493] Cumhuriyet, "Eskişehir'de Yıkılan Evlerin Sayısı 2000i Geçti: Yıkılması Muhtemel olan daha 1500den fazla Ev var," 1- 3.

[494] Tetik, "DDY Eskişehir Seylap Zedelerin bir Dileği," 1.

[495] İşçinin Sesi, "Seylap Komisyonu Faaliyete Geçti," 1.

housing for families whose homes were damaged by the flood.[496] Using the financial aid, the Ministry of Public Works intended to build 2,500 houses, consisting of two rooms and a kitchen, beginning on May 1, 1950. (Figure 3.63, 3.64) For every house, 3,000 TL would be donated, and the remaining costs were to be paid by the homeowners without interest over twenty years.[497] On May 4, 1950, *Cumhuriyet* announced the building of the initial group of houses, consisting of 250 units.[498]

In 1951, 500 blocks and 1,000 detached units of *seylap evleri* (disaster houses) were built in the north region of the city. (Figure 3.65, 3.67) These houses covered an area of 35-40 square meters with a height of 2.4 meters and were designed by the Ministry of Public Works. Homeowners were offered credit that could be repaid over twenty years at a 5% interest rate.[499] These houses were single-storey masonry structures with two rooms, a kitchen, a hall, and a toilet. (Figure 3.66) An opening of 80x60 cm was designed to reach a one-meter deep coal cellar under the floor. The entrance, corridor, and living area were all in one space. The toilet and kitchen covered an area of 5 square meters, with a basin for bathing.

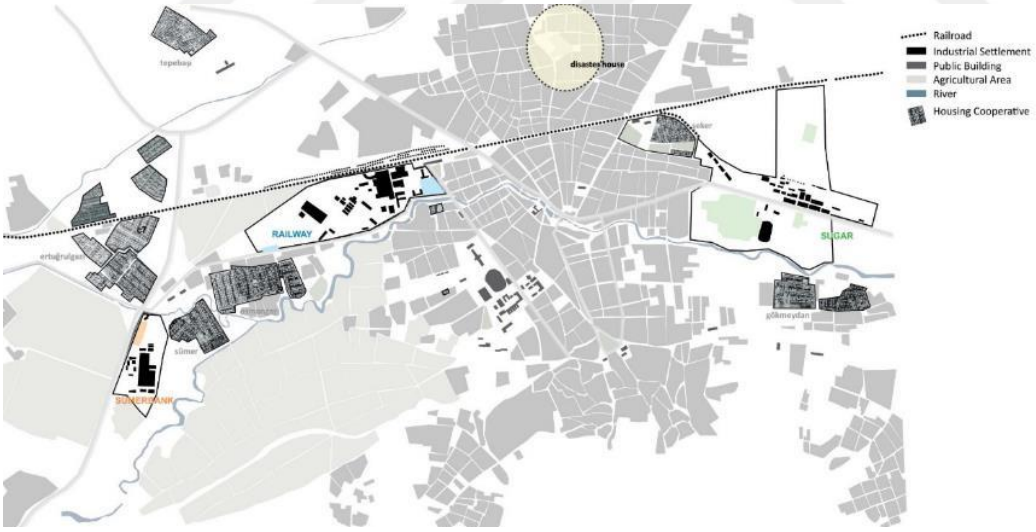


Figure 3. 65 Urban map showing disaster houses in Eskişehir (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

[496] The Record Book of Architect Mesrur Dındın, 66.

[497] Cumhuriyet, "Eskişehir'de Yapılacak Evler: Felaketzedelerden Kiracı Vaziyetinde olanlara da bazı şartlarla Ev Verilecek," *Cumhuriyet,* 26, no. 9227 *(*April 17, 1951): 1-3.

[498] Cumhuriyet, "250 Ev İnşa Ettirilecek," *Cumhuriyet,* 26, no. 9244 *(*May 4, 1950). 6.

[499] The Record Book of Architect Mesrur Dındın, 66.

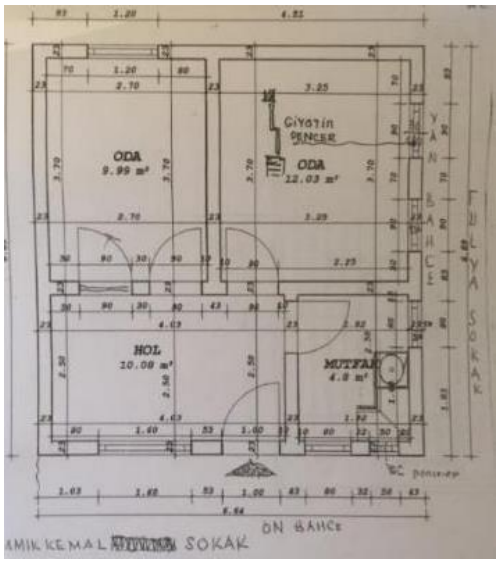


Figure 3. 66 Architectural plan for a disaster house -demolished in the 1900s- drawn by the architect, Mesrur Dındın (The Personal Archive of Mesrur Dındın)

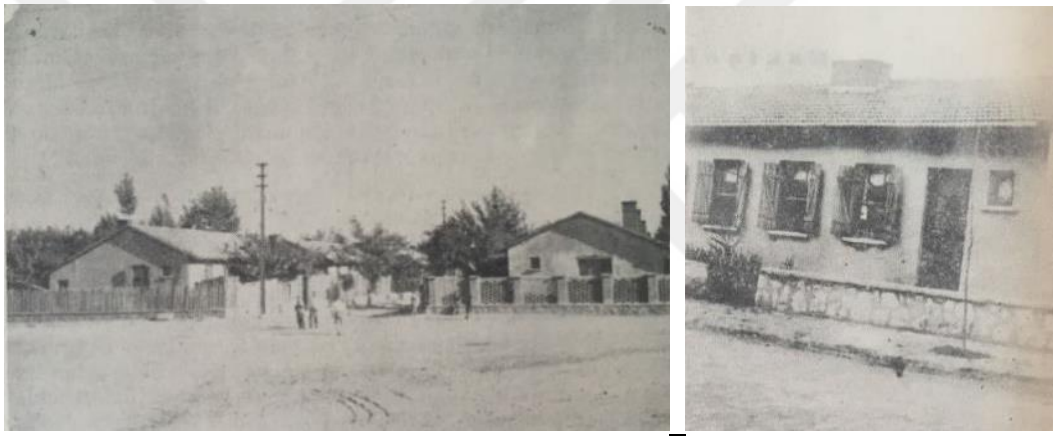


Figure 3. 67 *Seylap evleri* (disaster houses) (Çelikkanat 1973)

During this period, residential units did not have bathrooms; rather, some of the houses had built-in closets in the bedrooms for water. Only in 1957 did legislation make a 120x200 cm bathing area obligatory for a certificate of occupancy. In addition, homes had no electricity or municipal water supply. Individual wells provided water through hand pumps, and inhabitants went to the hammam every week. Because the hammams met the homeowners' needs, the architects considered both the cost and the bathing culture and did not include a bathroom.

3.1.2.2.3. Urbanization: Squatter Settlements

Towards the middle of the twentieth century, geographic mobility became a significant factor in urban life due to urban-industrial dynamics. While 214,000 people migrated from villages to cities between 1945 and 1950, this number increased to 904,000 between 1950 and 1955. [500] According to İlhan Tekeli, explosive urban growth resulted in infrastructure problems and housing shortages. Finding shelter was the primary challenge for the expansive industrial population in Eskişehir due to urban-industrial growth, migration, and natural disasters. Therefore, squatter settlements[501] were built in Eskişehir, beginning mainly in the 1940s, with growth accelerating after 1955. The spread of these settlements constituted an irregular housing patterns in Eskişehir. These patterns also resulted from a shrinkage in agricultural lands, migration flow from rural to urban areas, real estate and land speculation, and an increase in luxury housing construction in the urban environment. Land speculation in the construction of residential units emerged as a prevalent phenomenon after the 1950s. Journalist Celil Karaca criticized the rental market, noting that renting a house in Eskişehir was extremely difficult and expensive.[502]

As low-income citizens, industrial workers suffered the most from rental prices that were dependent on land speculation, inflation, and other financial parameters. Due to the uncontrolled growth in Eskişehir, the city expanded towards the periphery, leading to unplanned land subdivisions and infrastructural problems. To address this, there were debates over how to form a steady industrial labor force while reducing turnover and seasonal labor migration. The provision of housing and social facilities was considered instrumental for this plan. Nusret Ekin criticized the lack of social

[500] Bahattin Akşit, "İçgöçlerin Nesnel ve Öznel Toplumsal Tarihi Üzerine Gözlemler: Köy Tarafından Bir Bakış," *Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları* (1998): 25.

[501] "Squatter settlement is the name given to dwellings which have been hastily constructed (literally, constructed overnight) on land which is, in most cases, state-owned, invariably void of features normally necessary to meet acceptable standards of sanitation."

İbrahim Yasa, "The 'Gecekondu' Family," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 27, no. 3 (1972): 575-84.

[502] Celil Karaca, "Kira ve Ötesi," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 88 (September 17, 1960): 3.

investments and particularly the lack of a housing policy for workers.[503] The state-owned factories did not construct lodging blocks for all of their workers. As a result of the lack of policies, squatter settlements emerged to act as worker living space in the urban environment. These irregular settlements solved the housing deficit cheaply, as they were self-constructed, and they led to a more permanent labor force.

The housing deficit led industrial workers to illegally build squatter settlements in Esentepe, Şarhöyük, and the region around the Sümerbank factory in the years between 1950 and 1960. (Figure 3.68, 3.69) Architect Mesrur Dındın described the Ömerağa district, which was also a squatter settlement:

> In 1944, construction began parallel to the north side of the railway. At night, a few groups built an adobe building with several rooms. The building consisted of a row of stone for the foundation, two and a half meters high adobe wall, a ceiling made of plasterboard. The floors and walls were first plastered with yellow mud, then sand was added to the lime paste, and the rooms were whitewashed.

Architect Mesrur Dındın also described the squatter settlement in the Hacı Seyit district: "In the district, there were few masonry buildings, and except these, all of the houses were made of adobe. The entrance next to the toilet opened to the courtyard, and rooms clustered at the back and sidewalls."[504] These shanty settlements in Eskişehir continued to be built until the enactment of Slum Law No. 775 in 1966.

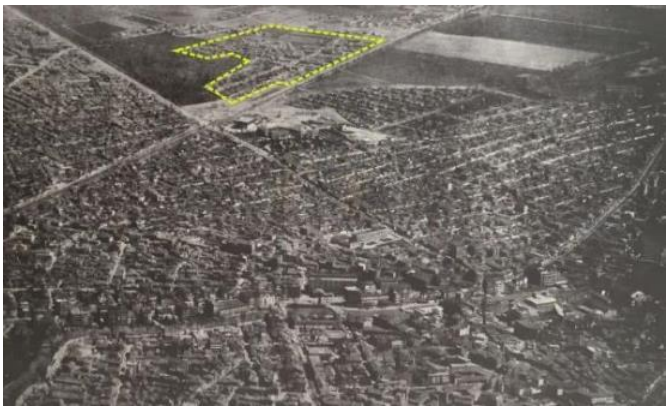


Figure 3. 68 1957 aerial map indicating squatter settlements in Şarhöyük (Eskişehir Valiliği, 1957)

[503] Nusret M. Ekin, "Sanayiimizdeki Yüksek İşçi Devrinin Tesirleri ve Bu Hususta Alınabilecek Tedbirler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 20, no. 1-4 (1959): 295.

[504] The Record Book of Architect Mesrur Dındın, 65.

The internal migration to urban areas resulted in the integration of a phenomenon new to industrialization and urbanization. According to Yasa, squatter settlements were largely a product of rural origin and were not easily integrated into urban lifestyles or industrial calendar. They were "in a transitional stage not yet completed its full development."[505] Thus, this population produced a quasi-rural way of living. Rather than urbanizing the labor force, these neighborhoods ruralized the urban environment. The workers living in squatter settlements tried to establish housing cooperative by developing intercommunal relationships and becoming members of workers' organizations.

Figure 3. 69 Urban map showing squatter settlements in Eskişehir (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975)

3.1.2.3 A New Form of Living: Housing Cooperative, 1950-1980

Productivity, technology, mobility, and demand all led to a need for new solutions to create sufficient living space in Eskişehir. Regulations regarding workers' housing credits brought about rapid change from the 1950s onwards. Because workers' organizations were increasing in this period, housing cooperatives emerged to address the need for housing. Low wages, educational training, and lending assistance motivated workers to take an active role in the search for housing rather than being

[505] Yasa, "The 'Gecekondu' Family," 575-84.

passive inhabitants or occupiers. Because the house was the space where everyday life was based, industrial workers were highly concerned about financing, managing, and designing it according to their visions. Railway and sugar factory officials, who were outnumbered by workers, produced their cooperatives in line with workers' initiatives. Homeowner status led both workers and officials to invest in their houses and connect them to the surrounding neighborhood and city. The housing issue became a platform to discuss their needs and visions. (Figure 3.70)

Figure 3. 70 Sakarya Housing Cooperative in Tepebaşı (Taken from the documentary produced for the Worker's Hospital, The Archive of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital)

Housing emerged as the major urban priority for industrial workers and workers' organizations between 1950 and 1980. Housing cooperatives improved the everyday living conditions of workers and integrated technical progress, functional quality, social and civic improvement, and workers' initiatives into the design process.

The design of housing cooperative involved a complex network of relationships. Within that context, the main issues discussed in this section are minimal accommodation standards, the architectural design process and its changing roles, and housing finance and subsidization.

3.1.2.3.1. Architectural Design Process by Workers' Organization in Eskişehir

The housing problem in Eskişehir in the 1950s was very serious due to urbanization, natural disaster, and migration. The population growth in the city resulted in the demand for low-cost housing with minimum standards and efficient use of space.[506]

The workers' organizations in Eskişehir consisted of reform-minded workers for whom the housing issue was a major concern, and thus they provided the initial motivation for the development of housing cooperatives. In the 1950s, the common objective of workers' organizations was the establishment of cooperative settlements, inspired by a continuous debate about how to design a better way of living. This objective brought about a more comprehensive mechanism of organization through the inclusion of multiple actors, including cooperatives, architects, developers, politicians, financial agents, and municipal agencies. Without the input of these actors, the design process could not be completed. Thus, this study explores how workers contributed to housing cooperative design through their private, public, and collective attempts and their collaboration with the crucial stakeholders of the period.

The production of the housing cooperative model required the involvement of diverse actors. (Figure 3.71) The unionized workers initially decided to build housing cooperative and established cooperative partnerships. These co-founders found building sites in collaboration with the municipality and opened offices in office buildings including Pirinç, Yusuf Cemal, and Sümerbank. The municipality, which dealt with re-zoning activities, provided suitable lands for the development, typically agricultural lands. The establishment of the cooperative was announced to workers, and workers responded by becoming members. However, according to an interview with railway worker Necdet Yılmazoğlu, it was difficult to find a cooperative member in the early phase. Members were responsible for finding the site and for other issues related to the project, such as determining the financial program, including land share and project cost. Concurrently, design requirements were presented to the architects.

[506] İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü, *İşçi Evleri Yapılması ve Bunlarla ilgili İşler Hakkında Talimatname* (Ankara: Işık Matbaacılık, 1958), 3-8.

All documents were collected for the credit application; then the institution of labor insurance went out to tender within the available credit. The Real Estate Credit Bank often provided housing credits. When the foundation of the house was constructed, financial experts from the bank would make progress payments. The bank gave credit according to the construction process, and in every phase the contractor would need to request financing. The Housing Cooperative was responsible for collecting money from members every month. When the construction was completed, the homeowners were chosen by lot in the presence of a notary public. The decision book, including the list of houses, was given to the insurance provider. The cooperative remained in debt to the bank until payment was made in full. Payment had to be collected and transferred to the bank according to the lending assistance program.[507] The building cost was determined by an assessment of the average building area. The land and all the building materials were bought directly by the cooperative to save intermediary costs. Housing cooperative was established by the workers, who, due to their common professional and educational background, formed a homogeneous structure.

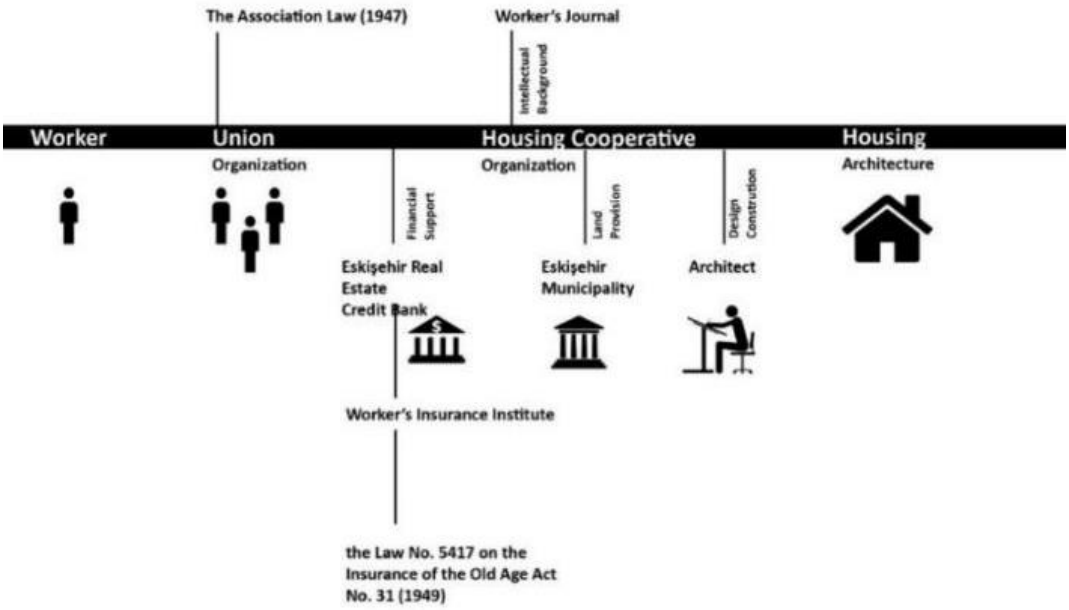


Figure 3. 71 Design process for worker's housing cooperative (Figure by the author based on information provided in interviews)

[507] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

With the development of housing cooperative, workers' roles changed in comparison to former housing production. As they were also users and inhabitants, workers evolved into investors and consumers. Housing cooperative, formed through governmental measures, legally gave organized workers the authority to determine the location, the architects, and the members.

This change in roles was emphasized in an article that compared the housing provisions in Turkey and America following a visit to the USA by industrial workers:

> In Turkey, the most crucial problem of the workers was homelessness in line with the expression *dünyada mesken ahirette iman* (housing in the world, faith in the hereafter). For instance, the rents are not high compared to the USA but are perceived as such because the daily or monthly wages are relatively low. It is very difficult for us to buy a house in instalments. The easiest way to own a house is to establish a housing cooperative. Many cooperatives have been established in the last ten years, and few are successful. The provision of suitable land, loans and construction materials and being fortunate in terms of contractors are respectively important issues… In America, instalments are less than the rent of the house. Private companies were responsible for the construction and completed its transportation, sewerage, electricity, gas, and water supply services. For us, the cost and interest that the Real Estate Credit Bank have given are relatively high.[508]

In her book, *Eskişehir Kentinde Yerleşmenin Evrimi*, urban historian Gaye Ertin underlined the role of the immigrant population in the establishment of housing cooperatives in Eskişehir. The majority of immigrants were industrial laborers, and they desired living spaces close to their workplaces. This population was intentional in realizing the organizations needed by settled societies to secure their future. Therefore, Eskişehir became one of the leading cities for housing cooperatives in

[508] "Mesken Meselesi: Dünyada mesken ahirette iman diye bir söz vardır… Hele memur ve işçi olanlardan çoğunun omuzlarına çöken ağırlık bilhassa evsizliktir…Biz de kiralar mesela Amerika'ya nispetle yüksek değildir, fakat gündelikler veya aylıklar oraya nisbetle düşük olduğu için kiralar ağır gelmektedir. Taksitle ev sahibi olmaksa bizde çok zor, oralarda pek kolaydır.Bizde ev sahibi olmak için en kısa yol yapı kooperatifi kurmaktır. Son on sene zarfında böyle bir çok kooperatif kurulmuş, pek azı muvaffak olabilmiştir. Çünkü elverişli arsa bulmak, kredi sağlamak, inşaat malzemesi tedarik etmek, müteahhit bakımından talihli olmak ayrı ayrı ve mühim meselelerdir. …Taksitler aynı büyüklükteki evin kirasından daha azdı… hususi bir şirket yaptırmıştı, yolları, kanalizasyonu, elektriği, gazı, suyu hep tamamdı… Emlak Kredi Bankası bu işi yapıyor, ama maliyet yüksek, faiz yüksektir…"

Türk Gücü, "Mesken Meselesi," *Türk Gücü* 1, no. 131 (November 5, 1960): 2.

Turkey. A significant part of residential areas was made up of collective housing built by cooperative organizations.[509]

Bernard Wagner prepared a report on housing that covered the reasons for the deficiency of the housing cooperative developments in Turkey. Housing cooperative in Eskişehir differed from that described by Wagner. First, Wagner explained that the cooperative program carried out by the institution of labor insurance included only insured workers (accounting for 700,000 workers out of 2,000,000) and did not include workers in the agricultural fields or in enterprises employing less than four workers. Industrial workers in the state-owned factories in Eskişehir were all insured, and thus all had the right to benefit from the credit. Second, Wagner also stated that workers did not prefer cooperatives due to their poor design. These designs were produced by the housing cooperatives, whose members lacked architectural knowledge and skill. Many cooperatives did not go to architects and instead used basic designs. Wagner stressed the architect's role in this process, and accordingly, concluded that an efficient design could only be accomplished by the cooperation between the members and the architect. In addition to this approach, Wagner pointed out the significance of the needs and customs of the workers' families for the design of low-cost housing. The architects had to cooperate with the users and the institution regarding the design process, design specifications, and financial and technical issues.[510] Abidin Mortaş criticized this reduction of the architect's role from a designer to a mediator between the financial institution and the users. Moreover, he underlined the imbalance between living standards and financial concerns that led to the design of insufficient usage areas, building heights of 2.50 meters, and walls a half a brick thick. [511] However, the workers' organizations in Eskişehir criticized the cooperative's 69-square-meter dimensions and offered to standardize to 100 square meters with efficient building heights.[512] Trade union leaders made it possible for Nüzhet Özışık and Mesrur Dındın, pioneering local architects of the time, to design almost all of the housing cooperative

[509] Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, *Eskişehir Sanayi: Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını*.

[510] Bernard Wagner, "Türkiye'de Mesken Meselesi II," *Arkitekt* 3, no. 285 (1956): 119-139.

[511] Mortaş, "Az Para ile Ev Yapmak ve Bizde Kooperatifçilik," 90-92.

[512] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası. *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1963-1965* (Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1965).

developments. In Eskişehir, the involvement of professionals in the design of housing cooperatives was apparent.

In that context, five of the architects in Eskişehir, İsmet Aktop, Muhittin Bürücek, Mehmet Güngör, Nüzhet Özışık, and Mesrur Dındın, signed a protocol with civil engineers and master builders. In line with this protocol, these architects sought to stake a professional claim in the city, where master builders had been dominant, and to mark out professional boundaries in architecture. (see Appendix F) Through this professional collaboration, workers' cooperatives designed and constructed by architects became the prevalent model after the 1950s. The rapid and organized development of trade unions played an educational role in the establishment of housing cooperative.[513] Established by union leaders, the housing cooperative was not a passive organization. Through the involvement of cooperatives, housing in the city became more democratic and available, even though it depended on governmental measures.

As in the other cities, the production of capitalist cooperatives was discussed in Eskişehir. The journal *İş Yolu* criticized the promise of the Democratic Party to make all workers capitalist homeowners. According to the periodical, housing with two floors, five rooms, and a garden could only be found in unrealistic election propaganda, such as posters and speeches.[514] The industrial workers in Eskişehir argued that houses with minimum standards would meet their needs rather than capitalist cooperatives.

In his report, Wagner also underlined the imbalance between wages and the housing credit allocated to the workers. The house, together with its land, cost an average of 14,000 TL. According to Wagner, this amount was beyond the purchasing power of workers, who earned 40 TL per week and 6.5 TL per day. Correspondingly, the journal *Eskişehir İşçinin Yolu* criticized the credit system, which provided housing for only a small segment of workers based on their wages. Workers had to earn a wage of at least 200 TL in order to receive the credits, and then they needed to pay a quarter of their wages for 20 years. Inadequate worker wages were common in the 1950s, and housing

[513] Keleş, "Sosyal Konut Kavramı Üzerinde Bir Deneme ve Türkiye de Sosyal Konut Politikası," 167-234.

[514] H. T., "İşçi Evleri," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 13 (March 15, 1952): 2.

cooperative members received a wage between 100 TL and 130 TL.[515] According to the Railway Trade Union leader, Rıza Tetik, while laborers working in the offices earned 250 TL, manual laborers earned 70 TL.[516] The journal *İşçinin Sesi* further noted that the wage of a permanent laborer was 90 TL.[517] In the early years of the cooperatives, it was difficult to become a member due to these low wages. In time, the credit model became more democratic by requiring a smaller amount of workers' wages. Workers could easily pay because the interest rate remained constant, and workers' wages increased through their union efforts.

Unlike lodging blocks, workers' housing cooperative developments were not entirely state products, and state and non-state actors were involved in their production. The forerunners of the cooperative model were mainly trade union leaders.

In Eskişehir, state involvement was considerably limited, and the housing cooperative development was based on the collective action of workers and a small number of officials. Housing cooperative, as a part of the social development of the country, was not only a marker of changes in economics, politics, and society, but was also one of the fundamental instruments through which these developments were negotiated by architects, architectural theorists, economists, developers, the Ministry of Labor, and crucially, by organized workers.

3.1.2.3.2. The Semi-Detached House as a Housing Cooperative Design

As previously mentioned, solving the housing deficit was the major urban priority in Eskişehir during the 1950s. Industrial worker organizations began constructing housing cooperatives. By 1956, cooperative production in the city was remarkable. This development was also noted in *TBMM official report* in 1957. By 1956, 332 houses had been constructed in Ankara, 1019 in Istanbul, 100 in İzmir, 195 in Bursa,

[515] İş Yolu, "İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Fesih olmak üzere olan Kooperatife Arsa Satamaz," *İş Yolu* 1, no. 22 (July 25, 1954): 1-4.

[516] Tetik, "Kabahati İşçide Bulmayalım," 1-2.

[517] Rıza Tetik, "Soruyoruz! 78 Lira ile 8 Nüfuslu bir aile nasıl geçinir?," *İşçinin Sesi* 3, no. 22 (April 24, 1953): 1-2.

78 in İzmit, 42 in Mersin, 81 in Konya, 34 in Amasya, 361 in Kayseri, 60 in Tokat, 49 in Adana, 260 in Aydın, 270 in Eskişehir, and 200 in Zonguldak.[518]

Housing cooperatives for workers in Eskişehir used two housing models. The first was a semi-detached house with a garden, and the second was an apartment building. For the semi-detached house, the standard space was determined by the financial constraints, and workers' and officials' houses were built with the same characteristics. According to the main agreement of the Eskişehir Railway Workers' Housing Cooperative, "the houses, as standardized houses, were built with a garden according to the necessities of time and the climatic conditions of Eskişehir, and also with much consideration for cost."[519] The standardized semi-detached house in Eskişehir had a self-contained design with two rooms, a kitchenette, closet, bathroom, and lavatory, with no basement. (Figure 3.72) The kitchenette was designed with a sink, and its facilities were limited. The bathroom was located in the back, containing wet areas, a bath, and a toilet. All of these characteristics evolved to become the nationally accepted model for subsistence housing for workers. This minimum, well-planned and modest accommodation was designed to improve housing conditions according to the spirit of the age. Between 1950 and 1965, all housing cooperative designs had a garden outside their front door, surrounding its three-sided facade.

Because of the collaborative process of development, these houses offered more than the minimum standardized housing for the workers, whose criteria called for "decent, safe and sanitary" homes. These houses were designed functionally and gave access to "sun, light, and air." The main achievement was providing maximum benefits with limited financial means.

Housing cooperative improved the everyday living conditions of workers and integrated technical progress, functional quality, social and civic improvement, and workers' initiatives into the design process. According to interviews, cooperative

[518] TBMM, *1957 mali yılı Mavazenei Umumiye kanunu layihası, dönem. 10, cilt. 17, oturum. 41* (Ankara: TBMM, 1957b).

[519] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçileri, *Eskişehir Demiryolcuları Ev Kooperatifi Esas Mukavelenamesi* (Eskişehir: Yıldız Matbaası, 1950), 7.

production in Eskişehir formed a platform for debate and collectivity, and the producers considered these houses to be “comfortable, beneficial and sufficient.”

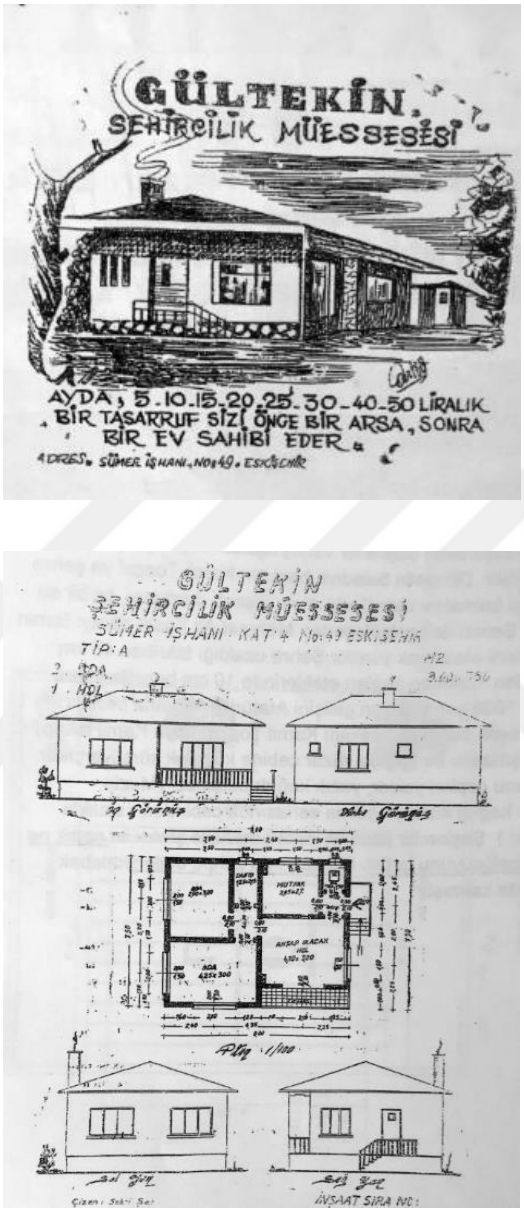


Figure 3. 72 An announcement for housing cooperative in Eskişehir (The Personal Archive of Mesrur Dındın 1961)

In Eskişehir, the semi-detached house emerged as an urban phenomenon between 1950 and 1965. According to the document provided by the archive of architect Nüzhet Özışık and the regulations regarding partnership status, the list of housing cooperatives consisted of Eskişehir Railway Housing Cooperative (1950), Railway Workers’ Building Cooperative No. 2 (1953-57), Eskişehir Railway Officials’ Building Cooperative (1953), Eskişehir Sugar Industry Trade Union Building Society (1954),

Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative (1954), Eskişehir Sugar Factory Janitors' Building Cooperative (1956), Eskişehir State Railway Workers' Şen Yuva Building Cooperative (1959), Railway Workers' Birlik Building Cooperative, Sugar Workers' Building Cooperative No. 2, Print Factory Building Cooperative No. 1, and Print Factory Building Cooperative No. 2. (see Appendix G) (Figure 3.73)

The first worker housing cooperatives, with minimum accommodation standards, were designed without improved housing conditions such as electricity and water supply. As seen in Appendix H, the standardized houses in Eskişehir were self-contained with two rooms, a kitchenette, closet, and lavatory; however, they did not have water or electrical supply. In the newspaper *Hürbilek*, a 1957 article examined workers' housing and determined that electricity and water were significant necessities.[520] Housing credits were only given for the construction of the house. The mechanical and technical installations, such as sewerage, water, and electricity, were undertaken by the municipalities. In that period, the spatial growth of Eskişehir was dispersed, which led to insufficient municipal services. Workers demanded technical services from President Adnan Menderes during his visit to Çukurhisar, Eskişehir; however, the problem was not solved. Water was usually supplied by workers collaborating to dig wells in the gardens. Workers applied to the municipality regarding the water problem, but the municipality did not have any workforce for construction and suggested workers dig in front of their own houses. The municipality marked the zones for the installation of the mechanical system, the workers dug these zones collectively, and finally, the municipality installed mechanical conduits. The electrical installation was undertaken through a similar collective process.[521]

Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative, established by the Federation of Sakarya Region Workers, was different from other profession-based developments. (Figure 3.74, 3.75, 3.76) This development was the product of collaborative work among diverse unions representing workers in the sugar, railway, air, soil, hotel, and flour industries. This cooperative was established through the personal efforts of the

[520] Hürbilek, "Memleketi Nura Garkettiniz, Bizi de Zulmetten Kurtarınız: Tepebaşı İşçi Evleri Elektrik ve Su Bekliyor," *Hürbilek* 1, no. 10 (April 4, 1957): 1.

Hürbilek, "Tepebaşı İşçi Evleri Elektrik ve Suya Kavuşuyor," *Hürbilek* 1, no. 11 (April 13, 1957): 5.

[521] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

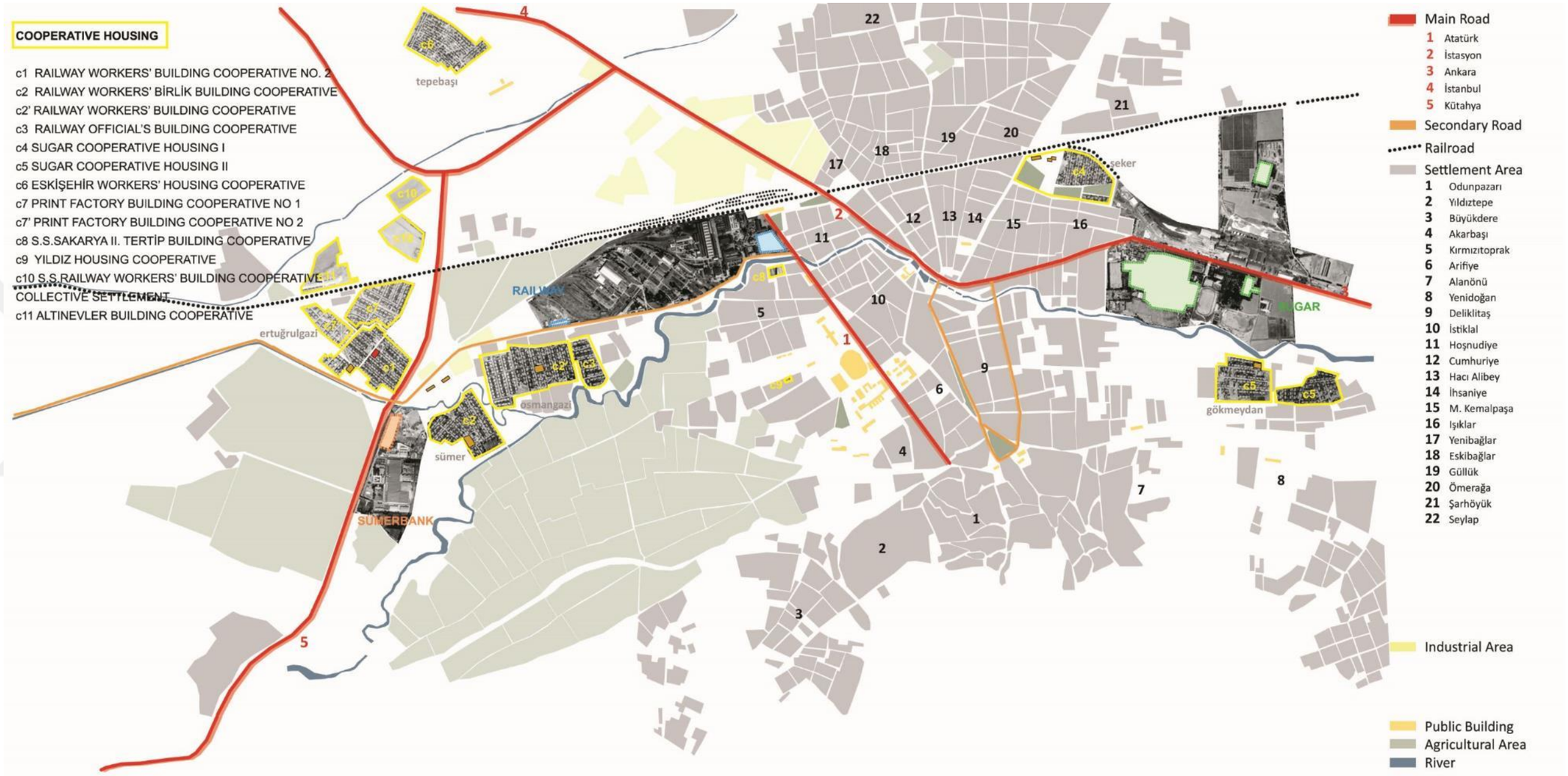


Figure 3. 73 Urban map showing the development of housing cooperative in Eskişehir (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975 and urban development plans)

Minister of Labor, Hayrettin Erkmen. The cooperative organization completed design preparation in 1954.[522]

Figure 3. 74 The groundbreaking ceremony for the Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative. Participating Eskişehir Deputies include Seyfi Öztürk, İsmet Angı, Aziz Zeytinoğlu, and Governer Mustafa Karaer. (The Personal Archive of Necdet Yılmazoğlu)

Figure 3. 75 Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative in 1956

[522] İş Yolu, "Sakarya Bölgesi Federasyonunun Kurduğu Eskişehir İşçi Evleri Yapı Kooperatifi Faaliyete Geçti," 1.

Figure 3. 76 Eskişehir Workers' Housing Cooperative under construction (Hürbilek 1957)

Figure 3. 77 Railway Workers' Birlik Building Cooperative

As the railway and Sümerbank factories were located close to each other, their workers coordinated their housing cooperative production. (Figure 3.77) Their housing cooperatives were produced using the design process mentioned in the previous section. The only exception was that there were two models used in the design process of Sugar Housing Cooperative.

In the design of Sugar Housing Cooperative I, the land was provided by the sugar factory. This housing cooperative was also known by the name *Şeker Evleri* (Sugar Housing). According to Yaşar Ekinci, Hakan Bozok, who was working in the Eskişehir

sugar factory's construction office, was responsible for the design. The Zeytinoğlu construction office was the contractor. Sugar Housing Cooperative II was produced using the same design process as the other workers' cooperatives. (Figure 3.78)

Figure 3. 78 The groundbreaking ceremony for Sugar Housing Cooperative I. Participating Eskişehir Deputies include Muhtar Başkurt and Hasan Polatkan (The Personal Archive of Nilgün Başöz)

3.1.2.3.3. Housing Cooperative Apartment Design

The second model in the workers' housing cooperative was a three or four-storey apartment building. The apartments that dominated workers' living spaces after 1960 -replacing the detached houses of the mid-twentieth century- indicated a transition parallel to the one occurring in national building development. Because there were expansive vacant lands around the factories, housing cooperatives spread horizontally, building semi-detached houses until the 1960s. These houses with extensive areas led to land speculation and the uncontrolled growth of the city. The use of multi-storey buildings emerged due to increasing land values and construction costs and the need for rapid housing production after the 1960s. Land speculation was high, and newspapers began to advertise land for sale to accommodate multi-storey housing blocks.[523]

In that context, the transformation from semi-detached house to apartment made it easier for citizens with limited finances to purchase a house. Beginning in the 1970s, these citizens were mainly industrial laborers. Apartments in the early 1960s were built in privileged neighborhoods and intended for well-to-do citizens, but the construction of multi-storey housing cooperatives transformed apartments into buildings for industrial laborers. The floor plans of the apartments consisted of a living room, kitchen, two rooms, bathroom, and toilet, and typically featured a stair hall in the middle of two flats. Wet spaces were located in these areas, so as to maximize sunlight in living spaces.

The semi-detached houses with extensive areas led to land speculation and the uncontrolled growth of the city. In line with the multi-storey developments in the city, lodging blocks and cooperative houses started to be built as apartments.

[523] "Kiralık Yer: Esentepe semtinde, Sakarya Caddesi yanında, Mimar Sokakta: Dört Tarafı çevrili, suyu elektriği yazıhane içinde, 4 katlı blok evler yapılması için elde çap mevcut, 509 metrekarelik yer kiralıktır."

Eskişehir Ekspres, "Kiralık Yer," *Eskişehir Ekspres* 1, no. 5 (August 9, 1960): 2.

3.1.2.3.4. Housing Cooperative Design and Collectivity

Workers, organized by unions, discussed home ownership in their meetings, congresses, and journals. Although dictated by the national credit model, the leaders of unions discussed this model within the scope of their living standards, available financial resources, and the housing supply in the city. Thus, diverse industrial laborers, organized around production-specific industries, formed neighborhoods based on their own initiatives, demands, and expressions. Therefore, the cityscape after 1950 began to be segregated by industrial dynamics, and distinct neighborhoods emerged in the locations around the factories with names such as "Şeker," "Sümer," and "Demiryol." These planned settlements replaced the heterogeneous residential developments. Housing cooperative created intimate neighborhoods consisting of inhabitants with the same profession regulated by cooperative rules. The culture in housing cooperative was more homogeneous than in other workers' living spaces because industrial workers with similar habits, attitudes, and desires were grouped together. Organized workers contributed to the development of the neighborhoods by taking leadership roles in the cooperatives and demonstrating their consciousness and activism. Over time, they created a sense of collectivity by building schools, open spaces, and small shops. One of the reasons for this collectivity was the leadership of immigrants in the development of housing cooperatives. For them, mutual assistance and cooperation were ingrained, as these were requirements for city living when they arrived.

These services were not originally designed as an integral part of the housing cooperative, but rather the collective action necessary to provide these services. The main agreement of the Eskişehir Railway Workers' Housing Cooperative stated that "the administrative council will work to provide the necessary services such as roads, sewers, afforestation, day-care centers, cinemas, clubs, and shops."[524] Architect Zeki Sayar also underscored the necessity of building primary schools in the neighborhoods where workers and civil servants were concentrated, considering that the parents were

[524] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçileri, *Eskişehir Demiryolcuları Ev Kooperatifi Esas Mukavelenamesi*, 7.

working.[525] Housing cooperatives did not include these neighborhood services at the beginning of the design process; they were established later through diverse initiatives. For example, cooperative partnerships bought land for future schools and financed the construction. Then the Directorate of National Education created the project design and constructed the schools as standardized projects.

The Sugar Workers' Trade Union Building Cooperative applied to the Directorate of National Education to buy the land for a primary school in the Sugar Housing Cooperative II in Gökmeydan. (Figure 3.79) The governor ordered the sugar factory to allocate 5,326 square meters of land (see Appendix I) and the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories to donate 100,000 TL to fund construction by the Sugar Workers' Trade Union Building Cooperative, to be completed in 1962. The workers collectively provided some services in the workshops of the sugar factory, such as electrical installation and furniture design.[526] The school was initially constructed as a ground floor consisting of four classrooms. The expansion of the neighborhood led to construction of a first floor with six classrooms and a hall in 1968.

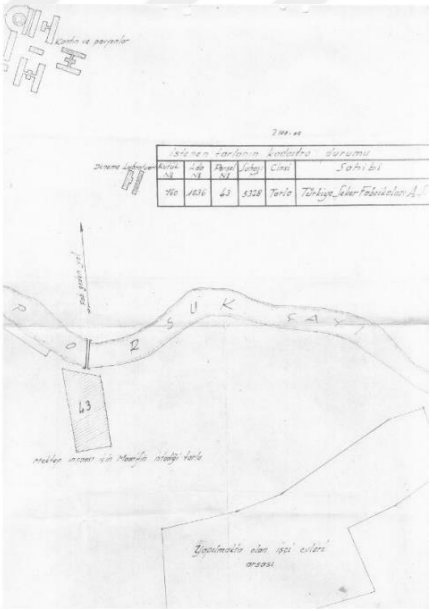


Figure 3. 79 The site of Sugar Primary School as demanded by the Sugar Workers' Trade Union Building Cooperative (Eskişehir Municipality Archive 1961)

[525] Sayar, "Mesken-Politika ve Baraka-Okul," 44-68.

[526] V. S., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

Z. T. Ş., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 27, 2020.

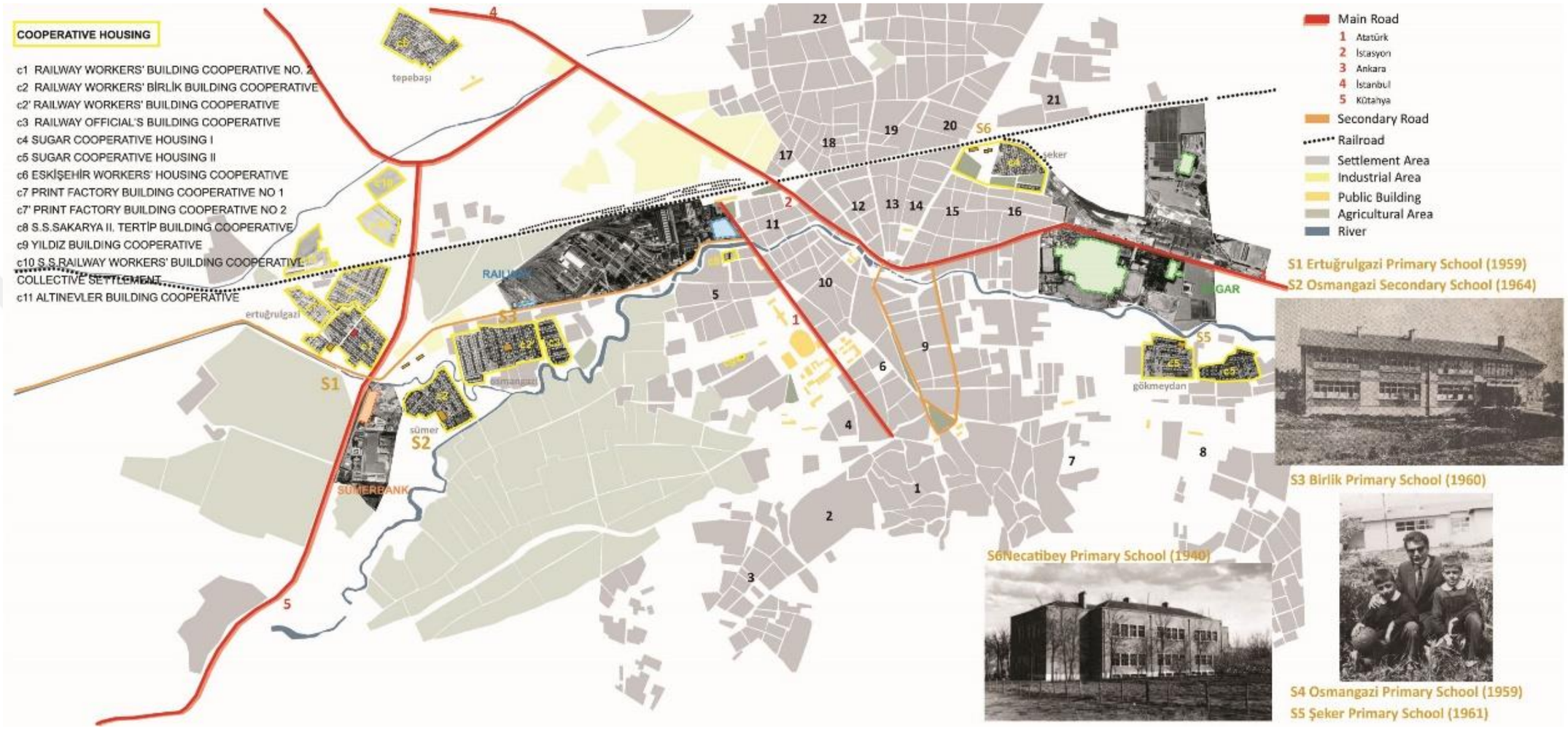


Figure 3. 80 Urban map showing the development of schools in workers' housing cooperatives in Eskişehir (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975 and urban development plans)

Birlik Primary School was constructed in 1960 by the Railway Worker's Birlik Building Cooperative, consisting of 209 houses.[527] The leaders of the cooperative, Mehmet Köklü and Mehmet Baş, bought the site from the government, and the groundbreaking ceremony was performed by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes (see Appendix J).

The other schools built in the workers' housing cooperative developments were Ertuğrulgazi Primary School, built in 1959 in the Railway Worker's Building Cooperative No.2, Osmangazi Secondary School, built in 1964 in the Railway Worker's Birlik Building Cooperative, Osmangazi Primary School,[528] built in 1959 in the Railway Worker's Building Cooperative, and Necatibey Primary School, built in 1940 in the Sugar Housing Cooperative II. (Figure 3.80)

In some cooperatives, commercial units were created through diverse initiatives. In time, these residential settlements evolved into neighborhoods through networks that connected industrial workers and formed a social landscape for building, representing, and changing these social relations. Schools, mosques, coffeehouses, shops, and other services were gradually constructed in these settlements. Nevertheless, these neighborhoods were linked to the urban environment rather than being self-contained.

3.1.2.4 Everyday Life and Living Spaces

The factory, which established the everyday rhythms of industry, impacted the habits, attitudes, and living conditions of the industrial subjects in diverse ways between 1923 and 1980.

For the technocrats living in lodging blocks produced by the state's welfare services, life intertwined with the everyday rhythms of the industry. The disciplined, technically-able, and purpose-driven administrators and officials shared modern

[527] A. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, January 11, 2020.

[528] Osmangazi Primary School, comprising 9 classrooms, 6 units, and a library, was in existence until 1990.

neighborhoods in the factories. Because of their modern design, these lodging blocks came to represent the idealized industrial way of living.

Industrial workers' desire for modern living conditions was prominently featured in their journals. The director of the journal *Hürbilek*, Abdülkadir Gürol, stated that

> the housing issue is significant both in terms of providing the welfare level that the workers deserve and the efficiency of production. It is impossible to claim that the industry works rationally and efficiently in the countries where the need for housing for workers is not responded to. The workers, living in minimum comfort and health standards with their family, regularly attend their jobs and work efficiently. Non-sanitary houses, on the other hand, lead workers to spend their time in coffeehouses and drinking, according to the statistical records of Western countries.[529]

Since the factories did not provide housing for everyone, most workers relied on their own initiative or, crucially, on collective means rather than state welfare when searching for housing in the urban environment. As a result, a pluralistic way of using living space emerged for the workers, introducing varied domestic lives and identities and giving meaning to their everyday experience. For industrial workers, daily life was shaped not only by the factory but also by the urban environment. Thus, the interactions between the workspace and the living space multiplied within the housing alternatives and housing cooperatives in the urban environment. This relationship between labor and living led to two significant outcomes. The first was that the dialectic between work and living was a determinant factor in the formation of the link between industrial actors and the urban environment. Workers who did not have a living space in the factory lived in and interacted with the city. The second was that the shop floor hierarchy within the industry extended to the living space in the factory and the urban environment as well. Between 1923 and 1950, workers settled in squatter dwellings, immigrant housing, or disaster housing. In these neighborhoods, industrial workers lived with other low-income groups in the city and were not yet segregated

[529] "İşçi Evleri: Mesken davası hem işçinin layık olduğu refah seviyesinin sağlanması hem de istihsal hayatının randıman vermesi bakımından mühimdir. O kadar mühimdir ki işçi mesken davasının halledilmediği memleketlerde endüstrinin rasyonel çalıştığı imalatın mükemmel olduğu iddia edilemez. Asgari konforun ve lüzumlu sağlık şartlarının bulunduğu evinde çoluk çocuğu ile rahat mesut bir hayat süren işçi işine muntazaman devam eder ve çalışması verimli olur. Gayri sıhhi derme çatma evlerin ise işçileri kahvehane hayatına, içkiye sürüklediği batı demokrasilerinde uzun yıllar tutulan istatistiklerde ispat edilen hakikatlerdendir."

Abdülkadir Gürol, "İşçi Evleri," *Hürbilek* 1, no.3 (January 24, 1957): 1-6.

by profession. Following the construction of housing cooperatives in the 1950s, profession-based collective neighborhoods for workers formed around the factories. A small number of railway and sugar factory officials built their own housing cooperatives near workers' cooperatives. The technocrats lived collectively in the factory lodging blocks. Thus, the hierarchical division between the technocrats and workers manifested itself in the living spaces in the urban environment. The division of labor enforced by shop floor dynamics extended to the domestic urban landscape and produced geographically subdivided neighborhoods.

Industrial workers developed housing cooperatives in response to the demand for housing. Through these cooperatives, a new form of neighborhood collectivity evolved among workers and extended to the urban environment. In accordance with corporatist thought, the cooperatives formed through the interactions of individuals with similar roles in the workspace, leading to a more homogeneous social order.

The house with a garden was a prevalent phenomenon in Eskişehir between 1923 and 1960. The lodging blocks, housing cooperatives, and other housing alternatives were all built with gardens. Cultivating the soil was a traditional mode of subsistence for the rural peasants who arrived from the surrounding countryside as well as the agricultural laborers who were already present in Eskişehir. These gardens maintained their link to the soil by reproducing their rural origins. (Figure 3.81)

Architect and architectural historian Bilge İmamoğlu highlighted that "the 'village culture' appeared as an input to produce the proper architectural solution to perform this task.[530] Among the industrial actors in Eskişehir, however, gardening spread as a social movement. They considered the garden to be a third room of the house. According to interviews, they used the garden not only for producing their own food and cultivating self-sufficiency but also for growing ornamental plants as a leisure pursuit.[531] The most legitimate goal of the industrial family was to own a semi-detached house with a well-tended garden suitable for their own lifestyle.[532] The home

[530] İmamoğlu, "Workers' Housing Projects by Seyfi Arkan in the Zonguldak Coalfield: A Case of Modernization in Early Republican Turkey," 153.

[531] A. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, January 11, 2020.

[532] Mortaş, "Az Para ile Ev Yapmak ve Bizde Kooperatifçilik," 90-92.

garden was represented in journals and bank advertisements as a desirable place associated with a sense of beauty, raising the status of cultivation from an ordinary to an inviting activity.

Figure 3. 81 The cover of *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*, promoting the house with a garden (Çalışma Vekaleti 1957)

In addition to this reflection of culture, the house with a garden was considered the expression of decent family life and elevated standards of living: "The statistics illustrated that the workers, living in comfortable and healthy houses with small gardens, would quit drinking and going to coffeehouses and become strongly attached to their homes. Is it necessary to include that those workers became more efficient and beneficial in their work?"[533] These low-density houses with extensive green spaces, providing a healthy and sanitary environment, were considered instruments of social order within the spaces of work and living. However, due to urbanization, land speculation, and limited financial means, the garden concept became less popular in the settlements emerging after the 1950s. After the 1960s, apartments were built in the factories and their surrounding areas, presenting the notion of American domesticity

[533] " Aynı istatistikler bize, rahat sağlıklı dışı küçük bahçeli evlerde oturan işçilerin içkiyi bıraktıklarını, kahvehanelere devamdan vazgeçtiklerini aile yuvasına bağlandıklarını gösterir. O işçilerin işlerinde daha verimli ve faydalı olduklarını da bilmem söylemeye lüzum var mı?"

Gürol, "İşçi Evleri," *Hürbilek*, 1-6.

with the urge to "uplift, modernize and progress." Associated with "urbanization, modernization, and development"[534], this new type of building changed the urban environment and increased homogeneity in the living spaces of industrial subjects. (Figure 3.82)

Figure 3. 82 An advertisement from the Eskişehir Sümerbank Branch Office presenting a lottery for modern apartment blocks (Hürbilek 1957)

The lodging blocks in the factory were designed by architects used to the practice and discourse of modern housing production. Nevertheless, there was a gap between practice and theory in the design of housing cooperatives. In Eskişehir, however, since housing cooperatives for workers and officials were self-initiated and collectively designed, they did succeed in responding to the needs of the modern industrial family. Due to industrialization and social change, residential units designed for extended family structures -where several generations lived under the same roof- were replaced

[534] Doğan Kuban, "A Survey of Modern Turkish Architecture," in *Architecture in Continuity Building in the Islamic World*, ed. Sherban Cantacuzino (New York: New York Aperture, 1985), 64-75.

in the cities by dwellings produced for nuclear family structures.[535] This change increased housing demand and led to a social disruption brought about by industrialization and new working practices.

According to interviews, family was the central reason for workers' involvement in cooperative partnerships. Industrial workers stated that they originally lived in extended families comprised of family elders, such as grandmothers and grandfathers, and many sisters and brothers. Later, when they started to work in the factories, they built their own nuclear families. Workers were most involved in housing cooperative while they planned to get married and start new families. Before that, they lived with their families in squatter settlements, immigrant housing, or disaster housing. In 1980, many workers moved from their overcrowded homes and settled into housing cooperatives. In this way, the concept of a modern industrial family emerged in the city, as workers left their extended family and established their own nuclear family. The notion of the "nuclear family" as a modern social structure initially emerged in the design of the lodging blocks in the state-owned factories. Architect Bekir İhsan Ünal, the designer of the railway lodging blocks, emphasized this familial context and associated this social order with the state's reformist ideology. The living spaces produced by and for the industrial subjects were designed in accordance with this family structure.

Home and family, for workers, were significant notions with many interactions and meanings. When governmental authorities or union leaders mentioned *yurt içinde her yurttaş için bir yuva* (a home for every citizen in the country), *her işçiye bir çatı* (a roof for every worker), *dünyada mekan ahirette iman* (housing in the world, faith in the hereafter), and *mesut yuvalar* (happy nest), they envisioned a mythic home associated with the sanctity of family, privacy, democracy and a healthy environment, which would transform industrial workers. The significance of home for industrial workers was also emphasized by the statement that "their world was built between

[535] Yusuf Balcı, "Türkiye'de Konut Sorunu," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 46 (1988): 297- 315.

their homes, their happy nest, their golden-headed children, their honest wives, and their workspaces." [536]

For women, the home emerged as the place for housework. Social services in the factories, such as the day-care facility built in the Sümerbank factory, allowed women to take active roles in the workspace. However, day-care facilities were not constructed in any other housing cooperative settlements despite regulations encouraging these kinds of social services, indicating that women's participation in the industrial workspace was not considered a necessity.

Thus, three forms of housing production emerged in the city with regard to industrial subjects. The state constructed living spaces in state-owned factories in line with its modern and progressive approach. However, the state did not produce housing for all industrial subjects, which caused workers to search outside of the factory for living spaces, leading to different interactions with the urban environment. Between 1923 and 1950, workers found individual housing alternatives. After the 1950s, they started building cooperative settlements on the periphery of industrial factories, and this production expanded to the urban terrain. The cooperative model was developed by workers who were directly linked to trade unions. These non-state actors, the leaders or active members of trade unions, were concerned with labor issues, especially the housing deficiency, and addressed them in their journals. Housing cooperatives were developed through this kind of consciousness and activism. They emerged as the first collective housing model designed by industrial workers and their organizations as non-state actors in the urban environment.

[536] "Çıkarılan Dedikodular Asılsız: Eskişehir'in bir özelliği de işçi merkezi oluşudur. Bu şehirde… namuslu işçiler yalar, onların dünyası evleri, mesut yuvaları, altın başlı çocukları temiz karıları ve iş yerleri arasında kurulmuştur… Korkunç dedikoduları ile aldatmaya devam etmektedirler ve hatta millet parasıyla yapılmış işçi evlerinin dahi ellerinden alınacağını iddia etmektedirler."

Türk Gücü, "Çıkarılan Dedikodular Asılsız," *Türk Gücü,* 1, no. 23 (July 1, 1960): 1-2.

3.1.3 Production of Collective Space

Before the establishment of state-owned factories linked to agricultural production, work and non-work time were intertwined. In contrast to this, the industrial calendar brought about a distinction between production and home, work time and leisure time. The desire for leisure time began in earnest after the 1950s, in response to the industrial rhythm of everyday life. Leisure time emerged as a "search for 'something else' -a form of liberation from the routines and conventions of everyday life."[537] As work time decreased and income increased and as workers gained access to educational opportunities and support from organizations, they sought to improve their welfare, which resulted in changes in conventional practices and standards.

A major theme of this dissertation is that work and living spaces played a crucial role in the development of agency in industrial actors. Different collective spaces in the factory and the urban environment had different influences. The collectivity of workers and technocrats was based in collective workspaces, where cultivation as an industrial actor began and continued. The shop floor, vestibule school, vocational school, and training hall were the spaces in which worker collectivity emerged. Scientific management, day-to-day industrial operations, and factory dynamics made collectivity essential on the shop floor. In the vocational school, 14-year-old children learned to be collective in every aspect of life, including training, daily life, and other activities. They learned self-discipline and control together. Thus, the collective workspace had an important role in the formation of collectivity for all industrial actors.

In the second decade of the twentieth century, collectivity arose in the factory settlements not only on the shop floor but also in collective spaces such as clubhouses, swimming pools, and cinemas. During these years, the production of collective space in the urban environment was rare both in number and variety, so the factory was the source of modern collectivity. Through a paternalist model, new modes of life, routines, and patterns were introduced by these factories and presented to the urban environment. These spaces were not only designed for social and political purposes

[537] Janina Gosseye and Hilde Heynen, "Architecture for Leisure in Post-war Europe," *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 5 (November 2013): 623-31.

but also functioned to educate the modern collective to form wholesome, well-mannered, and socially responsible industrial actors able to manifest the notions and precepts of the newly emerging state. Although the state encouraged the formation of modern and culturally informed industrial employees, different factory members were afforded different levels of collective interaction. The technocrats were the labor strata most integrated with these services, as their work and living spaces were located in the factory. The workers' interaction with collective spaces in the factory was limited compared to the technocrats due to the lack of worker housing in the factory.

Another integral part of this study is the examination of collective space in the urban environment, which evolved through the formation of workers' organizations. Workers' collectivity was further developed by the establishment of workers' organizations by the Union Law. In the 1950s, parallel to the provision of workers' rights and benefits, the regulation of leisure time, holidays, and wages was significant issues for workers. Later, the Democrat Party included these issues in its platform. The organized workers used unions to demand the reduction of work time to 45 hours per week along with paid medical leave and paid vacation.[538] In 1954, a break for lunchtime and relaxation was provided, which had not been obligatory before. In 1952, workers began to earn half of their wages on weekend holidays and general days off, which increased to full wages in 1957. Also in 1952, fifteen days of annual leave was regulated.[539] In addition, days off were not to be intersected with weekdays, which provided more efficient respite from work.[540] The workers' income also increased as they received two bonuses in a year.

Along with this turning point, workers and state evolved to become unionists and employer beginning in the 1950s.[541] A new agency emerged for workers through the transition from the state's modernized form of collectivity to a self-produced and

[538] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası, *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1955-1956* (Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1956).

[539] Eskişehir İşçi Postası, "Ücretli Hafta Tatili: Kanun 1 Martta Yürürlüğe Giriyor!," *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no.9 (January 12, 1952): 1.

[540] Çalışma Vekaleti, *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*, 18-31.

[541] Tarih Vakfı, *75 yılda Çarklardan Chip'lere*.

organized collectivity. New types of relationships began to emerge during that time in addition to state-produced collectivity. In the production areas, workers were subjected to regulations and codes of conduct. Beyond the factory borders, they began to create and use work, living, and collective spaces, which shaped their activism and consciousness. They held meetings and discussed labor issues with different actors, including government officials, politicians, and journalists, while carrying out their struggle and constructing spaces. Thus, they developed knowledge about labor, and this development led to activism. Using legal regulations and activism, workers began to organize collective action such as forming unions and consumer or housing cooperatives, building holiday camps, and publishing and reading workers' journals. This new collectivity, with its own social and cultural initiatives and architectural formations, expanded the factory boundaries and spread across the city. Additionally, the consequent attitude toward life and the personal search for enjoyment produced multiple agencies.

With industrial markets accelerating and population rising, Eskişehir experienced remarkable urban development after the 1950s. An important political development that influenced the urban platform was that Eskişehir deputies were thrown into politics as their consciousness and awareness of being inhabitants of the city developed. Two significant figures were the minister of public works, Kemal Zeytinoğlu, and the minister of finance, Hasan Polatkan. The Ministry of Public Works built modern buildings for the city, such as the Central Bank, the courthouse, a tuberculosis hospital, and immigrant housing consisting of 300 houses,[542] and also built spaces for workers, including the Workers' Insurance Administrative Building, the Workers' Shelter, and the Workers' Insurance Hospital. During this period, these two ministers were portrayed in the workers' journals as friendly local politicians.

There were important developments in the urban environment during the 1950s that increased the urban collectivity and resulted in workers leaving the factory collectivity, which had been almost the only collective space in the cityscape between 1930 and 1950. Before the 1950s, there had been limited collective services outside the factory.

[542] Güngörür and Conker, *Eskişehir Kılavuzu*.

The formation of the industrial actors could be traced to their production of or interaction with spaces in daily life. Industrial subjects were not uniform or stereotypical individuals; on the contrary, they were extremely multi-layered, varied, and dynamic, although they were an integral part of the same industrial network. The administrators or officials living in the lodging blocks, the migrants arriving in the city to work for industry, the workers in building cooperatives seeking the provision of electricity or water supply for their neighborhood, and the union members attending meetings were all diverse instances of industrial subjects. In contrast to the technocrats living in the factory, nearly all of the workers lived in the urban terrain, but only began to establish their collectivity through the urban environment beginning in the 1950s. The collective spaces in the urban environment, produced by the workers' own initiative and demand, were trade unions, retail cooperatives, company stores, and holiday camps. Through this dialogue with the urban environment, organized workers brought about many changes in the development of the city after the 1950s.

3.1.3.1 Self-Improvement, Change, and Free Space: From Assembly Hall to Trade Union Hall and Building

"Everything is for Bread, Peace, Freedom"[543]

This change in workers' mentality originated in their experience on the shop floor as well as in factory dynamics and professional training. The shop floor collectivity was brought about by the common state of workers from the perspective of industrial production, which held the same expectations and requirements for all workers. This eventually led to the impulse for activism and increased consciousness. The social and political parameters that motivated the shift from shop floor collectivity to worker self-expression were international and national tendencies in the workers' organizations, the labor hierarchy on the shop floor, and unequal welfare regulations. To cultivate this self-expression, workers collectively gathered around democratic institutions such as trade unions, cooperative developments, and benevolent associations, searching for material and social wellbeing in Eskişehir. Even though the shop floor's learning

[543] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası, *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1955-56*.

process was designed to produce an industrial collectivity composed of stereotypical workers, the evolving interactions on the shop floor and in the living spaces, industrial neighborhoods, and workers' organizations gradually formed diverse contexts, thoughts, and tendencies within the collectivity.

Industrial workers' interactions with workers' organizations differed according to their origins. There was a remarkable difference between the immigrant worker and the peasant worker within the organizational levels of the union. Based on descriptions from the interviews, organization leaders, especially in the 1950s, were primarily skilled laborers with immigrant backgrounds. Labor historian Yıldırım Koç also emphasized this in an interview with railway worker Ömer Ergün: "Among the founders of trade unions, *muhacir* had a significant role. The individuals learned about unionism as they experienced it. Besides, they were industrious."[544] The immigrant workers, who were products of the social state's practices and the collectivity it brought about, were more enterprising and invested in the workers' organizations.[545] As new arrivals to the city, they were the founders of organizational activities.[546]

The workers' organizations in Eskişehir developed in several historical phases, determined by the intricate relationships between worker initiatives and national politics. Before 1950, workers' organizations had limited agency, represented by the concept of *işçi mümessilliği* (workers' agency). Although these representatives were assigned by employers, new organizational challenges and discussions arose during this period that played a foundational role in establishing institutional workers' organizations. The agency of these representatives motivated the emerging manifestations of collective agency on the shop floor during the 1950s. This agency changed the interaction between the worker and the workspace and gradually transformed the relationship between the worker and the urban terrain. Between 1950 and 1960, during the reign of the Democrat Party, workers began to find their own voices and hold intense organizational debates about populist political strategy. During

[544] Ömer Ergün, "Ömer Ergün," in *Türk-iş Tarihinde Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar ve Portreler (1),* ed. Yıldırım Koç (Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yay, 1998), 120-24.

[545] İ. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 2, 2020.

[546] E. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 11, 2020.

the transitional period to the multi-party regime, workers' demands could not be ignored because workers made up a large and growing part of the country's population. This encouraged workers to participate in the shaping of economic policies and institutions.[547] Parallel to this process, the role of workers in Eskişehir evolved from that of audience to voters and party members who were involved in political decisions and legislative agendas, such as social security policies.[548]

The industrial unions in Eskişehir were not symbolic, one-sided organizations but rather pluralistic ones, with multiple debates between supporters and opponents.[549] During this period, there was an intricate relationship between the railway, sugar, and Sümer unions.[550] As summarized in Section 2.4, workers' involvement and interest in the political process formed in different ways depending on their origin, political position, associational level, and periodical necessities. After the 1950s, organized workers developed direct relationships with deputies and other authorities, represented workers' organizations before the state, and shaped their own spaces in the urban environment. Acting in their own interests, they supported the party that promised to respond to workers' problems. According to archival documents, the trade union responded to workers' issues and interests[551] by building cooperation around these

[547] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908- 1985,* 74.

[548] Koç, "İşçi Hakları ve Sendikacılık," 32-75.

[549] E. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 11, 2020.

[550] Sadık Şide, "Sadık Şide," in *Türk-iş Tarihinde Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar ve Portreler (1),* ed. Yıldırım Koç (Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yay, 1998), 135-38.

[551] "Yalnız işçi davalarının halline deva bulacak... Sendikaların işçiye yapabileceği başlıca vazifeleri, işçiye hayat hakkını tanıtmak, işçinin istikbale güvenle bakabilmesi için istikbalini organize edebilmenin çarelerini…"

Önüt, "Memleketimizde Sendikalar Gelişirken," 2.

objectives beyond being a political organization.[552] This process differed from partisanship in that workers were encouraged to make their own decisions. Union leaders used political channels without being partisan and maintained that there should be a boundary between the union and political parties. The workers' leader, Ahmet Aras, stated that "the union is not an institution to be established within the government. It should act only within the possibilities provided by the national regulation. It will be a misery to put politics into unions." He defined both the Democrat Party and the Republican People's Party as repressive authorities. [553] Lawyer Necmi Abadan also indicated in the journal *Türk Gücü* that "the worker's organizations can support the political parties to protect their rights and benefits but should not become a branch of that party."[554] Professor Orhan Tuna defined the union as "a cultural home" and reiterated that the union should not define its role as a political organization but rather should integrate financial politics within a broader context composed of economic, social and commercial policy.[555] (Figure 3.83)

In the journal *İşçinin Sesi,* journalist and doctor Tevfik Zeytinoğlu described the

---

[552] "İşçi hak ve hürriyetleri hür dünyada olduğu gibi memleketimizde de sendikalizm hareketleri ile doğmuştur… Kanunların tanıdığı fakat işçilerin erişemediği bazı haklar yine sendikaların faaliyetleri ile ortaya çıkmış ve hükümetin ortaya koyduğu sosyal hakların verilmesine sendikalar yardımcı olmuştur… Sendika faaliyetleri sayesinde işçinin daha çok refah ve saadete kavuşacağına inanıyoruz. Sendikaların bir memleket için ne kadar lüzumlu olduğunu da bu suretle belirtmek isteriz. Memleketimizde mevcut sendika teşkilatının işverene hükümete zorluk çıkarmak isteyen birer organ mahiyetinde olmayıp bilakis sosyal gelişmeye muvazi olarak faaliyet gösterdiği inkar edilemez bir hakikattir…"

Hürbilek, "Sendika Liderleri Konuşuyor Ömer Ergün diyor ki: İşçi Hak ve Hürriyetleri Hür Dünyada Olduğu gibi Memleketimizde de Sendikalizm Hareketleri ile Doğmuştur," *Hür Bilek* 1, no.9 (March 30, 1957): 3.

[553] **"**Sendika hükümet içinde kurulacak bir müessese değildir. O ancak milli kanunların verdiği imkanlar dahilinde hareket eder… Siyaseti sendikalara sokmak bedbahtlığına düşenlerde hüsrana mahkum olacaklardır. Esasen bir idarecide aranan temsil kabiliyetidir. Bundan sonra anarşist, barbarlıkla hiç bir davanın halledilemeyeceğini bilmek gerekir…"

Ahmet Aras, "İşçi ve Sendika," *İşçi Yolu* 1, no.5 (October 7, 1953): 3.

[554] Necmi Abadan, "Politika ve Sendika," *Türk Gücü* 1, no.59 (August 2, 1960): 1.

[555] "Profesör Orhan Tuna… sendika… bir kültür yuvası… gayet kötü iş şartlarının ve gayet fena yaşama tarzlarının sendikalarının gelişmesi sebep olduğu… İngiltere'de İşçi Partisi ile Sendikalar arasında sıkı münasebet… ancak dar manasıyla siyaset yapmadığı… Bence iki siyaset vardır; birisi dar manasıyla siyaset… Diğeri ise geniş manasıyla… iktisadi, içtimai, mali, ticari, sınai politikasıyla…"

Orhan Tuna, "Sendikalar İktisadi Siyasetle Uğraşabilir," *İşçi Yolu* 1, no.22 *(*July 25, 1954): 4.

agency that trade unions offered to state-owned factory workers and emphasized that even though these factories offered various welfare facilities, the workers could not access housing and other collective facilities in the factories as readily as the administers and officials; thus, workers needed trade unions. Similarly, the state's policies for wages and working hours differed for workers and technocrats. In the context of the 1950s, workers began to ask in worker's journals, "Isn't the worker a laborer of this state?"[556]

Figure 3. 83 An illustration in a workers' journal criticizing partisanship in the workspace (Çalışanlar 1965)

The approach to unionism between 1947 and 1960 formed the basis for the union movement and allowed organizations to accumulate experience for the next period, despite the lack of collective bargaining agreements or the right to strike. In the period after 1960, workers' organizations became visible through the Republican People's Party's independent-organizer strategy.[557] Between 1960 and 1980, the struggle for workers' rights accelerated as workers in the state-owned factories organized strikes and boycotts. Food shortages among industrial workers were so severe that the railway and sugar factories' workers declared strikes in 1961 and 1962 that explained in Section 2.4.1. Operating as more than a political movement, the unions aimed to secure rights, economic benefits, collective protection, and welfare for factory workers. During this period, the trade unions struggled to improve workers' living and working conditions by increasing wages, shortening work hours, building living spaces for

[556] Tetik, "Kanunda Eşitlik Bekliyoruz!: İşçi Bu Devletin Emektarı Değil mi?," 1.

[557] Koçak, "50'leri İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumunun Kritik Bir Uğrağı Olarak Yeniden Okumak," 69- 85.

workers, and expanding social welfare standards. According to interviews, unions struggled for welfare rights including *permi* (free tickets to travel), uniforms issued every six months, and Sunday bread. In the 1970s, the union provided an effective mechanism for social progress and owned trade union buildings or halls.[558]

3.1.3.1.1. The Assembly Hall as a Free Space for Organized Workers

Before establishing trade union halls and buildings in the urban environment, the *lokal* (clubhouse) was used as an assembly hall for union meetings in the railway and sugar factories.[559] (Figure 3.84) In the Sümerbank factory, the building near the retail cooperative was designed as a workers' waiting room and was used as the office of the Sümerbank Trade Union. (Figure 3.85) Weekly meetings between representatives and managers were held in this building.

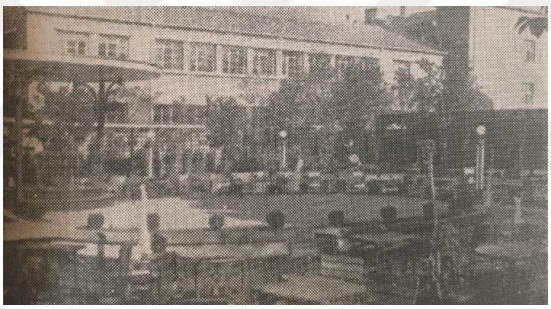


Figure 3. 84 The *Lokal* (clubhouse) in the Eskişehir railway factory (Güngörür 1952)

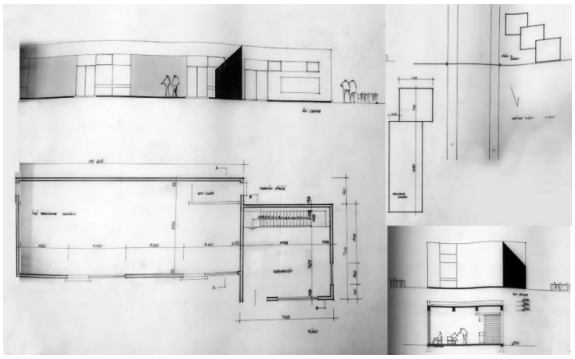


Figure 3. 85 Architectural drawing of the workers' waiting room used as an assembly hall in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

[558] N. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

[559] İşçinin Sesi, "D.D.Y. Sanayi İşçiler Sendikasının Yıllık Normal Kongresi Yapıldı," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.1 (September 22, 1951): 3.

Some of the buildings in the urban environment that were used for union meetings were the People's House[560] and the Worker's Shelter. The *lokal* (clubhouse) of the Workers' Shelter was designed for joint meetings of trade unions and other collective gatherings of workers. However, *İşçi Yolu* stated that meetings other than congresses were not allowed according to the General Directorate of Turkish Railways' order.[561]

These free spaces were not reserved for union activities, but as the precursor of the union buildings and halls, they served to transmit the associated activities and culture. These temporary spaces inspired a feeling of collectivity by gathering workers together to discuss their issues. Organized workers began to position themselves as organized industrial subjects in the urban terrain and evolved from statist to urbanized and organized industrial subjects. In these spaces, unionist leaders practiced representing themselves. These spaces emerged as training platforms for leaders and members by contributing to the formation of unionist thought, precepts, and collectivity. The fact that the assembly halls remained within the factories while their alternatives in the urban environment provided only temporary solutions for workers' gatherings led trade unions to search for their own permanent spaces in the urban environment.

3.1.3.1.2. The Railway Trade Union Building for Organized Workers in the Urban Environment

The construction of union buildings was a problematic issue that began to be discussed in the late 1940s. The Railway Trade Union owned the first union building in the city. This building was bought in 1946 but eventually could not fulfill the functional

[560] Eskişehir İşçi Postası, "Sendikaların Bir Teşebbüsü," *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 1 (December 17, 1951): 2.

[561] "İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu: … Gayesi işsiz vatandaşlara iş bulmak ve işçiye ihtiyacı olan bu müessesenin sahip olduğu yüz yataklı bir de muazzam binası vardır. Bugün bu binayı Bağlar Caddesi'nde öğrenenler iftihar etmekle işsiz vatandaşlara artık barınmak için bir korkunun mevcut olmadığını zannederler halbuki iç durumu hiç de… Barındırma kurumu olan müessese ise hiçte talimata uygun hareket etmemektedir. Mesela talimatnameye göre lokal işçilere aittir. Sendika toplantıları ve işçilerin düğünleri eğlentileri odada yapılması icap ediyor, genel müdürlüğün şifahi emri sendikalara kongrelerinden başka toplantılara müsaade edilmez… Yurtta boş yer olduğu halde bir işçi 15 gün yatabiliyor, iş bulamadığı halde çıkarılıp atılıyor…"

İş Yolu, "İş ve İş Bulma Kurumu Müdür Vekili İstifa Etti: İdarecisizlik Yüzünden İsmi Var Cism Yok. Bu Muazzam Binanın Kuruluşu Gösteriş için midir. Genel Müdürlükten Cevap Bekliyoruz," 1-2.

requirements of unionist activities. According to the annual congress, the Railway Trade Union decided to buy the nearby land in 1951 in order to build a clubhouse.[562] However, the land, which held a two-storey building and a kiosk, was reserved as green space in the municipal development plan. With the support of the municipality, the building and kiosk were expropriated. The union wanted to build cantilevers that expanded out to a 42 square meters area on every floor. This spatial expansion required a construction amendment. This remodel brought about financial gain by doubling the use area, especially since the building was in Köprübaşı, a prestigious location where land speculation was rampant. (Figure 3.86)

This request was approved by Mayor Hicri Sezen and Civil Works Director Rıdvan Dinç. Following this process, a project competition throughout the city was held in cooperation with the Eskişehir State Engineering and Architectural Academy. (Figure 3.87, 3.88) The project of architect and engineer Fahrettin Şengör was selected. Architect and engineer Hasan Gümüşpala, site manager under the First General Directorate of Turkish Railways, undertook the construction project by tendering. The project was charged the cost of production.[563]

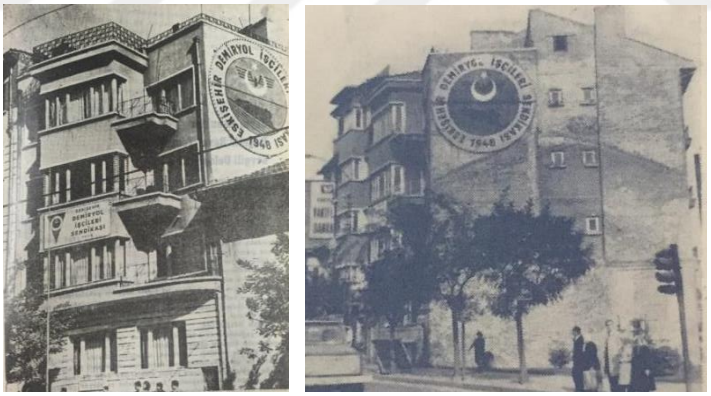


Figure 3. 86 The first Railway Trade Union Building (Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu) and the nearby building and kiosk, expropriated to build the new trade union building (Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu)

[562] "Sendikaya bir lokal yapmak üzere, yeni idare heyetinin bir arsa teminine… karar verilmiştir."

İşçinin Sesi, "D.D.Y. Sanayi İşçiler Sendikasının Yıllık Normal Kongresi Yapıldı," 3.

[563] The board of review consisted of architects, engineers and workers Hasan Gümüşpala, Erdoğan Yaşlıca, Müşahit Süleyman Makar, Mehmet İster, Yakup Şen, Faruk Göktanır, Haydar Yağız, and Osman Ermez.

Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası, *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası 17. Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1977-1979* (Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1979).

Figure 3.86 (cont'd) The first Railway Trade Union Building (Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu) and the nearby building and kiosk, expropriated to build the new trade union building (Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu)

The new trade union building was constructed in 1979, designed to represent the workers' organization. As a comprehensive labor center, this modern building was designed to supply workers' comfort and moral improvement through many facilities such as educational rooms, a cinema hall, a labor market, and offices, in addition to its union-specific services. The building plan contained a labor market with an outfitting and a food department, a conference hall for movie screenings, a library, and a training room, where the institutional development of the workers' organization was manifested. The entrance of the labor market was separated from the office units.[564] The building surrounded a central square in the downtown of the city.

Figure 3. 87 The Railway Trade Union Building (Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu)

[564] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası. 1979. *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası 17. Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1977-1979*. Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası.

ESKİŞEHİR DEMİRYOLU İŞÇİLERİ SENDİKASI YENİ YAPISININ TEMELİ ATILDI

ESKİŞEHİR Demiryolu İşçileri Sendikası'nın kentin en merkezi yerinde yaptıracağı 8 katlı "Toplumsal Hizmetler Merkezi"nin 5 Mayıs Cumartesi günü temeli törenle atıldı. Vali Nafiz Demirös'ün bir telgrafla "hayırlı olması" dileğinde bulunduğu yapının temel atma töreninde TCDD Genel Müdürü Zühtü Oral, TÜRK-İŞ Mali Sekreteri Ömer Ergün, DYF-İŞ Genel Başkanı Şerafettin Akova, TCDD Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi Necdet Kalfa, TCDD Genel Müdür yardımcılarından Salih Kaya Sağın, ELMS Müdürü İ. Hakkı Telek ile eski müdür İ. Hakkı Erdem, Emniyet Müdürü Kenan Koç, TÜRK-İŞ 2. Bölge Temsilcisi Yüksel Türemiş, kardeş sendikaların başkan ve çeşitli kuruluşların müdür ile temsilcileri de hazır bulundu.

★ TEMEL atma töreninde bir konuşma yapan TCDD Genel Müdürü Zühtü Oral, "Eserinizle öğünebilirsiniz" dedi ve Eskişehir Sendikası yöneticilerini tebrik ettikten sonra şunları ekledi:

"Dilek ve temennim, sendikalarımızın yatırımlarını gelecekte sanayi dallarına yöneltmeleri ve böylelikle ülke kalkınmasına olan katkılarını daha fazla arttırmalarıdır."

★DYF-İŞ Genel Başkanı Şerafettin Akova da törende yaptığı konuşmada "Türk demiryolculuk tarihinde Eskişehir'in büyük yeri bulunduğunu" belirterek şöyle dedi:

"Çünkü ülkemizde ilk demiryol sanayi tesislerinin yapıldığı yer burasıdır. Bu nedenden de demiryolculuğumuzun gelişmesinde Eskişehir'in büyük yeri vardır. Böylesine [illegible] büyük bir sendika merkezini yapma girişimlerinden dolayı da hem Muhiddin Yılmaz ve arkadaşlarını tebrik eder hem de davranışlarının diğer resmi ve özel kuruluşlarımız tarafından örnek alınmasını isterim."

★ TÜRK-İŞ Mali Sekreteri Ömer Ergün ise "TÜRK İşçi Hareketi'nde ilk kooperatifciliğin Eskişehir'de demiryolcular tarafından başlatıldığını belirterken yapılacak "Toplumsal Hizmetler Merkezi"nde iki katın işçi pazarına ayrılmasını mutluluk verici bir olay olarak niteledi ve "Eskişehir daima büyük eserler vermiş ve hizmetlerde öncülük etmiştir. Başlayan iş bitmiş iş demektir" dedi.

★ ESKİŞEHİR'in en merkezi yeri olan Cengiz Topel alanında yapımına başlanan Demiryolu İşçileri Sendikası yeni tesisinin maketi.

● TEMEL ATMA TÖRENİNDEN : Yukardaki birinci resimde kesilen kurbandan sonra yapılan dini tören, ikinci resimde TCDD Genel Müdürü Zühtü Oral'ı, üçüncü resimde ise DYF-İŞ Genel Başkanı Şerafettin Akova'yı "hayırlı olması" dileğiyle temele ilk harçları atarken görmektesiniz.
(SAMİ ÇAĞLAV — HIZ)

EN BÜYÜK SENDİKA MERKEZİ'NDE "İŞÇİ PAZARI"DA BULUNACAK

ESKİŞEHİR Demiryolu İşçileri Sendikası'nın yaptıracağı büyük sendika merkezinin temel atma töreninde bir konuşma yapan başkan Muhittin Yılmaz "yapının 1980 yılında bitirilmesine çalışılacağını ve bugün ki birim fiyatlarına göre 15 milyon 200 bin liraya çıkmasının hesaplandığını" söyledi.

8 katlı olacak "Toplumsal Hizmetler Sitesi"nin TCDD İnşaat Grup Amirliği tarafından yapılacağını da sözlerine ekleyen Yılmaz daha sonra şöyle dedi:

"162 metre karelik bir alan üzerine ve zeminden sonra 204 metrekare olarak yapılacak olan binamızın bodrum ve zemin katı 'İşçi Pazarı', ikinci katı eğitim salonu ve kitaplık üçüncü katı ise sendika merkezi olacaktır. Diğer katlarımızı da çeşitli hizmetlere ayıracak yada kiraya vermek suretiyle sendikamıza gelir sağlayacağız."

"İşçi Pazarı"nı açmak suretiyle önemli bir sendikal ilkeyi yerine getireceklerini" vurgulayan Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçileri Sendikası Başkanı Muhiddin Yılmaz sözlerine şunları ekledi:

"Üyelerimizden aldığımız güçle başlattığımız ve yakın bir gelecekte tamamlayacağımıza inandığımız bu büyük tesisimizdeki 'İşçi Pazarı'mızla, çeşitli gereksinim maddelerini hem ucuza satacak hem de üyelerimizin aile bütçelerine ekonomik katkıda bulunacağız".

Figure 3. 88 The Railway Trade Union Building (Hız 1979, 33)

This building was designed with:

- Basement Floor: Technical units/boiler room, fuel tank, housekeeper's apartment, and cold-storage depot
- Ground and Mezzanine Floor: Consumer cooperative/food department
- First Floor: Consumer cooperative/outfitting and food departments
- Second Floor: Conference hall for movie screening, library, and training room
- Third Floor: Personnel units for the director, secretary general, financial secretary, administrative and financial officials. Meeting hall for 13-member board of directors, archive, switchboard, and registry
- Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Floors: Eight office rooms on every floor

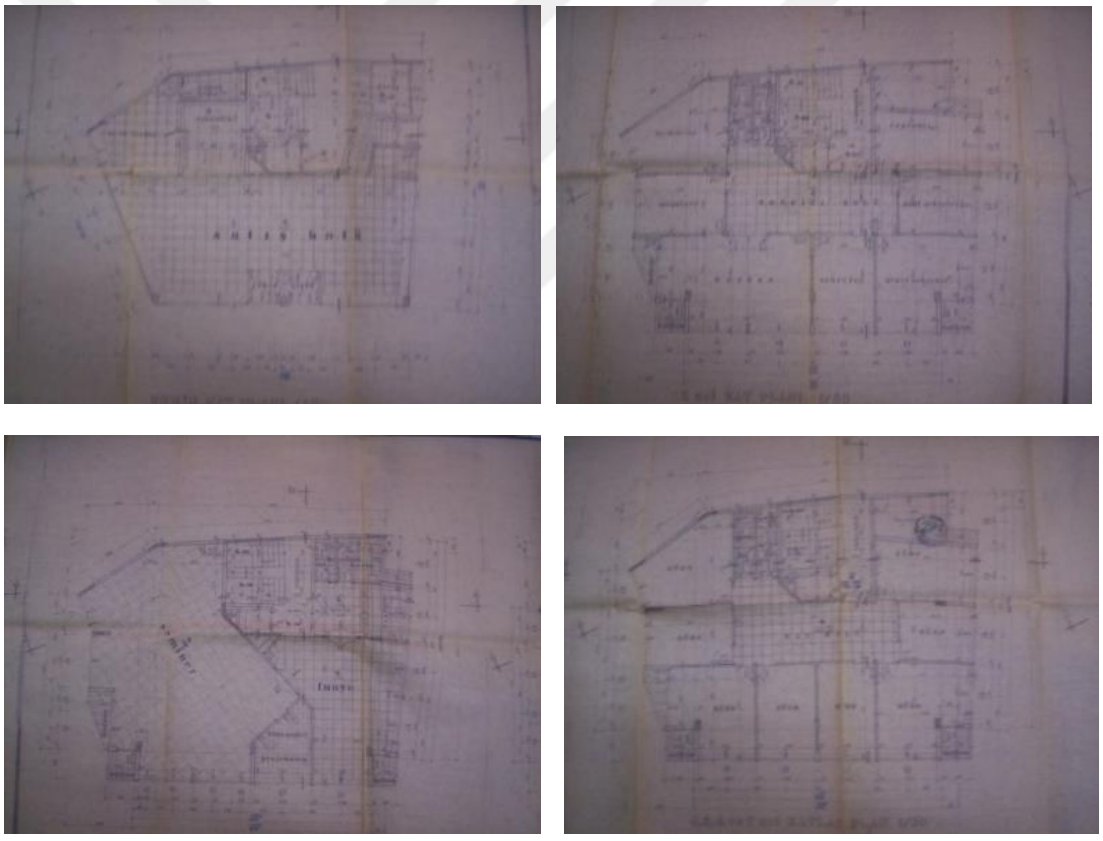


Figure 3. 89 Architectural drawing of The Railway Trade Union Building (Eskişehir Municipality Archive)

Figure 3. 89 (cont'd) Architectural drawing of The Railway Trade Union Building (Eskişehir Municipality Archive)

Due to industrial development, urban space became functionally segregated by new specialized services after the 1950s. Köprübaşı's downtown emerged in Eskişehir as the spatial nexus of finance, retail, commerce, and culture. (Figure 3.90) As financial institutions established offices in this region, this street became the center of power, capital, and goods in the city. In the 1950s, the first modern financial institutions, such as Emlak ve Kredi Bank, Yapı Kredi Bank, and Vakıflar Bank, were constructed along the street, which gave the city a financial and commercial character. In addition to these financial institutions, business centers, office buildings, and hotels were also built downtown.

The trade union leaders preferred this region, which was considered a prestigious urban space, for their buildings and halls. Constructing a building in this region was a costly act that was justified by union leaders on the grounds that it represented the organizational power and efficiency of the union. These union buildings were symbols reflecting the concept of unionization across the national network of industrial trade unions. Collectivity in thought and action was indicated through these physical spaces.

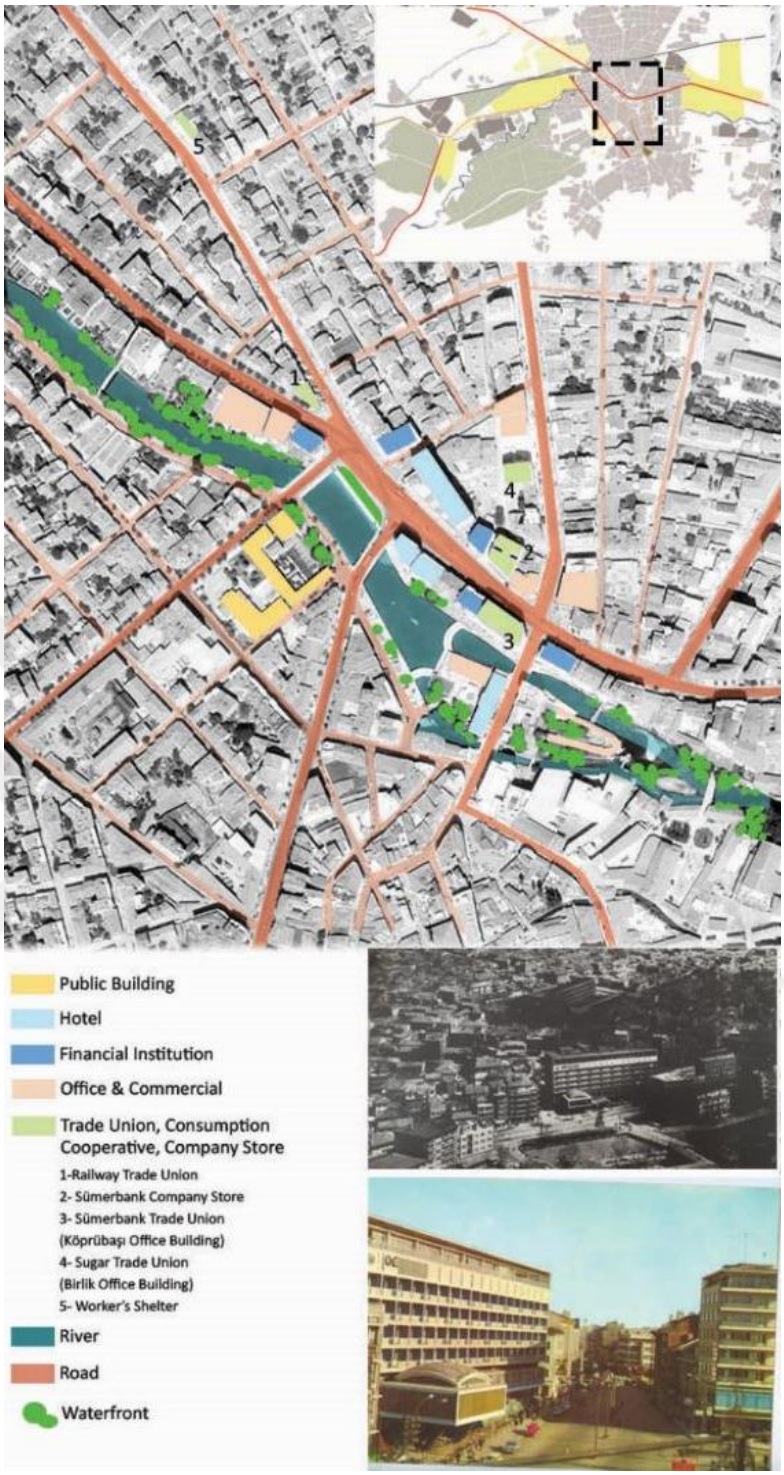


Figure 3. 90 Map showing the significant areas of downtown Köprübaşı (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975, urban plans, and historic photographs)

3.1.3.1.3. The Sugar and Sümerbank Trade Union Halls for Organized Workers in the Urban Environment

The Sümerbank Trade Union bought a trade union hall on the fourth floor of the Köprübaşı Office Block,[565] which was designed by architect Zeki Sayar.[566] (Figure 3.91) This building, owned by the Kılıçoğlu family[567], was located in the Köprübaşı business center. Built on a 600-square plot, the office block had a basement floor, ground and mezzanine floors containing shops, upper floors with office units, and a roof club. (Figure 3.92, 3.93) Three sides of the plot were surrounded by major roads. The central offices, elevators, toilets, and other service units were designed in the core, with office units around the perimeter. The ground floor was pulled back to create a portico for commercial facilities. The union hall was designed with various organizational features: the office of the board, chairman, and secretariat, a meeting room for 100-125 people, and a seminar room. The meeting hall was used for institutional gatherings and educational activities.[568]

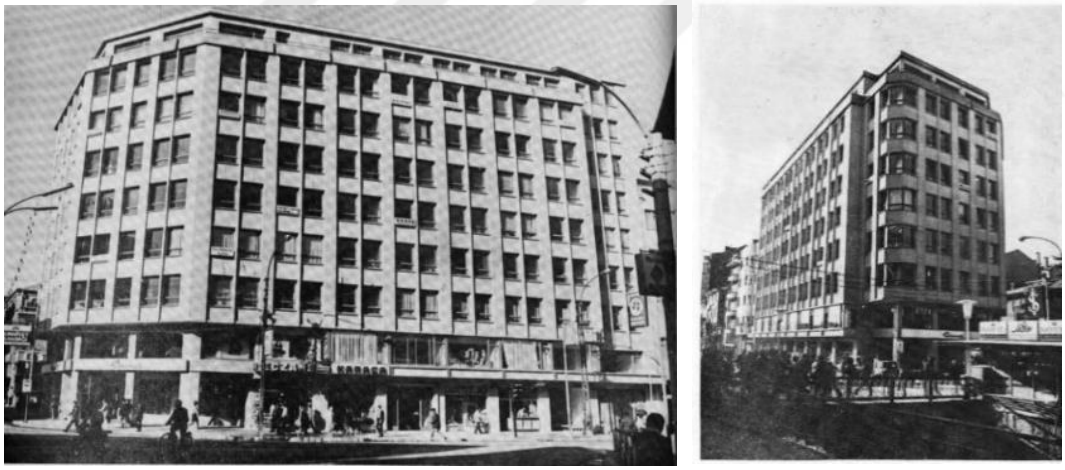


Figure 3. 91 Köprübaşı Office Block (Arkitekt 1974)

[565] Today, the Köprübaşı Office Block has been renamed the Çağlayan Office Block.

Arkitekt, "Köprübaşı İş Hanı (Eskişehir)," *Arkitekt* 2 (1974): 58-61.

[566] Ç. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 15, 2020.

[567] Kılıçoğlu Family was the owner of the Kılıçoğlu Brick and Tile Factory.

[568] S. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

M. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, January 12, 2020.

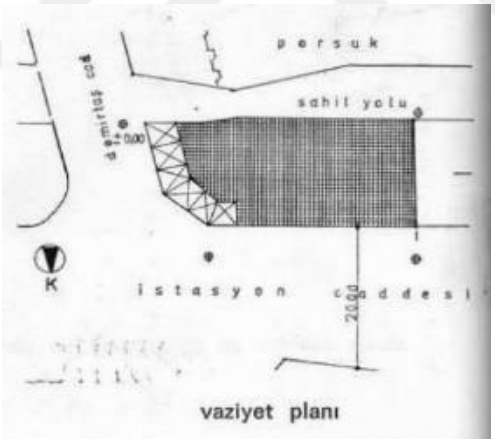
Figure 3. 92 Porsuk storefront and portico of the Köprübaşı Office Block (Arkitekt 1974)

The building was designed with: (Figure 3.93)

- Basement Floor: Technical units

- Ground and Mezzanine Floor: Commercial Use/Shops

- Upper Floors: Office units, and a club on the roof



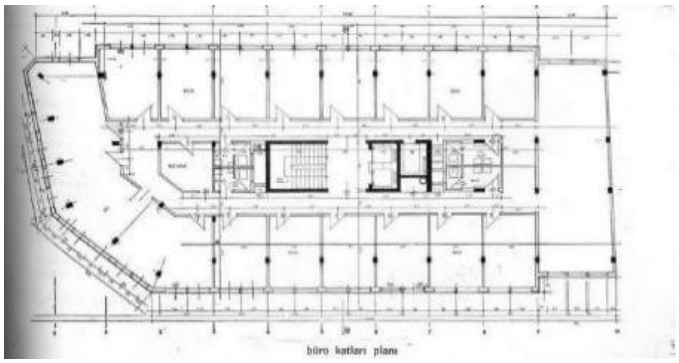


Figure 3. 93 Architectural drawing of the Köprübaşı Office Block (Arkitekt 1974)

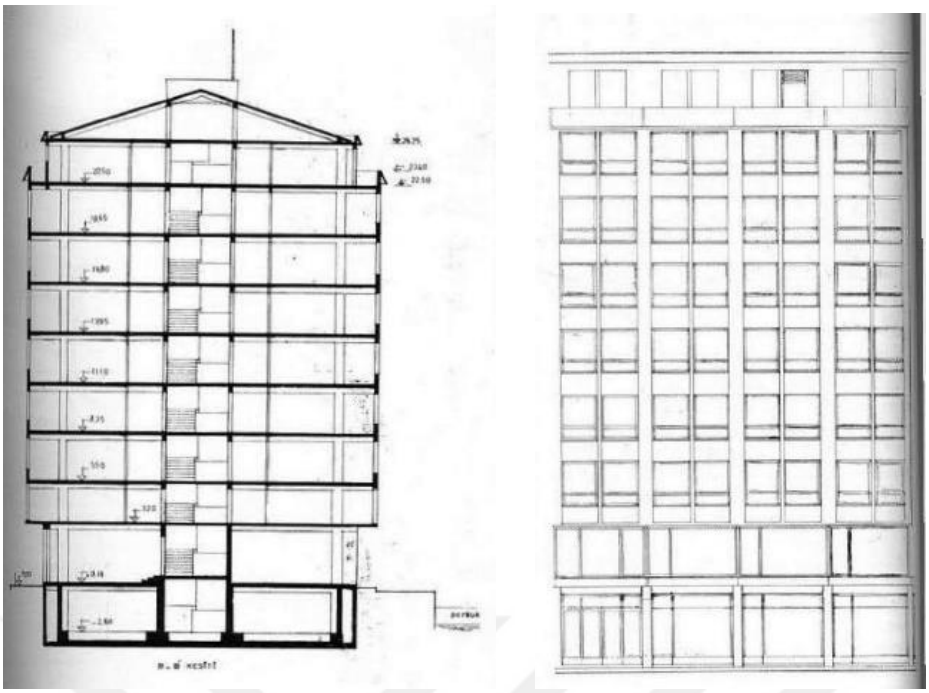


Figure 3. 93 (cont'd) Architectural drawing of the Köprübaşı Office Block (Arkitekt 1974)

The Sugar Trade Union also bought a union hall on the first floor of the Birlik Office Block. The union hall consisted of offices for the chairman and the secretariat, a meeting room, and a tea house. Permanent shop floor workers were working for the trade union in their leisure time.[569]

3.1.3.1.4. Workers' Journals and the Editorial Rooms of Organized Workers

Union leaders believed that the well-being of workers was brought about not only through economic and political improvements but also through cultural, organizational, and educational emancipation. Thus, the self-advancement of organized workers leading to cultural and intellectual growth was given the highest priority. Organized workers used the press as a primary instrument to spread awareness of labor issues, inspire activism, and raise consciousness. They first searched the organizational literature themselves and then transferred the knowledge they found to industrial workers through journals.

[569] Z. T. Ş., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 27, 2020.

Along with its use within workers' organizations in the 1950s, the extension of the press was evident in the newspapers and journals published by industrial workers, such as *İşçinin Sesi* (1951), *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* (1951), *İş Yolu* (1953), *Hareket* (1954), *Hürbilek (1957), Türk Gücü (1960),* and *Çalışanlar* (1965). The circulation of journals was drastically increased by the social and political dimensions of union activity. Almost every union chose to publish periodicals providing contact, information, and an exchange of ideas among unionists as a collective group.[570] As an educational tool, these journals disseminated their views and efforts regarding labor issues, legislative policies, and worker education, as well as social and cultural issues, sports, health, and family. The owners and writers of these journals were workers, union leaders, labor lawyers, and local intellectuals connected to labor issues. The union leaders, who were significant figures in the workers' movement, were qualified workers who served multiple roles within the union, acting as instructors, leaders, and intermediators between state-owned factory managers and workers. These leaders included Rıza Tetik (the owner and editor-in-chief of *İşçinin Sesi* and the founder of the Eskişehir Railway Trade Union), Ahmet Aras[571] (the owner and editor of *İş Yolu* and *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* and a leader of OLEYİS), and Salih Selek (the editor-in-chief of *Çalışanlar* and leader of the Railway Trade Union). The intellectuals who worked intently with labor issues included labor lawyer Tahsin Atakan[572] (the owner of *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* and editor-in-chief of *İş Yolu*), Muhittin Bürücek[573] (the engineer of the

[570] Seyfi Demirsoy, "Başkandan Başarı," *Çalışanlar* 1, no. 10 (December 17, 1965): 1.

[571] Ahmet Aras, a restaurant worker, founded Oleyis in 1951. The trade union began in a small hotel room. Even though Ahmet Aras was not an industrial worker, he was a significant figure in the rise of the unionist movement and was the director of multiple workers' journals. In the journal *Türk Gücü*, Aras was defined as an idealist and honest unionist, also founded the Sakarya Federation.

Naci Gelendost, "Portreler: Sendika Davasına Gönül Veren Dostum: Ahmet Aras," *Türk Gücü* 1, no.25 (July 4, 1960): 3.

[572] Tahsin Atakan, a lawyer for workers, was described as the patron of industrial workers. In fact, Atakan was elected labor deputy to represent the workers in a survey conducted in the workers' journal *İşyolu*, and poems attributed to Tahsin Atakan were written by the workers. In the 1954 elections, Tahsin Atakan appeared as the deputy candidate of the Republican People's Party.

M. Ali Ulus, "Ankete Cevap," *İş Yolu* 1, no. 17 (February 14, 1954): 2-4.

[573] Muhittin Bürücek was born in 1910 in Adana and graduated from the İstanbul Engineering Academy. He worked as an engineer for the Sivas-Erzurum Railway. Between 1940 and 1944, he was chief engineer in Eskişehir Municipality. Between 1964 and 1976, he worked as an engineer in the Worker's Insurance Institution.

Eskişehir Worker's Insurance Institution and owner of *Hareket*), journalist Abdülkadir Gürol (the owner of *Hürbilek*), and doctor Tevfik Zeytinoğlu. In addition, articles written by industrial trade unionists such as Hamit Kızılkaya[574] and Necdet Kalfa were included. Railway unionists in particular held leading roles in workers' journals and concerned themselves with the problems of all industrial workers. Organized workers and urban intellectuals together created a network for workers' activism and consciousness through printed media and workers' organizations. (Figure 3.94) Their collective production helped them to make their own voices heard through this network.

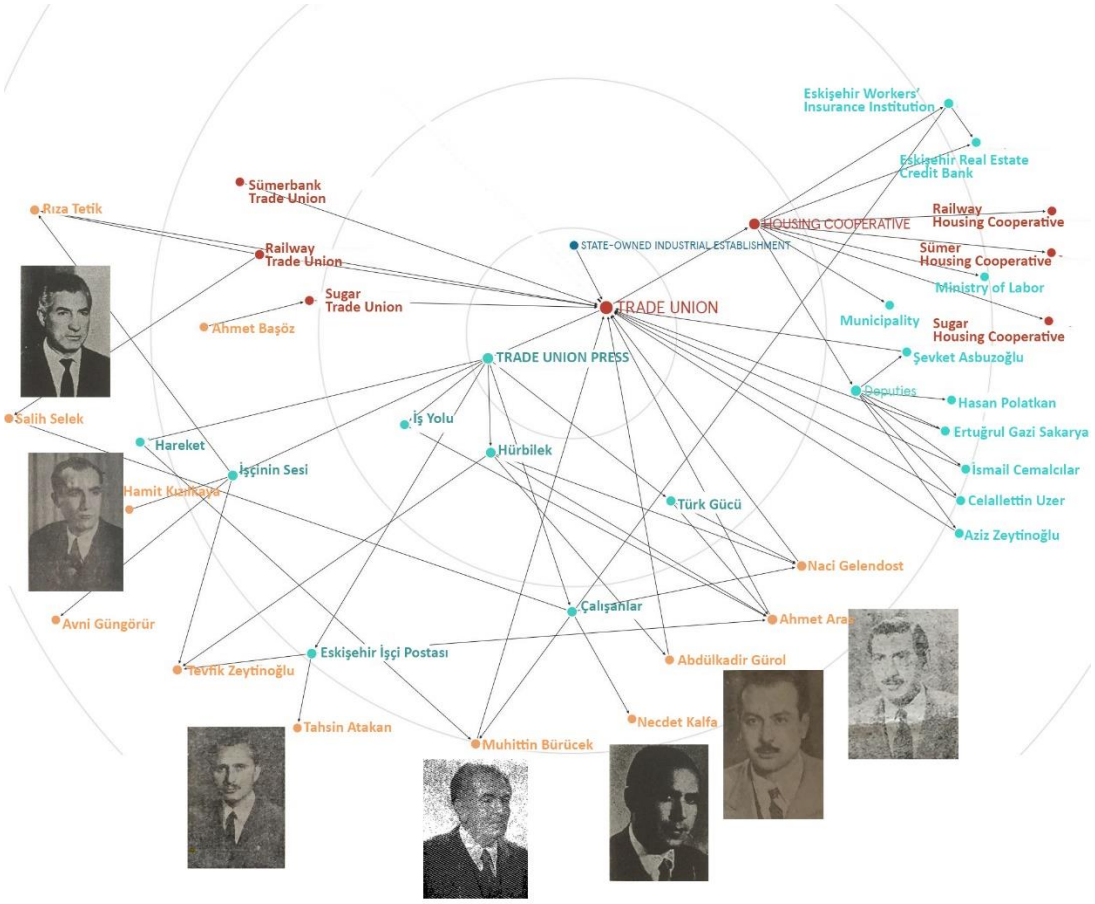


Figure 3. 94 The network of organized workers in the Eskişehir workers' movement (Figure by the author)

[574] Hamit Kızılkaya was born in 1924 in Bulgaria. His father was a farmer and a construction worker. His family migrated to Istanbul and then to Eskişehir. He entered the Eskişehir railway factory in 1942. Hamit Kızılkaya was the general secretary of the Eskişehir Railway Trade Union between 1949 and 1961. He was one of the prominent advocates of the right to strike in the 1950s.

Hamit Kızılkaya, "Hamit Kızılkaya," in Türk-iş *Tarihinde Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar ve Portreler (1),* ed. Yıldırım Koç (Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yayınları, 1998), 52-54.

The close link between the workers in factory trade unions, which led to joint discussions of workers' problems and objectives, is evident in the press. Organized workers played a key role in workers' journals both by conveying their thoughts and by establishing different communication networks through these media. The different aspects of labor issues were discussed in these journals. The journals were first published by local workers' organizations beginning in the 1950s. *İşçinin Sesi,* directed by Rıza Tetik, founder of the Railway Union, covered the problems railway workers faced in the unionization process. Subjects such as the worker housing deficiency, the need for trade unions, and the regulations placed on trade unions were predominantly covered. The journal *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* was published for all workers in the urban area, covering various topics including labor law, working hours, trade unions, and income sources. Beginning in 1965, the journal *Hız* was published by the Federation of Railway Workers. The tools of media used by workers' organizations gained great importance during this period, since educational opportunities were limited, workers were treated unequally, and workers' problems were not properly heard or understood by the authorities. The journal *Hız* was devoted to railway workers and the labor force as a whole. Indeed, all of these newspapers addressed the problems of all industrial workers.[575] These workers established organizational links among themselves through journals and trade unions. Through this bond, worker collectivity gained strength.

Some of these journals had editorial rooms in which materials were prepared for publishing. *İşçinin Sesi*, *İş Yolu* and *Türk Gücü* rented their own editorial rooms. In 1960, *Türk Gücü* rented an office on the first floor of the Kılıçoğlu Office Block[576] in Köprübaşı, designed by Abidin Mortaş in 1954. (Figure 3.95) The building had three functions: an apartment building, a cinema, and a commercial building. The apartment and office building were divided into two blocks, and the office building consisted of two floors.

[575] Work Reports of Eskişehir Railway Trade Union (1949-1986).

[576] This building, owned by Kılıçoğlu family, was closed in 2008 and destroyed between 2010 and 2018.

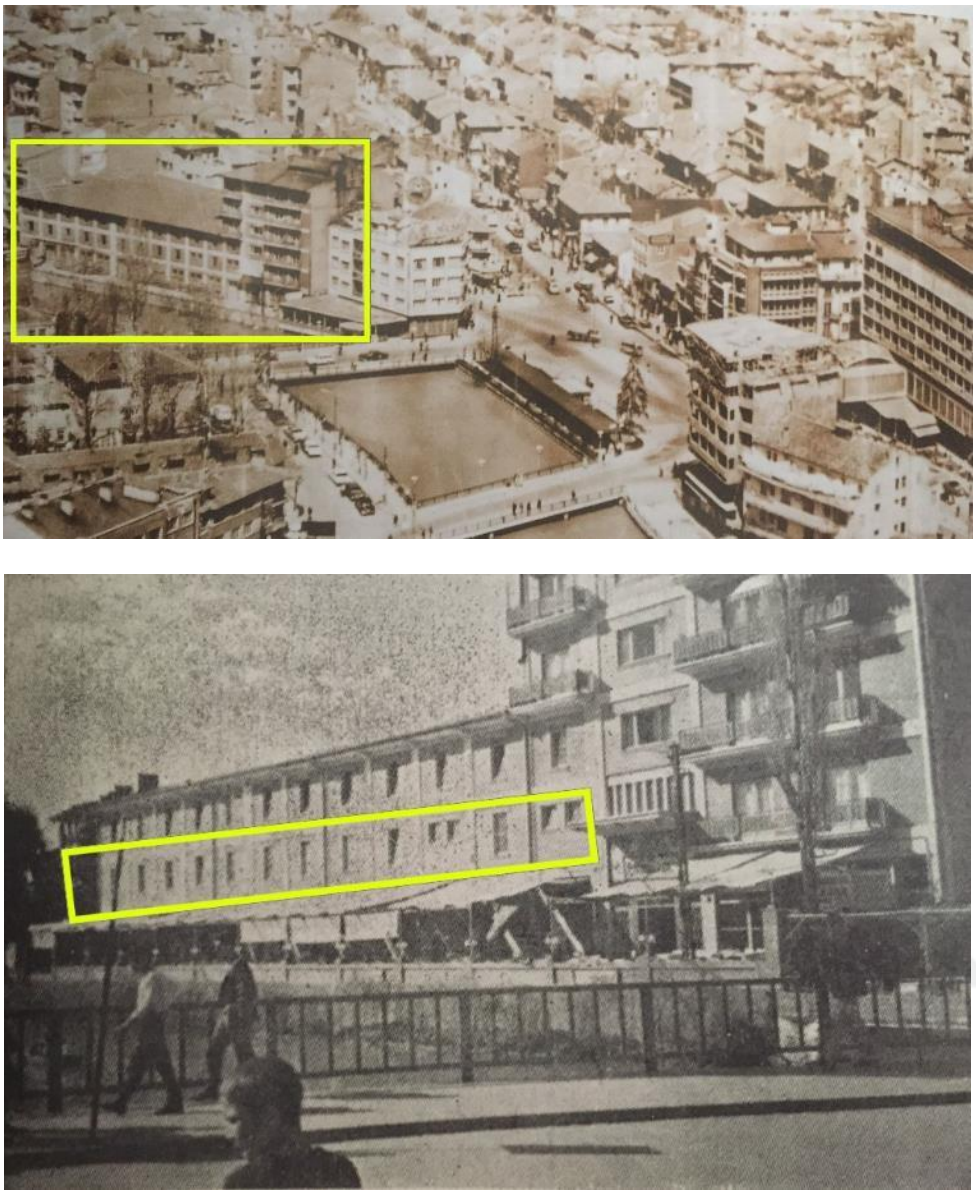


Figure 3. 95 The Kılıçoğlu Office Block, including apartments and cinema (Acar 2009) and the Kılıçoğlu Office Block, including apartments and cinema, with markings showing the editorial office of *Türk Gücü* (Çelikkanat 1963)

Hürbilek and *Çalışanlar* used the trade union buildings and halls as editorial rooms. *Çalışanlar* used the Türk-İş Second Regional Agency, located on the third floor of the Kanatlı Office Block. (Figure 3.96) After the editorial work was completed, the materials were sent to the Yeşilnur and Tam-iş printing houses on Değirmen Street. (Figure 3.97)

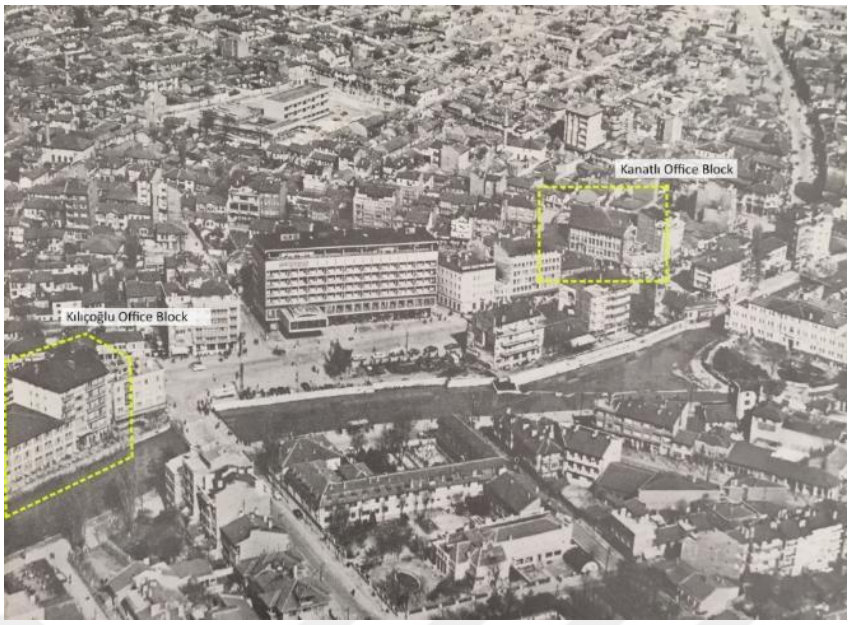


Figure 3. 96 The Kanatlı Office Block and the Kılıçoğlu Office Block, including apartments and cinema, with markings showing them (Turizm 1967)

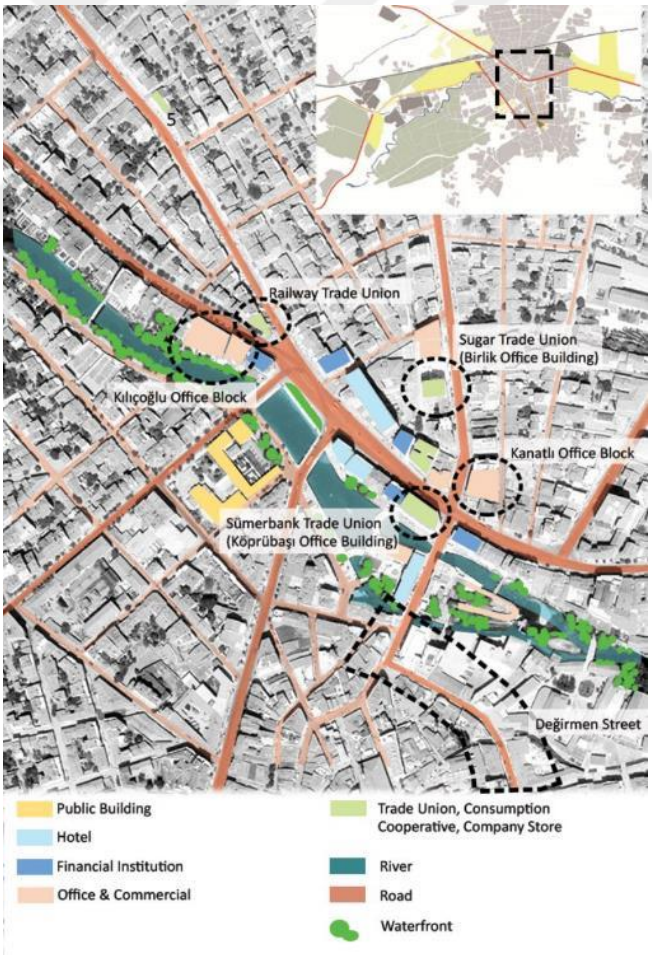


Figure 3. 97 Map showing the editorial rooms and printing houses (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975, urban plans, and historic photographs)

The trade union buildings and halls had libraries and reading rooms containing didactic literature for professional self-improvement and cultural development. The production of thoughts and ideas took place in the libraries, reading rooms, and meeting rooms of trade unions, and these rooms thus emerged as the intellectual centers of the journals. The didactic literature was especially necessary for the union leaders, who responded to workers' problems and developed plans for action.[577] In these years, publishing journals was a difficult activity for organized workers with limited financial resources. Although journals could not maintain production for many years, Eskişehir had a wide range of trade union journals.

The editorial rooms along with the trade union buildings and halls became mediators between workers' local actions and international trends in the workers' movement. According to archival documents provided by railway worker, the union leaders learned from the legislations, regulations, improvements, and practices in the USA.

Before 1970, a group of unionists took American unionism as a model for the development of their organizations.[578] This connection was also underlined by Feyzi Önüt:

> I think it would be appropriate for unionists to review the experience of the nations that have already addressed workers' rights and regulations and to reform and act accordingly. States with powerful trade unions, such as the United States, Britain, and Sweden, believed in organized actions, confronted workers' issues, recognized the rights of workers, and increased workers' social level.[579]

[577] A. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, January 11, 2020.

[578] E. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 11, 2020.

[579] "... sendikalarda vazife alan arkadaşların işçi hak ve hukukunu çok evvelden tanıyan milletlerin, uzun yıllar bu mevzu üzerinde durarak bir çok tecrübelerle elde ettikleri ve kanuni müeyyidelere dayanan sendikacılığın geçirdiği istihaleleri gözden geçirmelerinin ve ona göre yollarına veçhe vermelerinin daha doğru olacağı kanaatindeyim. Bugün Amerika, İngiltere ve İsveç gibi sendikaları kuvvetli ve icraatlarına inanmış olan devletler işçi davalarını halletmiş ve onun senelerce mahrumiyet içinde katlandıkları hakları tanımışlar ve sosyal seviyelerinin yükselmesine çalışmışlardır.

Önüt, "Memleketimizde Sendikalar Gelişirken," 2.

In 1955, the trade unionists of Eskişehir participated in a seminar about unionism in the USA, which was organized by the Ministry of Labor and American unionists.[580] The union leader of the Eskişehir Railway Union and editor-in-chief of *Çalışanlar*, Salih Selek, attended this seminar and wrote articles on the subject in his own journal.[581] (Figure 3.98) The unionist leaders improved themselves through practical knowledge and experience as well as organizational literature.

Figure 3. 98 Salih Selek, leader of the Railway Union and editor-in-chief of *Çalışanlar*, in the associational training in America (*Çalışanlar* 1965)

***

After 1950, union leaders and organized workers devoted themselves to unionist action and consciousness. Although they worked in factories associated with various professions, their daily routines were based on unionist activities and they were strongly committed to these concerns. These organized workers made use of their accumulated experience, knowledge, and social improvement between 1950 and 1980. The interviews, archival documents, workers' journals, and reports provide expansive information about the educational and cultural concerns of the workers' organizations.

[580] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası, *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1955-1956*.

[581] Çalışanlar, "DDY İşçileri Sendika Başkanı ve Gazetemiz Genel Yayın Müdürü Salih Selek," *Çalışanlar* 1, no. 4 (September 17, 1965): 1.

The union buildings, halls, and editorial rooms served as gathering spaces for organized workers. They formed a kind of collectivity where workers could come together freely and voluntarily to discuss concerns and conflicts. As such, these spaces fit within Evans and Boyte's description of free spaces:

> Particular sorts of public places in the community, what we call free spaces, are the environments in which people are able to learn a new self-respect, a deeper and more assertive group identity, public skills, and values of cooperation and civic virtue. Put simply, free spaces are settings between private lives and large scale institutions where ordinary citizens can act with dignity, independence, and vision.[582]

Moreover, the union buildings and halls were not gender-specific free spaces. A few women workers were involved in unionist action in the Sümerbank Trade Union, according to interviews.[583] Industrial trade unions created an organizational network among workers without gender-specific divisions. Although the union leaders were men, women took part in office work. The women working in the trade unions were hardworking and organized immigrants. However, these women were not represented in the workers' newspapers or meeting minutes. Nevertheless, the concept of "worker" was used as an inclusive term covering both male and female workers.

Unionism and its interactions with the urban environment were not uniform in character as they developed within the associations or their periodicals. Parallel to the industrial and spatial development of the city, workers' organizations in Eskişehir flourished as a result of workers' conflicts, housing deficiencies, and the social uplift and emancipation of workers, as well as the national expansion of organizational action and consciousness. In their initial period between 1947 and 1960, workers' organizations formed their intellectual basis in the spaces that the state presented. Before producing trade union buildings and halls, the temporary free spaces for workers' collective action in the urban environment were the Public House and the Workers' Shelter, which provided meeting spaces for urban citizens and insured

[582] Sara M. Evans and Harry C. Boyte, *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 17.

[583] İ. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 2, 2020.

Z. T. Ş., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 27, 2020.

workers. Industrial trade unions initially expanded to the urban terrain as the precursors of the building cooperatives. After 1960, they gained the right to strike and struggled for their own free spaces to cultivate autonomous agency outside the factory. The organized workers who built their own free spaces also began to represent themselves more strongly through worker's organizations and collectivity. With all this social uplift, they experienced their spatial expansion in the urban environment. Trade unions had significant influence on the formation of the organizational and intellectual characteristics of workers[584], especially of the unionist leaders and active union members.

3.1.3.2 New Forms of Consuming and Socializing: From Factory-based Consumer Cooperatives to the Company Store

State-owned factories were the spaces in which patterns of socializing and consuming initially were formed between 1923 and 1950. In contrast, through the emergence of workers' organizations, industrial workers in Eskişehir after the 1950s gradually produced and used urban social and market spaces, contributing to the process of consumerization and urbanization.

3.1.3.2.1. Social Spaces in the Factory

In the first years of the Republic, the state-owned factories brought about new habits for socializing and consuming by creating a new spatial formation that diverged from the earlier traditional one. Statist policies were developed in tandem with the trends of modernization and Westernization, and the collective spaces in the factories were the agents transmitting this social change to the industrial actors. This new social and spatial configuration was initially expressed in the *lokal* (clubhouse),[585] a social gathering space that existed in all three factories and introduced new collective habits. In the early years of the factories, this type of collective space, where men and women gathered together, attended factory balls, family dinners, and commemorative

[584] Tevfik Zeytinoğlu, "Devlet veya İktisadi Devlet Teşekkülleri ve Sendika," 1-3.

[585] In different factories, clubhouses were used for diverse functions, including meeting houses, guesthouses, or restaurants.

ceremonies, was unusual in small Anatolian towns. (Figure 3.99, 3.100, 3.101) These institutional events played an important role in conveying the modern way of living to the administrators and officials, and, most significantly, the workers. Uneducated workers living in small towns or villages were unfamiliar with these modern practices. During such events, these venues were open to every member of the factory without any hierarchical division so that leisure time served for collectivization. Attending the cinema was a popular activity in the clubhouses, both within the complexes and across the city. In the 1950s, cinemas could be found in only three locations in the city; one was in Kılıçoğlu,[586] and the other two were in the railway[587] and sugar factories. This indicates that the factory was at the cutting edge of modern offerings. The clubhouses were designed to strengthen the ties between industrial families. In this way, the state institutions sought to cultivate a modern industrial society.

The state-owned factories produced these events to transmit a modern form of collectivity. According to the state, the industrial employees should not only share the same production routines in the workspace but should also spend their leisure time in similar pursuits. This democratic vision of providing equal services for all actors was not seen in the daily use of these spaces. The technocrats, who lived in the lodging blocks of the factories, were dominant actors in the use of clubhouses between 1923 and 1980. In all factories, the clubhouse was designed closer to the administrative building than to the shop floor, prioritizing this interaction. This indicated that the clubhouse had become an elite object rather than a democratic space. Workers could not use these buildings as often as the technocrats, according to the interviews. However, although interaction with the clubhouse varied, it played an important role in introducing workers to new habits of socializing and consuming.

[586] Kılıçoğlu Cinema was opened by the Kılıçoğlu family on September 27, 1959.

[587] Cinema performances were also held for the industrial families at the railway factory four times a month.

Figure 3. 99 A celebration in the Eskişehir railway factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory)

Figure 3. 100 A New Year's celebration in the Eskişehir sugar factory (The Personal Archive of Ayşen Keşir)

Figure 3. 101 A celebration in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory (The Personal Archive of Ayşen Keşir)

3.1.3.2.2. Benevolent Societies and Consumer Cooperatives in the Factory

In the early Republican period, social and consumer spaces initially emerged in the state-owned factories, developed by benevolent societies to supplement the services that the factory offered. Benevolent societies were internal organizations, formed by officials and workers but dependent on factory management. They included the Benevolent Society of Sugar Factory and the Benevolent Society of Sümerbank Factory, active in the 1960s and 1970s.[588] The sugar factory's benevolent society organized evenings consisting of conferences, cinema, literature, and board games. The music and theater group organized plays, classical music concerts, and chamber music and invited the State and City Theaters to come from Ankara and İstanbul to perform. Another group offered English and German language training to sugar factory employees and their children. The excursion group organized out-of-town excursions and picnics to nearby and remote places. Sümerbank Benevolent Society also organized excursions and holidays.[589] The out-of-town excursions were popular collective activities for the workers.

The first benevolent retail and consumer models were formed in the factories through two main methods: state-driven or worker-initiated. Sales units, called *kantin, ekonoma*, or *kooperatif,* operated in all factories. The sugar factory formed a sales unit to sell the products of the factory's ranch to its members at a small profit. This ranch produced animal and herbal products. In addition, the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories' products were distributed from sugar factories around the country to these sales units. These products were bought wholesale and sold at cost.[590]

In the Sümerbank and railway factories, workers responded to their consumer needs by forming retail cooperatives. *The Work Reports of Eskişehir Railway Trade Union, the 17th Period Work Report 1977-1979* underscored the intricate relationship between retail cooperatives and trade unions. As the unions became permanent, cooperative

[588] V. S., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 26, 2020.

[589] S. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

[590] Y. E., in a recorded interview with the author Eskişehir, January 12, 2020.

activities increased members' commitment.

Using the financial knowledge that they had acquired by running the cooperative, the leaders strengthened their negotiation power and became essential figures in the collective agreements. In the Sümerbank factory, the adjacent unit to the benevolent society was used for the retail cooperative's sales unit, selling raw cloth and fabric waste produced in the factory in addition to everyday items.[591] (Figure 3.102) In addition to providing for the factory workers' welfare, these facilities helped workers adapt to consumer culture and gain purchasing experience.

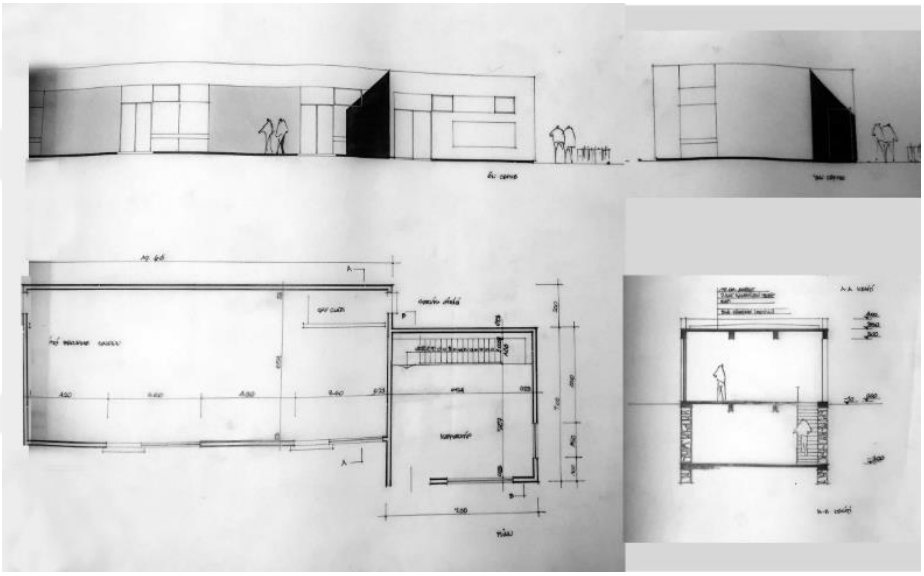


Figure 3. 102 Architectural drawings of the retail cooperative's sales unit in the Eskişehir Sümerbank factory (The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Factory)

3.1.3.2.3. The Emergence of the New: Socializing and Consuming in the Urban Environment

In the 1950s, the increase in consumption and entertainment patterns due to urbanization began to change the social and spatial environment in the city. In

[591] İ. Y., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, June 20, 2020.

H. Ş., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 12, 2020.

The legal documents for the retail cooperatives: permission to establish "Eskişehir Sugar Industry Workers Retail Society" (1949), and permission to establish "Eskişehir Officials and Workers Retail Society" (1942) and its regulation."

Eskişehir, this change placed demands on the urban space, which was produced and reproduced to respond to economic changes and evolving modes of consumption and transportation. During this time, Americanization was also changing the routines of daily life by increasing consumption and economic welfare. With the introduction of the Truman Doctrine in 1947 and the Marshall Plan from 1948 to 1951, American-oriented consumption habits were introduced into urban life. In the 1960s, family life, consumption patterns, and the urban environment in America were represented in the workers' journal *Türk Gücü*. Hotels, company stores, and shopping malls were some of the services illustrated in the workers' journal.[592] (Figure 3.103)

Figure 3. 103 Scenes of American family life in a workers' journal (*Türk Gücü* 1961)

Hotels, office buildings, and retail, commercial, and financial institutions were built in downtown Köprübaşı. Most of the leisure activities in the urban environment were inclusive and democratic for urban inhabitants.

The meaning of collectivity changed for workers in the 1950s from an image of statist welfare to one of liberal and market-oriented progress. The industrial labor force, whose living standards had decreased during the war years, improved their income

[592] Türk Gücü, "Amerika Aile Hayatından Sahneler," *Türk Gücü* 2, no. 428 (October 23, 1961): 2.

levels in the 1950s.[593] As their purchasing power continued to increase in the 1960s, workers' opportunities for collectivity through consuming and socializing became more diverse.[594] As a result, it was even stated that workers' incomes exceeded those of officials:

> Wages were low when I worked at the factory. There were no collective agreements. Until 1966, the increase in wages was 10 kurus or 20 kurus across the industry. When the right to collective bargaining was secured, workers started to ensure other rights through collective agreements implemented every two years. A different relationship emerged between the employer and the worker. In this way, the worker began to receive more compared to the employer.[595]

As they experienced improved financial conditions, changes in consumption patterns, and the development of the urban environment, workers began to use the urban environment for leisure time. New collective spaces for workers emerged in the urban environment. Therefore, the shop floor's familiar rhythms were replaced by the diversity and dynamism of urban collectivity, and workers began to search for other activities and interests in their leisure time. Retail and entertainment zones for workers included the Porsuk waterfront (*Yalaman Adası*) and Köprübaşı. The Porsuk waterfront was an urban space for entertainment that offered clubs, gardens, 8-10 summer cinemas, and boats for rent. This urban path was specifically designed to integrate entertainment areas and open spaces along the river. [596] This waterfront served as "Eskişehir's Beyoğlu," and visitors applied a special dress code in this area. There were two paths for vehicles and pedestrians. Unlike taverns, the clubs in *Yalaman Adası* served dinners for families as well as alcohol. The clubs that workers frequently included Şerif Baba, the Municipal Club, and the Çağlayan Club, which was the largest and most active club, popular with famous artists. In their leisure time, workers also went to cinemas and theaters.

---

[593] Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908- 1985,* 73-85.

[594] E. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 11, 2020.

[595] Nevzat Dondemir, Interview by Seda Topgül. 2017.

[596] Soydaş, *Cumhuriyetin 25nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*, 14.

In contrast, the workers' settlements, such as workers' cooperative housing, did not offer spaces for socializing or retail. Education and religious services were included in some of these residential settlements. The journal *Hürbilek* focused on workers' home and family life and leisure time activities.[597] According to one article, the poor living standards in housing cooperatives influenced workers' use of collective space during leisure time. Minimal comfort and welfare standards led many workers to spend time with their families in collective spaces. Another parameter that increased the workers' collectivity was the desire to escape from the crowded 50-square-meter homes allotted to industrial families. Therefore, home-based pursuits were rare in this period, except for gardening and women's domestic activities.

3.1.3.2.4. The Sümerbank Company Store in the Urban Environment

Sales units and retail cooperatives established in the factories between 1930 and 1950 were replaced by company stores and retail cooperatives established in the urban environment after the 1950s. The first company store was Sümerbank, built in 1955 near to the Railway Trade Union building in downtown Köprübaşı. This multi-functional building contained retail and wholesale marketplaces, a bank, offices, and residential units. Architect Fahri Yetman designed this modern building in the city's retail and finance center, serving the function of inviting workers into the expanding consumer culture. The ground floor, which faced the main commercial street, divided longitudinally into two sections, which were used for markets and financial units. (Figure 3.104, 3.105) The Sümerbank Company Store and Bank, representative of a changing society, emerged from the demand for consumer products that arose alongside the industrial and urban progress of the city. The building was divided for multi-functional use and designed with four entrances. The main facade was enclosed by huge display windows. Two entrances were incorporated into this facade and served as the main entrances for the commercial and financial sections. On the backside of the building, the other two entrances led to a guesthouse, lodging blocks located on the fourth floor, and office units on the second, third, and fourth floors.

[597] Gürol, "İşçi Evleri," 1-6.

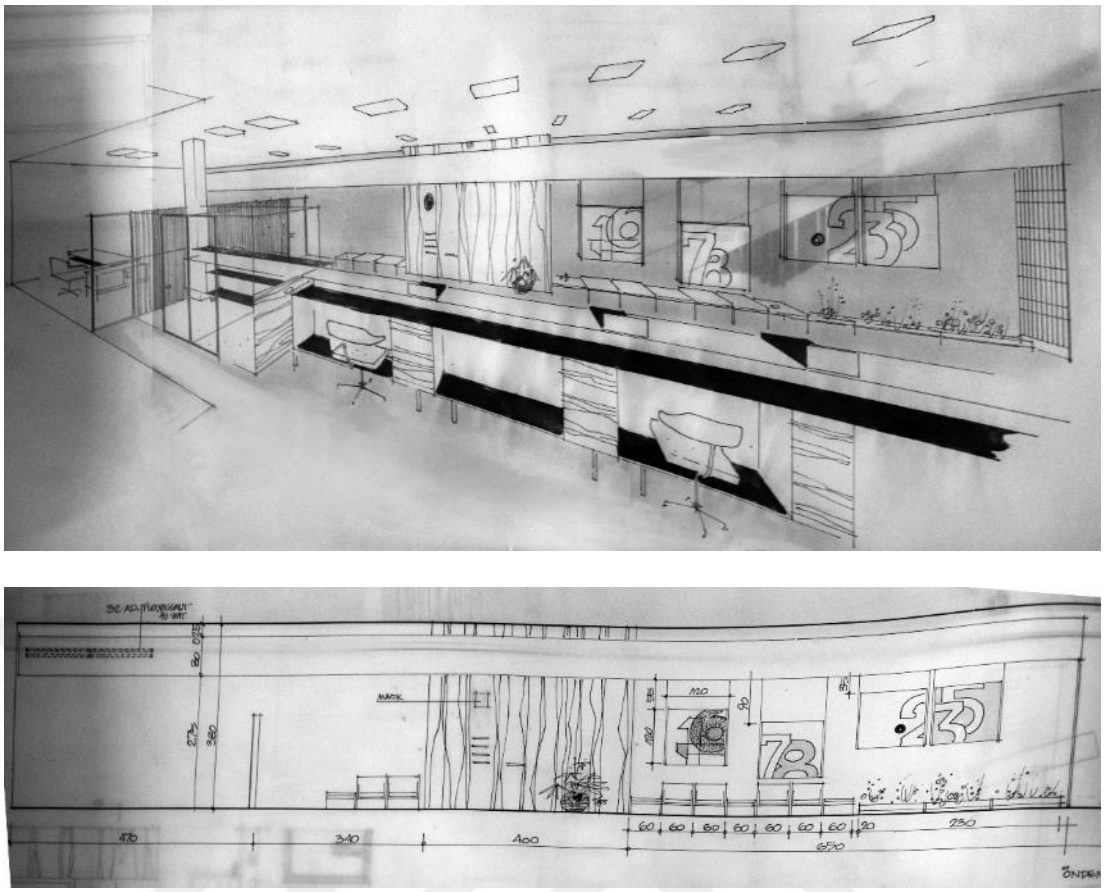


Figure 3. 104 Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Company Store (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

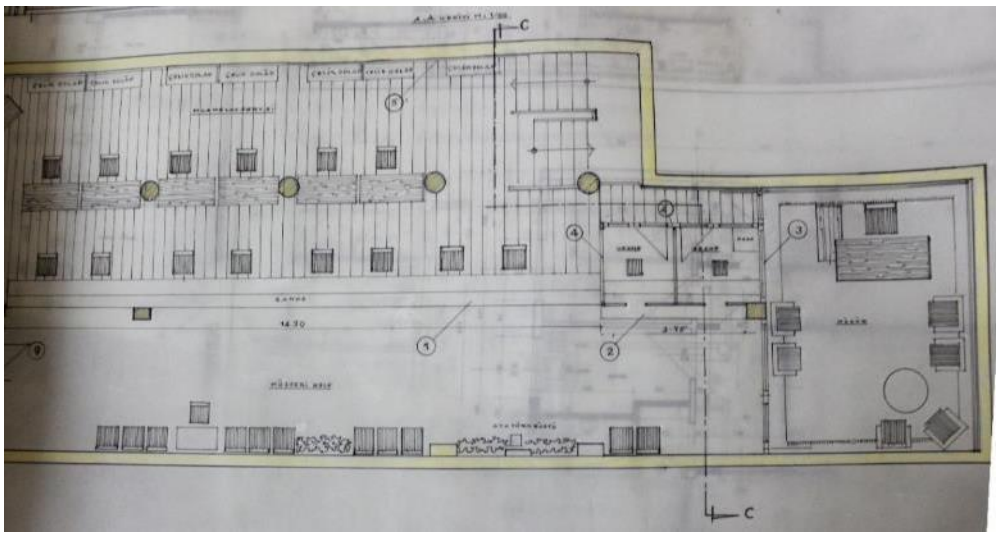


Figure 3. 105 Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Bank (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

Figure 3. 105 (cont'd) Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Bank (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

The Sümerbank retail stores flourished around the country, with an educational objective to turn Turkish citizens into consumers by familiarizing them with Western consumer culture. These stores, established as markets for local commodities, initially provided products at affordable prices for the factories' own industrial actors within a national network.

The industrial actors in Eskişehir, especially the Sümerbank factory workers, used the company store. The Sümerbank factory provided consumer checks and offered discounts and installments for its workers and the workers of the railway and sugar factories.[598] The mass-produced consumer goods minimized social differentiation between workers and other citizens. Workers and their families also had the opportunity to wear modern clothes like the factory's technocrats.

The company store offered industrial workers the opportunity to experience modern consumption. For workers who had previously used the small sales units within the factory, the modern habits of consumption were extremely new. As the downtown provided the most striking collective zone for social life and public display, the Sümerbank Company Store became the main retail space, and consumption transformed into an activity rather than just a way to meet basic needs. The practices

[598] G. B., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 25, 2020.

of modern consumption were introduced to workers in this modern building. Workers who went downtown were able to shop for modern clothes and use the banking service. Modern clothing sold in Sümerbank company stores was produced by graphic designer İhap Hulusi. (Figure 3.106) In this commercial and financial nexus, Sümerbank began to represent itself as an industrial institution by offering products that conformed to the lifestyle of the modern citizen in its stores, financial institutions, office units, and guesthouses.

Figure 3. 106 A poster designed for Sümerbank by graphic designer İhap Hulusi (The National Library)

The General Directorate of Sümerbank Factories established a network of markets for the sale of domestic goods produced in its own factories. Sümerbank transported and sold a variety of goods, including shoes, shirts, duvetyn,[599] and other textile products, in company stores located in the cities where its factories were established. This national network provided access to domestic goods. These markets adopted the European model of consumerism, although they sold domestic products produced by state-owned factories rather than European products.

[599] The fabric and duvetyn were produced by the Eskişehir factory, and the clothing was from the Bursa Merinos factory. For more information on duvetyn, see the Glossary.

Y. H., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 15, 2020.

Thus, industrial workers became both the producers and consumers of their domestic goods. Although the factory had made progress toward a liberal and market-oriented approach by the 1950s, the Sümerbank Company Store indicated that statist involvement had not completely disappeared. During the period in which liberal and democratic tendencies were prevalent, the state began to make investments in the urban environment and treat workers as modern consumers. (Figure 3.107)

Figure 3. 107 The Sümerbank Company Store and Bank (Yalçın 1957 and the Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory)

This building, consisted of bank, stores, offices, and lodging blocks, was designed with: (Figure 108)

- Ground Floor: Bank, stores, and entrances for all units
- First Floor: Bank, stores, and offices
- Second, Third, and Fourth Floors: Offices
- Fifth Floor (Penthouse): Guesthouse with four rooms, two lodging blocks, and a restaurant with a terrace
- Lodging Block 1: Living room, kitchen, one bedroom, entrance hall, hall, and bathroom
- Lodging Block 2: Living room, kitchen, two bedrooms (one was used as a guestroom), entrance hall, hall, bathroom, and toilet
- Guesthouse: four bedrooms, bathroom, and changing room

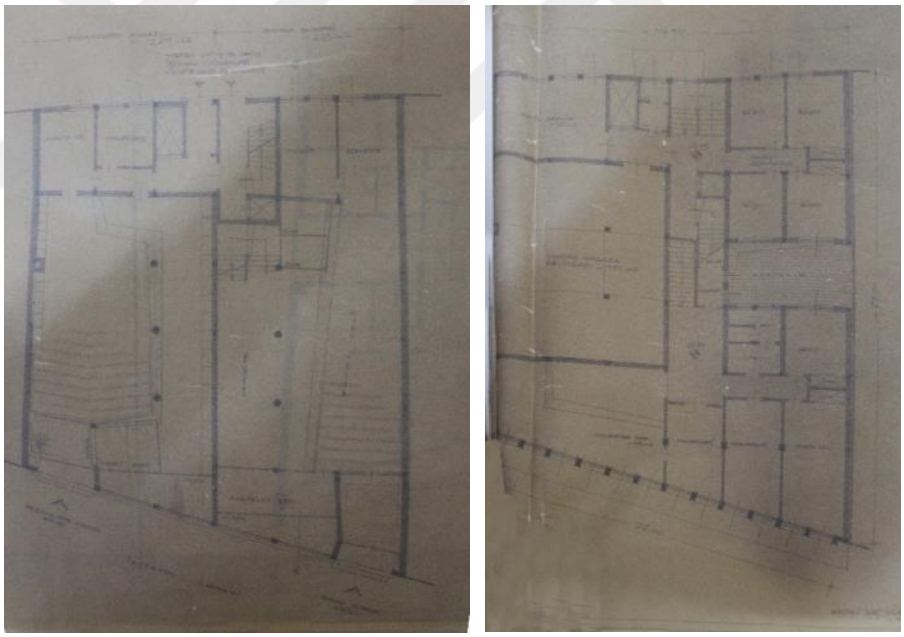


Figure 3. 108 Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Bank (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

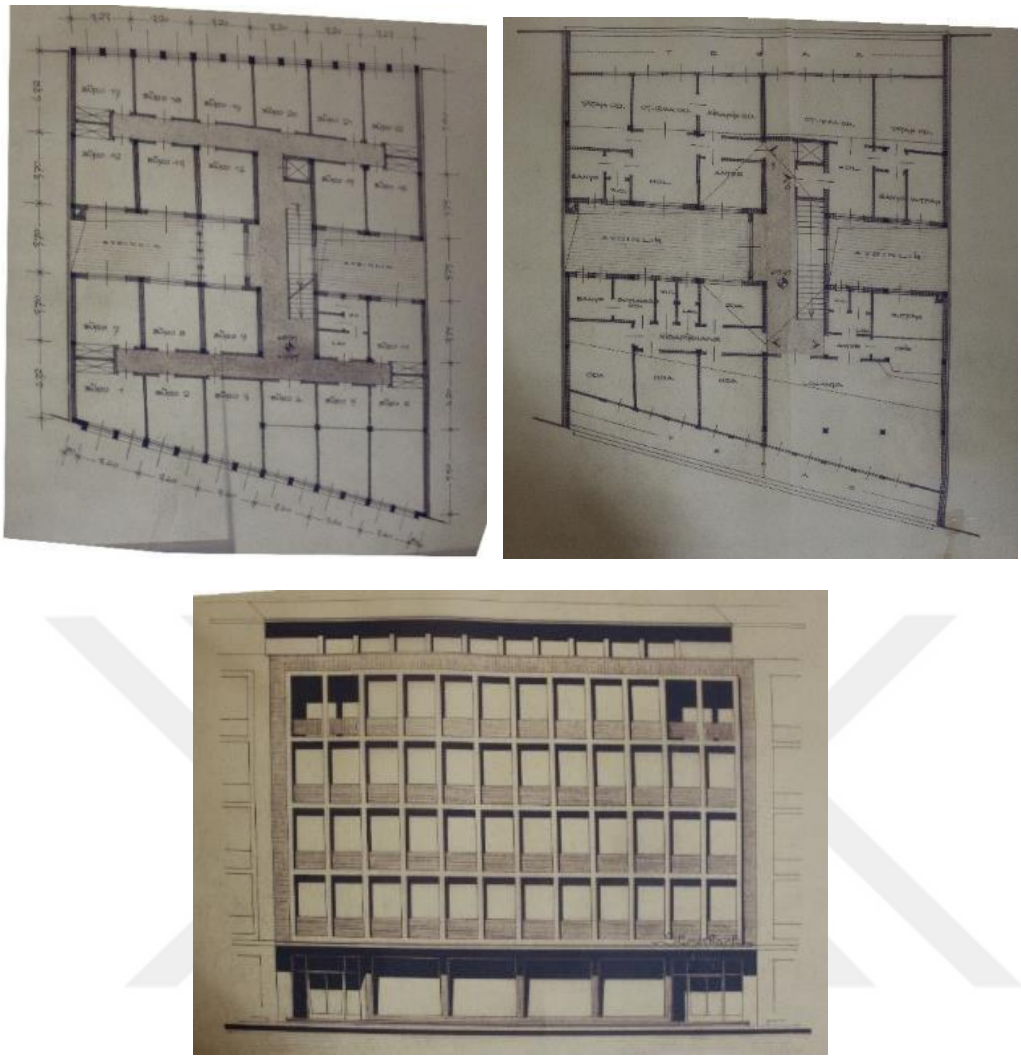


Figure 3. 108 (cont'd) Architectural drawing of the Sümerbank Bank (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

3.1.3.2.5. The Railway Workers' Labor Market in the Urban Environment

In the railway factory, sales to workers were carried out without any permanent office before 1976. Representatives of the Eskişehir Railway Workers' Consumer Cooperative visited the workshops and took the workers' orders and then distributed the products to the members through a home delivery service with a small van. The members of the retail cooperative and the trade union worked together in this service.[600]

[600] A. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, January 11, 2020.

In 1976, the chosen location for distribution was between the railway factory and the station. Bulletins containing the price list were distributed to members, product orders were taken, and distribution was carried out.[601] The board of directors was included in this process.

In 1978, the Railway Trade Union Building was built, and it contained a retail cooperative unit. Described as an *işçi pazarı* (labor market) in the journal *Hız*, its spatial configuration made clear that the consumer cooperative had evolved into a professional organization. The ground, mezzanine, and first floors of the building were reserved for the cooperative. (Figure 3.109, 3.110, 3.111) The area was designed as a single space within two galleries that integrated all floors and encompassed the outfitting and food departments along with the administration, accounting, and archival units. (Figure 3.112) The building was set between İsmet İnönü and Cengiz Topel, two vibrant streets of the city. The main entrance, enclosed by huge display windows, opened onto Köprübaşı square. This labor market differed from the Sümerbank Company Store in that it was created through the initiative of the workers and the workers' organization; therefore, it can be considered a commercial space produced for workers.

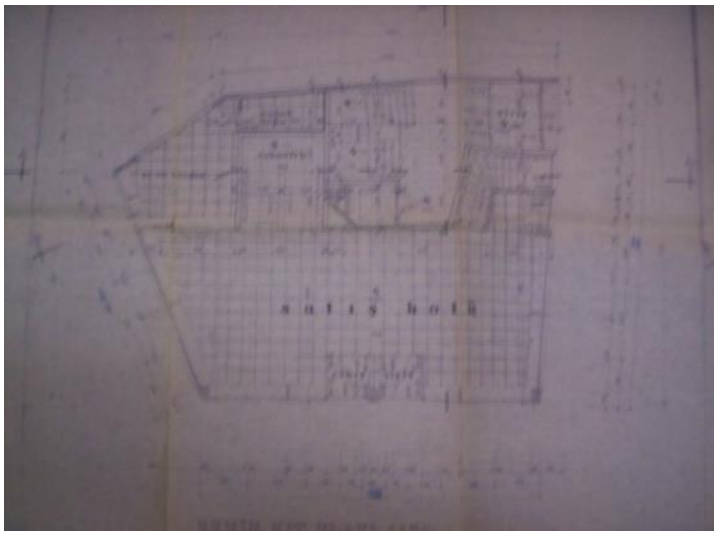


Figure 3. 109 Architectural plan of the ground floor of the Railway Consumers Cooperative (Eskişehir Municipality Archive)

[601] İ. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 22, 2020.

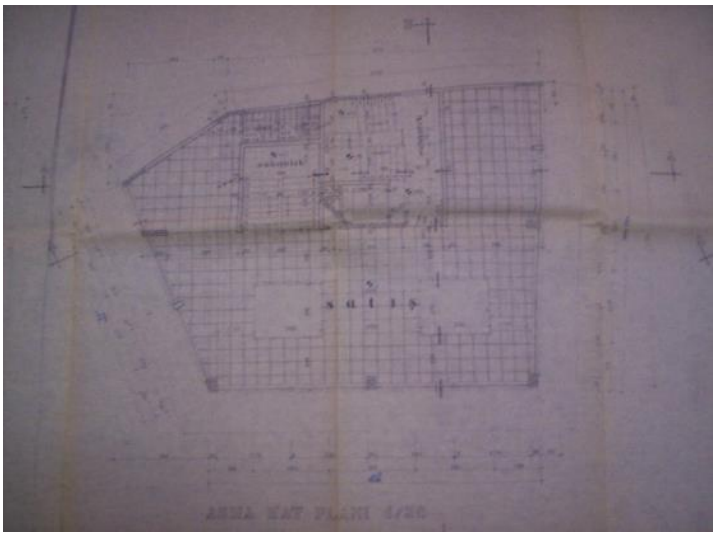


Figure 3. 110 Architectural plan of the first floor of the Railway Consumers Cooperative (Eskişehir Municipality Archive)

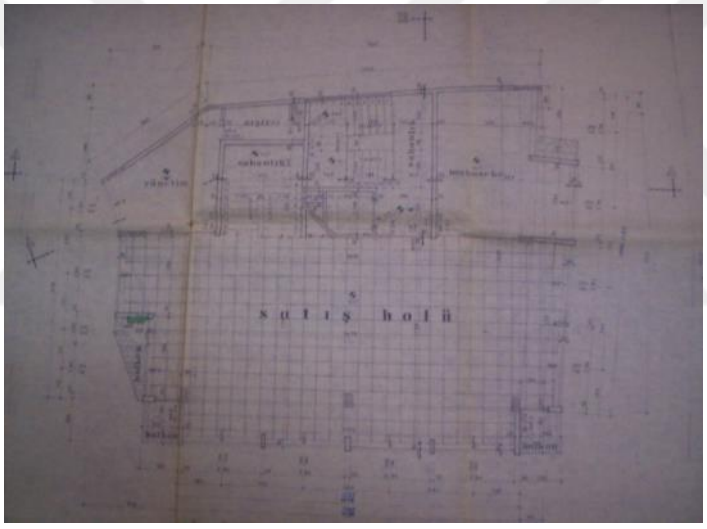


Figure 3. 111 Architectural plan of the second floor of the Railway Consumers Cooperative (Eskişehir Municipality Archive)

Figure 3. 112 The Railway Consumers Cooperative (Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası 1980)

3.1.3.3 Health, Mobility, and Holiday: Out-of-town Excursions and Holiday Camps

In accordance with the state's health policies, as presented in Section 2.3.4, the state-owned factories aimed to provide healthy and sanitary spaces, prioritizing healthy production and well-being as fundamental issues. As workers' health, education, and interactions in collective spaces changed, these issues became imbued with new meanings conforming to the norms of modern industrialized society.

For that reason, the state-owned factories designed spaces and services to prioritize health issues under the social welfare program: physical exercise was integrated into industrial education, dining halls and clubhouses improved the nutritional value of their food, and other aspects of well-being were met through health-care facilities and holiday amenities. With the inclusion of hospitals and sports facilities, these industrial settlements were comprehensively designed to support mental, moral, and physical health. After 1950, technocrats and workers started to use urban and extra-urban spaces to address health issues.

3.1.3.3.1. The Physical and Mental Training of Industrial Workers in the Factory

Along with other amenities, sports facilities were integrated into three state-owned factories to promote healthy collective activity. These facilities were considered important spaces because they helped workers develop healthy bodies and minds. The notion of total health[602] was critical for workers who performed manual labor, and this totality could only be provided through physical training and mental stimulation.

Physical training was considered a principal tool in the state's educational policies during the Republican period. (Figure 3.113) In the vocational school and the vestibule school in Eskişehir, physical training was included in the curriculum to support workers' physical, mental, and moral health and improve basic bodily skills. Physical

[602] The "concept of total health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being for all people."

exercise encouraged a disciplined approach to the development of bodily skills and improved coordination between body and mind.

This approach was emphasized in the "Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı Raporu," which stated that the physical well-being of the workers in the sugar factory should be promoted through specialized games and training. These games and training, conforming to new production methods and practices, were seen as necessary for coordination, cognition, and obedience.[603] Industrial labor and bodily practices were so integrated that the journal published in the railway factory was titled *Sanat ve Spor* (*Labor and Sport*).

Figure 3. 113 An illustration indicating the significance of sport (İşçinin Sesi 1951)

On the one hand, sports provided the necessary physical training for industrial production; on the other hand, they supported the mental development of industrial workers. Through these healthful and wholesome activities, industrial workers explored their potential in many types of sports and were morally improved by uniform and rational rules. Thus, workers were shaped into attentive and self-monitoring individuals by the discipline and order that these sports activities brought about. For

[603] "ameleden beklenecek başlıca kalifikasyon emir alma ve maksadını ifade etme kabiliyetleri, göz ve kulak intibalariyle hareketlerini iyi koordine edebilmek, sürat, ağırlık ve mesafe hakkında bozulmamış tabii canlı idraklere sahip olmalarıdır. Bunların yenmiyesi de klasik mektep tedrisinden ziyade, sırf bu noktalara spesyalize edilmiş oyunlar ve idmanlarla olur...."

Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti, *Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı Raporu* (Ankara: Ulusal Matbaa, 1941a).

such workers, industrial production was part of a daily routine rather than difficult work. Sports areas in the factories included stadiums, swimming pools, football fields, and basketball and tennis courts. In 1930, the sports club Demirspor was established by factory managers Şevket Akyazı and Ferit Bey.[604] Based on Eskişehir Railroader Unity, Demirspor and its sports teams, such as football, wrestling, and volleyball, provided services for Eskişehir railroader youth, aiming at their social and bodily improvement.[605] (Figure 3.115) Şekerspor Club was created in 1949, and Sümerspor followed in the 1960s. (Figure 3.114) In addition to professional teams, workers spent their lunch breaks playing football or volleyball as a casual recreational pursuit. After the 1940s, sport became institutionalized and played a significant role in urban industrial culture. These industrial teams and their competitions dominated the urban culture until the time that Eskişehirspor, the city's official team, was founded in 1965.

The sports areas in the factories attracted the attention of urban inhabitants. Necmettin Ar declared that Eskişehir needed a swimming pool. He explained that, although the sugar factory had a pool, urban inhabitants could not use it despite having the permission of factory administrators due to its remote location and regulations for use.[606] The sports facilities in these factories were modern in character because they were an expression of the new collectivity that emerged between 1923 and 1950. Sports activities started to spread to the urban environment after the 1950s due to the expansion of workers' organizations and the attraction of urban inhabitants to this modern pursuit.

Figure 3. 114 Sümerbank Volleyball Team (The Personal Archive of İlyas Yılmazer)

[604] Eskişehir Ekspres, "Demirspor," 4.

[605] İsmail Ali Sarar, *Eskişehir Çevre İncelemesi*, 68.

[606] Necmettin Ar, "Yüzme Havuzu ve Park," *Sakarya* 16, no. 4117 (June 28, 1962): 3.

DEMİRSPOR BELÇİKA'DA GANTŞEHİR GAR'INDA.
BELÇİKA KADROSU ŞU FUTBOLCULARDAN OLUŞUYORDU SOL BAŞTAN: İSMET, ARNAVUT SELAHATTİN, ALLAHSIZ RIZA, ZEKİ TARIM, ZEKAİ, KOBOY AHMET, DIRIY BEDRİ, CEVAT, SAMİ, OTURANLAR: POZ KADRİ, EMRULLAH, FAHRİ, YÜKSEL, KERİM, KALECİ ABDÜLKADİR, CİNCON NECMİ, TEFİK, ALATTİN VE YÖNETİCİLERDEN DR. TEFİK ZEYTİNOĞLU, AHMET SEVÜK, RAUF BEY VE BELÇİKA GANTSPOR İDARECİLERİ.

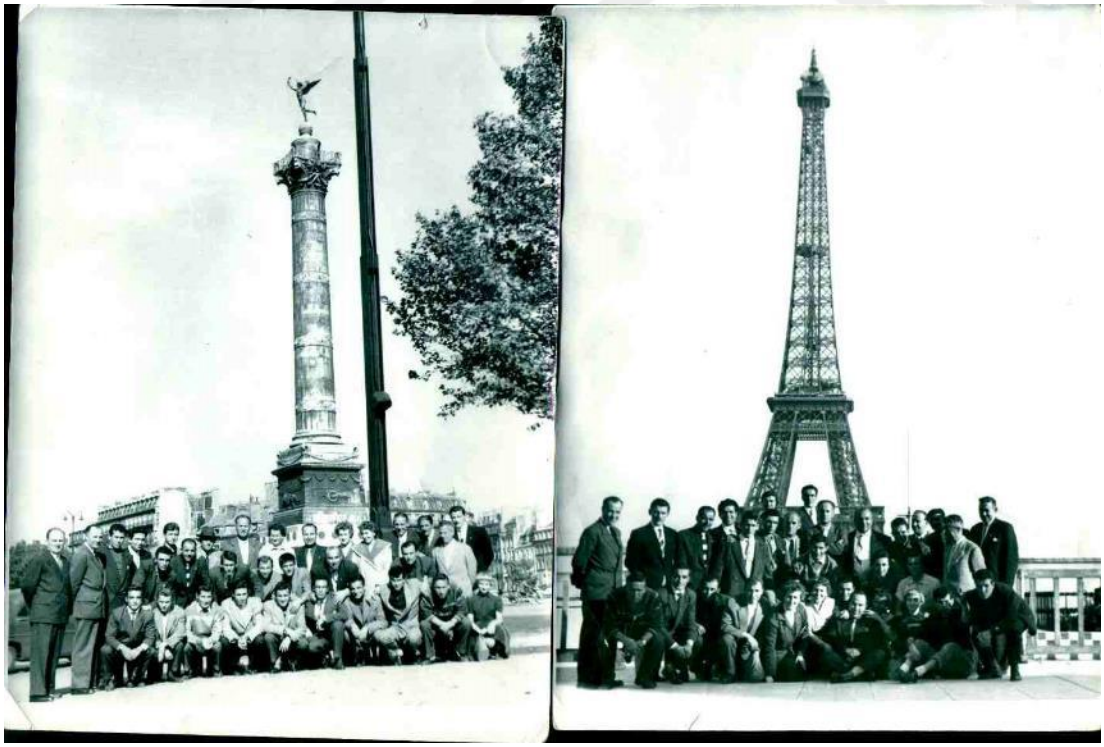


Figure 3. 115 Demirspor Club participating in tournaments in Belgium and France (The Archive of Eskişehir Demirspor Club)

3.1.3.3.2. Spaces and Activities for Workers' Health in the Urban Environment

The railway and sugar factories were designed with modern health-care services. However, these workers' hospitals could not meet the needs of the city's industrial labor population in the 1950s. Organized workers wrote about the workers' demands for a large-scale hospital in the workers' journals. The Worker's Insurance Institution was established in 1945, and it was given the authority to establish a health organization for insured workers and to appoint management and health personnel. Thus, as a result of meetings between the organized workers and the Worker's Insurance Institution, it was decided that a hospital would be built in Eskişehir, just as in Ankara and Istanbul. Although this hospital did not have a collective use, it is considered a collectively produced space because it was established through the incentives of organized workers and paid for by their insurance premiums. The hospital was a consequence of the organized workers' focus on social well-being.

In 1954, the Eskişehir Worker's Hospital was built by the Worker's Insurance Institution in order to meet the health-care needs of the increasing number of workers in the cityscape. An article in the journal *İş Yolu* noted that the land for the hospital had been bought, although the construction process had not been started.[607] The Social Insurance Institution built the worker's hospitals after 1957, following the standardized model used in Ankara and İstanbul. (Figure 3.116) Additional units were integrated into the hospital's T-shaped main structure. The state produced this building in response to workers' demands. (Figure 3.117)

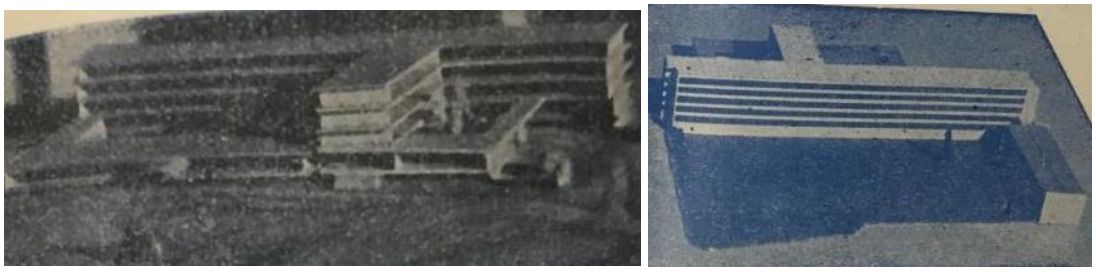


Figure 3. 116 A model of Ankara Hospital with 305 beds and İstanbul Hospital with 400 beds

[607] İş Yolu, "Eskişehir İşçisi Her Ay Tatbik Edileceği Vaat Edilen Oyalama Politikasına Son Verilmesini İstiyor," *İş Yolu,* 1, no. 24 (August 22, 1954): 1-4.

Figure 3. 117 Eskişehir Worker's Hospital (The Archive of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 1963)

A documentary was produced in 1963 to promote the architectural aspects of the Eskişehir Worker's Hospital. With 305 hospital beds, the building was constructed on April 4, 1963, and opened by Labor Minister Bülent Ecevit. The four-storey building was designed for multiple services and included operating theaters and departments for X-ray, physiotherapy, and odontotherapy. The ground floor was reserved for offices and polyclinics, and the upper floor contained dining halls for doctors, other employees, and patients. A conference hall was also added to the building plan. In the documentary, this building was described as "modern" and incorporating the "latest technology." The hospital, designed for the workers' use, integrated advanced technology, functional competence, and hygienic conditions according to the spirit of its time. (Figure 3.118)

Figure 3. 118 Documentary film about the Eskişehir Worker's Hospital (The Archive of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 1963)

Figure 3. 118 (cont'd) Documentary film about the Eskişehir Worker's Hospital (The Archive of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 1963)

Workers' relationships with sports did not end at the factory but extended to the urban environment. Workers living in cooperative housing created their own neighborhood teams, such as Tepebaşıspor, which included members of the Social Insurance Cooperative Housing, and Gökmeydanspor, which included members of the sugar factory's housing cooperative. Thus, the sports facilities that emerged in the industrial settlements spread to the urban environment through organized workers' initiatives. For instance, the worker's leader Necdet Yılmazoğlu discussed the construction of the stadium building with the governor and asked for him to complete the building.

This building was designed with: (Figure 3.119, 3.120)

- 305 beds
- Four storey and a basement
- Designed with multiple services: x-ray, physiotherapy, odontotherapy, and operating theaters
- Ground floor: offices and polyclinics
- Upper floors: conference hall and separate dining halls for doctors, other employees, and patients

Figure 3. 119 Eskişehir Worker's Hospital (The Archive of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital 1963)

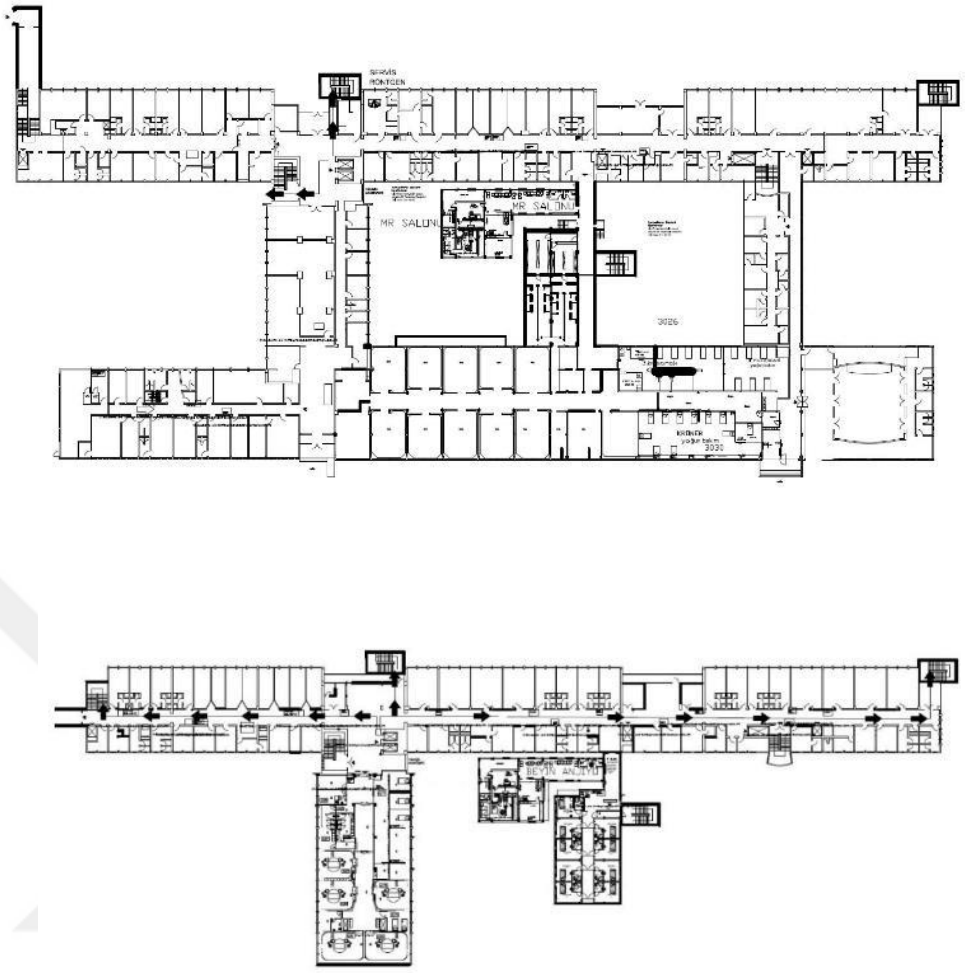


Figure 3. 120 Architectural drawing of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital (The Archive of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital)

3.1.3.3.3. The Institutional Holiday Camp Used by the Technocrats

The regulation of vacation time in 1957 introduced an improvement to the mental and physical health of industrial employees. Through the agency of this regulation, they gained the right to extended time off, and holiday schedules began to be regulated.

The practice of traveling out of the city initially began with out-of-town excursions organized by the benevolent societies of the factories. These daily excursions offered family-based entertainment in easily accessible areas. After World War II, the seaside became easily accessible due to increased motor vehicle travel and road construction. This new mode of transportation gave workers increased mobility and helped them

connect to nature. While Eskişehir became more industrialized and urbanized, coastal areas responded to this urban transformation by prioritizing space for people to enjoy the seaside.[608] A new infrastructure formed in the pastoral regions of the Aegean and the Mediterranean devoted to leisure time. As holiday camps emerged as part of the Directorates' industrial network, annual trips to the seaside became common for workers by the 1950s.

Institutional summer camps were introduced to provide a break from the filthy and polluted urban environment that industrialization and urbanization had brought about. These institutional holiday camps offered vacation opportunities in the summers and underlined the significance that the state granted to physical and mental health. Sümerbank initially attempted to form institutional holiday camps during the 1940s.
In his visit to the Nazilli print factory in 1940, President İsmet İnönü noted that the workers were unhealthy and weak and ordered that they be sent to airy and green environments for treatment. Following this objective, the workers were sent to temporary camps known as preventoria[609] in the mountain villages of Çamlık, Karapınar, and Buldan.

Seaside holidays were provided to industrial actors through the state's welfare and health policies. In 1956, the General Directorate of Sümerbank Factories built a holiday camp on an area of 100,000 square meters in Kuşadası for the employees of the Sümerbank Institution. The land was bought from the National Treasury for 2,774 TL.[610] The summer camps in Arsuz, Samsun, and Gölcük were established by the state railway in 1958.[611] The summer camp in Erdek was used by members of the sugar factory and the Şeker Benevolent Society. These establishments offered holiday

[608] Ö. Meltem Gürel, "Seashore Readings: the Road from Sea Baths to Summerhouses in Mid-twentieth Century," in *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s,* ed. Meltem Ö. Gürel (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 48.

[609] This was the period when tuberculosis was a common disease.

[610] The camp was renamed the Kuşadası *Eğitim ve Dinlenme Mer*kezi (Education and Recreation Center) in 1976.

T.C. Başbakanlık Yüksek Denetleme Kurulu, *Sümerbank Nazilli Basma Sanayi Müessesesi Raporu* (Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1972).

[611] Devlet Demiryolları, *Demiryolları Faaliyetleri* (İzmir: TCDD Matbaası, 1958), 64-69.

services at low prices within the installment system. Employees in Eskişehir's industrial factories preferred summer camps that were geographically close to them. Eskişehir railway factory employees went to Gölcük Holiday Camp, Eskişehir sugar factory employees went to Erdek Holiday Camp, and Eskişehir Sümerbank factory employees went to Kuşadası Holiday Camp. (Figure 3.121, 3.122)

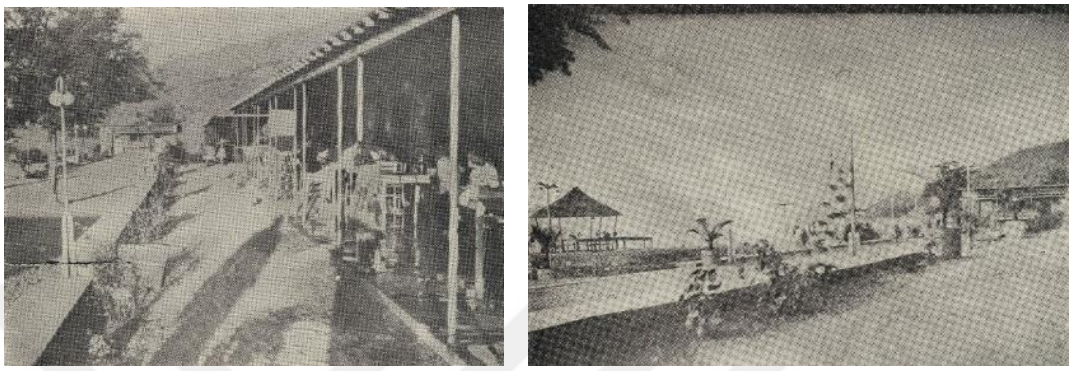


Figure 3. 121 Railway Gölcük Holiday Camp (Devlet Demiryolları 1958)

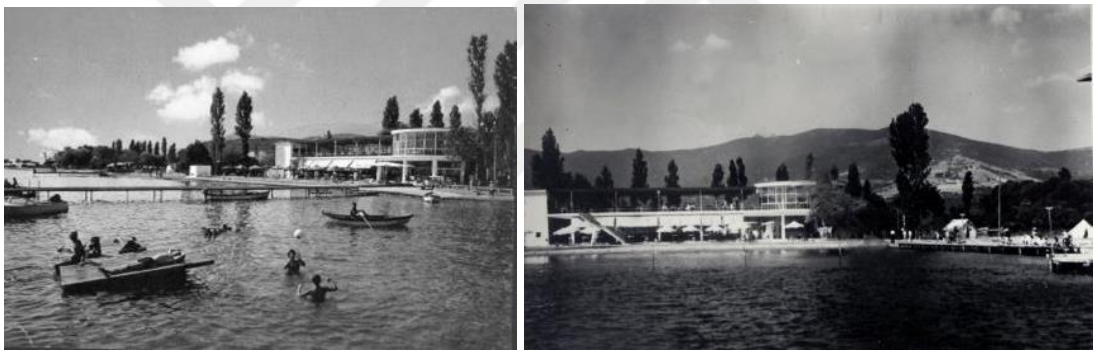


Figure 3. 122 Sugar Erdek Holiday Camp (The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories 1970)

These institutional holiday camps were designed around a wide coastline integrated with nature, providing a built environment for a collective communal holiday. The holiday camps were designed as self-contained complexes. The central location of the camps was reserved for collective spaces such as the *gazino* (clubhouse) and swimming pool. The clubhouse, which served as the main assembly hall, was where vacationers gathered for food and entertainment. The pier connected this collective zone with the sea and offered a gathering space where vacationers could socialize. (Figure 3.123)

Figure 3. 123 Kuşadası Sümerbank Holiday Camp (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

The accommodations in the holiday camps had various forms and structures. Since vacationers desired to benefit from the sun and sea, the residential units were generally designed as single or double cabins scattered in nature, intended to serve an industrial family. The accommodations in Erdek Holiday Camp transformed over time from tents to log cabins and finally to concrete units. (Figure 3.124, 125)

Figure 3. 124 Log cabins for two people in Erdek Sugar Holiday Camp (Turan 1958)

Figure 3. 125 Residential units in Kuşadası Sümerbank Holiday Camp (The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding)

According to interviews with workers, these state-owned holiday camps could not offer vacation facilities to all industrial actors. This opportunity could only be provided during times appropriate for vacation. A ranked list was prepared for every vacation period, and priority was given to the technocrats. Thus, the technocrats who demanded a vacation could benefit from this service every year. For the technocrats who lived and collectivized in the modern factory, leisure time enjoyment of modern comforts and domesticity was provided by the state.

This use of space contradicted the design objective of the institutional holiday camps. According to interviews, the workers could not go to these institutional camps often due to financial deficiencies, hierarchical ranking in the provision of the service, and

the discriminatory attitude of the employees in the camp towards the workers.[612] Therefore, the holiday that the state offered was a routine of privilege rather than an expression of the democratic vision of workers' health set forth in the 1940s. The evolution from the preventorium to the holiday camp transformed the meaning and use of holiday camps. The technocrats' physical isolation from the labor force and urban environment that resulted from living in the factory continued on their vacations, and institutional segregation extended beyond the industrial city.

3.1.3.3.4. Akçay Holiday Camp for Organized Railway Workers

Industrial workers needed mental and physical renewal to face the challenges of urban-industrial life. Most of the workers in Eskişehir were able to take vacations as a result of the workers' movement that brought about increased wages, time off with pay, and increased mobility. Akçay Holiday Camp,[613] founded by the Eskişehir Railway Trade Union, differed from other holiday facilities because it was formed by a local organizational initiative. Holiday camps offered workers a form of liberation from the routines and conventions of everyday life and a temporal and spatial interval away from the workspace and labor practices. Thus, Akçay Holiday Camp, provisioned by the workers, was a response to the consumer culture of the period. Through the workers' own initiatives, vacationing at the holiday camps became a right for railway workers.

The establishment of Akçay Education and Recreation Camp was a reaction to the General Directorate of Turkish Railways' policies. The directorate planned to give its camps to the authority of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion. According to the Eskişehir Railway Trade Union, it was the directorate's duty to provide a camp on the seashore for the intellectual and physical recreation of workers who had worked constantly for a full year. The union first attempted to buy Akçay Recreation Camp's land, which was owned by the Third Directorate of Turkish Railways Administration and managed by the Balıkesir Civil Servants' Union. Motels were built on this site by

[612] M. O., a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 4, 2020.

[613] In 1979, the Ankara Railway Trade Union also constructed Ak-Emek Holiday Camp.

wealthy individuals, and the objections by the union were denied. The Akçay Municipality declared the site as a festival area. The union blamed the directorate for their failure to purchase the property. The union struggled to take back its own camp and democratize the right to vacation. A preliminary contract was signed in Akçay to buy land for the members of the Eskişehir Railway Trade Union.[614] For the construction of Akçay Holiday Camp, co-founders of the union visited Çeşme, Antalya, and Akçay to find an affordable site. They made on-site investigations of a holiday camp in Akçay produced by Harb-iş and the Social Insurance Institution. (Figure 3.126)

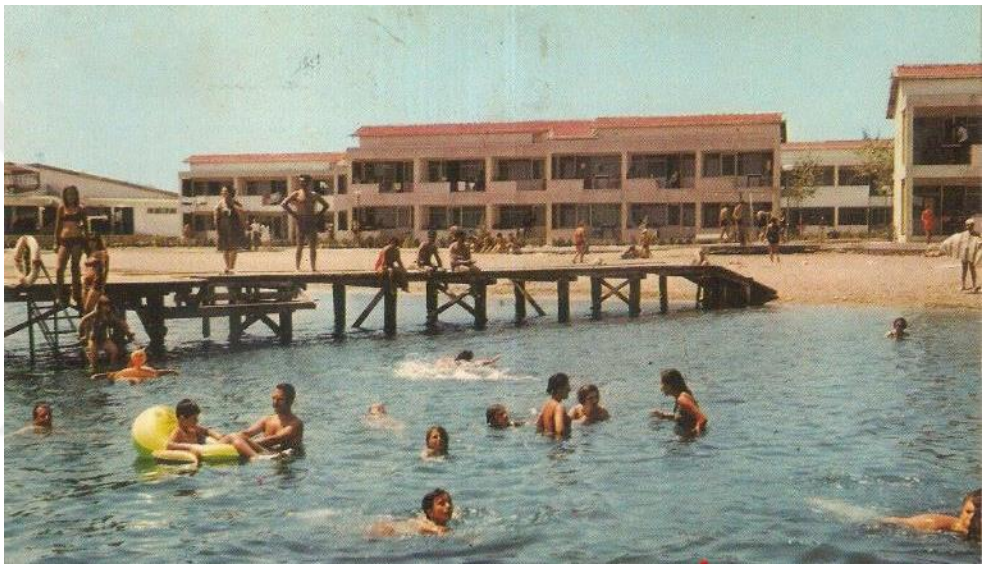


Figure 3. 126 The camp of Social Insurance Institution in Akçay

The trade union leaders bought a reed field measuring approximately 43 decares in the headland alongside the coastline. The union leaders preferred the prefabricated structures that they had been introduced to through technical visits and seminars in Bulgaria, and these constructional elements were sourced from a national firm.[615] The clubhouse's roof was produced in the railway factory and assembled by workers.[616] The camp consisted of accommodation units, a pool, a clubhouse, a restaurant, and a canteen. (Figure 3.127) The canteen and the clubhouse, which served as a dining and

[614] Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası, *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1967-1968*.

[615] E. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 11, 2020.

[616] A. A., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, January 11, 2020.

recreation hall, were located in the center. As in the industrial settlements, the living and collective spaces were divided, and the accommodation units were situated within the dense greenery. These living spaces consisted of four detached units that provided accommodation for forty families. Later, two-storey units were built with a capacity of twenty-eight families.

Figure 3. 127 Akçay Education and Recreation Camp (Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu)

The accommodation units were designed for families of three or four people and contained two rooms, a bathroom, and a kitchenette.[617] All residential units were designed to provide a sea view. The spatial layout resembled the cooperative houses in the urban environment. The camp was a visionary place for the organized workers to explore themselves as leisured elites outside the industrial city. The holiday camp was comfortable and healthful in accordance with the perspectives of modern society.

[617] O. E., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, February 21, 2020.

Set in nature with sunlight and fresh air, the camp provided healthful outdoor exercise and relaxation.

The camp could also host educational and recreational events and activities. The collectivity produced by the workers' organization was made manifest in the holiday camp through the experience of collective living and the intimacy between workers. The groups staying in the camp were determined according to shop floor dynamics and represented an extension of the shop floor collectivity.

Railway workers, who were together in their early training, on the shop floor, and in the cooperative neighborhood, collectively went to these camps. Organized workers who lived in the housing cooperatives reserved the last session of the holiday camp for their joint vacation. The notion of "neighborhood" persisted even while on vacation. Serving as a second home or "transforming the ideas of home," summer camp could be considered an extension of the workers' living space and shop floor collectivity.[618]

By the agency of their own initiatives, the organized workers produced their own holiday facility, similar to those the state had provided for the technocrats. This camp was produced by the Railway Trade Union and intended solely for industrial workers. The process of making and vacationing at the camp thus allowed workers to experience themselves as actors with increasing agency compared to their privileged counterparts.

Taking a break from the industrial urban environment and spending time outdoors in nature was not only beneficial to workers' mental and physical health but also emerged as an annual routine for many workers. However, workers with weak organizational ties and peasant workers did not prefer to go to holiday camps.

[618] Ö. Meltem Gürel, "Seashore Readings: the Road from Sea Baths to Summerhouses in Mid-twentieth Century," 27-55.

3.2 Re-Production: Adjustment, Change and Interaction in the Agency of Industrial Subjects

Section 3.1 explored the production of space through an examination of diverse components of everyday life. Section 3.2 integrated these themes to provide a more inclusive understanding. Finally, this section focuses on the re-production of agency and explore two main aspects of this re-production:

1. The re-production of industrial actors in the urban environment
2. The re-production of industrial actors within the context of the national network

Each aspect is considered in terms of the setting and the actors. The former provides the necessary framework for understanding the actors, and the latter identifies the interactions between the actors and the space. As a result, the multi-faceted connectivity between the setting and the actors is uncovered.

This section examines adjustment, change, and interaction with regard to the agency of the industrial subjects in Eskişehir during the period from 1923 to 1980. Beyond the dominant role of statist industrialization, the industrial subjects formulated their own agency through social processes. This alternative framework challenges the conventional definition of industrial actors as state-produced agents and recognizes that these actors also re-produced agency in a more pluralistic way through adjusting, changing, and interacting with the statist processes.

Regarding this change, two main inquiries are essential to include. This section first explores agency in the context of social processes including migration, urbanization, modernization, and organization. Following that inquiry, this section seeks to identify the ways in which industrial actors were shaped collectively, temporally, and geographically through multiple changes.

Second, the study includes a multi-scalar approach, moving gradually from the urban to the national scale, while considering the industrial subjects as leading actors in the

urban-industrial development. In Eskişehir between 1923 and 1980, the urban-industrial environment fostered many interactions due to the city's local and national ties. In addition, a comparative approach is developed to understand the re-production of the various industrial actors in Eskişehir. Due to the complex network of social processes, the agency of actors differed from factory to factory, city to city, and time to time. Therefore, the particularities of the industrial subjects in Eskişehir are highlighted through discussions of the contextual developments in different periods and locations.

3.2.1 In the Industrial City

This sub-section first discusses the urban development of Eskişehir within diverse social processes and the significance of these processes. Second, the similarities and differences among the industrial actors are explained along with the ways their agency changed through industrialization, modernization, and urbanization. This network of relationships also led to alternative forms of agency for workers and organizations, forming a different model of agency beyond state centrism and singular subjectivity. This section is discussed the ways in which different industrial subjects shaped different collectivities.

3.2.1.1 The Making of the Industrial City between 1923 and 1980

3.2.1.1.1. The Emergence of Industry as a Culture

With the establishment of the new Republic, one of the main objectives was industrializing the whole country, beginning with selected small-scale Anatolian cities. Under a national development program, statist industrialization was used as an instrument to improve the economic independence of the new nation. This industrial vision emerged in Eskişehir, and its significant role was underlined by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the new nation: "Eskişehir must be an industrial city. Here the smoking chimneys should rise within the economic model of the nation. Plan your

actions accordingly."[619] Many preconditions made Eskişehir a proper location for industrialization, such as the existence of railway transport, an alternative transportation network, and an enterprising immigrant population. This immigrant population differentiated Eskişehir from other Anatolian cities. These immigrants had settled in Eskişehir in the nineteenth century and were more adaptable to the industrialization process due to their entrepreneurial and artisan roots.

The development of statist industrialization in Eskişehir offered not only technological and economic progress, but also a fundamental social change based on new ideas, visions, and social relations. Thus, the state-owned factories in Eskişehir initiated a mental transformation through industrial mechanisms such as the division of labor, scientific management, time regulation, discipline, and control. These industrial routines and practices brought about social change.

The new production practices and methods produced collectivity, solidarity, and joint practices in the industrial workspace under a new collective mentality. This change introduced a manufacturing culture with new dynamics, practices, and mentalities emerging from everyday industrial conditions. Thus, the factories not only introduced workers to new industrial methods and techniques but also cultivated industrial actors socially and intellectually through continuous training in the workspace, living spaces, and collective spaces. This understanding was underscored in an interview with the Eskişehir sugar factory's former manager: "Industry in Eskişehir offered a cultural education that led to civilization, progress, and change. The employee learned to cultivate everything in terms of the manufacturing culture introduced by the industrial establishments. The industry emerged as a training platform and mechanism not only in industrial production but in every aspect of life."[620]

The principles and procedures of industrial order were articulated most obviously in the factory. The roles and labor relations established in the production process extended to living and collective spaces in diverse ways. Consequently, statist

[619] This statement was made during Atatürk's visit to Eskişehir on November 20, 1937: Perihan Sarıöz, *Bir Zamanlar Eskişehir* (İstanbul: Esbank Yayınları, 1997), 123.

[620] D. A. K., in a recorded interview with the author, Eskişehir, July 5, 2020.

industrial development changed the industrial city and its subjects through technological and social means.

Industry generated a new network of social relations that transcended manufacturing practices and emerged as a culture. Sociologist Herbert Blumer stated that this social and cultural change occurred in "the structure of occupations and positions, the regulations of industrial work, networks of relationships, production of goods, and patterns of income."[621] Similarly, historian Eric Hobsbawm defined industrialization as a social change and referred to Andrew Ure's description of a new organism, which he called "a vast automaton."[622] This organism was defined as "a combination of specialized machines with specialized human labor." Industrial development began to change all spheres of life in Eskişehir: labor organization, social relations, living spaces, living standards, collectivity, institutions, social objectives, and ideals.

3.2.1.1.2. The State-Owned Factories in Eskişehir as a Part of the Modernity Project

Beginning in 1923, social change was considered a significant instrument for the cultural, economic, and political ideals of the state. The statist industrialization associated with Westernization, modernization, and development was an inherently modern concept offering contemporary, progressive, and innovative ideals.[623] The state challenged established traditions and introduced industrialization and modernization to transform every aspect of life.

This modernist program manifested itself through the design of the statist factories in Eskişehir. As the precursor of modern architecture in the urban environment, these

---

[621] Blumer, *Industrilization as an Agent of Social Change: A Critical Analysis (Communication & Social Order)*.

[622] This subject was defined as "a vast automaton composed of various mechanical and intellectual organs."

Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures: or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain* (NY: Kelley, 1967), 13-14.

[623] Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day* (NY: The New Press, 1999), 17.

factories were designed by prominent modernist architects: Sabri Şekip Akalın, Bekir İhsan Ünal, and Fritz August Breuhaus. Republican modernist doctrines were represented in the formal elements: a formal canon of cubic forms, reinforced concrete, and glass conveying functionality, practicality, simplicity, economy, and rational construction.

Industry was used as a spatial and social mechanism for the production of the modern social formation, ideal, and mentality. These industrial settlements were created through a national design program. The state intended the living and collective spaces provided by the factory to transform industrial actors into modernized and industrialized employees. Thus, a new attitude toward life was formed by establishing factories in line with the modernity project of the state. Urban planner and sociologist İlhan Tekeli summarized four aspects leading to the development of modernity: capitalist relations, a modern approach to knowledge, the cultivation of free individuals through training, and a new organizational structure of society.[624] These aspects were associated with the state's agenda for the newly-formed industrialization: "spreading the modern way of living to the remote regions of the country, training employees for professional specialization, producing a manufacturing culture by institutionalization, and allowing them to live as free individuals."[625]

In accordance with the state's modernity project, the factories in Eskişehir produced living and collective spaces to encourage modern daily living habits. Parallel to modernization, industrialization brought about new industrial techniques and methods, breaking the link to the traditional way of living. For example, the clubhouse, a collective space included in all of the state-owned factories in Eskişehir, introduced modern leisure activity and secular collectivity. Unlike the traditional extended family model in the urban environment, the lodging blocks were designed according to the lifestyle of a modern nuclear family. These establishments produced not only new types of buildings but also new patterns of living and consuming. Thus, daily habits and practices of sports, nutrition, and dress were transformed for industrial employees

[624] İlhan Tekeli, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001), 11-12.

[625] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *C.H.F. Nizamnamesi ve Programı* (Ankara: T.B.M.M. Matbaası, 1931), 32-34.

through industrialization. The growth of industrialization also had an important role in the development of the urban environment. The modern educational institution, the vocational school, was founded in the urban environment to train industrial workers.

3.2.1.1.3. Industrialization, Urbanization and Change in Eskişehir

The state-owned factories introduced up-to-date mechanization and technology, economic growth, the replacement of small workshops with expansive production facilities, a decrease in the number of agricultural laborers, population flow from rural to urban areas, and changes in social practice and individual mentality.[626] The industrial development that emerged in the state-owned factories in Eskişehir extended to the urban environment through social processes. With this development, the city began to change in response to the notions and precepts of statist industrialization and the urban development it brought about. Industrialization was regarded as a major factor in the development of the industrial city that led the urban environment to evolve through diverse social processes. One significant social process was the urbanization that emerged in the course of industrialization.

Between 1923 and 1950, urbanization was directly related to statist industrialization and the process of modernization in Eskişehir. According to urban planner Ruşen Keleş, urbanization was not solely a movement of the population from rural to urban areas. Keleş defined urbanization more broadly as a social and cultural process that transformed the urban environment, the organizational hierarchy, and the division of labor and created new institutions, relations, and modes of living in line with industrialization and economic development.[627] In Eskişehir, the increased productivity of the expansive factories introduced changes in demographics, mobility, commerce, living conditions, and city planning.

These changes were significant in the production of modern services and institutions in the urban environment. In addition, a modern development plan was designed by

[626] Necdet Serin, *Türkiye'nin Sanayileşmesi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963), 5.

[627] Ruşen Keleş, "Kentleşme ve Türkçe," *Dilbilim Araştırma Dergisi* 6 (1995): 1-5.

the French urban planner J. Lambert in 1938 and 1939. This urban plan was the manifestation of the Republican strategy that aimed to recreate the urban environment based on a new perspective on the production of modern cities. Although this plan was not implemented, it formed the basis of rational and modern planning in response to industrial development. Along with these plans, the modern institutional center of the city was founded between 1942 and 1949. The institutional buildings surrounding Atatürk Street were part of this center. As the state transformed citizens by means of the modern urban environment, the emerging city was recreated as a modern urban space under the spatial policies of the Republican regime.

During these years, the housing shortage was addressed through individual efforts rather than planned settlements. The station and its surroundings were the most vibrant region in terms of commerce and consumption. With this modern institutional center and main transportation network, the city began to emerge during this period. Urban development was based on the establishment of governmental institutions and individual construction until the 1950s.

The urban setting and its social, cultural, and political context began to change in the 1950s, following the war. New industrial development strategies based on liberal and market-oriented policies were produced by the newly elected Democrat Party. In that context, developments such as mechanization in agricultural production, foreign aid, significant growth in the labor force, and rural-to-urban migration emerged. The cosmopolitan demographic structure of Eskişehir flourished after the 1950s under statist industrialization and the population increases caused by social mobility from rural to urban areas and immigration from the Balkan States.

Industrialization, modernization, and urbanization each developed in particular ways based on the time period and the social, cultural, and political context. The social changes of the 1950s appeared amidst the national and international currents of the post-war era, which produced particular forms of social processes that were different from former approaches. Industrialization after 1950 differed from “earlier ideals of national self-sufficiency and industrialization” and evolved with a liberal approach to

the transfer of ideas.[628]

The democratic approach extended the freedom of expression and led to the rise of workers' organizations. Workers' organizations emerged in the 1950s as political institutions involved in spatial production in the urban environment. In contrast, the Eskişehir deputies from the Democrat Party concentrated on construction activities. Industrial workers became involved in these political platforms as the formation of organizations led to their increasing rights. Thus, labor problems, urban development, and housing issues began to be discussed as part of the political platform.

Towards the 1960s, the labor movement emerged through the right to strike. Accordingly, housing cooperatives, consumer cooperatives, and workers' shelters were produced in the urban environment. Trade union buildings, halls, and editorial rooms appeared in the city center as free spaces for the expression of organized workers' agency. With the growth of the labor population, rapid urbanization, and organizational power, the unionist industrial workers in Eskişehir began to find their own voice and experience organized collectivity. The housing deficit in Eskişehir increased as a result of the remarkable growth of the labor population after the 1950s. Housing cooperatives for industrial workers emerged as a common model for producing housing in the urban environment. Workers spread to the urban environment as an indication of their organizational collectivity. This model differed from the earlier individual spatial production of squatter settlements and immigrant houses.

Industrialization gradually changed the character of the settlements in Eskişehir. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the neighborhoods were divided by ethnicity among the non-Muslim, local, and immigrant populations. During the Turkish War of Independence, the non-Muslim population left the city, and neighborhoods were divided between local and immigrant populations. In contrast, when industrial workers settled in the city between 1923 and 1950, they reproduced the hierarchical divisions of the factory in the urban space. The workers settled in diverse living spaces from

[628] Sibel Bozdoğan, "Democracy, Development and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," in *Modernism in the Middle East*, ed. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 117-39.

which they interacted with the urban environment, including squatter settlements, disaster housing, and immigrant housing. These living spaces began to produce a new fragmentation in the urban environment that was not based on ethnicity. When the workers and their organizations arose in the 1950s, they held their claims to the urban environment, extending the agency they had initially formed on the shop floor. After the 1950s, profession-based segregation emerged in the production of industrial worker housing cooperatives around the factories in addition to housing cooperatives for other professions. (Figure 3.128) As a different professional group, police officers also established their own cooperatives in the northwest of the city. As a result, the industry formed and transformed the character of settlements in the city.

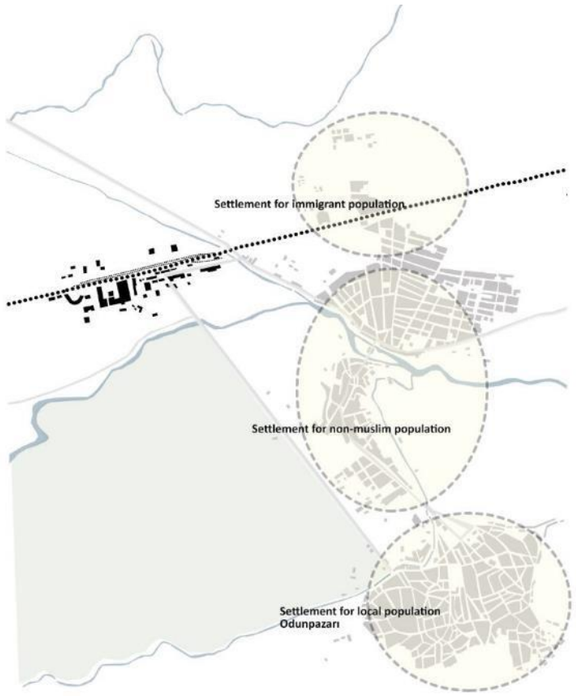
İlhan Tekeli identified the factors that led to rapid urbanization in the 1950s as insufficient housing production, infrastructure problems, and unplanned growth.[629] Due to Eskişehir's political connection with the Democrat Party, construction activities increased in number and typology, and the first development plan was implemented in 1952. Architectural historian Sibel Bozdoğan described the context of this period as "US-exported modernization largely derived from the institutions and values of American society -through increased literacy, increased mobility, a new spirit of enterprise, the use of communication technologies, urbanization, and other such indicators."[630] Within this context, the urban development in Eskişehir consisted of highway construction, residential settlements for the growing urban population, and a commercial-financial center with modern institutions.

The governmental and institutional buildings of the late 1940s were replaced by commercial and financial institutions after 1950, and a new "modern" was introduced to the city. Architectural historians Esra Akcan and Sibel Bozdoğan stated that

> Whereas early republican modernism manifested itself primarily in austere-looking government complexes, educational buildings, and cultural institutions, cutting-edge architectural production after 1950 was most visible

[629] İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 108.

[630] Sibel Bozdoğan, "Democracy, Development and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s," 118.



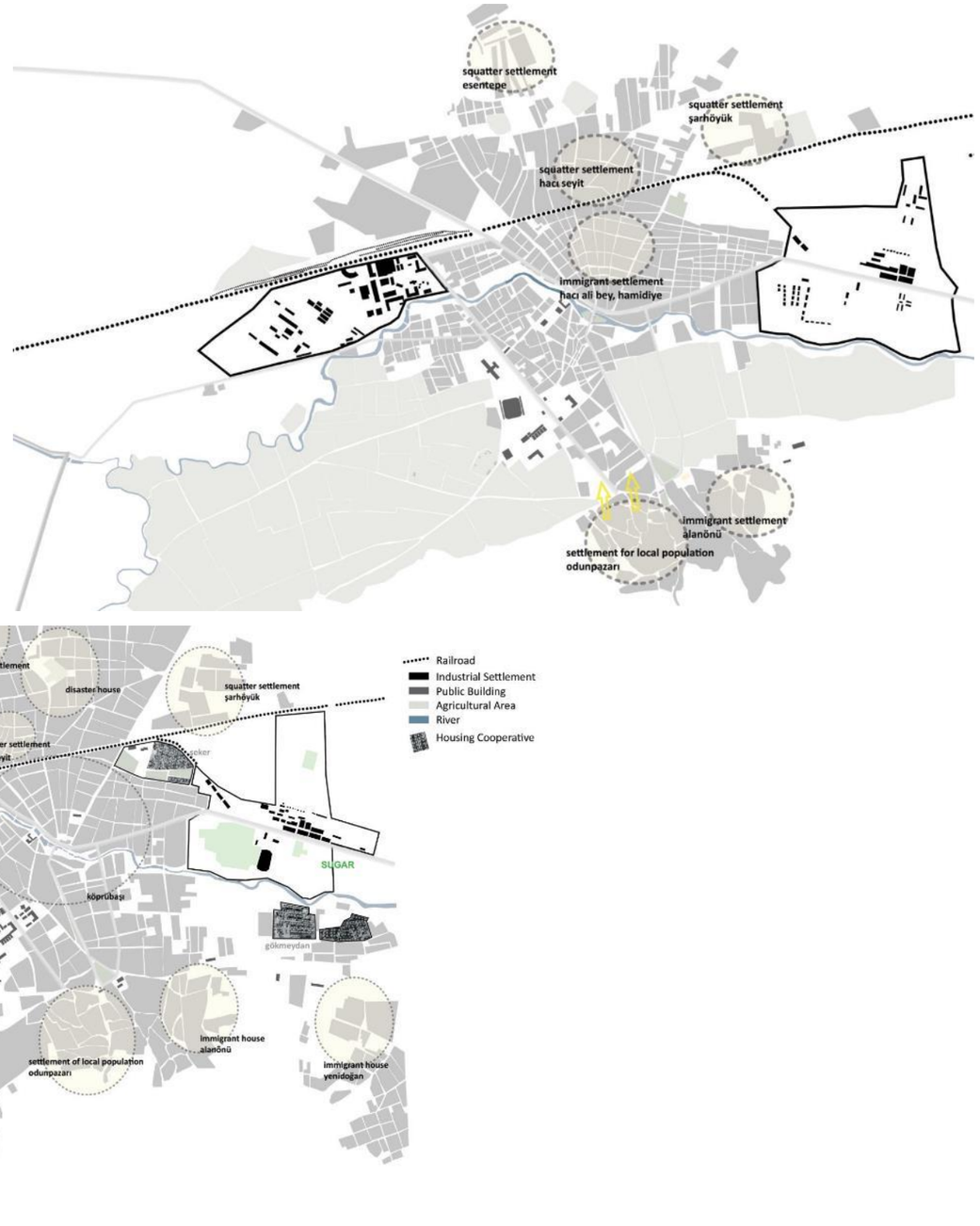


Figure 3. 128 Map showing the residential settlements in urban development -beginning of the 1900s, 1950 and 1980 (adapted by the author from aerial maps dated 1950 and 1975 and other urban plans)

> in hotels, offices, shopping centers, commercial and recreational projects, with taller apartment blocks emerging as the dominant residential typology.[631]

This statement clearly defined this period as "the second major phase of Turkish modernity" as differentiated from the modernity in the early Republican period.

This period indicated the transition from state-led development to a liberal orientation. After the 1960s, a corporate relationship to the global economy was introduced, which aimed to increase consumption by import substitution. Industrialization in Eskişehir produced a market-oriented perspective that espoused commercial relations, consumers, and an increase in income. In downtown Köprübaşı, a range of financial and commercial services developed along with the values and practices of the capitalist market and commercialization. This change also introduced new patterns of institutional and social relations that produced new spatial typologies in downtown, such as hotels, office blocks, and financial institutions.

The urban environment was more than a physical environment; it underwent several social transformations between 1923 and 1980. This timeframe can be categorized in terms of two major periods of social development. In the first period, between 1923 and 1950, statist industrialization in Eskişehir was the main factor that brought about diverse social processes, including modernization, urbanization, and migration. The state-owned industrial establishments introduced modern services that did not emerge from the urban environment. Thus, the daily experience of modern life was initially produced by state-led development. The state also produced modern urban spaces, including the governmental and institutional center in the city. The industrial subjects' collectivity, which centered around socializing, consumption, and sports, was based on statist spatial production. In the second period, after 1950, the urban environment was developed through urbanization, modernization, and commercialization. Along with this development, industrial workers and their organizations emerged as actors in the urban environment who produced and used urban spaces.

[631] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion, 2012), 107.

3.2.1.2. The Agencies of the Industrial Subjects

Initiated by industrialization, the period between 1923 and 1980 in Eskişehir was marked by complex social processes such as modernization and urbanization. Industrialization offered new manufacturing methods, practices, and skills and led to social processes that enabled industrial subjects to re-produce agency by adjusting, changing, and interacting. Social processes and the accompanying web of social interactions in the industrial setting produced multiple agencies.

This actor-based discussion seeks to understand how these social processes were able to produce multiple agencies in the industrial setting. The industrial setting contained two platforms. The first one included the factory, and the second included the urban environment. This section also outlines the different collectivities shaped by multiple industrial actors. First, workers participated in a collectivity that was imposed from above by the state, shaped by societal ideals. Second, workers initiated new forms of collectivity, shaped by multiple agencies. This section places the agency of industrial workers at the center of the discussion while also including the technocrats.

3.2.1.2.1. Adjustment: The Technocrats and State-Produced Collectivity

Industrial workspace, like industrial machinery, was produced as a technologic, rational, and efficient mechanism. As catalysts for further socio-cultural and economic development, factories provided a break from the conventional concept of time and gave new meanings to social interactions, precepts, and norms. Industrial production required that a "systematic human type helps to form a more systematic world." Accordingly, this systematic world was formed by the standardization of architecture, time, and subjects. Such systematization could only be produced by regulated, disciplined, and rational employees using new modes of industrial practice and routines conforming to "universal collaboration" and "universal methods" of scientific management.[632]

[632] Mcleod, "Architecture or Revolution": Taylorism, Technocracy, and Social Change," 137.

Under its modernity project, the state aimed to produce a new unified nation consisting of uniform individuals with similar visions and ideals. Following this vision, the state intended to eliminate the divisions among social groups with regard to religion, ethnicity, locality, and tradition.[633] The state-owned factories in Eskişehir presented similar objectives as they were the manifestation of the newly established nation-state. The modern state intended to revitalize industrial men and women through their interactions with the modern spaces in the factory, which conformed to the ideals, values, and beliefs of the new Republic. The state transferred its ideals through the design by the Bureau of Construction working under the head offices of the state-owned factories.

The state intended to cultivate an ideal process for industry by employing various spatial tools and mechanisms and focusing on industrial training, pre-production route, workplace dynamics, and routines to constitute an integral whole in the workspace. This spatial production was an indication of the national program of industry in three of the state-owned factories. The transformative role of the state was also produced by the living and collective spaces of the factory. In order to form modern industrial employees, spaces for living and collectivity were provided, including lodging blocks, clubhouses, and sports facilities. Between 1923 and 1950, the factory introduced modern living standards and habits that did not exist in the city.

However, the top-down and state-centric industrialization and modernization that developed between 1923 and 1950 did not provide the same welfare standards for all of its subjects in the factory. The first reason for this was that it was difficult to find financial resources for such a great number of industrial employees. Second, the state did not want workers to live together and form a collective unity that would lead to labor struggles and disputes. Therefore, the state did not produce living spaces in the factory where workers could live together. Instead of offering the workers' lodging blocks where they could collectively organize, the main strategy was to provide living and collective spaces for the technocrats who could be more adjustable to the modern factory. As industrialization introduced dichotomies between rural and urban,

[633] Uğur Tanyeli, "Erken Cumhuriyet'te Mimarlık ve "Modernite Projesi" veya Türkler ile Yabancılar," *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 89 (Fall 2003): 159-167.

mythological time and industrial calendar, and traditional and modern, technocrats, as the members of the labor aristocracy, were the group most able to adapt to these changes. The technocrats were used to modern living habits, as they migrated from large cities, trained in foreign countries, and received higher education in large cities. Due to their transformative role and limited number, these privileged services were provided for the technocrats, who could transfer industrial culture and social norms to workers. As further evidence of their privileged position, regulatory and disciplinary mechanisms such as the dress code, supervision within the factory gate, and pre-production route, were not applied for the technocrats. Lodging blocks, produced with modernist notions of design and family life, were initially offered to this group. Modern spaces for living and collectivity were integrated into the factory for the purposes of work and leisure time.

The close tie between housing and collectivity led to the formation of modern routines and habits in the factory, such as formal ceremonies, celebrations, and family gatherings. Therefore, the factory formed an intimate neighborhood instituted by collectivity among administrators, engineers, and technicians, who held similar status within the factory hierarchy.

This state-produced collectivity was strengthened by the technocrats' similar education level, close workplace relationship, and modern lifestyle. Accordingly, the technocrats dominated the collective spaces of the factory. With its collective services, the lodging block turned into an elite object reserved for the technocrats as privileged industrial actors.

The interactions between work, living, and collective activities formed multiple interconnections with spaces for the technocrats who lived inside the factory. The technocrats held a romantic vision of creating the factory in a garden by the provision of their work, living, and collectivity. According to the technocrats, the facilities, which included residential units, a clubhouse, and a restaurant, offered a modern settlement where they could spend their time with those like them. At the same time, this introverted settlement offered a modern lifestyle that conformed to the labor hierarchy. Thus, the technocrats became so attached to this modern and introverted

way of living that there was no need to interact with the urban environment. The modern everyday was introduced to these actors as a part of manufacturing culture. Working, living, and socializing in the factory, the technocrats mostly represented the ideal type of industrial subjects that the state intended to produce: "a new type of man suited to the new type of work."[634] As educated, modern, and disciplined individuals, they represented the ideals of the state.

3.2.1.2.2. Change: Industrial Workers and Multiple Collectivities

> A factory is not simply a well-oiled machine, nor an architectural set piece, but a complex social structure.[635]

Although an organic unity in the workspace began to be produced by the manufacturing culture among industrial employees working under one roof, the industrial subjects began to emerge as plural entities. The determining factors for this diversity were their place of origin, educational level, role in the labor division, organizational level, and use of living and collective spaces in the factory. This diversity brought about multiple agencies. Thus, this study considered the industrial subjects as plural entities produced by racial, educational, organizational, hierarchical, professional, and skill-based divisions. This plurality requires an inclusive understanding of how these actors internalized industrial production and the modern living and collectivity it brought about.

The industrial workers were plural entities, and their adaptation to industry differed according to their place of origin and their role in the labor division. Industrial workers in Eskişehir had been rural peasants, urban farmers, and immigrants. Their roles as laborers were mostly determined according to these origins: rural peasants became seasonal workers, and immigrants became permanent workers. As industrialization introduced new rhythms of work, new labor dynamics and relationships, and new ways of inhabiting spaces, workers adapted to industrialization and modernization differently based on their different origins. As industrial workers did not have

[634] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1978), 286.

[635] Darley, *Factory*, 134.

industrial training, they encountered industrial dynamics and practices while working in the factory, in contradiction to the technocrats.

The workers who found adaptation most difficult were seasonal workers who came from the villages near Eskişehir. These seasonal workers were rural peasants recruited to work for a short period and then return to their villages during the harvest. These workers did not consider the industry as a professional field; they worked for subsistence. The temporary nature of their employment resulted in insufficient adaptation because the seasonal workers maintained close physical and social ties to their rural communities. These workers lived temporarily in the squatter settlements or factory pavilions, and their ties to rural villages prevented them from forming strong ties to the urban environment. Semi-peasant workers served as urban farmers in Eskişehir, migrating from surrounding Anatolian cities. Immigrant workers, who had migrated from foreign countries, were the most progressive group in terms of their adaptation to industrialization and modernization. Historian Kemal Karpat also emphasized that "conscious of their not-so-flattering status as 'muhacir,' they were struggling to climb the social ladder by accumulating wealth, changing occupations and seeking to resettle in more prosperous areas. Some had already moved to towns and cities as had many of the long established villagers of Anatolia."[636]

For industrial workers, the interactions between work, living, and collectivity formed diverse interconnections with space. Lodging blocks were provided for a few technical workers who were needed round-the-clock. Since the labor hierarchy on the shop floor was reflected in the living spaces of the factory, workers could not benefit from living spaces reserved for technocrats. The lack of sufficient lodging blocks led many workers to live in diverse regions of the city between 1923 and 1950. The factory's collective spaces also differed according to status: technocrats had access to spaces with extensive amenities while workers' access was limited. While the technocrats used the living and collective spaces in daily life, the industrial workers used them for special events. Their main place of interaction was limited to the workspace. The industrial subjects worked collectively in the workspace, but experienced segregation

[636] Kemal Karpat, "The Genesis of the Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* no. 1 (2004), http://www.ejts.org/document54.html.

in their use of living and collective spaces. According to the interviews, the workers, who had separate dining halls and resting areas, did not feel comfortable sharing living and collective spaces with the technocrats. Technocrats, who the state expected would disseminate modern values and lifestyle, could not fulfill this role and transfer their experiences to workers.

Between 1923 and 1950, the city did not offer a full range of services in terms of living and collective spaces beyond the factory. The state designed modern governmental and institutional buildings as an expression of the Republican city. Of special significance to industrial workers, the vocational school was constructed in 1944. However, although workers settled in squatter settlements and immigrant houses, industrial workers' direct involvement with the urban space was limited during this period.

After the 1950s, the everyday practices in the urban space were transformed by construction, commercial and financial institutions, and housing settlements. Modern commercial and financial services emerged in the urban environment. This evolution added another layer to the experiences of daily living and collectivity inside the factory. This layer was produced by the social processes in the urban environment, and accordingly, different agencies for workers began to form.

Workers' initial roles were produced in the workspace. Despite their diverse origins, the daily production routines gradually led to the development of a workspace collectivity based on physical proximity and the fact that the workers had similar challenges, training, and status. After the 1950s, the similar visions, values, and objectives shaped by solidarity and joint practices in the workspace formed a new collective mentality among workers. Through this collectivity, some of the workers came together to form trade unions and other organizations to emphasize particular experiences, values, and actions.

The workers' organizations in Eskişehir emerged as a determining factor that changed the roles of industrial workers. In the 1930s and 1940s, there were no serious attempts by workers to become organized. The trade unions were the first organizations that

shaped workers' consciousness and activism. These trade unions were a response to the formation of workers' organizations at the national level, the hierarchical differentiation between technocrats and workers, and the limited access to living and collective spaces in the factory.

Generally, labor historians in Turkey have claimed that workers reacted to their social conditions in the form of high turnover rates. But in Eskişehir, workers took advantage of a more active form of labor consciousness than labor turnover. This labor consciousness played an important role in the struggles to improve social and spatial conditions concerning labor, and their active struggle earned workers the right to strike, regulations regarding work time and days off, improved food service and nutrition, and the construction of new living and collective spaces including housing cooperatives, trade unions and halls, and holiday camps. This organization and activism linked workers' consciousness to a larger social and economic struggle, differentiating it from class consciousness involving political struggle. In this respect, it can also be distinguished from the working class consciousness shaped by political struggle in the USA and UK. In fact, journalists, trade unionists, and other intellectuals writing in the Eskişehir workers' journals counseled that in order to achieve unity, political approaches should be avoided.

This organized collectivity provided significant benefits and allowed workers to represent themselves to the factory management and the state while contriving strategies for resistance. This development formed a kind of consciousness and action against managerial procedures and methods among organized workers after the 1950s. The journals evince that the workers' initiatives produced positive results between 1960 and 1980 and some positive effects between 1950 and 1960. Between 1950 and 1960, the intellectual infrastructure of worker consciousness started to form. At that time, workers' leaders were dependent on politicians and factory management for the formulation and enactment of social policies concerning labor. However, they undertook the struggle for change in their journals and through political channels. Through their relationships with the Democrat Party deputies, the legislative proposal on the expansion of workers' housing credit for the state railway establishment, a law specific to Eskişehir cooperatives, was enacted in 1961 and provided political support

for cooperative houses. The names of Eskişehir deputies were also found on other laws regarding labor issues.

However, the organized workers also wrote in their journals that there was a delay in such practices. After the 1960s they had the right to organize strikes, which furthered their formulation and implementation of social policies. The workers, who had been dependent on politicians to solve their problems between 1950 and 1960, could now organize strikes, boycotts, and unionist marches as described in Section 3.1.3.1. It was those worker activities that forced factory administrators and politicians to discuss, formulate, and enact social policies relating to labor. Workers stated in the interviews that between 1960 and 1980, their social conditions got even better than those of officials because they had the power to secure their own rights.

However, the "mode of behavior typical of modern workers" and the "modern worker identity"[637] were not completely shaped by the state due to the differences in the workers' places of origin, educational levels, roles in the labor division, and organizational levels, as previously mentioned. The activism and consciousness cultivated was not only collectivity covering all workers under one roof. But there was a collective consciousness among organized workers due to the organizational network they created. During this period, all industrial workers were legally required to join the trade unions. However, the organized workers mentioned here were actively engaged in organizational activities and devoted themselves to trade unions. These workers united with a single and representative collectivity to improve their social and economic status and working and living conditions.

The union leaders were significant figures in bridging the gap between actual and ideal consciousness. In their journals, they explored international trade union activities and discussed their visions of an ideal workers' movement. As Eric Hobsbawm stated,

> The working class… consists almost by definition of people who cannot make things happen except collectively… But even their collective action requires

[637] Can Nacar, "Our Lives Were Not as Valuable as an Animal": Workers in State-Run Industries in World-War-II Turkey," *IRSH* 54 (2009): 147.

> structure and leadership to be effective. Without a formal organization for action…, they are unlikely to be effective; without one which is capable of exercising hegemony… they will remain as sub-altern as the common people of the pre-industrial past.[638]

These leaders with their organized network formed a different level of consciousness by reading, researching, writing, networking, and producing about labor issues. These workers were trying to understand and spread trade union activities that were also new to them.

While the organized workers and their organizations increased after the 1950s, they held their claims to the urban environment and extended the agency that they had initially formed in the workspace. The urban space had already been segregated in terms of the labor hierarchy before 1950. The workers settled in diverse living spaces, such as squatter houses or immigrant houses, and interacted with the urban environment to a limited extent. After the 1950s, the urban environment was developed beyond the state-produced spaces of the former period. Within this urban development, workers increasingly interacted with the urban environment. In particular, organized workers searched for new potential spaces in the urban environment in which to express their collectivity. The organized industrial workers produced spaces in the urban environment such as housing cooperatives, trade union buildings and halls, and labor markets, and expressed themselves as actors with significant agencies in spatial production. In the factory, the state controlled collectivity and relations, while outside of the factory, the workers were free to explore new interactions with the urban landscape. Their production in and interaction with the urban space also inverted the labor hierarchy. The workers' interaction with the urban environment was more dynamic and diverse compared to the technocrats.

However, the statist initiatives were not abandoned after the 1950s. The state produced governmental buildings in the urban centers and state-owned factories within the urban boundaries between 1923 and 1950. The state built Sümerbank Company Store in the financial center of the city. Sümerbank Company Store, a state-owned institution in an

[638] Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Class Consciousness in History," in *Aspects of History and Class Consciousness*, ed. Istvan Meszaros, (UK: Routledge & K. Paul, 1971), 14-15.

urban space, introduced consumption and marketing culture in line with the capitalist tendencies that emerged after the 1950s.

Organized industrial workers used political channels, expressed their agency, and made claims to the urban environment. Their perspective on statist industrialization began to change, and their role transformed from a passive audience and recipient to an engaged and organized actor. However, statist paternalism remained desirable for the technocrats, who benefited from the welfare services. While the technocrats continued to live in accordance with state-produced norms, workers shaped a double life as a result of the dichotomy between the factory and the urban environment.

While the factory was designed to express statist modernization, the urban environment was recreated by social change as a manifestation of urbanization, financial development, and modernization. Thus, the spaces in the factory that the technocrats used were "Architecture with a capital A "-the realm of high design and theory-". The spaces for workers in the urban environment were the product of both "Architecture" and also "architecture," which was "banal, mundane, and ordinary."[639] The state aimed to create the ideal mode of living using "Architecture" to design modern spaces. However, the interaction between "architecture" and industrial workers in the urban environment produced the multiple industrial subjects.

After the 1950s, a housing shortage emerged in the city. The unionist leaders solved the housing problem through cooperative development and introduced it to other workers. Compared to the workers' former living spaces, the cooperative design offered a shared living space produced by the organizational collectivity. This living model formed a neighborhood collectivity composed of workers from the same profession and rank in the workspace such as the technocrats had experienced in the state-owned factories since 1923. These state-owned settlements, which were designed without collective spaces, led workers to use the urban space rather than the factory. After the 1950s, the living and collective spaces in the factory became reserved for the

[639] Dell Upton, **"**Architecture in Everyday Life," 707- 708.

elite. Even the few technical workers living in the factory started to prefer housing cooperatives for their social comfort.

Ruşen Keleş defined the concept of "being urbanized" as the adoption of new behaviors, value systems, and ethos as a result of urbanization.[640] Industrial workers were urbanized through two spatial formations. The first was brought about by industrial workers living in housing cooperatives while interacting with the urban environment. The second was brought about by the organized workers' spatial production in the urban space. Trade unions formed the basis of both of these formations.

Not all workers were urbanized to the same extent. With their common past, the immigrant workers developed mutual assistance and living practices to survive in the urban environment. These common practices were associated with collective living, organization, and cooperation. Thus, immigrant workers had a leading role in workers' organizations and housing cooperative developments. The peasant and semi-peasant workers did not break their ties to the village. These workers did not prefer to form permanent ties to the urban environment and considered the urban environment as a place for subsistence rather than for living and collectivity. These workers, who were members solely due to the legal requirement, did not have active roles in workers' organizations.

Compared to workers in other service units, the shop floor workers were more collective due to their experience of industrial production practices. Since they made up a smaller proportion of the labor force, the workers in other service units did not work collectively in the way that the shop floor workers did. The particular characteristic of the worker cooperatives in Eskişehir was that they were established through trade unions and union leaders. Therefore, actors who had poor relationships with trade unions were not involved in workers' organizations such as housing or consumer cooperatives. As an exception, officials of the railway and sugar factories did establish housing cooperative developments that were not based on trade unions.

[640] Keleş, "Kentleşme ve Türkçe," 1.

While urbanization introduced advantages for industrial workers, it also led to negative effects. Due to increasing construction in the 1950s, rural areas turned into settlement areas as an outcome of urban growth, industrial development, and migration. Architect Meltem Gürel explained that "the undesirable products of urbanization were major reasons that moved people to rural areas to explore the then-unspoiled shores."[641] Urbanization in Eskişehir inspired extra-urban excursions and travel for workers who were exposed to these undesirable conditions. The technocrats were not subjected to these conditions while living in their factories in the garden. Thus, organized workers designed summer camps and out-of-town trips. Industrialization and urbanization not only transformed the local area but also led to the creation of new spaces for new purposes outside of the city.

These changes also shifted the conventional definition of industrial actors, which reduced their agency to the ideal type produced by the state. Along with the interplay in the industrial everyday, these actors had evolved to be complex industrial subjects. Although diverse industrial roles emerged through the division of labor, it was the expansion to the city that formed the multiple agencies of workers, who became organized, urbanized, consumerized, and progressives. Within that context, urbanization formed changing interrelationships in the factory workspace and in the living and collective spaces in the urban environment. These interactions gradually transcended their ties to urban space.

Organized industrial workers were significant figures in the workers' expansion to the urban environment. These workers improved themselves through their network of unions, print media, and meetings. They transferred their organizational knowledge and experience to other workers through workers' journals. Eight workers' journals were published between 1951 and 1965. Organized workers initially founded trade unions and later built trade union buildings and halls as free spaces in the urban environment.

[641] Gürel, "Seashore Readings: the Road from Sea Baths to Summerhouses in Mid-twentieth Century," 27-55.

These workers produced their urban spaces and expanded to the city due to their self-improvement and consciousness. The urban terrain had emerged from the dynamics of the workspace but was reshaped by the interactions and efforts of the unions. The trade union leaders also initiated housing cooperative for workers. These leaders discussed the poor conditions of workers' houses and had an accelerating role in improving workers' everyday lives in the urban environment. These workers were receptive to the changes in the urban environment that emerged through urbanization and consumerism. By the establishment of retail cooperatives and retail stores, they became consumers and sellers. Thus, led by organized workers, industrial workers spread across the urban environment searching for living and collective spaces, struggling for their organizations, and interacting with the social and cultural life of the city. This new subject differed from the ideal type, who was an obedient state-produced actor. Organized workers were shaped by self-expression, emancipation, and consciousness, which led to the production of workers' living and collective spaces. Through this production, workers began to position themselves as organized industrial subjects in the urban terrain and to evolve into urbanized and organized actors. (Figure 3.129)

For the technocrats, urban axes were been formed, whereas for workers, axes began to form between living spaces and factories. One of the most important axes was formed between the cooperative houses and Köprübaşı for urbanized workers.

The paternalist factories initially sought to promote social awareness, service, and welfare through the cultivation of services, habits, and activities. These functions and goals were extended to the city following the collectivity of the workers' organizations and the changes in consumption patterns. After the 1950s, the gap between the modern factory and the urban environment in terms of living and collective amenities began to close for industrial workers. In addition, the urban environment became more democratic for industrial workers as the hierarchical divisions established by the state dissolved.

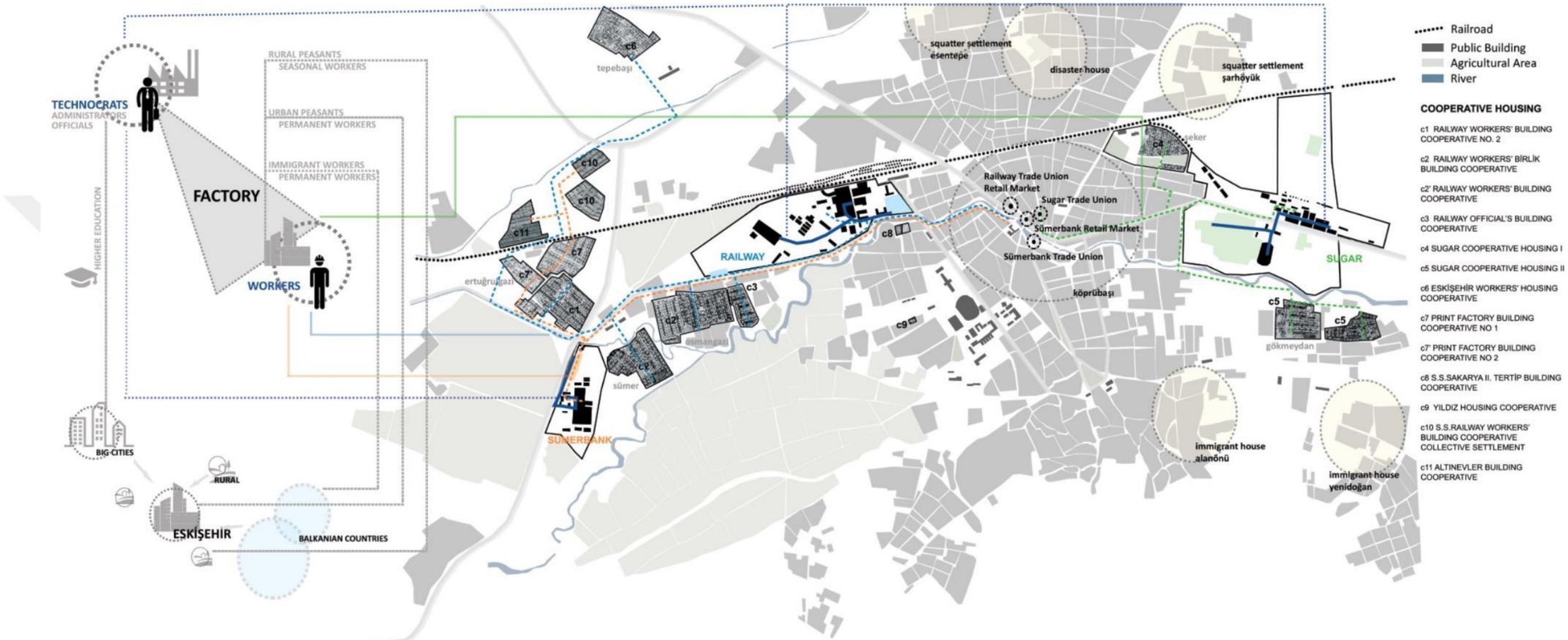


Figure 3. 129 Map showing the industrial subjects' use of spaces (adapted by the author from an aerial map dated 1975 and other urban plans)

3.2.1.2.3. Interaction: Factories of Railway, Sugar and Sümerbank

Under the Republic's modernity project, the work, living, and collective spaces were formed with a similar intent in Eskişehir's railway, sugar and Sümerbank factories. Workspaces were designed with the same norms, standards, and precepts that regulated industrial workers and included the same factory gates, pre-production areas, and training spaces.

The lodging blocks were designed to modern living standards and served the industrial subjects according to the hierarchical order. The same systematic approach appeared

in collective spaces. All factories offered clubhouses and sports services to all their subjects, but to different extents. These factories were produced as modern spaces intended to form ideal citizens for the state. While these services were provided for the technocrats as a part of industrial daily life, workers searched for their living and collective spaces in the urban environment. Thus, these factories, which all had very similar and standardized spatial production, formed a quasi-ideal type consisting of technocrats. However, the technocrats in different factories did not interact with each other because these were closed and self-contained industrial settlements, and these employees did not use the urban environment.

In different factories, workers developed different interactions with the urban environment. Railway workers took a leading role for workers' organizations, and accordingly the workers' expanded to the urban environment.

The first reason for this differentiation was the railway factory's vestibule school. Every factory cultivated its workers through the use of educational spaces and activities such as training halls, training courses, and employee transfers. However, the railway factory established an apprenticeship school that educated workers at a young age and maintained regular training. An apprenticeship school was also established in the sugar factory, operating for a short period of time. The apprenticeship training had particular significance in that it taught workers not only

industrial skills but also the manufacturing culture and mentality. Thus, workers began to be collectively industrialized at a young age.

The second reason was based on the origin of the workers. Workers in the railway factory mostly consisted of immigrants. The Sümerbank factory had immigrant workers as well. These workers were used to organizational models in their countries, they wanted to settle in their new space, and they were "so flattered to climb the social ladder;" therefore, they emerged as the leaders of workers' organizations. The first trade union established in the city was the Railway Trade Union. Through their journals and interactions, the organizational model was adapted by workers from the sugar and Sümerbank factories. In contrast, sugar factory workers mostly consisted of seasonal workers whose ties with their rural communities were not broken. Therefore, these workers did not need to struggle for their spaces in the urban environment. The state had also considered the adaptation problems and designed worker's pavilions for seasonal use in the sugar factory. These workers lived in an isolated location in the factory, with collective services separately designed for them. The state also considered the technocrats' privileged position and separated technocrats and seasonal workers in the spatial layout.

These differences between immigrant and seasonal workers were reflected in the growth of workers' organizations. With its expansive immigrant population, railway workers played a leading role in developing workers' organizations. The Railway Trade Union designed a trade union building with a labor market in the urban environment and a holiday camp in Akçay. These workers also actively represented themselves in print media and in communication with authorities. The sugar and Sümerbank factories, following the organizational attempts of the railway, established their own trade union halls. All trade unions, especially those of the railway and Sümerbank, had direct interactions with each other. As their factories were close to each other, the railway and Sümerbank workers had similar local problems, and they often worked together to solve these problems. Housing deficiency was one of these problems. Workers from the railway and Sümerbank factories established cooperative houses without the support of the factory, whereas the sugar factory initiated Sugar Housing Cooperative I by the provision of its land and design. But organized workers

produced their second housing cooperative themselves, following the cooperative model produced by the railway and Sümerbank factory workers.

3.2.2 Within National Diversity

Industrialization, as a social process, formed diverse agencies in the industrial subjects in different cities. This section explores the particularities of Eskişehir within the national context. By comparing Eskişehir with other cities, this section discusses how industrialized cities and their subjects evolved in different ways.

Kayseri and Karabük were selected for the comparison. The reasons for this selection were their similarities to Eskişehir, as they were both small-scale cities that were constructing the railway network, and they had established state-owned factories as part of the Republic's emerging industrial program. The other factor that made all three different from large cities was that they were not a part of the national network of commerce and finance.

The introduction of industrialization brought about similar transformations in these cities, such as rapid population growth, migration, urban development, and social change. Although similar processes emerged from the state-owned factories, the social changes brought about by industrialization developed their own unique characteristics in different localities between 1923 and 1980. These cases reveal the similarities and differences of the ways the urban environment and the industrial actors were produced through social processes.

The first sub-section compares urban development related to industrialization in Eskişehir, Kayseri, and Karabük. The second sub-section compares these industrialized cities and their industrialized subjects to Eskişehir.

3.2.2.1 Urban Development Related to Industry: Eskişehir, Kayseri, and Karabük

Along with the establishment of the Republic, one of Turkey's objectives was to establish modern industrialized cities as a part of the national network. The development of small cities was based on the establishment of statist industry. Eskişehir, Kayseri, and Karabük were the cities selected for industrialization. State-owned factories were established in Kayseri and Karabük, which were small settlements like Eskişehir. Through modernization and urbanization, industrialization brought about significant changes in the spatial, social, and demographic structure of these cities between 1923 and 1980.

The three cities evolved within a national program of statist industrialization between 1923 and 1950. In Eskişehir, three state-owned factories were founded during this period, as presented and analyzed in Section 2.1. Kayseri's industrial development began with the establishment of the airplane factory in 1926 and the Sümerbank textile factory in 1935, following the construction of the railway network in 1926. (Figure 3.130) In addition to these factories, a sugar factory was established in 1955. Before this industrial development, the city was agrarian and commercial, and the introduction of the railway brought an industrial character to the city.

Figure 3. 130 Kayseri Textile and Airplane Factory (SALT Research)

The iron and steel works in Karabük was founded as a state establishment by the General Directorate of Sümerbank Factories in 1937 and started production in 1939. (Figure 3.131)[642] Karabük Station was built over the Ankara-Zonguldak railway

[642] Gerhard Kessler, *Zonguldak ve Karabük'teki Çalışma Şartları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Enstitüsü Yayını, 1949).

network in 1937. Before the foundation of the factory, Karabük was a small settlement consisting of thirteen families with rural origins living in Öğlebeli village.[643]

Figure 3. 131 Karabük Iron and Steel Works (SALT Research)

Eskişehir, Kayseri, and Karabük began to experience rapid change due to statist industrialization and the Republic's modernity project. However, their responses to industrialization were different because of their historical, social, and cultural backgrounds. Kayseri and Eskişehir were significant settlements before the establishment of state-owned factories. Because of the railway network constructed in the late nineteenth century, Eskişehir had already started to transform into a city with modern daily practices. Kayseri was a commercial center due to its prominent location during the first decades of the twentieth century. Karabük was a small rural village consisting of sixteen families.

Urban development between 1923 and 1950 started with establishing the railway and state-owned factories in the three cities. The modern city of Kayseri began to be produced by the state-owned factories through the construction of the train station complex and additional social services, similar to Eskişehir. Along with its surrounding area, the train station emerged as a new urban space in the north of the city. Building in this region differed from the early traditional pattern of the city. In line with industrial progress, the first development plan was designed by Burhanettin Çaylak in 1933. (Figure 3.132) This development plan created İstasyon Street as an urban center due to its educational, commercial, and administration services. Along İstasyon Street, the network of public buildings along the boulevards and squares was

[643] Öğlebeli was a small quarter of the Safranbolu District.

Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, *Kuruluşu'nun XXV. Yılında Karabük (1937-1962)* (İstanbul: Türkiye Harsi ve İçtimai Araştırmalar Derneği Yayını, 1962), 11.

designed to reflect the new urban lifestyle and produce collective spaces where citizens could socialize. In addition to the traditional urban texture of Kayseri, a modern institutional center consisting of the government office, the governor's mansion (built in 1938), a People's House (built in 1941), the Girls' Institute (built in 1939), and the Military Sewing Center were designed along İstasyon Street.[644] This street, which extended from north to south, connected the city center to the Sümerbank textile factory. A new road between the airplane factory and the city center was also built, similar to İstasyon Street. (Figure 3.133)

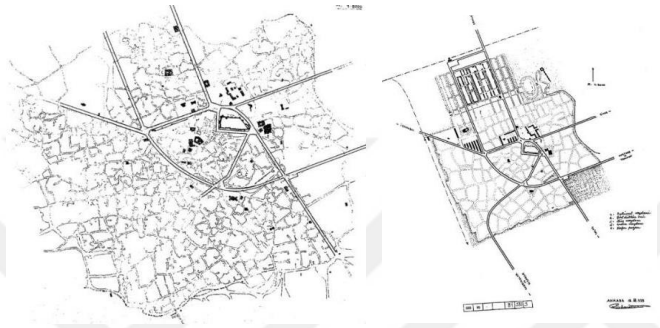


Figure 3. 132 The first development plan by Burhanettin Çaylak (Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 81/533, 07.11.1933).

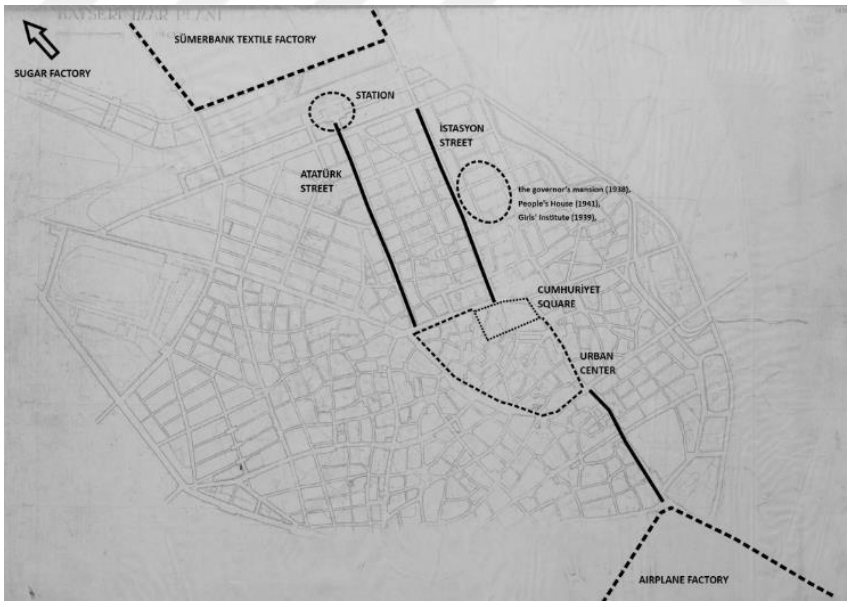


Figure 3. 133 Urban development between 1923 and 1950 (adapted by the author from the development plan dated 1945 and other urban plans)

[644] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 1742/1073, 05.10.1939.

Unlike Eskişehir and Kayseri, the emergence of Karabük was completely based on industry. Architect and urban planner Henri Prost prepared the urban development plan in 1938[645] and, as a company town model, integrated social, educational, and residential facilities within the industrial workspace. This newly emerging settlement was named *Yenişehir* (the new city). The directorate built a clubhouse, cinema, sports field, swimming pool, open spaces, and a hospital with 100 beds.[646] This factory-led development in Karabük indicated the dominant role of the Karabük iron and steel works in urban development and public life. The factory served as the major actor in the provision of municipal and public services. With shops, a few hotels, and small commercial units, İstasyon Street was developed without a development plan and described by economist Gerhard Kessler as "far from monotony and style in contrast to the *siedlungs* of the establishment."[647] During the establishment of the iron and steel works, some of the lands of Kapullu Village were expropriated to solve the accommodation problem of industrial employees.[648] A modern settlement for officers, technicians, engineers, and factory workers began to be produced in *Yenişehir.* (Figure 3.135) The development plan included houses for industrial employees designed by the Office of Construction and Real Estate under the Head Office, including a manager's house, official's house, worker's pavilion, Yüz houses, Dere houses, Çamlık houses, 38 houses (built in 1952) and Kübana houses (built in 1959). (Figure 3.134) These houses were mostly reserved for technocrats and skilled workers. Therefore, these planned settlements did not respond to the housing deficit for all workers, despite serious attempts that resulted in the formation of a transit living model and irregular settlements for workers. Transit workers consisted of peasants living in nearby villages, and their daily transportation was provided by shuttles.[649] Thus, these transit workers did not interact with the modern city.

---

[645] M. Eröz, "Ek: Karabük Hakkında İki Vesika". *Sosyoloji Konferansları Dergisi,* 2 (1962): 126.

[646] Demir Çelik Karabük, *Türkiye Demir Çelik Fabrikaları Müessesesi* (İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1948).

[647] Kessler, *Zonguldak ve Karabük'teki Çalışma Şartları*.

[648] G. Bükülmez, *Yenişehir Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Analitik Etütleri* (Karabük: Karabük Belediyesi, 1996).

[649] Fındıkoğlu, *Kuruluşu'nun XXV. Yılında Karabük (1937-1962).*

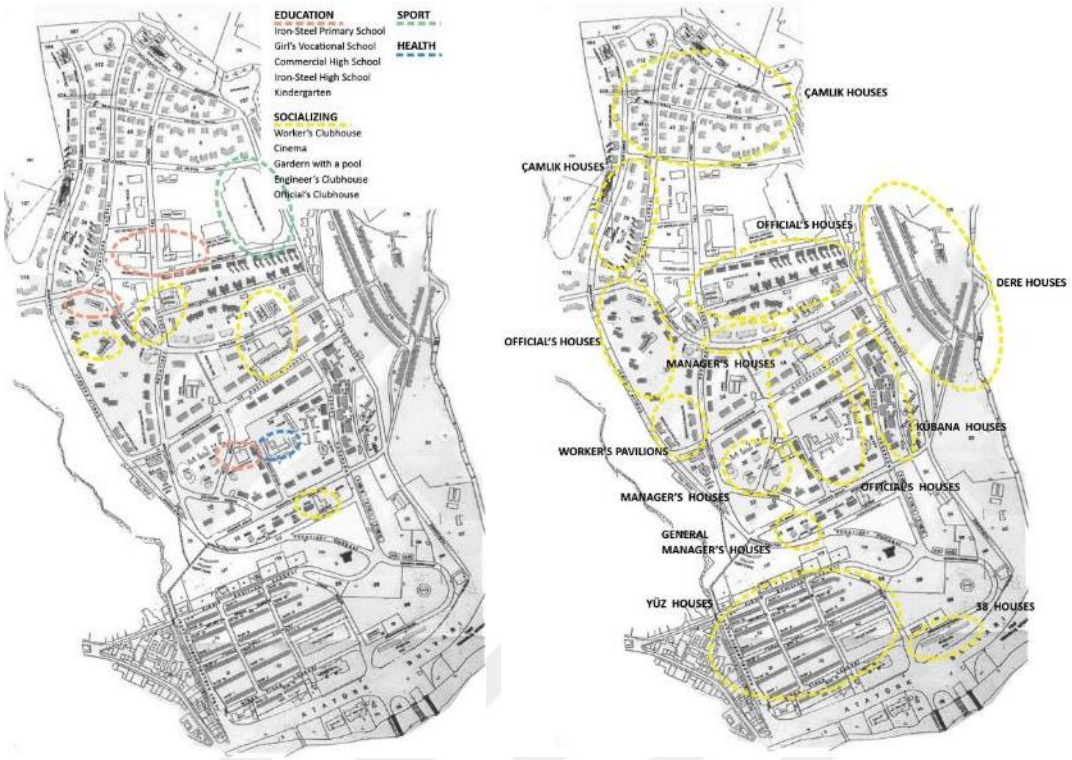


Figure 3. 134 *Yenişehir* (adapted by the author from the development plan and other urban plans) and houses for industrial employees in *Yenişehir* (adapted by the author from the development plan and other urban plans)

Figure 3. 135 *Yenişehir* (The Digital Archive of Karabük Municipality)

The three cities evolved within a national program of modernization in parallel with statist industrialization and urbanization. The urban environment in Eskişehir was developed through similar processes as in Kayseri. Between 1923 and 1950, Eskişehir and Kayseri experienced the establishment of state-owned factories on the periphery and institutional center, with a transportation network connecting traditional and modern neighborhoods. Geographer Reşat İzbırak emphasized that both of the cities

extended to the north around the station after the construction of the railway.[650] These developments connected the old and the new in these cities. Thus, the urban environment was influenced by the interaction between the factory and the city in Eskişehir and Kayseri. Unlike these two cities, Karabük emerged as a factory city. Using a company town model, the factory produced an urban environment in a small district instead of transforming a traditional city. The modern services offered by the factories in Eskişehir and Kayseri were introduced to the factory city in Karabük. Thus, modern collectivity was spread throughout the city.

During the 1930s, the urban development plans were designed for the three cities. French urban planner J. Lambert designed the first development plan for Eskişehir in 1938-1939, although this plan was not applied, as presented in Section 2.2.3. The first development plan for Kayseri by Burhanettin Çaylak and for Karabük by Henri Prost. Towards the 1950s, the urban development plans were designed for Eskişehir and Kayseri. The second urban development plan of Eskişehir was designed through the national project competition held by Provincial Bank in 1952. German urban planner Gustav Oelsner designed the first large-scale urban development plan of Kayseri in 1945. (Figure 3.136) According to modern planning decisions, a grid-iron plan with wide streets was introduced around the old city center. This plan created new residential areas in the 1950s, and these settlements were constructed around the factories.

Figure 3. 136 Urban development plan of Kayseri prepared by Gustav Oelsner in 1945 (SALT Research, Ülgen Family)

[650] İzbırak, "Eskişehir'le Çifteler Çevresinde Bir Coğrafya Gezisi," 507-521.

In Karabük, new industrial zones were planned between Karabük and Safranbolu. The planned settlements did not respond to the housing deficit, and unplanned living patterns appeared between 1939 and 1948. This development pushed urban expansion to the north and west. Rapid housing construction led to requests for a new urban development plan in 1941.[651] In 1948, the architect-engineers Nezihe and Pertev Taner prepared an urban development plan. (Figure 3.137) Parallel to the planning decisions of Henri Prost, new settlement areas with social facilities were added. A transportation network with two urban squares was proposed. However, this plan was not implemented due to a lack of agreement between the social and political platforms during the transition to the multi-party regime. As a result, urban development in the 1950s was extemporized due to land speculation, apartment development, infrastructural problems, and lack of a development plan. Factory housing production was limited, which led to the expansion of squatter settlements. In 1967, a new urban development plan was prepared by architect and urban planner Gündüz Özdeş, as part of an architectural competition held by the provincial bank. (Figure 3.138) This plan brought about the development of residential and industrial areas with transportation networks and increased the urban interaction between Karabük and Safranbolu.

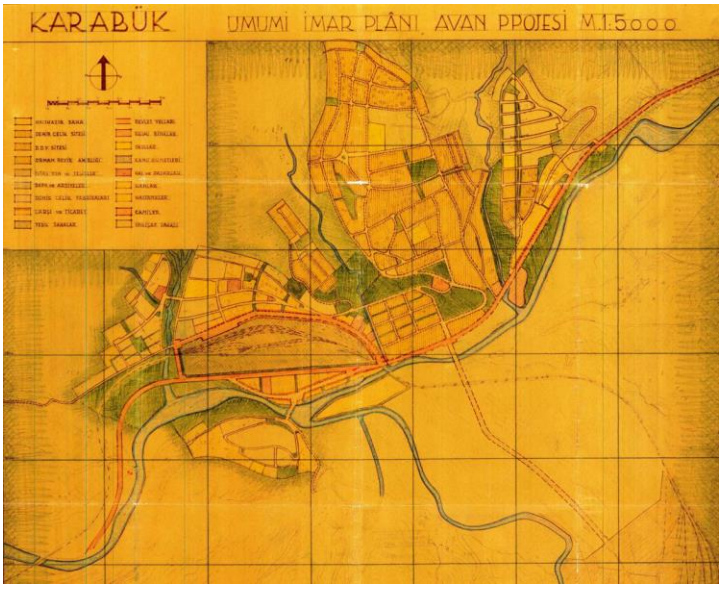


Figure 3. 137 Urban development plan prepared by Nezihe - Pertev Taner (The Digital Archive of Karabük Municipality)

[651] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 81/535, 11.11.1941.

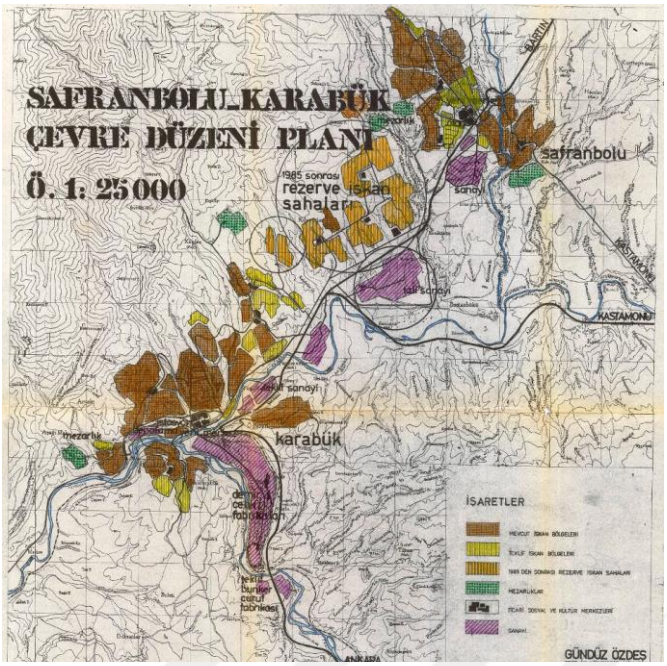


Figure 3. 138 Karabük land use plan in 1967 prepared by Gündüz Özdeş (The Digital Archive of Karabük Municipality)

When the three cities are compared in terms of urban planning, the 1930s and 1950s were critical milestones. The planned urban development of Eskişehir and Kayseri started and developed during these periods. Karabük, designed as a planned city in 1938, the second planned period started in 1967, later than the other two cities.

After the 1950s, the adaption to economic liberalism within the multiparty system began in Turkey. Alongside these economic developments, population growth, housing shortage, commercial and industrial developments emerged in these cities. Kayseri developed rapidly through the construction of new roads, commercial zones, and settlement areas. Between 1950 and 1980, industrial and commercial establishments were founded: the Kayseri flour factory, the Central Anatolia cotton textile factory (built in 1956), the Kayseri feed mill (built in 1968), the Meysu factory (built in 1970), and the Saray carpet factory (built in 1972).[652] This development increased the population from 65,488 in 1950 to 207,037 in 1980.[653] The housing

[652] Yaman, *Yurt Ansiklopedisi: Türkiye, İl İl: Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını*.

[653] İl Yıllığı Hazırlama Komitesi, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Kayseri 1973 İl Yıllığı 38- Kayseri* (Ankara: Yardımlaşma Birliği Yayınları, 1973).

shortage caused by this population growth led to new housing developments and the redesign of existing settlements. Additionally, housing cooperatives were established in response to the housing shortage. Industrial employees also produced cooperative houses around the state-owned factories: Esenyurt, Yenimahalle, Gazi Osman, and Şeker Tepe. (Figure 3.139) There were three ways that housing cooperative was produced in Kayseri. One method was initiated by the state. The state provided the land and the factories' design offices hired German architects to design houses for employees.[654] These houses could be rented or transferred to the ownership of the employees. Sümer Housing Cooperative[655], built in 1950, and Kayseri Sugar Factory Housing Cooperative[656], built in 1954, were included in this group. A second method was employed by the benevolent society of the Kayseri airplane factory[657], built in 1950. Cooperative members covered the construction costs with their own resources rather than taking out credit. A third method was undertaken in 1953 by developing housing cooperatives made up of workers and officials.[658] The Workers' Insurance Institution provided the credit. Between 1950 and 1960, seven housing cooperatives were built in the Yeni Mahalle, and between 1954 and 1969, two housing cooperatives were built in the Gazi Osman districts.

[654] Özeken, "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," 103-130.

[655] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 122/27, 18.03.1950.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 127/79, 05.11.1951.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 129/66, 28.08.1952.

[656] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 134/106, 18.01.1954.

[657] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 122/34, 06.04.1950.

[658] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 133/83, 21.10.1953.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 138/125, 28.02.1955.

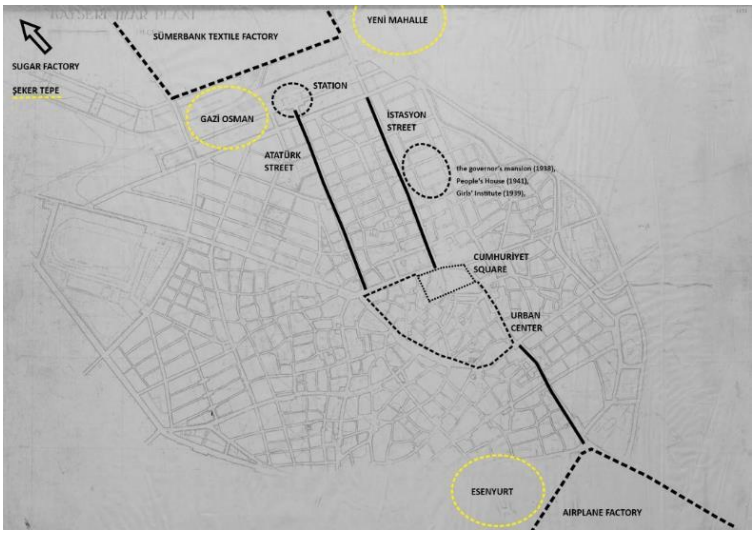


Figure 3. 139 Urban development between 1950 and 1980 (adapted by the author from the development plan dated 1945 and other urban plans)

Through the urban development plan, designed in 1967 in Karabük, Beşbinevler Building Cooperative was established as a result of cooperation between Karabük Municipality, Karabük iron and steel works, and the Çelik İş Union. As a result of this development, the city expanded towards Safranbolu, and the squatter settlements were reduced. From 1937 to 1950, the Karabük iron and steel works was a dominant actor in housing production. After the 1950s, many housing cooperatives were built in Karabük: Iron-Steel Housing Cooperative in 1952,[659] Karabük Region Iron-Steel Workers' Housing Cooperative in 1953,[660] and Turkish Iron-Steel Factory Employees' Housing Cooperative in 1955.[661] Turkish Iron and Steel Works Officials and Servants and the Workers Consumer Cooperative were also founded in 1949.[662]

When the three cities are compared between 1923 and 1950, Eskişehir and Kayseri indicated more similar urban developments. In these cities, modern state factories were

[659] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 128/24, 28.03.1952.

[660] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 131/29, 10.04.1953.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 138/119, 11.02.1955.

[661] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 139/37, 14.04.1955.

[662] Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 111/61, 19.09.1946.

established alongside the traditional texture, and the city was shaped with these factories, which were also a part of the city. The main axis of these cities became a site of central connection where the boulevard-square-institutional buildings were formed. Therefore, industrialization and urbanization introduced dichotomies between north and south, traditional and modern. On the other hand, Karabük was derived from a company town model designed by Henri Prost from a small village. Between 1950 and 1980, these cities experienced urbanization along with industrial and economic development and population growth. The urban development plans of each city sought to respond to these developments through urban plans. Therefore, new commercial centers were created, and the increasing industrial labor force led to the housing shortage. In all cities, housing cooperatives and squatter settlements were preferred for workers' housing needs after the 1950s.

3.2.2.2 The Industrial Subjects and Industrialized Cities

Each city responded differently to industrialization between 1923 and 1980. The industrialized cities were produced by different interactions between the urban environment and the industrial subjects. This sub-section discusses how alternative agencies were produced through social processes in different industrial settings.

The diverse origins of the industrial subjects produced multiple agencies. The technocrats who worked in the state-owned factories in Eskişehir, Kayseri, and Karabük migrated from large cities due to the lack of educational institutions in these small towns. The technocrats had similar ways of living in all of these cities, as state factories introduced similar spatial programs. This was exemplified by the statement that "The engineers who were around 200 in number at the beginning of 1970 used to represent a different cultural atmosphere in the town (Karabük), but their effect in the cultural domain of the town was very limited."[663] The technocrats formed a more uniform social and cultural character in these cities.

[663] Mustafa Berkay Aydın, "Kamu İşçilerinden Güvencesizlere: Karabük'te İşçi Sınıfının Hikayesi," in *Akademide Yolculuk*, ed. Aynur Özuğurlu and Atakan Büke (İstanbul: Deniz Matbaa, 2017), 137-76.

In contrast to this uniformity, the origins of the workers differed in the three cities. Peasant workers made up different amounts of the population in each city. Industrial development increased migration from rural to urban areas. According to Professor Sarç, newly emerged industrial cities drew their population from the villages, and thus the population of Kayseri increased by 58 percent between 1927 and 1945.[664] This population growth mostly consisted of peasants. According to the Soviet reports, unemployed weavers also made up a small part of the industrial labor force.[665] In Kayseri, there was also artisanship based on agriculture and natural sources that included hand-knitting, copper smithing, leatherworking, and dyeing.[666] In 1941, Karabük rapidly increased its population to 3,500, mostly due to factory employees coming from surrounding villages. The population continued to grow to 4,181 in 1955 and 6,881 in 1960. Out of the 3,812 workers, 2,346 had immigrated from the provincial towns surrounding Karabük in 1944. 706 of these workers had immigrated from Central Anatolia, 62 of them from the Çukurova region, and 453 of them from the Aegean Region.[667] These workers mostly consisted of peasants with no roots in crafting, in contrast to the crafting culture in Safranbolu, a traditional settlement near Karabük.

In Kayseri and Karabük, almost all of the labor force consisted of peasants, which led to an unsteady labor force. For instance, 75-80 percent of Kayseri Sümerbank textile factory workers left their job every year.[668] This situation resulted in the employment of prison workers in Kayseri and Karabük. The most significant difference among these cities was derived from the interaction between industrialization and immigration. Eskişehir was a city that consisted mainly of a population of uprooted

---

[664] Özeken, "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," 103-130.

[665] Orloff, *Türkiye Pamuk, Keten, Kendir, Kimya, Demir Sanayii: Hakkında Sovyet Mütehassısları Tarafından Verilen Raporlar* (Ankara. Başvekalet Müdevvenat Matbaası, 1933).

[666] Yücel Yaman, *Yurt Ansiklopedisi: Türkiye, İl İl: Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını* (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1981).

[667] Fındıkoğlu, *Kuruluşu'nun XXV. Yılında Karabük (1937-1962)*, 11.

[668] Sümerbank, *1941 senesi faaliyet ve hesap devresine ait İktisadi Meclis Raporu* (Ankara: TBMM, 1942).

Ahmet Makal, *Türkiye'de Tek Partili Dönemde Çalışma İlişkileri: 1920-1946* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999).

immigrants, unlike Kayseri and Karabük. The urban immigrants in Eskişehir were enterprising and sought better living standards, which made them well-suited to industrial production. Although a labor shortage appeared in the first decades of the factories, this situation changed in the following years due to their emerging prestige in the city. As a result, compulsory labor was not adopted. In contrast, workers who came from rural areas experienced difficulty adapting to urban industrialization, which led to an unstable labor force, and delays in workers' organizations in these cities.

The 1950s marked the beginning of workers' organizations in these three cities. After the 1950s, the following trade unions were established in Kayseri: *Kayseri Tekstil Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası* (Kayseri Textile Industry Workers' Trade Union) in 1954, *Tekstil Sanayii Teknik Ustalar Sendikası* (Textile Industry Technical Masters' Trade Union) in 1954, and *Askeri İşyerleri İşçileri Sendikası* (Military Workers' Union). These unions were not united legally; however, there was interaction, conversation, and solidarity between them.[669] The unions and cooperatives in Kayseri were produced separately, and unionized workers did not establish housing cooperatives. Nevertheless, organized workers represented themselves by publishing their own journal *Gayret*,[670] using political channels, and initiating labor disputes with the management.[671] The first trade union in Karabük, the Iron-Steel Heavy Industry Workers' Trade Union, was founded in 1950. One year later, another trade union, named the Iron-Steel Workers' Trade Union, was established. The conflict between these unions continued until 1954. Workers' organizations in Karabük struggled for wage increases and transportation facilities. The major problem workers faced was the housing shortage.[672] Workers first went on strike in 1978. According to Fındıkoğlu, a significant amount of aid in kind was given to the Karabük Heavy Industry Workers'

[669] Koç, *Türk-İş Tarihinden Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar-Gözlemler (I).*

[670] Gayret (1950-1951): the official journal of Kayseri Textile Industry Workers' Union.

[671] Hürbilek, "Bir Devlet Fabrikasının Feci Durumu Kayseri Bez Fabrikasının Halini Açıklıyoruz," *Hürbilek* (August 21, 1948).

[672] Ahmet Çehreli, "Türkiye Demir ve Çelik İşletmelerinde İşçi İşveren Münasebetleri," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* no. 17 (1966): 137-150.

Union for the construction of the first union palace to be built by the workers of the factory.[673]

The need for laborers in these cities led to population growth and spatial development. Most of the workers did not live in the lodging blocks. In Kayseri, 35 percent of workers lived in the factories in 1949, and in Karabük, this number was 40 percent.[674] Although there were different solutions between 1923 and 1950, such as squatter settlements, cooperative housing emerged as a prevalent method to produce workers' living spaces after 1950.

In Kayseri and Karabük, the workers' housing cooperatives were introduced by the industrial establishment to a large extent. The factories provided the land for construction and designed houses for employees in their design offices. These housing cooperatives were mostly produced by or associated with the factory, and the housing cooperative was not derived from trade unions. In Eskişehir, all of the worker cooperatives were established through the union leaders. These leaders were involved in the design process from land acquisition to construction. This difference, illustrated by the interaction between the trade union and housing cooperative, was also indicated in the reports of the Workers' Insurance Institution.[675] The institution gave land credits for an area of 887,603 square meters to workers in Eskişehir, whereas credits for an area of 20,000 square meters were given to workers in Kayseri. However, the two cities produced almost the same number of cooperative houses. This demonstrates that state-owned factories provided the land for the construction of housing cooperatives in Kayseri. Therefore, the state had a leading role in producing cooperative houses in Kayseri and Karabük, unlike in Eskişehir. This was clarified in an interview with a worker, who explained that "the housing cooperative was established in Kayseri by providing a housing credit from the Workers' Insurance Institution. However, these cooperatives were not led by the trade union."[676] The main reasons for the particularity

[673] Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, *Amme ve Belediye Hizmetleri Bakımından Karabük* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Türkiye Köy ve Şehir Sosyolojisi Merkezi Yayını, 1963): 104.

[674] Özeken, "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," 103-130.

[675] İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu, *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.

[676] Yıldırım, *Türk-İş Tarihinden Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar-Gözlemler (I)*, 113.

of Eskişehir were the production of housing cooperative based on trade unions and trade union leaders who mostly consisted of immigrant workers, descended from a tradition that equated homeownership and cooperation with citizenship.

Trade unions in Kayseri and Karabük did not have a transformative role in the production of housing cooperative. There were also differences between the cities in terms of the level of organizational collectivity. Unlike in other cities, immigrants brought consciousness and activism to the union movement in Eskişehir. The Railway Workers' Trade Union had a pioneering role in Eskişehir and in Turkey because of its immigrant leaders. In Kayseri and Karabük, the workers were peasants to a large extent. Yıldırım Koç, in an interview, stated that "Kayseri was not a city that consisted of immigrants. Almost all the population was native, except for a small amount of Circassians. There was no outlander among the leaders who founded trade unions."[677] According to Ahmet Makal, the "temporariness of workers with rural background impeded the class consciousness."[678] This temporariness caused weak interactions with workers' organizations and the urban environment. At the same time, these workers could not establish a labor tradition. Turan Dirik, the manager of the Kayseri Sümerbank textile factory, described labor tradition as follows: "In order to make serious attempts in the field of industry, the initial condition is to link the worker with industry and establish a labor tradition. Whenever a worker spends his whole life in a job, and his son enters and continues his father's job, the labor tradition is established."[679]

Workers' organizations in Eskişehir produced autonomous spaces and collective livelihoods beginning in the 1950s. These organizations published their own journals, provided interactions with authorities, and were active in the production of housing cooperative. In Eskişehir in 1955, there were 8,326 union members, whereas there were 4,378 union members in Kayseri. There was only one workers' journal, *Gayret*,

---

[677] Yıldırım, *Türk-İş Tarihinden Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar-Gözlemler (I)*, 111-112.

[678] Makal, "Türkiye'nin Sanayileşme Sürecinde İşgücü Sorunu, Sosyal Politika ve İktisadi Devlet Teşekkülleri: 1930'lu ve 1940'lı Yıllar," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 92 (Spring 2002): 34-70.

[679] Süleyman Kazmaz, "Kayseri Bez Fabrikası." *Ülkü* no. 98 (October 1, 1945): 12.

published by workers' organizations in Kayseri. According to Yüksel Akkaya, "the limited number of workers' journals in Kayseri was based on union leaders' characteristics. They were passive, dependent on factory management, and established good relations with the party in power."[680] These leaders expressed different characteristics compared to union leaders in Eskişehir, who were enterprising and active.

After the 1960s, many strikes and boycotts took place in Eskişehir. In Karabük, the first strike occurred in 1978. The trade union building was constructed with aid from the factory.[681] Therefore, the trade union could not produce its own agency independent from the state, as in Eskişehir.

In Eskişehir, organized workers produced and interacted with the urban environment through trade union buildings, retail cooperatives, and housing cooperatives. The permanent labor population consisted of immigrant workers, whose strengthened ties with the urban environment led them to produce these spaces. Therefore, an "urbanized worker" emerged in Eskişehir, who actively used urban space by sheltering in housing cooperative, discussing ideas in trade unions, publishing in journals, and shopping at the labor market. Their interaction with the urban environment was produced through workers' organizations. In all cities, the workers interacted with the urban environment due to urbanization after the 1950s, apart from peasant workers who retained their rural ties. However, "being urbanized" by the agency of the workers' organization was only clearly seen in Eskişehir.

[680] Yüksel Akkaya, *Cumhuriyet'in Hamalları: İşçiler* (İstanbul: Yordam Yayınları, 2010), 141-142.

[681] Fındıkoğlu, *Amme ve Belediye Hizmetleri Bakımından Karabük*, 104.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, the main research question is to understand how work, living, and collective spaces were produced and used in everyday in the making of multiple industrial subjects, and how this built environment was positioned within social, economic, and political change in Eskişehir. The complex components of this research question require a common denominator that can conceptually connect the three main layers of actors, settings, and themes. That common denominator was determined to be everyday, which links the workspace, living space, and collective space. In Chapter 3, these themes were traced in the state-owned factories and the urban environment, alongside a search for the agency of industrial actors.

The examination of the production of workspace explores how the workspace was produced while shaping these multiple actors in various dimensions. As a part of the national network of industry, the state-owned factories in Eskişehir introduced relations between statist representation, the industrial calendar, industrial mechanisms, the organization of production, labor divisions, and the cultivation of industrial employees. Three findings emerge from this multi-dimensional perspective. First, through these mechanisms, industry was introduced as a culture. The industrial workspace was not only a space for production but also for acquiring the abilities of industrial actors, especially for workers. Second, cultivating industrial workers from different origins, professional backgrounds, and educational levels presented various difficulties and resulted in diverse adaptations to industry. Third, the workspace marked an initial breakthrough in the actors' adjustment, change, and interaction. Thus, the dichotomies between "mythological time" and "industrial calendar," "rural" and "industrial," and "state-regulated" and "self-regulated" that shaped the multiplicity of agency began to form through the interaction with the workspace.

The analysis of the production of living space focuses on three forms of living spaces: the lodging blocks in the factories, the alternative living spaces in the urban environment, and the housing cooperatives. There are three findings. First, these diverse living spaces were the consequences of different forms of spatial production: "state-produced" and "self-produced." Second, living standards were also extremely variable in these living spaces, ranging from the factory manager who lived in the lodging blocks with a maid to the workers living in squatter settlements without basic services. It is observed that the differentiation between technocrats and workers became more visible through the production of living space. Third, the need for living space was the main reason for the workers' spread to the city. The state did not produce housing for all workers, which led them to search for their living spaces in the urban environment, through which different interactions were formed. Later, through housing cooperatives directly linked to the trade unions, organized workers strengthened their shared agency. These housing cooperatives were produced by organized workers and their interactions with architects, politicians, and local authorities. For the first time, these workers consciously integrated into the urban environment through their production.

The examination of the production of collective space includes free spaces, consumption spaces, and health spaces during the period between 1923 and 1980. The 1950s marked a significant breakthrough both for the labor movement and urban development in Eskişehir. Thus, workers started to demand from the city what they could not get from the factory and were shaping their own agency. Thus, the dichotomies between "the factory" and "the urban environment," "technocrats" and "workers," and "workers" and "organized workers" became more visible through the collective spaces.

By analyzing these themes, the main argument of the dissertation regarding the main research question is that the industrial subject was not a uniform stereotypical individual; on the contrary, they were extremely multi-layered, varied, and dynamic. Therefore, this dissertation approaches the labor force as a plural entity composed of ethnic, educational, organizational, hierarchical, professional, and skill-based divisions. As a result of this concern, the study includes not only industrial workers

but also managers, officials, engineers, and other employees working in the factory to explore a more diverse network of agencies. While searching for plural entities, the parallel between the actors and their collectivities are also examined. As they were working, living, and collectivizing within the state-owned factories, the technocrats were the group that mostly developed the ideal type and collectivity that the state intended to produce. Rather than focusing solely on institutional aspects and state policies, this dissertation searches for a great variety of actors. The group in which the industrial actors' multiplicity can be best understood is the industrial workers. The determining factors for this multiplicity were based on their origins, the differences in their educational levels, their different roles within the division of labor, and their status within the workers' organizations. All of these factors led to the emergence of multiple agencies and collectivities within the interactions between work, living, and collective spaces.

It is necessary to make a few concluding remarks concerning the further research questions presented in the introduction. The first research question explores whether Eskişehir's state-owned factories offered industrial actors introverted and self-contained complexes or interaction with and production in the urban environment. It further sought to know which agencies were shaped through the connections with the urban environment. Many of the workers spread to the larger urban environment in order to search for living and collective spaces due to social, economic, and political processes in Eskişehir. The expansion to the city produced more multi-dimensional industrial workers, who became organized, urbanized, consumerized, and progressive. In contradistinction, peasant workers had limited interactions with the urban environment while preserving their rural ties. As a result of this established relation between the factory and the urban environment, the spaces for industrial actors were products of the dichotomy between "professional design" and "ordinary development," and "distinctive" and "common."

The second research question asks what was produced by the workers, who published their own journals, held meetings, designed organizational models, and even struggled for their space. It further queries how these efforts differed from the state's production spatially, conceptually, subjectively, and periodically and asks whether it is possible

to consider that activism and consciousness developed through the interactions between organized workers and the spaces they produced and experienced. The workers' organizations in Eskişehir emerged as a determining factor in changing the agency of industrial workers. A circle of active organized workers formed their own activism and consciousness concerning spatial, social, and economic struggle. They produced and used living and collective spaces in the urban environment such as housing cooperatives, trade unions and halls, editorial rooms, workers' markets, and holiday camps. Through these spaces and activities, organized workers discussed, formulated, and enacted labor issues and represented their own shared agency to the factory administrations, politicians, and state authorities. This agency was a consequence of activism and consciousness shaped by reading, researching, writing, networking, and producing on labor issues. It is not possible to consider that this consciousness was completely independent from the state, and it did not evolve through political struggle as did labor movements in the USA and the UK. However, organized workers were also drawn to understand the social, economic, and labor issues of the period and to use political channels specifically because of their search for ways to produce their own spaces. These workers were generally successful in these efforts, especially after the 1960s. As an indication of their independent consciousness, it can be seen that trade unions had a transformative role in the social and urban environment and they published many workers' journals compared to Kayseri and Karabük, as presented in Section 3.2.2. Unlike in other cities, immigrant workers brought consciousness and activism to the union movement in Eskişehir. Another indication of the emergence of such activism and consciousness is that the living members of the organized workers' circle have still maintained their ties. These ties are so permanent and deep-rooted that they continue organizational activities, establish local associations, and continue their discussions on labor issues through the Retired Workers' Association. However, it cannot be claimed that this activism and consciousness spread to all industrial workers and shaped a class consciousness. Although the movement began to create a network within industrial workers, and many strikes, boycotts, and unionist marches were organized after the 1960s, it could not complete its formation.

4.1. A Historical Reading of the Time Frame within its Own Periodization

The time frame of the dissertation is defined as the period between 1923 and 1980. However, it also refers to the end of the nineteenth century; Eskişehir, a small Anatolian town, had a railway repair workshop, flour mills, and several small industrial workshops at this time. The railway network was built in 1894. These years also witnessed a rapid migration from Crimea, Turkestan, the Caucasus and the Balkans after the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-1978). Considering historical continuity, this dissertation has covered these migration processes together with urban development before the Republican period.

Starting point of this dissertation's time frame has been chosen as 1923, which is when the state-owned factories, the focus of this study, were founded or institutionalized after the official declaration of the Turkish Republic. The city evolved through social processes, such as industrialization, migration, urban growth, modernization, and the development of workers' organizations, from 1923 until the 1980s, after which privatization accelerated and organizational power weakened.

The foundation of the Republic (1923), the transitional period leading up to the multi-party regime (1950), the 1960 coup d'état (1960) and the privatization process (1980) have been commonly used as milestones in historical readings of Turkish social, economic and political changes. Within the periodical framework of this dissertation, the city underwent many phases. This study brought about distinct and overlapping periodization consisting of diverse layers. Furthermore, the period between 1923 and 1980 witnessed diverse changes in industry, workers' organization and urban development. This periodization between the aforementioned milestones requires reading this period as a continuous process rather than as a number of turning points. Parallel to this understanding, the different formations of the industrial subjects were considered in everyday. The defined period was a period of continuities and ruptures, especially regarding everyday. In addition to this conventional periodic classification, it can be said that there are three different layers: industry, workers' organizations, and urban development.

First, industrialization in Eskişehir and Turkey was a significant determinant in the time frame. The initial national steps toward industrialization were *İzmir İktisat Kongresi* (İzmir Economic Congress 1923), *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu* (the Law for Encouragement of Industry 1927), and *1. Beş Yıllık Sanayi Planı* (the First Five-year Industrialization Plan 1933-1937). These were the policies that introduced the statist industrial factories in Eskişehir. After the First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967), these factories were socially and technically improved, and new factories and workshops were constructed in state-owned factories.

Second, this dissertation's time frame coincides with the development of workers' organizations. *Cemiyetler Kanunu* (the Association Law) in 1946 and the 1947 Union Law led to the shaping of workers' organizations. In line with this turning point, worker and state, who were the actors in the years between 1923 and 1947, evolved into unionist and employer. New types of relations began to emerge in this period; in addition to state patronage. This new organization with its social and cultural improvement, and its architectural formations such as housing cooperatives, editorial rooms and consumption cooperatives, expanded the factory boundaries, and spread across the city. In 1952, the progress of the workers' movement continued within the establishment of the confederation system, which resulted in an increase in the number of trade unions. In 1963, the Trade Union Law No. 274 and the Collective Bargaining, Strikes and Lockout Laws No. 275 were enacted, resulting in strikes, boycotts, and collective agreements in the urban environment. Following these regulations, workers' movements were active between 1970 and 1980 in Eskişehir.

Third, Eskişehir between 1923 and 1980 witnessed not only industrialization and workers' movements, but also urbanization. French urban planner J. Lambert's urban development plan for the city in 1938-1939 led to the creation of multiple centers, the construction of boulevard-square-institutional buildings, and the connection between traditional and modern.. Administrative and public buildings were built between 1942 and 1949 in the Akarbaşı district on Atatürk Street. In 1952, the urban development plan brought about changes to the city's road network and its settlement areas. After the 1950s, consumption patterns and economic welfare expanded, and Köprübaşı responded by expanding its commercial function. Moreover, migration was a

significant factor in the development of the city. Various waves of migration took place in different periods: from Macedonia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania between 1923 and 1950, and from Bulgaria and Romania between 1950 and 1955.

These different time frames in the study create the overlapping and cumulative layers. Beyond a generalization on periodization, these layers evolve into a structure that contains many different layers, which enable one to understand the multiplicity of industrial actors.

4.2. Industry as a Cultivator of Actors, Spaces, and Everyday

This dissertation is built upon the interrogation of the spatial and social interactions in Eskişehir as an industrial city. The development of industry is a complex process intertwined with the cultivation of actors, spaces, and everyday, which are the main layers of this dissertation. Within this broader framework, this built environment went beyond being a physical space formed by technical procedures and methods, and it became a socio-cultural space through the agency of these multiple layers.

4.2.1. Industry as a Cultivator of Actors

Workspaces were designed with the same norms, standards, and precepts that regulated industrial workers, and they included the same factory gates, pre-production areas, and training spaces. However, the relationship of these actors with industry are different from each other.

The first reason is that the labor force in Eskişehir had diverse origins and hierarchical roles. The hierarchical roles of laborers were mostly determined according to these origins. Technocrats, who were highly-educated individuals, migrated from large cities, and rapidly adjusted to industrial life within their educational and demographic backgrounds. For these actors, industry served as an effective cultivator, changing their mentality by means of their prior industrial education. Therefore, these actors were expected to be social and industrial cultivators for workers' relationships with industry. Workers consisted of rural peasants, urban farmers, and immigrants. Depending on

these origins, the workers developed complex relations with industry. The workers who found adaptation to industry most difficult were the rural peasants who came from the villages near Eskişehir. These workers lived temporarily in squatter settlements or factory pavilions, and their ties to rural villages prevented them from forming strong ties with industry. For most of these actors, the industry could not become a generator that was contrary to "peasant mentality." Semi-peasant workers served as urban farmers in Eskişehir or migrated from surrounding Anatolian cities. This group adapted to industry with more success compared to rural peasants, as they are also associated with urban life. Immigrant workers, who had migrated from foreign countries and who were used to production techniques, were the most progressive group in terms of their adaptation to industrialization.

The second reason was based on actors' interactions with the industrial establishments. As technocrats were working, living and collectivizing in state-owned establishments, they formed closer ties with industry. Workers could not establish direct relations with the factory as much as technocrats and their relations with industry became more diverse.

The third reason was based on the organizational levels of the workers. Organized workers played a key role in industrial development by learning industrial and labor techniques, discussing ideas in trade unions, publishing in journals and by conveying these through the media. Thus, they became cultivators beyond being cultivated by industry.

With the rise of industry, the female labor force began to become a part of professional production, rather than being a part of family-based production like in agricultural or immigrant communities. They started to be cultivated by industry as industrial employees in contrast to the previous traditional structure.

4.2.2. Industry as a Cultivator of Spaces

Industry is a significant parameter that cultivated the work, living and collective spaces within the dichotomy between state-owned factories and the urban environment. State-

owned factories in Eskişehir were elaborately designed with the modern symbols of the new regime as a part of statist representation and urban monumentality. Work, living and collective spaces in these factories were designed by prominent modernist architects. The changes that industry brought through scientific management, new disciplinary regulations and labor mechanisms shaped spatial production in these settlements. The factory gates, pre-production areas, training spaces, and leisure spaces in workspaces were all designed according to these industrial norms and procedures. In addition, clubhouses, dining halls, hospitals and other services were included in the program to support the industry's cultivator role.

In the urban environment, industrial development enabled the production of diverse spaces. The first group of urban spaces was produced by industrial workers, cultivated by industry. Workers' organizations had an important role in the production of these spaces: cooperative housing, trade union buildings and halls, and editorial rooms. The second group of urban spaces, which was less common, was produced by the state: the Sümerbank Company Store and the Eskişehir vocational school. The state established state-owned factories with work, living and collective spaces. In relation to accelerating industrialization, these factories were involved in the urbanization and development of the urban environment. For instance, the Eskişehir vocational school in the urban environment was produced to cultivate the industrial subjects. The third group of spaces that workers produced or interacted with included squatter settlements, disaster housing, and immigrant housing. Although these spaces were not produced directly in relation to industry, they provided shelters for workers to live in.

Factories were designed with modern approaches and technology as part of a national programmatic perspective. Therefore, there emerged a singular industrial cultivation in these factories. While the technocrats continued to live in accordance with state-produced architectural design, workers shaped a double life as a result of the dichotomy between the factory and the urban environment. The technocrats were cultivated by professionally designed work, living and collective spaces produced by "-the realm of high design and theory-." Thus, they adapted to the industry's cultivator role. Industrial workers interacted with these spaces in their work time. In living and collective spaces, they also experienced "banal, mundane, and ordinary" spaces. Thus

the workers were cultivated not only by industry but also by other urban developments. Industry was not single cultivator for workers' spaces.

4.2.3. Industry as a Cultivator of Everyday

With the rise of industry, mythological time evolved into industrial calendar for industrial subjects. Industrial routines and practices, such as the division of labor, scientific management, time regulation, discipline, and control, regulated the work time of these actors, and they led to the emergence of individuals who went to work and returned according to the industrial calendar.

As industry introduced dichotomies between mythological time and industrial calendar, everyday was highly varied for actors outside of the workspace. Technocrats were used to modern living habits and were highly adapted to the industrial calendar, and the industry emerged as a cultivator of their everyday. For workers, the concept of everyday had different meanings. Peasant workers did not break their ties with their villages and continued their rural habits. Thus, most peasant workers could not adapt to industrial everyday. The permanent labor population consisted of immigrant worker who emerged as urbanized worker in Eskişehir, who actively used urban space by sheltering in housing cooperative, discussing ideas in trade unions, publishing in journals, and shopping within the labor market. For these workers, everyday was the intersection of the factory and the environment. Their everyday was cultivated both by industrial and urban development.

***

In this way, this study has contributed to the literature in urban and architectural history regarding the making of multiple industrial actors in Eskişehir between 1923 and 1980, which has not been previously studied. Although there are a few written and visual sources on the state-owned factories in Eskişehir and the urban environment, most of them focus on their physical aspects and on specific topics while ignoring the actors. In this regard, this dissertation emerges as an important source due to being the first

and only inclusive study that contributes to a less explored realm: the making of multiple industrial subjects.

Until this study, none of the studies on Eskişehir's state-owned factories examined these factories as a whole while considering their interactions with industrial actors and the urban environment. Therefore, this study proposes a simultaneous reading of social changes in the city. Furthermore, this study, which discusses the themes of everyday with an integrated perspective by examining workspace, living space, and collective space, also makes an important contribution to the field of architectural history. This dissertation offers an integrated methodological approach for uncovering new perspectives in a field by examining different layers while including different historical documents.

Moreover, the state-owned factories in Eskişehir are recently under the threat of physical destruction and are losing their integrity due to the privatization process and the urban regeneration projects surrounding these factories. [1149] After the 1980s, the Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory was closed, the factory lands were divided, some buildings were demolished, and the labor force capacity was reduced.

This dissertation plays a critical role in the detailed documentation of these factories, consisting of written and visual historical documents, urban development plans, maps, architectural drawings, visualizations using maps, and schematic drawings.

Based on these concluding remarks, future research can address the broader spatial and actor-based network of workers' organizations on the national scale, the genealogy of industrial employees, and the international network of foreign experts who established these factories. The study's outcomes provide a basis for comparison with diverse

[1149] Two sites in the southeast region of the Eskişehir railway factory were transferred to Porsuk Vocational High School of Eskişehir Technical University and Eskişehir Fatih Anatolian High School. Eskişehir High-Speed Railway Station was opened in 2018. In the Eskişehir sugar factory, the ranch area in the northwest region and the open area social facilities in the southwest region were reserved for residential projects. The Housing Development Administration of Turkey and Kentpark Houses were constructed in 2007. The Eskişehir Sümerbank print factory was privatized during the 1980s and bought by the Sarar textile factory. The owners of the factory conserved most of its buildings and open areas. After the 2000s, the lodging blocks and clubhouse were transformed into Eskişehir Sarar Boutique Hotel. The debates on the Eskişehir railway factory and the Eskişehir sugar factory's privatization have recently increased in the press.

industrial settlements and private factories in related periods and discussion of the changing meanings of agencies among industrialists and workers within the state and the workers' organizations. After the 1980s, the industrial actors' connections with the factories were ended or changed, and the integrity of these factories was considerably damaged. Further research about the connections between the recent privatization process and workers' expressions could indicate the significance of these factories and raise awareness of this problematic privatization/transformation/destruction process.

REFERENCES

Workers' Journal Article & Local Journal Article

Abadan, Necmi. 1960. "Politika ve Sendika." *Türk Gücü* 1, no.59 (August 2, 1960): 1.

Aksel, Halit. "Dokuma Sanayiinde Modern Fabrika Binaları." *Sümerbank,* no. 2 (September 1952): 238-239.

Akşam. "Eskişehir'deki Vaz'-ı Esas Resmi." *Akşam*, no. 2394 (1925).

Akşam. "Eskişehir'de Şeker Fabrikası için Hazırlık." *Akşam* 1, no. 5461 (20 December, 1932): 5.

Akşam. "Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Dün Merasimle Açıldı." *Akşam* 16, no. 5446 (December 6, 1933): 1.

Ar, Necmettin. "Yüzme Havuzu ve Park." *Sakarya* 16, no. 4117 (June 28, 1962): 3.

Aras, Ahmet." İşçi Davaları Halledilmemiştir: İşçi Vatandaş Reyini Verirken Dikkatli ol, Seni Boş Vaitlerle Aldatanlara Rey Verme." *İş Yolu* 1, no. 21 (April 23, 1954): 1-2.

Aras, Ahmet. "İşçi ve Sendika." *İşçi Yolu* 1, no.5 (October 7, 1953): 3.

Atakan, Tahsin. "İşçi Mevzuunun Düşündürdükleri." Eskişehir İşçi Postası 1, no. 3 (December 1, 1951): 1.

Ayın Tarihi (1948-1980)

Bahçeli, Ali Fuat. "Tarım Kredi ve Satış Kooperatifleri." *Emre*, no. 17 (September 1965): 11-12.

Balo. “TCDD Sağlık Kervanı.” *Balo*, 1, no. 2 (March 14, 1955): 4.

Bayraktar, Erdağan. “Eskişehir Hilton’u.” *Milliyet* (October 1, 1959).

Benli, Hayri. “Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası.” *Turizm Mecmuası: Eskişehir Özel Sayısı*, no. 10 (1963): 26-27.

Benli, Hayri. “Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası.” *Turizm Mecmuası: Eskişehir Özel Sayısı*, no. 10 (1963): 33.

Canatan, Kazım. “Türkiye Şeker Sanayiinden Haberler: Laboratuvar Şefleri Toplantısı.” *Şeker,* no. 40 (July 1961): 59.

Cumhuriyet. “Celal Bayar’ın Celal Mortan’la sohbeti.” *Cumhuriyet* 60, no. 21374 (February 28, 1984), 7.

Cumhuriyet. “Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası.” *Cumhuriyet* 10, no. 3371 (September 24, 1933): 2.

Cumhuriyet. “Eskişehir’de Yapılacak Evler: Felaketzedelerden Kiracı Vaziyetinde olanlara da bazı şartlarla Ev Verilecek.” *Cumhuriyet,* 26, no. 9227 *(*April 17, 1951): 1-3.

Cumhuriyet. “Eskişehir’de Yıkılan Evlerin Sayısı 2000i Geçti: Yıkılması Muhtemel olan daha 1500den fazla Ev var.” *Cumhuriyet* 26, no. 9187 (March 8, 1950): 1- 3.

Cumhuriyet. “250 Ev İnşa Ettirilecek.” *Cumhuriyet,* 26, no. 9244 *(*May 4, 1950). 6.

Cumhuriyet. “Sel Felaketine uğrayan Vatandaşlara Yardım: Dün Şehrimizde bir Toplantı Yapıldı: Yardım Yekunu 100 bin Lirayı Aştı.” *Cumhuriyet 26, no. 9190 (*March 11, 1950): 1-3.

Cumhuriyet. “Şeker Fabrikasının Üçüncüsü de Dün Açıldı.” *Cumhuriyet*, (December 6, 1933): 1.

Cumhuriyet. “Türkiye Sanayi Planı: Şehrimize Gelen Rus Heyeti Ne Yapacak?.” *Cumhuriyet* 9, no. 2971 (13 August, 1932): 1.

Çalışanlar. “DDY İşçileri Sendika Başkanı ve Gazetemiz Genel Yayın Müdürü Salih Selek.” *Çalışanlar* 1, no. 4 (September 17, 1965): 1.

Davud, Celal. 1924. “Yeni Gün Milli Hat Güzergahında: Eskişehirde’ki Müesseseleri Ziyaret.” *Anadolu’da Yeni Gün* 1398, no. 1122 (1924): 2.

Demirspor. “Sanat ve Spor.” *Sanat ve Spor* 2, no. 23 (1951): 1.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü. “Cumhuriyet Demiryollarının Eskilerinden Farkları.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.100 (1933): 56-57.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü. “Eskişehir Demirspor Kulübünün tesisi gününden itibaren gösterdiği faaliyetin bir hulasası.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.139 (September 1936): 402-03.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü. “Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası.” *Demiryolu Mecmuası*, no. 100 (1933): 224-26.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü. “Eskişehir Hastanesi.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.117 (1934): 635-638.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü. “Eskişehir Şimendiferciler Birliği.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no. 101 (August 1933): 338-39.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü. “Eskişehir’de Toplantı Evi.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.133 (March 1936): 132-37.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü, “Güzel Bir Eser: Eskişehir Hastahanesi,” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.133 (March 1936): 129.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Genel Direktörlüğü. “On ikinci Cumhuriyet Yılının En Büyük Okulu.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.119-130 (October 1935): 407-08.

Demirsoy, Seyfi. “Başkandan Başarı” *Çalışanlar* 1, no. 10 (December 17, 1965): 1.

Erdem, İsmail Hakkı. “ELMS’de Eğitim ve Öğretim Faaliyetleri.” *Demiryol*, no. 606 (July 1976): 7-8.

Erkmen, Hayrettin. “İşçi Meskenleri Politikası.” Akis, no. 31 (July 31, 1954): 5.

Eskişehir Ekspres. “Demirspor.” *Eskişehir Ekspres* 1, no.4 (August 8, 1960): 4.

Eskişehir Ekspres. “Eskişehir DP’nin Kalesiydi Ha?.” *Eskişehir Ekspres* 1, no. 7 (August 11, 1960): 2.

Eskişehir Ekspres, “Kiralık Yer,” *Eskişehir Ekspres* 1, no. 5 (August 9, 1960): 2.

Eskişehir Halkevi. “Evimiz Bir Sene İçinde Neler Yaptı?.” *Eskişehir Halkevi Dergisi*, (August 30, 1934).

Eskişehir İşçi Postası. “İşçi Davası.” “*Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 3 (December 1, 1951): 2.

Eskişehir İşçi Postası. “Sendikaların Bir Teşebbüsü.” *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 1 (December 17, 1951): 2.

Eskişehir İşçi Postası. “Şeker Fabrikasında 15 saat çalışan İşçiler.” *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no.1 (November 17, 1951): 3.

Eskişehir İşçi Postası. “Ücretli Hafta Tatili: Kanun 1 Martta Yürürlüğe Giriyor.” *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no.9 (January 12, 1952): 1.

Fenik, Faik Ahmet. “İşçileri Süratle Tatmin Etmeliyiz.” *Zafer* 2, no. 600 (December 1950): 1-4.

Gürol, Abdülkadir. “Demokrat Parti Nereye Gidiyor?.” *Hürbilek* 1, no. 6 (March 9, 1957): 2.

Gelendost, Naci. “Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası,” *Çalışanlar,* 1, no.8 (November 15, 1965): 2.

Gelendost, Naci. “İçimizden biri: Sendikacılığımızın Öncülerinden İşçi Davasının Aziz Şehidi: Ahmet Aras.” *Çalışanlar* 1, no. 25 (December 17, 1965): 3.

Gelendost, Naci. “Portreler: Sendika Davasına Gönül Veren Dostum: Ahmet Aras.” *Türk Gücü* 1, no.25 (July 4, 1960): 3.

Gürol, Abdülkadir. “İşçi Evleri,” *Hürbilek* 1, no.3 (January 24, 1957): 1-6.

Hakimiyet-i Milliye. “Eskişehir’de Devlet Demiryollarının Mektebi.” *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, no. 2222 (September 1927): 4.

Hakimiyeti Milliye. “Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Dün Açıldı.” *Hakimiyeti Milliye*, (December 3, 1933): 1.

Hakimiyeti Milliye. “Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikasının Açılışı.” *Hakimiyeti Milliye*, (December 3, 1933): 1.

Hareket. “Belediye Meclisi Toplantıları.” *Hareket* 1, no. 13 *(* February 3, 1954): 1.

Hareket. “Göçmenlerle Vali Belediye Reisi Görüştü.” *Hareket* 1, no. 30 (February 23, 1954): 1.

Hürbilek. “Bir Devlet Fabrikasının Feci Durumu Kayseri Bez Fabrikasının Halini Açıklıyoruz.” *Hürbilek* (August 21, 1948).

Hürbilek. “Bizi de Zulmetten Kurtarınız! İşçi vatandaşlar Maliye Vekilimiz Polatkan ve Mebuslarımızdan Alaka ve Müzaheret Bekliyor.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.1 (January 10, 1957): 1-6.

Hürbilek. “Eskişehir İşçi Evleri Yapı Kooperatifinin Yıllık Kongresi.” *Hürbilek* 1, no. 3 (January 24, 1957): 1.

Hürbilek. “İşçi Evleri.” *Hürbilek* 1, no. 12 (July 23, 1957): 2.

Hürbilek. “İşçi Meskenleri: Sırf Bu İşle Meşgul olmak üzere bir Kurum Teşekkül Ediyor.” *Hürbilek* 1, no. 1 (January 10, 1957): 2.

Hürbilek. “Memleketi Nura Garkettiniz, Bizi de Zulmetten Kurtarınız: Tepebaşı İşçi Evleri Elektrik ve Su Bekliyor.” *Hürbilek* 1, no. 10 (April 4, 1957): 1.

Hürbilek. “Sendika Liderleri Konuşuyor Ömer Ergün diyor ki: İşçi Hak ve Hürriyetleri Hür Dünyada Olduğu gibi Memleketimizde de Sendikalizm Hareketleri ile Doğmuştur.” *Hür Bilek* 1, no.9 (March 30, 1957): 3.

Hürbilek. “Tepebaşı İşçi Evleri Elektrik ve Suya Kavuşuyor.” *Hürbilek* 1, no. 11 (April 13, 1957): 5.

İmat, Celalettin. “Cumhuriyette Sanayileşme.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no. 111-112 (May-June 1934): 496.

Eskişehir İstikbal. “Eskişehir.” *Eskişehir İstikbal* (October 23, 1995): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. "Ancak bunların içerisinde o kadar muhteris ruhlu olanları var ki, Eskişehir senin desen yine doymaz. Konya Ovası'nı da kendine mülk etmeye çalışır.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.4 (October 29, 1951): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. “Bekçi ve Hademeler.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 11 *(*February 15, 1952): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. “D.D.Y. Sanayi İşçiler Sendikasının Yıllık Normal Kongresi Yapıldı.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.1 (September 22, 1951): 3.

İşçinin Sesi. “Demiryol İşçilerinin Ev Kanunu Bu Yıl Çıkmak Üzere.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 16 (May 5, 1952): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. “Hayırlı Bir Teşebbüs.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 6 (November 30, 1951): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. “Milletvekillerimiz Cer Atölyesinde: İşçi Temsilcilerimiz bilhassa İşçi Evleri üzerinde Durdular.” *İşçinin Sesi*, 1, no. 9 (January 15, 1952): 1-2.

İşçinin Sesi. “Seylap Komisyonu Faaliyete Geçti.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 1 (November 15, 1951): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. “Seylap Paraları Hakkında.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 6 (November 30, 1951): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. “Terfi Miktarının Azlığını tebarüz ettirmek üzere üç kişilik bir heyet Ankara’ya gitti.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.6 *(*November 30, 1951): 1.

İşçinin Sesi. “Türk Demir Yolculuğunun 25nci Yılı Kutlandı.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.18 (June 5, 1952): 1.

İş Yolu. “Eskişehir İşçisi Her Ay Tatbik Edileceği Vaat Edilen Oyalama Politikasına Son Verilmesini İstiyor.” *İş Yolu,* 1, no. 24 (August 22, 1954): 1-4.

İş Yolu. “İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Fesih olmak üzere olan Kooperatife Arsa Satamaz.” *İş Yolu* 1, no. 22 (July 25, 1954): 1-4.

İş Yolu. “İş ve İş Bulma Kurumu Müdür Vekili İstifa Etti: İdarecisizlik Yüzünden İsmi Var Cism Yok. Bu Muazzam Binanın Kuruluşu Gösteriş için midir. Genel Müdürlükten Cevap Bekliyoruz.” *İş Yolu* 1, no.8 (December 1, 1953): 1-2.

İş Yolu. “Sakarya Bölgesi Federasyonunun Kurduğu Eskişehir İşçi Evleri Yapı Kooperatifi Faaliyete Geçti.” *İş Yolu* 1, no. 14 (January 24, 1954): 1.

Karaca, Celil. “Kira ve Ötesi.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 88 (September 17, 1960): 3.

Kazmaz, Süleyman. “Kayseri Bez Fabrikası.” *Ülkü* no. 98 (October 1, 1945): 12.

Metiner, Ahmet. “Adım Adım Eskişehir: 95 milyon liralık Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası.” *Türk Gücü* 2, no. 372 *(*August 18, 1961): 3.

Okyay, M. Suat. “Eskişehir.” *Hareket* 1, no. 27 (February 19, 1954): 3.

Oytun, Nafiz H. “İmar Politikamızda Yapı Davası.” *Demiryollar Dergisi*, no. 239-240-241 (1945): 47-51.

Oytun, Nafiz H. “Teşkilatlı Kooperatifçilik.” *Demiryolları Dergisi* 272–274 (1948): 25-27.

Önüt, Feyzi. “İşçiyi Tanıyalım.” *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 7 (December 29, 1951): 2.

Önüt, Feyzi. “Memleketimizde Sendikalar Gelişirken.” *Eskişehir İşçi Postası* 1, no. 10 (January 19, 1952): 2.

Pancar (1951-1980)

Ragıp, A. “Eskişehir’de Bahar Hayatı.” *Cumhuriyet* 9, no. 3174 (March 8, 1933), 6.

Sachsenberg. “Modern Fabrika Teşkilatı Esasları.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası* 10, no. 121 (March 1, 1935).

Sakarya. “DDY Çırak Okulu Öğrencileri de Greve Katılmış: Böylece Grevci Sayısının 300 Kişi Olduğu Anlaşılıyor.” *Sakarya*, 16, no. 4038 (March 24, 1962): 1.

Sakarya. “Dört Bin Demiryolu İşçisi Yemek Yüzünden Üç Günlük Greve Başladı.” *Sakarya* 16, no. 4036 (March 22, 1962): 1.

Sakarya. “Fen İşleri Müdürü İstifa Etti.” *Sakarya* (November 11, 1964).

Son Posta. “Eskişehir’de Şeker Fabrikası Bitmek Üzeredir.” *Son Posta,* (July 2, 1933): 4.

Suakar, İsmail. “Sendika Nedir?.” *Çalışanlar* 1,no.1 (August 1, 1965): 4.

Sümerbank. “Sümerbank’ın Yetiştirdiği Elemanlar.” *Sümerbank Aylık Kültür ve Endüstri Dergisi,* no. 1 (July 1961): 41-43.

Şükrü, Faruk. “Cumhuriyetten sonra Eskişehir.” *Halkevi Dergisi*, no. 13-15 (1933): 41-197.

Tarık, M. “Tayyare ile Eskişehir- İstanbul Arasında bir Seyahat.” *Demiryollar Mecmuası*, no.101 (July 1933): 277-78.

Tetik, Rıza. “DDY Eskişehir Seylap Zedelerin bir Dileği.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 1 (September 22, 1951): 1.

Tetik, Rıza. “Kabahati İşçide Bulmayalım.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 12 (February 29, 1952): 1-2.

Tetik, Rıza. “Kanunda Eşitlik Bekliyoruz!: İşçi Bu Devletin Emektarı Değil mi?.” *İşçinin Sesi,* 1, no. 8 *(*December 30, 1951): 1.

Tetik, Rıza. “Soruyoruz! 78 Lira ile 8 Nüfuslu bir aile nasıl geçinir?.” *İşçinin Sesi* 3, no. 22 (April 24, 1953): 1-2.

T. H., “İşçi Evleri.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 13 (March 15, 1952): 2.

Tuna, Orhan. “İçtimai Siyasette Yeni Temayüller.” *Çalışma*, no. 2-3 (November 1945): 16-19.

Tuna, Orhan. “Sendikalar İktisadi Siyasetle Uğraşabilir.” *İşçi Yolu* 1, no.22 *(*July 25, 1954): 4.

Türk Gücü. “6 bin D.D.Y. İşçisi Grev Yapıyor: Nedeni; Yemeklerden Başka Madde Çıkması.” *Türk Gücü* 2, no. 462 (December 2, 1961): 1.

Türk Gücü. “Amerika Aile Hayatından Sahneler.” *Türk Gücü* 2, no. 428 (October 23, 1961): 2.

Türk Gücü. “Çıkarılan Dedikodular Asılsız.” *Türk Gücü,* 1, no. 23 (July 1, 1960): 1-2.

Türk Gücü. “Mesken Meselesi.” *Türk Gücü* 1, no. 131 (November 5, 1960): 2.

Türk Gücü. “Su Akar Türk Bakar.” *Türk Gücü*, 1, no. 88 (September 17, 1960): 1.

Türk Gücü. “Şeker Fabrikası’nın İşçilerine Yaptığı Haksızlık Örneği: İşçilerin Yemekleri İşverenlerinkinden Az Olduğu Halde Kurtarmadığı Söyleniyor.” *Türk Gücü* 3, no. 628, (June 21, 1962): 1-4.

Ulus, M. Ali. “Ankete Cevap.” *İş Yolu* 1, no. 17 (February 14, 1954): 2-4.

Zeytinoğlu, Tevfik. “Devlet veya İktisadi Devlet Teşekkülleri ve Sendika.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 8 (December 30, 1951): 1-3.

Zeytinoğlu, Tevfik. “Sendika ve Gelir Kaynakları.” *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no. 5 (December 1951): 1- 3.

Ziya, Abdülkdir. “Sanayi Şehri.” *Sakarya* (August 18, 1932).

Journal Article

Akdeniz, Gıyasettin. “Devlet Teşkilatı ve Rasyonalizasyon” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 9, no. 1-2 (1949): 55-72.

Akkaya, Yüksel. “Türkiye’de İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık-1(Kısa Özet).” *Praksis*, no. 5 (Winter 2002): 131- 176.

Aksoylu, Sevin. “1960’lardan 2000’lere Eskişehir’de Mekansal Gelişim.” *Arredamento Mimarlık* (February 1999): 82-97.

Akşit, Bahattin. “İçgöçlerin Nesnel ve Öznel Toplumsal Tarihi Üzerine Gözlemler: Köy Tarafından Bir Bakış.” *Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları* (1998): 22-37.

Alp, Ömer. “Türkiye Şeker Sanayi 70.Yılını Tamamlarken.” *Şeker, 70.Yıl Özel Sayısı* (December 25, 1996): 27-29.

Alsaç, Orhan. “İşçi Evlerine Dair.” *Çalışma Dergisi*, no. 2 (November 1945): 50-51.

Arıtan, Özlem. “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: Modernleşme ve Cumhuriyetin Kamusal Mekân Modelleri.” *Mimarlık*, no. 342 (July-August 2008). http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=353&RecID=1822.

Arkitekt. “1948 İzmir Fuarında Sümerbank Paviyonu.” *Arkitekt*, no. 7-8 (July-August 1948): 155-159.

Arkitekt. “Eskişehir Garı Proje Müsabakası.” *Arkitekt*, no. 1-2 (1947): 18-26.

Arkitekt. “Köprübaşı İş Hanı (Eskişehir).” *Arkitekt* 2 (1974): 58-61.

Balcı, Yusuf. “Türkiye’de Konut Sorunu.” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 46 (1988): 297- 315.

Boran, Behice. “Sanayide Köylü-İşçi.” *Yurt ve Dünya* 3, no. 15-16 (March-April 1942): 81-84.

Çehreli, Ahmet. “Türkiye Demir ve Çelik İşletmelerinde İşçi İşveren Münasebetleri.” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* no. 17 (1966): 137-150.

Çelik, Zeynep, and Diane Favro. “Methods of Urban History.” *Journal of Architectural Education (1984)* 41, no. 3 (Spring 1988): 4-9.

Çuha, Nilgün. “Türkiye'de Göç Olgusu ve Eskişehir İl Merkezinde Kurulan Göçmen Mahalleleri.” *Erdem* 12, no.34 (July 1999): 381-411.

Ekin, M. Nusret. “Sanayiimizdeki Yüksek İşçi Devrinin Tesirleri ve Bu Hususta Alınabilecek Tedbirler.” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 20, no. 1-4 (1959): 243-322.

Eley, Geoff . “Labor History, Social History, ‘Alltagsgeschichte’: Experience, Culture, and the Politics of the Everyday - a New Direction for German Social History?.” *The Journal of Modern History* 61, no. 2 (June 1989): 297-343. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1880863.

Eröz, M. “Ek: Karabük Hakkında İki Vesika”. *Sosyoloji Konferansları Dergisi,* 2 (1962): 126.

Eskişehir Sanayi Odası. “Eskişehir Lokomotif ve Motor Sanayii Müessesi Faaliyetleri” *Eskişehir Sanayi Odası Dergisi*, no. 2 (December 1970): 27-28.

Ete, Muhlis. “Türkiye’nin Mesken Davası ve Siyaseti.” *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (1947): 84-117.

Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. "Karabük Sanayileşmesi ve İçtimai Tesirleri." *Türkiye Köy ve Şehir Sosyolojisi Merkezi Yayımı*, no. 1 (1964): 20-23.

Geray, Cevat. "İşçi Konutları ve Sosyal Standartlar." *İş ve Sigorta* 14 (1964): 6-8.

Gosseye, Janina, and Hilde Heynen. "Architecture for Leisure in Post-war Europe." *The Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 5 (November 2013): 623-31.

Harootunian, Harry. "In the Tiger's Lair: Socialist Everydayness Enters Post-Mao China." *Postcolonial Studies* 3, no. 3 (2000): 339-347.

Hobsbawm, E. J. "Social History to the History of Society." *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (Winter 1971): 20-45.

İzbırak, Reşat. "Eskişehir'le Çifteler Çevresinde Bir Coğrafya Gezisi." *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih- Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, no. 5 (1945): 507-521.

Karaömerlioğlu, Asım. "The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey." *Middle Eastern Studies 34*, no. 4 (October 1998): 67-91.

Karpat, H. Kemal. "Political Developments in Turkey, 1950-70." *Middle Eastern Studies* 8, no. 3. (October 1972): 349-375.

Karpat, Kemal. "The Genesis of the Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization." *European Journal of Turkish Studies* no. 1 (2004). http://www.ejts.org/document54.html.

Keleş, Ruşen. "Sosyal Konut Kavramı Üzerinde Bir Deneme ve Türkiye de Sosyal Konut Politikası." *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 21, no. 2 (1959): 167-234.

Keleş, Keleş. "Kentleşme ve Türkçe." *Dilbilim Araştırma Dergisi* 6 (1995): 1-5.

Koç, Yıldırım. "İşçi Hakları ve Sendikacılık." *11.Tez*, no. 5 (February 1987): 32-75.

Koç, Yıldırım. "Türkiye'de 1923-1950 Döneminde Daimi İşçi Sıkıntısı." *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi* 18, no. 168 (June 1994): 39-41.

Koçak, Hakan. "50'leri İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumunun Kritik Bir Uğrağı Olarak Yeniden Okumak." *Çalışma ve Toplum*, no. 18 (March 2008): 69-85.

Kogl, Alexandra. "A Hundred Ways of Beginning: The Politics of Everyday Life." *Polity* 41, no. 4 (October 2009): 514-535. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40587509.

Makal, Ahmet. "Türkiye'nin Sanayileşme Sürecinde İşgücü Sorunu, Sosyal Politika ve İktisadi Devlet Teşekkülleri: 1930'lu ve 1940'lı Yıllar." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 92 (Spring 2002): 34-70.

Mcleod, Mary. "Architecture or Revolution": Taylorism, Technocracy, and Social Change." *Art Journal* 43, no. 2 (1983): 132-47.

Mimarlık Dergisi. "Eskişehir İmar Planı Müsabakası." *Mimarlık Dergisi* 9, no. 3/4 (1952): 2-20.

Mortaş, Abidin. "Az Para ile Ev Yapmak ve Bizde Kooperatifçilik." *Arkitekt* 03-04, no. 147-148 (March-April 1944): 90-92.

Nacar, Can. "Our Lives Were Not as Valuable as an Animal": Workers in State-Run Industries in World-War-II Turkey." *IRSH 54* (2009): 143-166.

Oelsner, Gustav. "Modern İskan Semti ve Şehircilik." *Arkitekt* 07-08, no. 175-176 (July-August 1946): 168-170.

Özden, Barış Alp. "Health, Morality and Housing: The Politics of Working Class Housing in Turkey, 1945-1960." *New Perspectives on Turkey* no. 49 (September 2013): 91-120.

Özkut, Deniz. "The Traces of Modern Memory in Eskişehir." *Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Cultural Inventory* 16 (2017): 35-66.

Portelli, Alessandro. "The Peculiarities of Oral History." *History Workshop Journal* 12, no.1 (1981): 96-107.

Sayar, Zeki. “Müşterek İkametgahlar.” *Arkitekt*, no. 3 (March 1931): 97-98.

Sayar, Zeki. “Mesken Davasında Teşkilat.” *Arkitekt* 11-12, no. 253-254 (November-December 1952): 213-214.

Sayar, Zeki. “Şu Mesken Davamız.” *Arkitekt* 25, no. 283 (1956): 3-4.

Sayar, Zeki. “Mesken-Politika ve Baraka-Okul.” *Arkitekt* 27, no. 295 (1959): 44-68.

Stieber, Nancy. “Microhistory of the Modern City: Urban Space, Its Use and Representation.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 382-391.

Talas, Cahit. “Sosyal Sigortalarımız Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar.” *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 11, no. 2 (1956): 1-17.

Tanyeli, Uğur. “Erken Cumhuriyet’te Mimarlık ve “Modernite Projesi” veya Türkler ile Yabancılar.” *Sanat Dünyamız*, no. 89 (Fall 2003): 159-167.

TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Eskişehir Şubesi. “Üyelerimizi Tanıyalım.” *Mimarlık Bülteni* (March-April 1995).

Togay, Haluk. “İşçi Meskenler Meselesi.” *Arkitekt* 03, no. 296 (March 1959): 115-116.

Toprak, Zafer. “1946 Sendikacılığı, Sendika Gazetesi, İşçi Sendikaları, Birlikleri ve İşçi Klüpleri.” *Toplumsal Tarih* 6, no. 31 (July 1996): 19- 29.

Tunçdilek, Necdet. "Eskişehir ve Şehrin Tekamülü." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4, no. 8 (September 1957): 35-47.

Upton, Dell. **“**Architecture in Everyday Life.” *New Literary History* 33, no. 4 (Autumn 2002): 707- 723.

Ünal, Bekir İhsan. “Ev Projeleri.” *Arkitekt* 01, no. 25 (January 1933): 17-18.

Ünal, Bekir İhsan. "Küçük Ev Projeleri." *Arkitekt* 02, no. 26 (February 1933): 53-54.

Ünsal, Behçet. "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor." *Arkitekt* 03-04, no. 99-100 (March-April 1939): 60-62.

Üstün, Berna. "Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Yerleşkesi Lojman Konutları Plan Tipolojileri Üzerine bir Çalışma." Tasarım + Kuram, no. 11-12 (2011): 40-66, 47.

Wagner, Bernard. "Türkiye'de Mesken Meselesi I." *Arkitekt* 2, no. 285 (1956): 79-80.

Wagner, Bernard. "Türkiye'de Mesken Meselesi II." *Arkitekt* 3, no. 285 (1956): 119-139.

Yasa, İbrahim "The 'Gecekondu' Family." *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 27, no. 3 (1972): 575-84.

Yenişehirlioğlu, Filiz. "Resimde Zaman ve Mekan Kavramı." *Ankara: Middle East Technical University* (1990): 1.

Wurster, Catherine Bauer. "The Social Front of Modern Architecture in the 1930s: 1930s More Than a Style?." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 24, no. 1 (March 1965): 48-52.

Zachert, Martha Jane K. "The Implications of Oral History for Librarians." *College and Research Libraries* 29, no. 2 (1968): 101-3.

Archival Documents (The Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive)

Catalogue of Department of Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet)* (ŞD), Catalog no. 1562/23, 23.10.1312.

Catalogue of Department of Educational Editorial Department (*Maarif Nezâreti Mektubî Kalem*) (MF.MKT.), Catalog no. 391/25 11.11.1315.

Catalogue of Department of Maps (*Haritalar*) (HRT.h..), Catalog no. 1375, 29.12.1341.

Catalogue of Department of Ministry of Interior Coding Department (*Dahiliye Nezareti Şifre Kalemi*) (DH.ŞFR.), Catalog no. 295/63, 05.08.1318.

Catalogue of Department of Ottoman Porte Documents (*Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası*) (BEO), Catalog no. 1346/100888, 19.03.1317.

Catalogue of Department of Ottoman Porte Documents (*Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası*) (BEO), Catalog no. 4379/328397, 05.12.1333.

Catalogue of Department of Private Decision (*İrade Hususi*) (İ.HUS.), Catalog no. 50/65, 15.06.1314.

Catalogue of Department of Private Decision (*İrade Hususi*) (İ.HUS.), Catalog no. 425/399, 21.11.1896.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 03/110, 30.11.1940.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 34/15, 07.03.1933.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 34/16, 16.03.1933.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 34/19, 24.03.1933.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 39/61, 03.09.1933.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 42/3, 22.01.1934.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 46/42, 14.06.1934

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 78/77, 07.09.1937.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 81/535, 11.11.1941.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 85/100, 01.12.1938.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 97/127, 11.03.1942.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 102/54, 16.07.1943.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 105/655, 00.00.1967.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 111/61, 19.09.1946.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 119/26, 06.04.1949.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 122/27, 18.03.1950.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 122/34, 06.04.1950.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 122/48, 10.06.1950.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 127/79, 05.11.1951.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 128/24, 28.03.1952.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 129/66, 28.08.1952.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 131/10, 06.02.1953.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 131/29, 10.04.1953.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 133/74, 12.09.1953.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 133/83, 21.10.1953.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 134/106, 18.01.1954.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 134/116, 27.01.1954.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 135/22, 20.02.1954.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 138/119, 11.02.1955.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 138/125, 28.02.1955.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 139/37, 14.04.1955.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 142/28, 21.03.1956.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 143/53, 02.10.1972.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 143/53, 19.06.1956.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 145/111, 11.02.1957.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 171/187, 31.01.1933.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 181/248, 06.03.1932.

Catalogue of Department of Republican Archive (*Cumhuriyet Arşivi)*, Catalog no. 1742/1073, 05.10.1939.

Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 74/32, 20.04.1937.

Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 102/64, 08.09.1943.

Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 103/74, 11.10.1943.

Catalogue of Department of Resolutions (*Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı*), Catalog no. 108/22, 04.04.1945.

Catalogue of Department of State (*Hariciye Nezareti*) (HR.TH..), Catalog no. 218/66, 18.10.1898.

Catalogue of Editorial Office of Ministry of the Interior *(Dahiliye Nezâreti Mektubî Kalemi)* (DH. MKT.), Catalog no. 1708/132, 25.07.1307.

Catalogue of General Directorate of Transactions (*Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü*), Catalog no. 19/22, 01.04.1931.

Catalogue of General Directorate of Transactions (*Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü*), Catalog no. 42/01, 07.01.1934.

Catalogue of Ministry of Interior (*İrade Dahiliye*) (İ.DH.), Catalog no. 1322/10, 18.11.1312.

Catalogue of Yıldız Prime Ministry's Official Submission (*Yıldız Sadaret Resmi Maruzat Evrakı*) (Y.A.RES.), Catalog no. 126/21, 13.03.1322.

Legal Document, Regulation, and Report:

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal. *C.H.F. Nizamnamesi ve Programı*. Ankara: T.B.M.M. Matbaası, 1931).

Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti. *Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı.* Ankara: Ulusal Matbaa, 1940.

Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti. *Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Tarafından 3460 Sayılı Kanunun 24 Maddesi Gereğince Hazırlanan Sümerbank 1958 Yılı Raporu.* Ankara: Gürsoy Basımevi: 1960.

Başbakanlık Umumi Murakabe Heyeti. *Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı Raporu.* Ankara: Ulusal Matbaa, 1941a.

Bercha, Sammy. *Rasyonalizasyon ve İnkılap.* Ankara: Ankara İktisat Vekaleti, 1937.

Berkes, Hüsamettin. *Endüstride Ölçülük- Rasyonalizasyon: En Yüksek Verimle Çalışma ve Metot ve Prensipleri.* İstanbul: Demiryollar Basımevi, 1947.

Bozok, Osman. "Türkiye Şeker Sanayiinin Kısa Tarihçesi." In *İşletme Mühendisleri Seminer Notları 3-18 Mayıs 1976,* edited by TŞFAŞ. Şeker Enstitüsü, 7-8. Etimesgut: TŞFAŞ Şeker Enstitüsü, 1976.

C.H.P Eskişehir İl Yönetim Kurulu. *Cumhuriyetin 15'inci Yılında Eskişehir*. İstanbul: Kültür Matbaası, 1938.

Çalışma Vekaleti. *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*. Ankara: Çalışma Vekaleti, 1957.

Demir Çelik Karabük *Türkiye Demir Çelik Fabrikaları Müessesesi*. İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1948.

Demokrat Parti. *Demokrat Parti Tüzük ve Programı*. Ankara: Güneş Matbaacılık, 1952.

Devlet Demiryolları Eskişehir Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası. *Devlet Demiryolları Eskişehir Sanayi İşçileri Sendikası Ana Tüzüğü.* Eskişehir: Sesışık Matbaası, 1948.

Devlet Demiryolları ve Limanları İşletme Umum Müdürlüğü. *Sanat Çırak Okulları Talimatnamesi*. İstanbul: Demiryollar Matbaası, 1940).

Devlet Demiryolları. *Demiryolları Faaliyetleri*. İzmir: TCDD Matbaası, 1958.

DYF-İŞ. *Sendikalının El Kitabı.* Ankara: Nam Matbaacılık, 1971.

Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası. *Eskişehir Basma Fabrikası ile Tekstil Eskişehir Şubesi Arasında Yapılan Toplu İş Sözleşmesi.* Eskişehir: Nur Matbaası, 1965.

Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları. *Registry Book* (Sicil-i Ahval Defteri of the Eskişehir Railway Factory). Eskişehir: TCCD, nd.

Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçileri *Eskişehir Demiryolcuları Ev Kooperatifi Esas Mukavelenamesi*. Eskişehir: Yıldız Matbaası, 1950.

Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası. *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1955-1956*. Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1956.

Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası. *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1963-1965*. Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1965.

Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası. *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1967-1968.* Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1968.

Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası. *Eskişehir Demiryolu İşçi Sendikası 17. Dönem Çalışma Raporu 1977-1979*. Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1979.

Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Memurları ve İşçileri İstihlak Kooperatifi. *Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Memurları ve İşçileri İstihlak Kooperatifi 1942 Bilançosu.* İstanbul: Hüşnütabiat Basımevi, 1942.

Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları İşçileri Şen Yuva Kooperatifi. *Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları İşçileri Şen Yuva Yapı Kooperatifi Ortaklık Statüsü*. Eskişehir: Yeni Matbaa, 1959.

Eskişehir İşçileri Yapı Kooperatifi. *Eskişehir İşçileri Yapı Kooperatifi Ortaklığı Statüsü*. Eskişehir: Yeşilnur Matbaası, 1954.

Eskişehir Sakarya Bölgesi İşçi Evleri Yapı Kooperatifi. *Eskişehir Sakarya Bölgesi İşçi Evleri Yapı Kooperatifi Kuruluş Genel Kurul Faaliyet ve Hesap Raporu*. Eskişehir: Yeşilnur Matbaası, 1954.

Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Mensupları. *Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası Mensupları Para Biriktirme ve Yardımlaşma Sandığı Tüzüğü.* Eskişehir: Kral Matbaa, n.d..

Gürses, Mustafa. *Sevk ve İdarecilik: Sanayide Eğitim*. İzmir: Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu İzmir Bölge Müdürlüğü, , n.d.

İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı. *İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Halk Konutları Standartları.* Ankara: İmar İskan Bakanlığı, 1964.

İşçi ve Çiftçi Partisi. *İşçi ve Çiftçi Partisi Program ve Tüzüğü*. Eskişehir: Ticaret Matbaası, 1951.

İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu. *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*. Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. O. Matbaası, 1954.

İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü. *İşçi Evleri Yapılması ve Bunlarla ilgili İşler Hakkında Talimatname*. Ankara: Işık Matbaacılık, 1958.

Kolektif. *Türkiye Sendikacılık Ansiklopedisi, III.* Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1996.

Mesken Umum Müdürlüğü. *Mesken Durumumuz Hakkında Etüd*. Ankara: Mesken Umum Müdürlüğü, 1960.

Orloff. *Türkiye Pamuk, Keten, Kendir, Kimya, Demir Sanayii: Hakkında Sovyet Mütehassısları Tarafından Verilen Raporlar.* Ankara. Başvekalet Müdevvenat Matbaası, 1933.

Sümerbank. *1941 senesi faaliyet ve hesap devresine ait İktisadi Meclis Raporu.* Ankara: TBMM, 1942.

Sümerbank. *Eskişehir Basma Sanayii Müessesesi*. Ankara: Sümerbank, n.d.

Sümerbank. *Tekstil Semineri, 12-14 Temmuz 1971.* Ankara: Sümerbank Yayınları, 1971.

Sümerbank Fabrikası. *Eskişehir Sümerbank Basma Sanayii*. Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. Matbaası, 1965.

Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük. *Dokumacılıktaki Yeniliklerin İzlenmesi Semineri.* Ankara: Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük, 1967.

Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük *Sümerbank Genel Müdürlük Genelgeleri 1970*. Ankara: DSİ Matbaası, 1971.

Sümerbank. *Sümerbank Personel Rehberi.* Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1976.

Şeker-İş Eskişehir Şubesi. 7. Genel Kurul Yönteim Kurulu Çalışma Raporu: 1972-1975. Eskişehir: Şeker-İş Eskişehir Şubesi, 1975.

TBMM. *TBMM Kavanin Mecmuası Cilt:2*. Ankara: TBMM Matbaası, 1942.

TBMM. *1957 mali yılı Mavazenei Umumiye kanunu layihası, dönem. 10, cilt. 17, oturum. 41.* Ankara: TBMM, 1957b.

T.C. Başbakanlık Yüksek Denetleme Kurulu. *Sümerbank Nazilli Basma Sanayi Müessesesi Raporu.* Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1972.

TCDD. *50. yılında TCDD ELMS Eskişehir Lokomotif ve Motor Sanayii Müessesi* Ankara: TCDD Matbaası, 1973.

TCDD. *TCDD ELMS 1971*. Ankara: TCDD, 1971.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *Bina Yapımını Teşvik ve İzinsiz yapılan Binalar hakkında Kanun (the Law on Building Construction and Unauthorized Buildings), no. 8470.* Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1953.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *Devlet Demiryolları İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü İşçilerine Mesken Yaptırılması için Borç Para Verilmesine Dair olan 5954 Sayılı Kanunun 6173 ve 121 Sayılı Kanunlarla 1nci Maddesinde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun Teklifi*. Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1962.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *İhtiyarlık Sigortası Kanunu (Insurance of the Old* Age), no.7227. Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1949.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *İşçi Meskenleri Kurumu Kanunu Tasarısı*. Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1957.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *Gecekondu Kanunu no. 775.* Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1966.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *Kat Mülkiyet Kanunu (Flat Property Act) no. 634.* Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1965.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *Sınaî Müesseselerde ve Maden Ocaklarında Meslekî Kurslar Açılmasına dair Kanun No. 3457.* Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1938.

T. C. Resmi Gazete. *Sümerbank Kanunu No. 2262.* Ankara: Başvekâlet Neşriyat Müdürlüğü, 1933.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü. *20 Şehirde 1960 Mesken Şartları Anketi Örnekleme Sonuçları- 1960 Sample Survey of Housing Condition in 20 Cities.* Ankara: Ankara Basım ve Ciltevi, 1962.

Türkiye Demiryolları İşçi Sendikası Eskişehir Şubesi. *2. Olağan Genel Kurulu Çalışma Raporu 1987*. Eskişehir: Güzel-iş Matbaası, 1987.

Türkiye Demiryolları İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu. *Sendikalarımıza ve Demiryolu İşçilerimize.* Eskişehir: Altan Matbaası, 1960.

Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları. *Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. Dahili Talimatnamesi*. İstanbul: Kaatçılık ve Maatbacılık A.Ş, 1938.

Türkiye Şeker Sanayi İşçileri Federasyonu. *Türkiye Şeker Sanayi İşçileri Federasyonu Ana Nizamnamesi.* Eskişehir: Hamiyet Matbaası, 1953.

United Nations. *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice.* United Nations: San Francisco, 1945.

Yavuz, Fehmi. *Memleketimizde Sosyal Güvenliğin Gelişmesi*. Ankara: İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Genel Müdürlüğü, 1952).

Guidebook, Memoir, Itinerary, Yearbook, Brochure, and Other Documents

Arhengelos, Gawriel. *Anadolu-Osmanlı Demiryolu ve Şirketi Osmaninin İçyüzü*. İstanbul, 1909.

Atölye Müdürlüğü. "Fabrikalar: D.D.Y. Cer Atölyesi." In *Cumhuriyetin 25 nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış,* edited by Orhan Soydaş, 21. İstanbul: Bakış Matbaası, 1948.

.

Çelikkanat, Fikret. *50. Yılda Eskişehir*. Eskişehir: Özgür Yayınları, 1973.

Çelikkanat, Fikret. *Eskişehir* Eskişehir: Bozkurt Matbaası, 1963.

Çelikkanat, Fikret. *Eskişehir*. Eskişehir: Karaca Ofset, 1990.

Eskişehir. Eskişehir. 1932.

Eskişehir Sanayi Odası. *Bir Sanayileşme Mucizesi: Kendini Var Etmek.* Eskişehir: Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, 2012.

Eskişehir Ticaret Odası. *Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yönüyle Eskişehir.* Eskişehir: Ülkü Matbaası, 1973.

Eskişehir Valiliği. *1967 İl Yıllığı Eskişehir*. Ankara: Ajans-Türk Matbaacılık Sanayii, 1967.

Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. *Amme ve Belediye Hizmetleri Bakımından Karabük.* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Türkiye Köy ve Şehir Sosyolojisi Merkezi Yayını, 1963.

Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. *Kuruluşu'nun XXV. Yılında Karabük (1937-1962).* İstanbul: Türkiye Harsi ve İçtimai Araştırmalar Derneği Yayını, 1962.

Heper, Y. Emre. "Eskişehir Sanayii Dünü- Bugünü." In *Eskişehir Sanayi Odası 25. Yıl Özel Sayı,* edited by Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, 43-44. (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, 1993).

Eskişehir Sanayi Odası. *Eskişehir Sanayi: Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını*. Eskişehir: Eskişehir Sanayi Odası Yayınları, 1988.

Golds, Von der. *Anatolische Ausflüge*. Berlin: Shall & Grund, 1896.

Güngörür, Avni, and Kemalettin Conker. *Eskişehir Kılavuzu*. Ankara: Anıl Matbaası, 1952).

Gürol, Abdülkadir. *Eskişehir Klavuzu*. Eskişehir: Sesışık Basımevi, 1949.

Huart, Clement. *Mevleviler Beldesi Konya.* İstanbul: Tercüman, 1978.

İl Yıllığı Hazırlama Komitesi. *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Kayseri 1973 İl Yıllığı 38 - Kayseri.* Ankara: Yardımlaşma Birliği Yayınları, 1973.

Kandan, Sait. *Ucuz Mesken Kredisi (Muhtelif Memleketlerde ve Türkiye'de).* Ankara: Başvekalet Devlet Matbaası, 1953.

Kessler, Gerhard. *Zonguldak ve Karabük'teki Çalışma Şartları*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Enstitüsü Yayını, 1949.

Kılıç, Levend. *Anılarda Eskişehir*. Eskişehir: Anadolu Rotary Klubü, 1997.

Körte, Alfred. *Anatolische Skizzen*. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1896.

Naumann, Edmund. *Vom Goldenen Horn zu den Quellen des Euphrat (From the Golden Horn to Euphrates).* München: R. Oldenbourg, 1893.

The Record Book and Memoir of Mesrur Dındın.

Salname-i Vilayet-i Hüdavendigar, 1898.

Sarar, İsmail Ali *Eskişehir Çevre İncelemesi*. Eskişehir: Hatiboğlu Kitabevi, 1976.

Sarıöz, Perihan. *Bir Zamanlar Eskişehir*. İstanbul: Esbank Yayınları, 1997.

Soydaş, Orhan. *Cumhuriyetin 25 nci Yılında Eskişehir'e Bakış*. İstanbul: Bakış Matbaası, 1948.

Tuksavul, Muammer. *Doğudan Batıya ve Sonrası*. İstanbul: Tidfruk Yayınları, 1981.

Uğurlu, Kamil, and ZahirEnçevik. *Eskişehir Şehrengizi*. Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi, 2011.

Veldet, Turan. *30. Yılında Türkiye Şeker Sanayii*. Ankara: TŞFAŞ Neşriyatı, 1958.

Yakut, Kemal. *Modern Eskişehir'in Doğuşu.* Eskişehir: Kebikeç Yayınları, 2015.

Yalçın, Osman. *Eskişehir.* İstanbul: Özyürek Yayınevi, 1957.

Yaman, Yücel. *Yurt Ansiklopedisi: Türkiye, İl İl: Dünü, Bugünü, Yarını*. İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1981.

Yüce, Celal. *Eskişehir Çevre İncelemesi*. İstanbul: Sontelgraf Matbaası, 1969.

Book

Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Ahmad, Feroz. *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu.* İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2017.

Agar, Michael H. *The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1980.

Akcan, Esra. *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House*. USA: Duke University Press, 2012.

Akkaya, Yüksel. *Cumhuriyet'in Hamalları: İşçiler*. İstanbul: Yordam Yayınları, 2010.

Albek, Suzan. *Dorylaion'dan Eskişehir'e*. Eskişehir: Eğitim, Sağlık ve Bilimsel Araştırma Vakfı, 1991.

Arnesen, Eric. *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History*. NY: Routledge, 2007.

Aydın, Mustafa Berkay. "Kamu İşçilerinden Güvencesizlere: Karabük'te İşçi Sınıfının Hikayesi." In *Akademide Yolculuk*, edited by Aynur Özuğurlu and Atakan Büke, 137-76. İstanbul: Deniz Matbaa, 2017.

Baydar, Oya. *Türkiye'de Sendikacılık Hareketi*. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1998.

Baydar, Oya. *75 yılda Çarkları Döndürenler*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları,1999.

Blumer, Herbert. *Industrilization as an Agent of Social Change: A Critical Analysis (Communication & Social Order)*. US: Aldine Transaction, 1990.

Boratav, Korkut. *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908- 1985.* İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1988.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Democracy, Development and the Americanization of Turkish Architectural Culture in the 1950s." In *Modernism in the Middle East*, edited by Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi, 117-39. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.

Bozdoğan, Sibel, and Esra Akcan. *Modern Architectures in History*. London: Reaktion, 2012.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 133-156. USA: University of Washington, 1997.

Bükülmez, G. *Yenişehir Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Analitik Etütleri*. Karabük: Karabük Belediyesi, 1996.

Caunce, Stephen. *Oral History and the Local Historian*. London and New York: Longman, 1994.

Cengizkan, Ali. *Fabrikada Barınmak: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'de İşçi Konutları: Yaşam, Mekan ve Kent.* Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2009.

Crawford, Margaret. *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Town.* London & New York: Verso, 1995.

Crawford, Margaret, and Michael Speaks. *Everyday Urbanism (Michigan Debates on Urbanism).* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005.

Darley, Gillian. *Factory*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2003.

Emiroğlu, Kudret, and Süha Ünsal. *Kentleşme, Yapı ve Konut, 1923- 1950 Dönemi.* Ankara: İntes, 2006.

Endem, Naci. "Tırmanır Kalıp." In *İnşaatçıların Tarihi: Türkiye'de Müteahhitlik Hizmetlerinin Gelişimi Ve Türkiye Müteahhitler Birliği,* edited by Eftal Şükrü Batmaz, Kudret Emiroğlu and Süha Ünsal, 191. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2006.

Ergün, Ömer. "Ömer Ergün." In *Türk-iş Tarihinde Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar ve Portreler (1),* edited by Yıldırım Koç, 120-24. Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yay, 1998.

Erkin, Behiç. *Hatırat 1876- 1958*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2010.

Ertin, Gaye. *Eskişehir Kentinde Yerleşmenin Evrimi*. Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1994.

Evans, Sara M., and Harry C. Boyte. *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Geray, Cevat. *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler ve Göçmen İskanları*. Ankara: Ajans-Türk Matbaası, 1962.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks.* New York: International Publishers, 1978.

Gürel, Ö. Meltem. "Seashore Readings: the Road from Sea Baths to Summerhouses in Mid-twentieth Century." In *Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s,* edited by Meltem Ö. Gürel, 27-55. Oxon: Routledge, 2016.

Güzel, M. Şehmus. *Türkiye'de İşçi Hareketi 1908-1984*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1996.

Hobsbawm, Eric J."Class Consciousness in History" In *Aspects of History and Class Consciousness*, edited by Istvan Meszaros, 14-15. UK: Routledge & K. Paul, 1971.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day*. NY: The New Press, 1999.

İnalcık, Halil. *Kurtuluş ve Aydınlanma: Eskişehir arşiv belgeleriyle*. Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2009.

İnan, Afet. *Devletçilik İlkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci Sanayi Planı 1933*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972.

Karpat, Kemal. *Türkiye'de Siyasal Sistemin Evrimi: 1876-1980*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007.

Karpat, Kemal. *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010.

Karpat, Kemal. *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Kaya, Ali Özcan. *Cumhuriyet Devrinde Mesken Meselesi*. Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü, 1961.

Keyder, Çağlar. "Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and in Republican Turkey, ca. 1900-1950." In *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, edited by Donald Quataert, 123-63. NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Keyder, Çağlar. *Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın İflası*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2004.

Keyder, Çağlar. "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 37-51. USA: University of Washington, 1997.

Kızılkaya, Hamit. "Hamit Kızılkaya." In Türk-iş *Tarihinde Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar ve Portreler (1),* edited by Yıldırım Koç, 52-54 .Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yayınları, 1998.

Kirk, Neville. *Change, Continuity and Class: Labour in British Society, 1850-1920*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Koç, Yıldırım. *Türk-İş Tarihinden Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar-Gözlemler (I)*. Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yayınları, 1998.

Koç, Yıldırım. *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık Hareketi Tarihi*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2003.

Koç, Yıldırım. *Türkiye İşçi Sınıfı ve Sendikacılık Hareketi Tarihi: Osmanlı'dan 2010'a.* Ankara: Epos Yayınları, 2010.

Kuban, Doğan. "A Survey of Modern Turkish Architecture." In *Architecture in Continuity Building in the Islamic World*, edited by Sherban Cantacuzino, 64-75. New York: New York Aperture, 1985.

Larson, Mary A. "Research Design and Strategies." In *History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology,* edited by Thomas L.Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless, 96-101. UK: Altamira Press, 2007.

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life.* Great Britain: Bookcraft (Bath) Ltd., 1991.

Liddell, Henry George, and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. USA: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Makal, Ahmet. *Türkiye'de Tek Partili Dönemde Çalışma İlişkileri: 1920-1946*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999.

Makal, Ahmet. *Türkiye'de Çok Partili Dönemde Çalışma İlişkileri: 1946-1963.* Ankara: İmge Kitapevi, 2002.

Martin, David E., and Donald M. MacRaild. *Labour in British Society, 1830-1914 (Social History in Perspective).* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.

McLeod, Mary. 1996. "Everyday and "Other" Spaces." In *Feminism and Architecture,* edited by Debra L. Coleman, Elizabeth Ann Danze and Carol Jane Henderson, 182-202. NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

McLeod, Mary. 1997. "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction." In *Architecture of the Everyday,* edited by Steven Harris and Deborah Berke, 9-29. NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

Miles, Andrew, and Mike Savage. *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Nevins, Allan. *The Gateway to History*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938.

Oran, Sabri. *Erkek Orta Sanat Okulları ve Erkek Sanat Enstitüleri*.İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1952.

Özcan, Nazif. "Anılarda Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası: Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikalarında Bir Gün." In *Tülomsaş: Türkiye,* edited by Süreyya Baki Şenol, 58-63. Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1963.

Özeken, Ahmet Ali. "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," In *İçtimai Siyaset Konferansları, Kitap 3,* edited by İktisat ve İçtimaiyat Enstitüsü, 103-130. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat ve İçtimai, 1949.

Pinnegar, Stefinee, and J. Gary Daynes. " Locating Narrative Inquiry Historically: Thematics in the Turn to Narrative." In *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry: Mapping a Methodology,* edited by D. Jean Clandinin, 3-34. California: Sage, 2007.

Quataert, Donald. *Workers and the working class in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, 1839-1950.* London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995.

Ritchie, Donald A. *Doing Oral History*. UK: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Scott, James C *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Ha.ve Failed*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.

Serin, Necdet. *Türkiye'nin Sanayileşmesi.* Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1963.

Sevük, Ahmet. "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yılları." In *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* edited by Süreyya Baki Şenol, 20-23. Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1994.

Shopes, Linda. “Using Oral History for a Family History Project.” In *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum, 234. Nashville: Association for State and Local History, 1996.

Sommer, Barbara W., and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual*. UK: Altamira Press, 2009.

Sülker, Kemal. *Türkiye’de Sendikacılık.* İstanbul: Sendika Kültürü Serisi, 1955.

Sülker, Kemal. *Sendikacılar ve Politika*. İstanbul: May Yayınları, 1975.

Sülker, Kemal. *Türkiye Sendikacılık Tarihi, Üçüncü Baskı.* İstanbul: Tüstav Yayınları, 2004a.

Sevük, Ahmet. “Söyleşide Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası.” In *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* edited by Süreyya Baki Şenol, 55-57. Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1994.

Şengül, Hüseyin Tarık. *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar*. İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı, 2001.

Şengül, Hüseyin Tarık. “Türkiye’nin Kentleşme Deneyiminin Dönemlenmesi.” In *1920’den Günümüze Türkiye’de Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim*, edited by Faruk Alpkaya and Bülent Duru, 407- 453. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2012.

Şenol, Süreyya Baki. “Çırak Mektebi” In *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994*, edited by Süreyya Baki Şenol, 28-33. Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1932.

Şenol, Süreyya Baki. *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994*. Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1994.

Şide, Sadık. “Sadık Şide.” In *Türk-iş Tarihinde Portreler: Eski Sendikacılardan Anılar ve Portreler (1),* edited by Yıldırım Koç, 135-38. Ankara: Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu Yay, 1998.

Tanyeli, Uğur. *Mimarlığın Aktörleri Türkiye 1900-2000*. İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007).

Tarih Vakfı. *75 yılda Çarklardan Chip'lere*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999.

Taygun, Nazım. *Türkşeker'in Öyküsü*. Ankara: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. Yayınları, 1993.

Tekeli, İlhan. *Sanayi Toplumu için Sanayi Yazıları.* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009.

Tekeli, İlhan. *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001.

Tekeli, İlhan. *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*. Ankara: Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi, 1996.

Tekeli, İlhan. *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980).* İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002.

Tekeli, İlhan, and Selim İlkin. *Uygulamaya Geçerken Türkiye'de Devletçiliğin Oluşumu.* Ankara: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1982.

Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class.* London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1963.

Thompson, Paul. *The voice of the past: Oral history*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1978.

TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Eskişehir Şubesi. *VIII. Dönem Çalışma Raporu*. Eskişehir: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Eskişehir Şubesi, 2008.

Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları. *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Şeker Sanayimiz*. Ankara: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A. Ş., 1973.

Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları. *Cumhuriyetin 80. yılında Türk şeker sanayi*. Ankara: Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A. Ş., 2003.

Türkmen, Özcan. *Eskişehir Eğitim Tarihi*. Eskişehir: Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü, 2006.

Ure, Andrew. *The Philosophy of Manufactures: or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain*. NY: Kelley, 1967.

Üner, Üner. "Anılarda Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikası: Eskişehir Demiryol Fabrikalarını Ziyaret." In *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* edited by Süreyya Baki Şenol, 65-69. Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1968.

Janesick, Valerie J. *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher, Choreographing the Story.* New York: The Guilford Press, 2010.

Yamaner, Reşat. "Anılarda Cer Atelyeleri: Eskişehir Cer Atelyesinde 2 Saat." In *Tülomsaş: Türkiye Demiryollarında 100 Yıl, 1894-1994,* edited by Süreyya Baki Şenol, 34-37. Eskişehir: Etam Matbaası, 1952.

Yow, Valerie Raleigh. *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994.

Thesis and dissertation

İmamoğlu, Bilge. "Workers' Housing Projects by Seyfi Arkan in the Zonguldak Coalfield: A Case of Modernization in Early Republican Turkey." master's thesis. METU, 2003.

Özden, Barış Alp. "Working Class Formation in Turkey, 1946-1962." PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2011.

Interview

Dındın, Mesrur. "Seylap Evleri." Interview by Banu Gürlek. *Sakarya,* April 3, 2019.

Karasu, Cezmi. "Bulgular ve Yorumlar." Interview by Hasan Çiftçi and Ali Kıvrak. *Tülomsaş (Türkiye Lokomotif Ve Motor Sanayi Anonim Şirketi) Toplumsal, Kurumsal Ve Ekonomik Yaşamda Üstlendiği Öncü Rol ve Bunun Üzerine Tarihi Tanıklıklar*, January 25, 2009.

Nevzat Dondemir, Interview by Seda Topgül. 2017.

Website Content

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. "Tarihçe." Accessed May 1, 2020. http://esata.meb.k12.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/26/01/967488/icerikler/tarihcemiz_191175.html?CHK=9112d25cfbad5ff9884d524f1eab74c7.

Oral History Association (OHA). "OHA Core Principles." Accessed December 29, 2020. https://www.oralhistory.org/oha-core-principles/.

Oxford English Dictionary "Time clock." Accessed May 1, 2020. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/time-clock.

Oxford University Press. "Techne." Accessed May 1, 2020. https://www.lexico.com/definition/techne.

Oxford English Dictionary. "Paternalism." accessed May 1, 2020. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/paternalism?q=Paternalism.

The Oral History Association. "Principles and Best Practices: Principles for Oral History and Best Practices for Oral History." Last modified October, 2009. http://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/.

TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Eskişehir Şubesi. "Çalışma Raporları." Accessed November 2, 2019. http://www.mimaresk.org.tr/.

Türk Şeker. "1933 İstatistikler." Accessed May 1, 2018. http://www.turkseker.gov.tr.

Archive

Eskişehir Municipality Archive

Eskişehir Railway Museum

Eskişehir Urban Museum

İ.B.B. Atatürk Library Archive and Database

Farabi Digital Library

Gşifka Archive

National Library

SALT Research

The Archive of Eskişehir Chamber of Industry

The Archive of Eskişehir General Directorate of Land Registers

The Archive of Eskişehir Demirspor Club

The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory

The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Trade Union

The Archive of Eskişehir Railway Retired Workers' Association

The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Factory

The Archive of Eskişehir Sugar Trade Union

The Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory

The Archive of Eskişehir Worker's Hospital

The Archive of National Education

The Archive of the General Directorate of Mapping

The Archive of the General Directorate of Sümerbank Holding

The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Railways

The Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories

The Archive of the Institute of Turkish Revolution History

The Directorate of the Presidency's State Archive

The Journal Archive of Anadolu University

The Journal Archive of Odunpazarı Public Library

The Personal Archive of Nüzhet Özışık

The Personal Archive of Mesrur Dındın

Turkish Historical Society Library and Archive

APPENDICES

A. ORAL HISTORY QUESTIONS

1. KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER
PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Adınız ve soyadınız nedir?
What is your name?

- Cinsiyetiniz nedir?
What is your gender?

- Doğum tarihiniz nedir?
When is your date of birth?

- Nerede doğdunuz?
Where were you born?

- Etnik Kökeniniz nedir?
What is your ethnicity?

- Eğitim durumunuz nedir?
What is your education level?

- Hangi fabrikada çalıştınız?
Which factory did you work in?

- Fabrikada görev tanımınız neydi?

What was your job description in the factory?

- Fabrikada hangi yıllar arasında çalıştınız?
Which years did you work in the factory?

- Ailenizde bu fabrikalarda çalışanlar var mıydı?
Were there other factory employees in your family?

2. ÜRETİM MEKÂNI
WORKSPACE

- Fabrikada çalışmaya nasıl başladınız?
How did you start working in the factory?

- Fabrikada bir çalışma gününüzü nasıldı?
What was your working day like in the factory?

- Çalışma saatleriniz neydi? Tatil günleriniz var mıydı? Vardiya sistemi var ise, vardiya sistemi nasıl işliyordu?
What were your working hours? Did you have holidays? If there was a shift system, how did the shift system work?

- Fabrikada üretimin işleyişi nasıldı? Üretimin işleyişinin, üretim mekânları ile ilişkileri nasıldı?
What was the production process in the factory? How was the production process related to the production spaces?

- Fabrikada hangi görev tanımları bulunmaktaydı? Bu görevler için hiyerarşik bir işleyiş bulunmakta mıydı? Hiyerarşik işleyiş var ise, mekânlara yansıyor muydu?
How was labor divided in the factory? Was there a hierarchical division? If there was a hierarchical division, was it reflected in the spaces?

- Farklı görev tanımı olan çalışanlar karşılaşıyorlar mıydı? Yoksa üretim alanlarında mekânsal ayrım var mıydı?

Did employees in different divisions of labor interact? Or was there spatial division in the workspaces?

- Kadın çalışanlar var mıydı, var ise hangi görevlerde çalışıyorlardı?

Were there woman employees, and if so, in which job descriptions did they work?

- Kontrol sistemi/ gözetleme/ verimliliği artırma/ randıman/ disiplin önlemleri var mıydı? Bu mekanizmalar nasıl çalışıyordu?

Was there a control mechanism/supervision/efficiency improvement/disciplinary control? How did these mechanisms work?

- Fabrikanın giriş kapısında hangi kontroller yapılıyordu?

Which supervisions and controls were done at the factory gate?

- Öğle yemeği haricinde hangi dinlenme aralıkları düzenlenmişti? Bu zaman aralıkları kontrol ediliyor muydu?

Which leisure times were arranged, except for lunch? Were these time intervals controlled?

- Hangi çalışanlar çalışma disiplinine ayak uydurabiliyordu?

Which employees adapted to work discipline?

- Giriş kapısından üretim mekânlarına geçiş, idare binası tarafından görülebilir ve denetlenebilir miydi?

Was the circulation from the entrance gate to the production areas visible and controlled by the administration building?

- Üretime yönelik alınan eğitim ile çalışanlar nasıl bireylere dönüştüler? Endüstriyel eğitimin günlük hayata nasıl etkileri olmuştur?

How did the employees transform into individuals through industrial training? How did industrial training influence daily life?

- Aylık gelir ne kadardı? Ücret politikası neye göre belirleniyordu?
What was your wage? How was the wage policy determined?

3. İŞÇİ ÖRGÜTLENMELERİ
WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

- Sendikaların fabrika içinde temsilcilik ofisi var mıydı? Bu ofis neredeydi?
Did trade unions have representation offices inside factories? Where was this office?

- İşçi sendikası, yapı ya da tüketim kooperatiflerine dahil oldunuz mu? Hangi yıllar arasında dahil oldunuz? Hangi görevde çalıştınız?
Were you involved in trade unions, housing cooperatives, or consumer cooperatives? During which years were you involved? What was your job description?

- Özellikle belirli statüdeki çalışanlar mı örgütleniyordu? Ne amaçla örgütleniyorlardı?
Were employees of particular hierarchical status more likely to organize? For what purposes did they organize?

- İşçi örgütlenmesi lideri ya da sendika faaliyetlerinde etkin kişiler kimlerdi? Bu kişileri nasıl tanımlarsınız?
Who were the leaders of the workers' organization or those who were active in trade union activities? How would you describe them?

- İşçi örgütlenmeleri ile birlikte işçilerin daha çok okumaya, araştırmaya ve kendilerini geliştirmeye başladıkları düşünülebilir mi?
Can we consider that workers started to read, research, and improve themselves more with the emergence of workers' organizations?

- İşçi gazete ve dergilerine yönelik çalışmalarınız oldu mu? İşçi gazetelerini okuyor muydunuz?
Did you work in workers' journals? Did you read them?

- İşçi örgütlenmelerinde hangi faaliyetler mevcuttu? Hangi mekânsal taleplerde bu örgütlenmeler tarafından bulunuldu?

Which activities were introduced in workers' organizations? Which spaces were demanded by these organizations?

- İşçi örgütlenmelerinin mekânsal üretim sürecinde yer aldınız mı? Mekân üretim sürecinde yer aldıysanız; kooperatif, sendika ve tatil kampı projelerinde hangi mimarlar ve diğer aktörler ile çalıştınız?

Were you involved in the spatial production of workers' organizations? If you took part in the production process, which architects and other actors did you work with in the architectural projects of housing cooperatives, trade unions, and holiday camps?

- Çalışma hayatınız boyunca hiç grev, direniş, protesto eylemi ile karşılaştınız mı? Böyle bir eylem olduğunda, fabrika üretim sürecine ve kent mekânına etkisi oluyor muydu?

Did you encounter any strikes, resistance, or protests during your working life? When such actions happened, did it influence the production of the factory and the urban space?

- Fabrikanızdaki örgütlenme düzeyini, Eskişehir'deki diğer fabrikalardaki örgütlenmeler ile kıyaslayabilir misiniz?

Can you compare the level of organization in your factory with other factories?

- Sendikaların fabrikalardan ya da diğer kentsel aktörlerden mekansal talepleri oluyor muydu?

Did trade unions have spatial demands from the factories or other urban actors?

- Sendikalara göçmen işçiler dahil oluyor muydu? Bu işçiler yeni mekânsal üretimlerde etkili oluyor muydu?

Were immigrant workers involved in workers' organizations? Were these workers effective in spatial production?

4. YAŞAM MEKÂNI
LIVING SPACE

- Fabrikada çalışmaya başladığınızda ve öncesinde nerede yaşıyordunuz? Eskişehir'e göç ettiyseniz, barınma ihtiyacınızı nasıl karşılamıştınız?

Where did you live when you started and before working in the factory? If you migrated to Eskişehir, how did you find living space?

- Tüm çalışanlara fabrika içinde yer alan lojman tesis edilebiliyor muydu? Kişinin statüsüne göre hangi lojman farklılaşmaları vardı?

Were the lodging blocks provided for all employees in the factory? What differences were there according to the status of employees?

- Lojman yönetmeliği mevcut muydu? Yoksa konut dağılımı hangi düzenlemeye göre yapılıyordu?

Was there a housing regulation? Otherwise, according to which order was housing distribution made?

- 1950 sonrası üretilen lojman tipi konutlarda, önceki dönem üretimine göre ne gibi farklılaşmalar mevcuttu?

Which differences emerged in the production of lodging blocks built after 1950 compared to the former period?

- 1965 sonrası yapılan yüksek katlı konutlarda kimler oturuyordu?

Who lived in the multi-storey lodging blocks that were built after 1965?

- Kooperatiflerin dışında işçiler hangi konutlarda yaşıyorlardı?

Which living spaces did workers live in apart from housing cooperatives?

- Seylap evi, göçmen evi, gecekondu… gibi işçi barınma mekanları hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz? Hangi konutlarda yaşadıysanız, konutlardaki yaşayışı ve mekansal düzeni anlatabilir misiniz?

Could you give information about workers' living spaces such as disaster houses, immigrant houses, and squatter settlements? Could you describe everyday life and spatial order in the houses in which you lived?

- Geçici bir işçi barınma mekanı olan, İşçi Barındırma Yurdu'nda kimler kalırdı? Nasıl bir mekandı?

Who stayed in the workers' shelter, which was a temporary accommodation? What was this space like?

- Fabrika içinde bekarların kaldığı bir yatakhane var mıydı?

Was there a single dormitory in the factory?

- Kooperatif üretim sürecinde yer aldınız mı? Kooperatif üretim süreci nasıl işliyordu? Bu işleyişte, diğer kuruluşların rolleri ve ilişkileri hakkında bilgi verebilir misiniz?

Were you involved in the production process of the housing cooperative? How did the production process of housing cooperative work? Could you tell me about the roles of other institutions and their connections?

- Mimari proje üretim sürecinde mimarların rolü nedir?

What was the role of architects in the production process of an architectural project?

- İşçi Yapı Kooperatiflerinin, diğer işçi barınma mekânlarından ya da fabrika lojmanlarından farklı olarak hangi özellikleri vardı?

Which characteristics did workers' housing cooperatives have that made them different from other living spaces or lodging blocks in the factory?

- Konut kooperatifleri kolektif bir düzen içinde mi işliyordu? Aidat toplanıyor muydu? İnşa edilirken sosyal yapılanmaları ile bir bütün olarak mı tasarlanıyordu? Yoksa bu tür sosyal yapılanmalar sonraki süreçte mi ekleniyordu?

Were housing cooperatives operated in a collective order? Were dues collected? Were housing cooperatives designed as a whole with their social services included? Or were the social buildings added in the following process?

- Kooperatiflerde yer alan okulları kooperatifler mi yaptırıyorlardı? Bu sürece mimarlar dahil oluyorlar mıydı?

Who built the schools near the housing cooperatives? Were architects involved in this process?

- Tek katlı bahçeli kooperatif konutlarında geçen bir gününüzü anlatır mısınız? Tüm konutlarda yer alan bahçenin önemi, anlamı ve kullanımı neydi?

Could you describe everyday life in the single-storey cooperative houses with gardens? What was the significance, meaning, and use of the garden?

- Kentin diğer kullanıcılarının ve işçilerin konutları arasında farklılıklar var mıydı?

Were there any differences between the living spaces of workers and other urban inhabitants?

- Konut üretiminde, farklı fabrikaların örgütlenmeleri arasında iş birliği sağlanıyor muydu?

Was there cooperation between the workers' organizations of different factories in housing production?

5. KOLLEKTİF MEKÂN
COLLECTIVE SPACE

- İş dışında geçen zamanlarınızı tanımlar mısınız? Bu tür zamanlarınızı nasıl ve nerede değerlendiriyordunuz?

Could you describe your leisure time? How and where did you use such times?

- Fabrika sınırları dışında, kentsel mekânları kullanıyor muydunuz? Bu tür mekânları ne sıklıkla kullanıyordunuz?

Did you use urban spaces outside of the factory? How often did you use such spaces?

- İşçi sendika mekânları hangi amaçlar ve etkinlikler için kullanılıyordu?
For what objectives and activities were trade unions used?

- Fabrika içinde ve dışında olan sendika yapılarındaki işçi örgütlenmeleri ve faaliyetleri arasında farklılaşma var mıdır?
Were there differences between workers' organizations and activities in the factory and the urban environment?

- İşçi pazarı ve tüketim kooperatiflerini ne sıklıkla kullanıyordunuz? Satış alanlarını yalnızca fabrika çalışanları mı kullanabiliyordu?
How often did you use the labor market and consumer cooperatives? Could only industrial employees use the consumption spaces?

- Tatil olgusu ve tatil kampı olgusu hayatınıza hangi dönemde girdi? Kamplara tüm çalışanlar gidebiliyor muydu? Bu tür mekanlardan nasıl bir program dahilinde faydalanılıyordu?
When did the concept of holidays and holiday camps appear? Could all employees go to the holiday camps? In what kind of program were such spaces used?

- Kampın mimari üretim süreci hakkında bilginiz var mı? Kampın mekânları ve işleyişi nasıldı?
Would you describe the architectural production process of the holiday camps? What were the holiday camps like and how were they operated?

- Yaşam mekânları içinde boş zamanlarınızı nasıl değerlendiriyordunuz?
How did you spend your leisure time in living spaces?

6. KENT, MİMARLIK ve GÜNLÜK YAŞAM ÜZERİNE
CITY, ARCHITECTURE, AND EVERYDAY

- Eskişehir'de 1923 ve 1980 yılları arasında günlük yaşam nasıldı?

What was daily life like in Eskişehir between 1923 and 1980?

- Kent ile ilişkili olarak bir çalışma ve boş gününüzü anlatabilir misiniz?
Could you describe a working and a free day in the city?

- Kentte hangi mekânları kullanıyordunuz? Bu mekânların, mimari tasarım süreci hakkında bilginiz var mı?
Which spaces did you use in the city? Do you have information about their architectural design process?

B. THE DRAFT OF A LAW ON WORKERS' HOUSING INSTITUTION

İşçi Meskenleri Kurumu Kanunu tasarısı :

İşçi meskenleri dâvasının gereği gibi ele alınıpyürütülebilmesi için munhasıran bu işle vazifeli ve buna mütaallik her türlü teknik, idari ve malî hususları salâhiyet ve vukufla ifa ve tedvir edecek «İşçi Meskenleri Kurumu» adı altında bir müessesenin kurulması için hazırlanan bu tasarı hakkında vekâletlerin mütalâalarının alınmış olduğu, Yüksek Meclise arz edilmek üzere bulunduğu öğrenilmiştir.

C) Diğer faaliyetler :

İş kazaları ile meslek hastalıkları ve analık sigortaları prim tarifeleri :

İşçi Sigortaları Kurumunun tatbikat neticelerini nazarı itibara alarak, 4772 sayılı Kanunun 5564 sayılı Kanunla muaddel 43 ncü ve geçici maddesi hükümlerine tevfikan hazırlanmış bulunduğu «İş kazaları ile meslek hastalıkları ve analık sigortaları prim tarifeleri» İcra Vekilleri Heyetinin 29.XII.1956 tarih ve 4/8512 sayılı Kararı ile 1.1.1957 tarihinden itibaren yürürlüğe girmiş bulunmaktadır.

Bu tarifenin, yürürlükten kaldırılan prim tarifesine nazaran arz ettiği başlıca hususiyetler şunlardır.

Bu tarifede meslekler, eski tarifede insiyallere göre yapılan tasnif yerine, iktisadi faaliyetlerin milletlerarası tasnifi esaslarına göre gruplandırılmış ve her bir meslek grupuna giren iş yerlerinin prim nispetleri tatbikat neticelerine göre tesbit olunmuştur.

— Eski tarife yalnız meslek gruplarına göre tehlike sınıflarını ihtiva ettiği halde yeni tarife, iş yerlerinin münferiden arz ettikleri tehlikenin ağırlığına göre tâyin olunacak dereceleme sistemini de ihtiva etmektedir.

Her tehlike sınıfı üst, normal ve alt dereceler olmak üzere üç tehlike derecesine ayrılmış olup üst derece prim nispeti normal prim nispetinden % 0,2 daha yüksek, alt derece prim nispeti ise normal prim nispetinden % 0,2 daha düşüktür. Şu kadar ki X uncu tehlike sınıfındaki kömür işletmeleri, taş ocakları gibi iş yerlerinin üst derece prim nispeti normal derece prim nispetine müsavi kabul edilmiştir.

— Analık sigortası prim tarifesinde her hangi bir değişiklik yapılmamıştır. Bütün iş yerleri için Analık sigortası prim nispeti işçi ücretlerinin % 1 inden ibarettir.

Meslek hastalıkları listesi :

İşçilerimizin, iş kazaları ile meslek hastalıkları sigortasından daha fazla faydalanabilmelerini teminen «işçilerin sağlığını koruma ve iş emniyeti tüzüğü» nün 34 ncü maddesi bu maddede yazılı meslek hastalıkları listesi genişletilmek suretiyle tadil edilmiş bulunmaktadır.

Saygılarımızla.

Diyarbakır Mebusu	Eskişehir Mebusu	Kastamonu Mebusu
Mehmet H. Ünal	*Muhtar Başkurt*	*Hilmi Dura*

C. PUBLIC HOUSING STANDARDS, PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN (İMAR VE İSKAN BAKANLIĞI 1964)

ASGARİ NİTELİKTE HALK KONUTLARINDA M² OLARAK ALANLARI GÖSTERİR 1 NUMARALI ÇİZELGE

		A		B		C		D		E		F	
		Çocuksuz Aile		1 Çocuklu Aile		2 Çocuklu Aile		3 Çocuklu Aile		4 Çocuklu Aile		5 Çocuklu Aile	
Yaşama Grubu	Oturma + Çalışma	15.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00		12.00	
	Yemek Yeri	—		—		—		3.50		4.00		4.50	
	Balkon	—	15.00	—	12.00	2.00	14.00	2.00	17.50	3.00	19.00	3.00	19.50
Yatak Grubu	Ana Baba Yatak O.	—		9.25		10.00		10.00		10.00		10.00	
	2-3 Kişilik Yatak O.	—		—		8.20		8.20		—		—	
	3-4 Kişilik Yatak O.	—	—	—	9.25	—	18.20	—	18.20	10.00	20.00	10.00	20.00
İş Grubu	Mutfak	3.70		3.70		5.00		5.00		5.00		5.00	
	İş Balkonu	1.50		1.50		1.50		2.00		2.00		2.00	
	Kiler veya Depo	—		—		1.50		1.50		2.00		2.00	
	Yıkanma + W.C-Lv	2.80		2.50		2.50		2.50		2.50		2.50	
	Helâ — Lv	—	8.00	1.25	8.95	1.25	11.75	1.25	12.25	1.25	12.75	1.25	12.75
İç Geçitler			2.50		3.80		4.55		5.55		5.75		5.75
İç Faydalı Alan			25.50		34.00		48.50		53.50		57.50		58.00
Konuta Düşen Dış Faydalı Alan			5.00		5.00		5.00		5.00		5.00		5.00
Toplam Faydalı Alan			30.50		39.00		53.50		58.50		62.50		63.00

D. THE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL ON THE EXPANSION OF RAILWAY WORKERS' HOUSING CREDIT

Dönem : 1
Toplantı: 1

MİLLET MECLİSİ S. Sayısı : 53

Eskişehir Milletvekili Şevket Asbuzoğlu ve 6 arkadaşının, Devlet Demiryolları İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü işçilerine mesken yaptırılması için borç para verilmesine dair olan 5954 sayılı Kanunun 6173 ve 121 sayılı kanunlarla 1 nci maddesinde değişiklik yapılmasına dair kanun teklifi ve Ulaştırma ve Bütçe komisyonları raporları (2/57)

Millet Meclisi Yüksek Başkanlığına

Devlet Demiryolları İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü işçilerine mesken yaptırılması için borç para verilmesine dair olan 5954 sayılı Kanunun 6173 ve 121 sayılı kanunlarla değiştirilen 1 nci maddesinde değişiklik yapılmasına dair kanun teklifimiz gerekçesiyle birlikte sunulmuştur.

Gereğine müsaadelerinizi saygılarımızla rica ederiz.

21 . 12 . 1961

Eskişehir Milletvekili *Şevket Asbuzoğlu*

Eskişehir Milletvekili *Celâlettin Uzer*

Eskişehir Milletvekili *Aziz Zeytinoğlu*

Eskişehir Milletvekili *Ertuğrul Gazi Sakarya*

Eskişehir Milletvekili *İbrahim Cemalcılar*

Eskişehir C. Senato Üyesi *Naci Toros*

Eskişehir C. Senato Üyesi *Gavsi Uçagök*

GEREKÇE

TCDD İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü müstecel ve daimî işçilerini mesken sahibi yapmak gayesiyle 23 . 6 . 1952 tarihinde yürürlüğe konulan 5954 sayılı Kanun gereğince adı geçen işletme işçilerine TCDD İşçileri Emekli Sandığı tarafından 5 000 liraya kadar mesken kredisi ve sonradan bu paranın kifayetsizliği dikkate alınarak kredi miktarı 24 . 7 . 1953 tarihinde yürürlüğe giren 6173 ve 121 sayılı kanunlarla 15 000 liraya çıkarılmıştı.

Son yıllarda inşaat malzemesinin yüksek oluşu ve 6785 sayılı İmar Kanununun 36 ve 40 ncı maddeleri mucibince bütün belediye hizmetlerinin toplu mesken yapanlar tarafından karşılanması meskenlerin maliyetini yükseltmektedir.

Nitekim bu yüzden Eskişehir Demiryol işçilerinin kurmuş olduğu 3 No. lu Yapı Kooperatifi 209 aded evini tamamlama imkânını bulamamıştır.

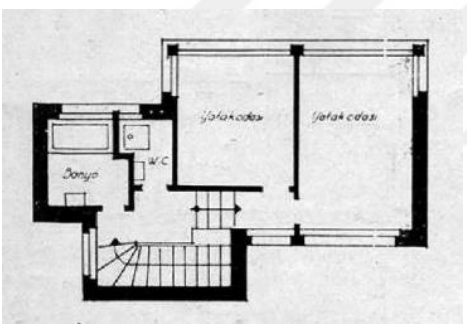
Halbuki İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu mesken kredisi olarak işçilerine 40 000 liraya kadar kredi sağlamaktadır. Demiryol müstecel işçilerinin sıhhi ve sağlam bir mesken sahibi olabilmeleri için 5954 sayılı Kanunun 6173 ve 121 sayılı kanunlarla muaddel 1 nci maddesinin son fıkrasında miktarı belirtilen mesken kredisinin 20 000 liraya çıkarılması lüzumlu görülerek kanunun 1 nci maddesi teklif edilmiştir.

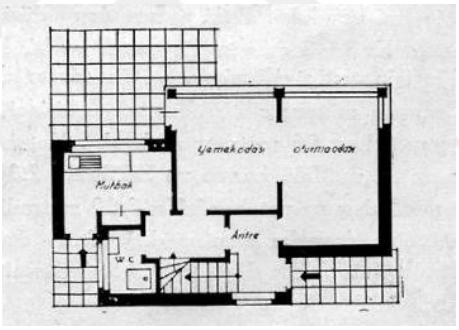
— 2 —

Tasarının geçici maddesi kredi kifayetsizliği yüzünden yarım kalan meskenlerin inşaasının tamamlanmasını mümkün kılmak maksadiyle sevk edilmiştir.

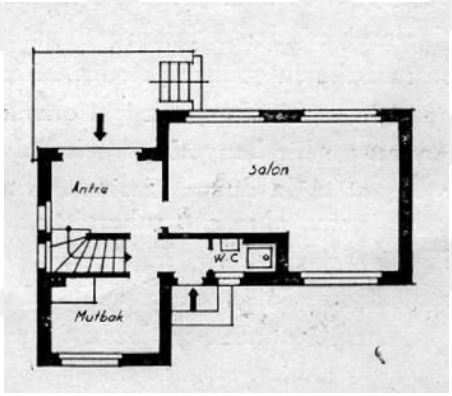
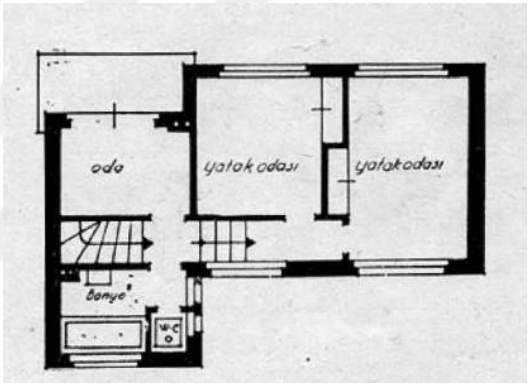
3 ncü madde kanunun yürürlük tarihini, 4 ncü madde de kanun hükümlerini yürütmeye memur Bakanlıkları tesbit etmektedir.

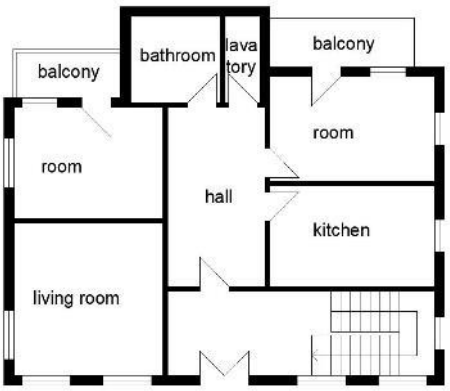
E. TABLES SHOWING LODGING BLOCKS

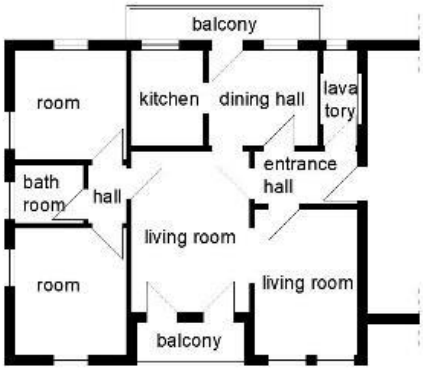
<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R1 (Mustafa B. Evi)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">PERIOD</td><td>1923-1935</td><td rowspan="2">- Duplex semi-detached house with garden
- Two rooms, hall, kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, laundry
Total number of units: 2
* The plan scheme of İhsan Ünal constructed with some changes</td></tr>
<tr><td>ARCHITECT</td><td>Bekir İhsan Ünal</td></tr>
<tr><td>ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT</td><td colspan="2"> 

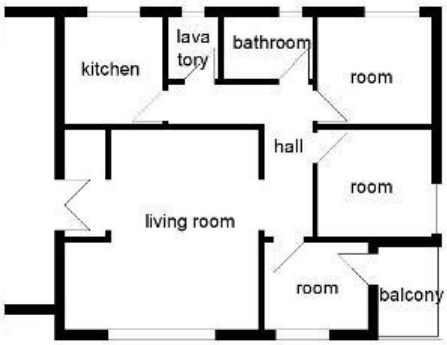


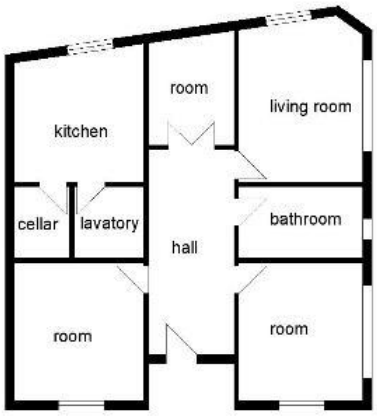
</td></tr>
</table>

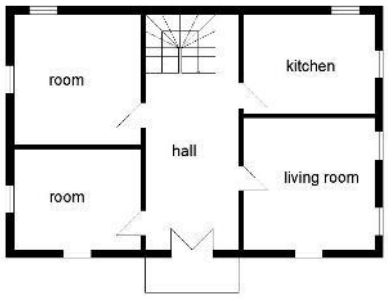
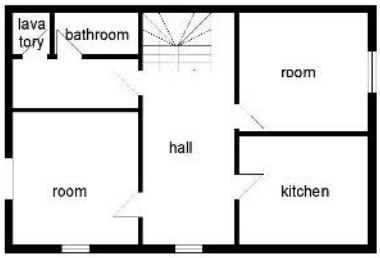
THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R2 (Fethi B. Evi)		
PERIOD	1923-1935	- Duplex detached house with garden - Two rooms, living room, hall, kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, balcony, entrance hall **Total number of units: 1** * The plan scheme of İhsan Ünal constructed with some changes
ARCHITECT	Bekir İhsan Ünal	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

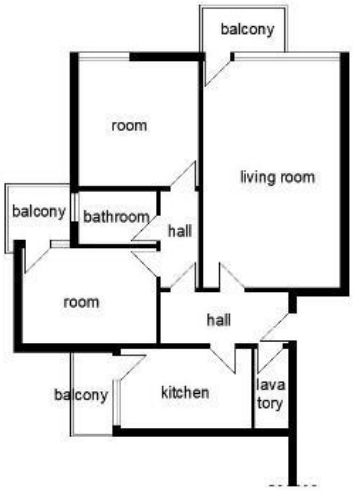
THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R3		
PERIOD	1923-1935	- Two-storey detached house with garden - Two rooms, living room, hall, kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, balcony **Total number of units: 2**
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

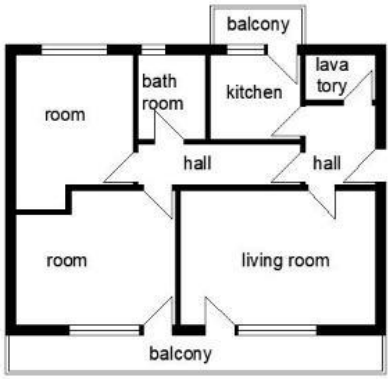
THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R4		
PERIOD	1935-1950	- Two-storey, row house - Two rooms, living room, dining hall, kitchen, hall, bathroom, lavatory, night hall, two balcony, entrance hall **Total number of units: 8**
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R5		
PERIOD	1923-1935	- Two-storey semi-detached house - Three rooms, living room (as a distribution space), hall, kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, balcony **Total number of units: 8**
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

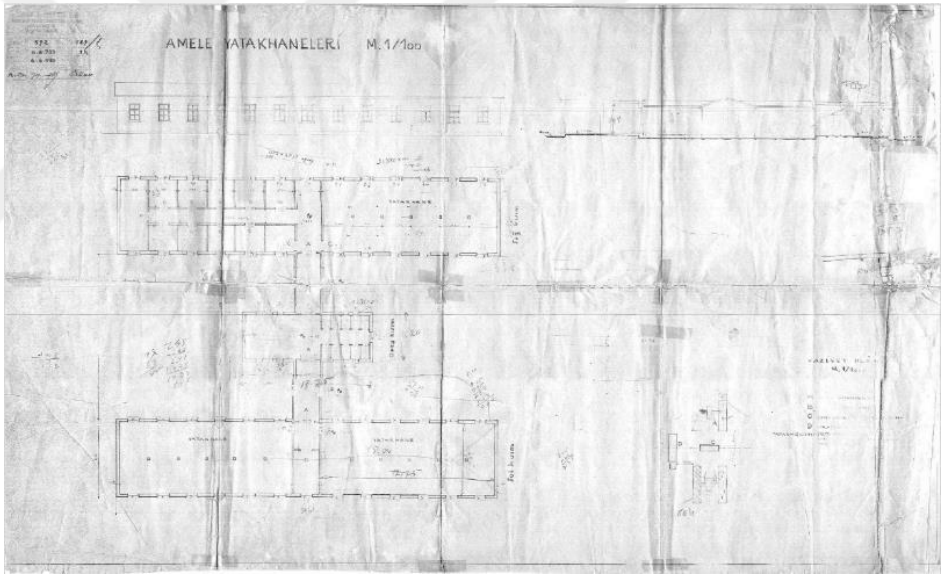
THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R6		
PERIOD	1923-1935	- Two units in two-storey detached house with garden - Three rooms, Living room, hall, kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, cellar **Total number of units: 2**
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

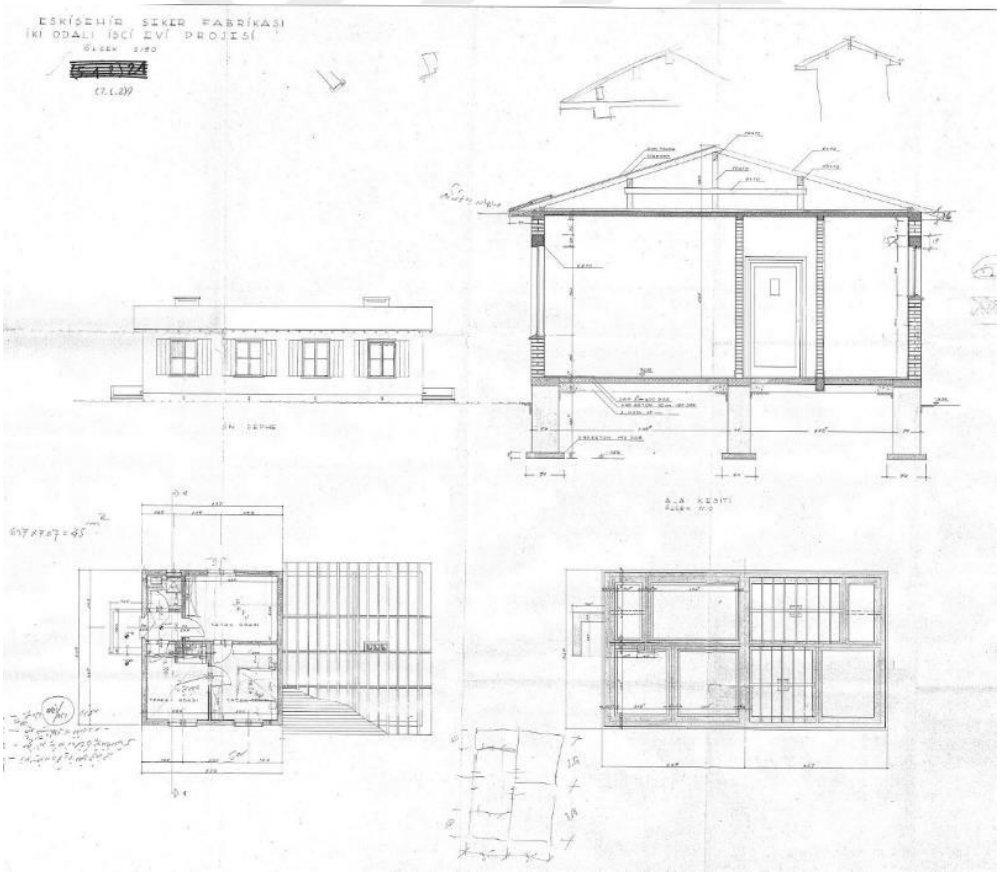
THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R7		
PERIOD	1923-1935	- Two-storey detached house with garden - Four rooms, living room, hall, two kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, cellar
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories	**Total number of units: 1**
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	  	

THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R8		
PERIOD	1950-1975	- Apartment block with four-storey - Two rooms, living room, kitchen, bathroom, lavatory, entrance hall, night hall, balcony **Total number of units: 32**
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

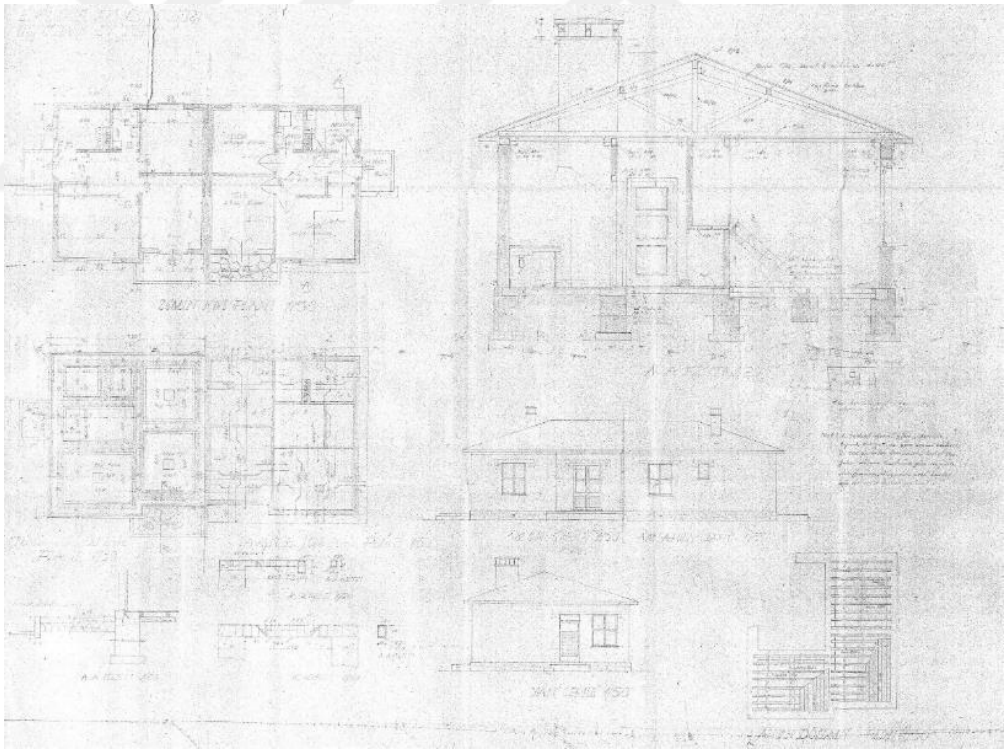
THE RAILWAY FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. R9		
PERIOD	1950-1975	- Row apartment block with four-storey - Two rooms, living room, kitchen, lavatory, entrance hall, balcony, night hall, balcony **Total number of units: 48**
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Railway Factories	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

* Architectural plans were provided from the survey drawings, the aerial maps dated to 1935, 1950 and 1975, the article published in Arkitekt İhsan Ünal, the article, "Berna Üstün, "Eskişehir Devlet Demiryolları Yerleşkesi Lojman Konutları Plan Tipolojileri Üzerine bir Çalışma," *Tasarım + Kuram*, no. 11-12 (2011):" The photographs were provided from the Archive of Eskişehir Railway Factory.

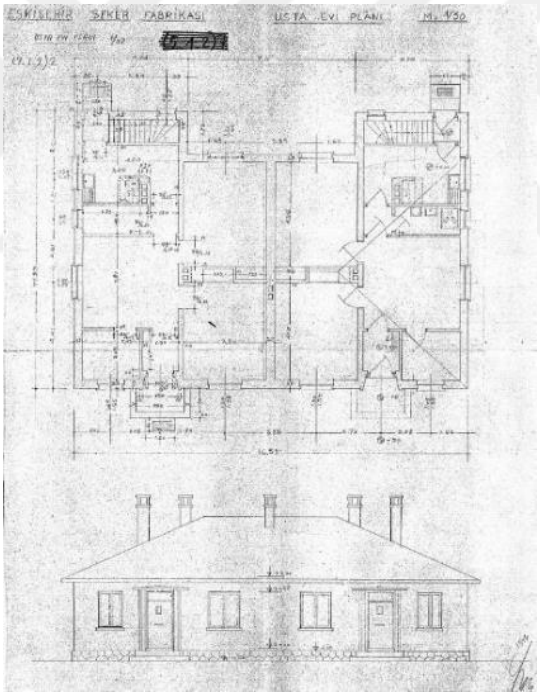
THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S1		
PERIOD	1933	- Small rooms and a large dorm room with common laundry and kitchen to accommodate the workers who came all around the country to work without their families. This area was disconnected to other public areas (D.K., 2019)
ARCHITECT	Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot	
USER	Worker's Dormitories and Worker's Pavilions	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT		

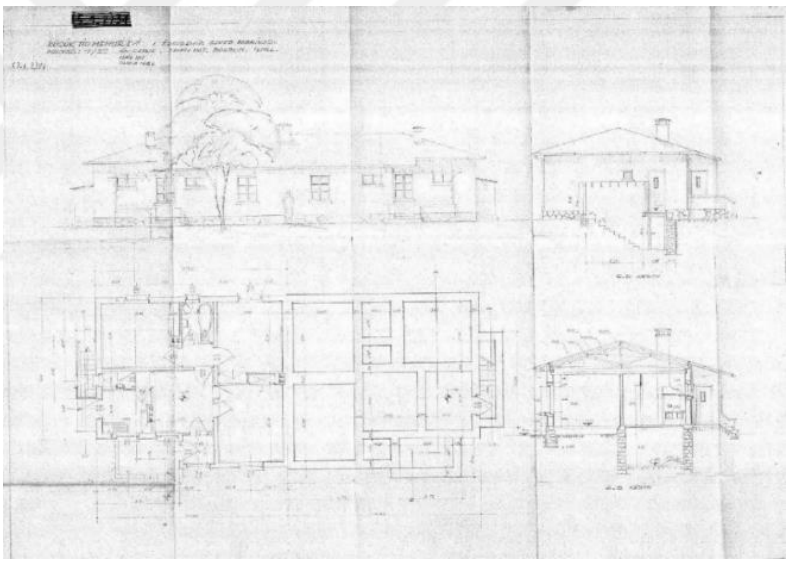
THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S2		
PERIOD	1933	- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms, living room and kitchenette, entrance hall, bathroom
ARCHITECT	Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot	
USER	Small Laborer's House	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT		

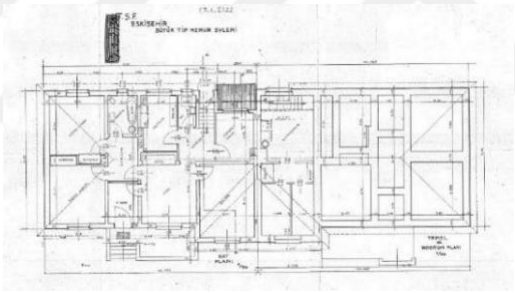
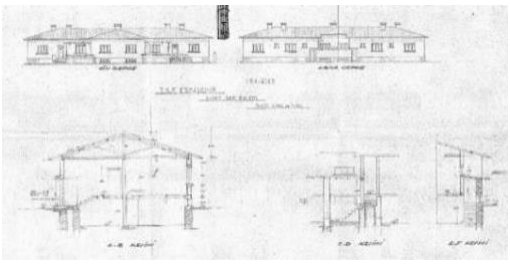
* The original architectural drawing of small laborer's house found from the General Directorate of Sugar Factories. According to the site study, it is considered that this plan type was not implemented.

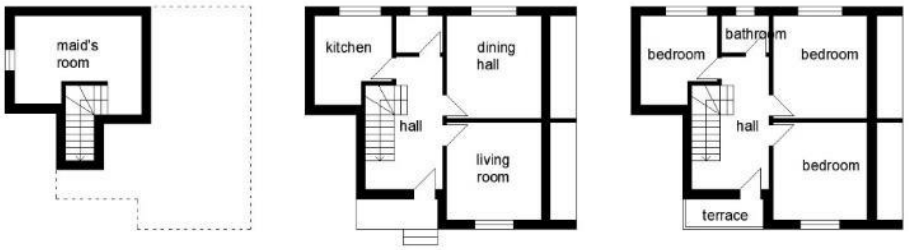
THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S3		
PERIOD	1933	- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms, living room, kitchen, entrance hall, hall, bathroom
ARCHITECT	Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot	
USER	Large Laborer's House	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT		

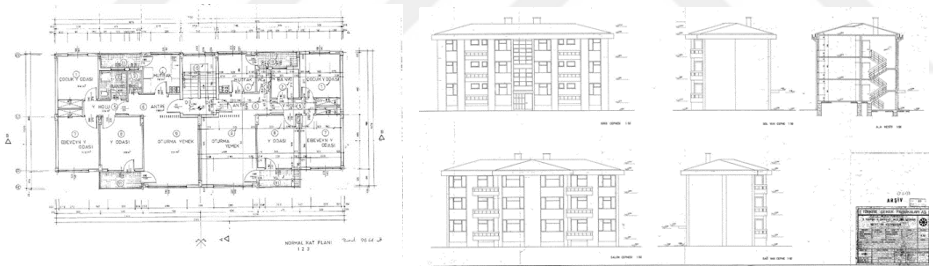
* The original architectural drawing of large laborer's house found from the General Directorate of Sugar Factories. According to the site study, it is considered that this plan type was not implemented.

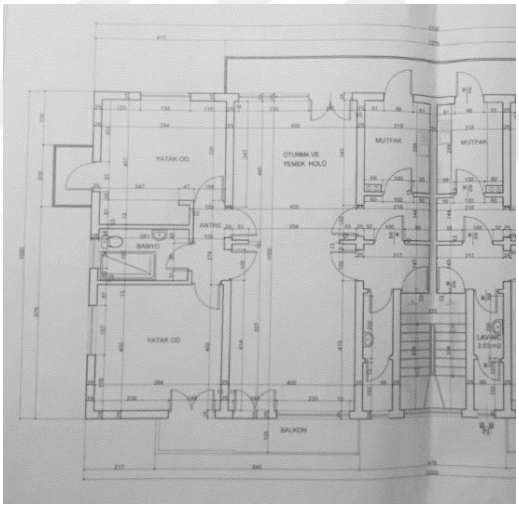
THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S4		
PERIOD	1933	- Two-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms with built-in cupboards, living room (as distribution space), kitchenette, bathroom, laundry room (in the basement) **Total number of units: 14**
ARCHITECT	Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot	
USER	Skilled Laborer's House	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S5		
PERIOD	1933	- Two-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms with built-in cupboards, living room (as distribution space), kitchenette, bathroom, lavatory, laundry room in the basement **Total number of units: 16**
ARCHITECT	Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot	
USER	Small Official's House	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S6		
PERIOD	1933	- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms with built-in cupboards, living room, hall (as distribution space), entrance hall, bathroom, terrace - Service zone: kitchen, toilet, maid's room, staircase, laundry room, coal cellar or depot (in the basement) **Total number of units: 6**
ARCHITECT	Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot	
USER	Large Officials' House - Chief's House	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	  * Lodging block no. 6 has been used by managers after the 2000s.	

THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S9		
PERIOD	1933	- Two-storey semi-detached house with garden and basement - Ground floor: living room, dining hall, kitchen, hall - First floor: three bedrooms, bathroom, hall - Basement floor: maid's room **Total number of units: 2**
ARCHITECT	Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot	
USER	Manager's House	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 * Lodging block no. 9 has been used by unit managers after the 2000s.	

THE SUGAR FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. S7 - M3		
PERIOD	1975	- Six units in three-storey - Three rooms, living room, hall (as distribution space), entrance hall, hall, bathroom, toilet, terrace **Total number of blocks: 6**
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Sugar Factories Drafter: Güneş Yetgin, Sevil Çiçekçi	
USER	Workers	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 * Original architectural drawings were provided from the Archive of the General Directorate of Turkish Sugar Factories	

THE SÜMERBANK FACTORY - LODGING BLOCK No. P1		
PERIOD	1956	- Three-storey apartment block - Two rooms, living room (as a distribution space), lavatory, bathroom, night hall, entrance hall, balcony
ARCHITECT	The Office of Construction and Real Estate working under the Head Office of Sümerbank Factories	
USER	Administrators & Officials	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 * Original architectural drawings were provided from the Archive of Eskişehir Sümerbank Print Factory.	

F. PROTOCOL AMONG ARCHITECTS, CIVIL ENGINEERS AND MASTER BUILDERS IN ESKİŞEHİR

PROTOKOL

1 — Eskişehirde 6785 sayılı İmar Kanununun 13.14. maddelerindeki esaslara göre Belediyeye karşı proje tanzim ve fenni mesuliyet görevinin ifazı sırasında aşağıda adı ve soyadı yazılan mühendis ve mimarlar müştereken hareket etmeyi ve uymayı kabul ettikleri prensipleri bu protokolde tesbit ve kabul etmişlerdir.

2 — 6235 sayılı kanundaki meslekdaşların hak ve menfaatlerinin korunması ve alakalı meslek odalarından tamim edilmiş asgari ücret tarifesi çerçeveşinde proje tanzim ve fenni mesuliyet derhâl edilmesi kabul edilmiş olup imzaları bulunan bizler bunlara uymayı taahhüt ediyoruz.

3 — Bu protokola aksi hareket edenler alakalı meslek odalarınca, Belediyelerce ve Maliyelerce kovuşturma yapılması için harekete geçilir.

4 — Eskişehirdeki inşaatlar için klasman aşağıdaki şekildedir.

a) Karkas yapılarda 300 T. L. - m2

b) Yığma yapılarda 225 - T. L. - m2

c) Kerpiç v. s. basit yapılarda 125. - T. L. - m2 (müstemilât ve sair ilâveler hariçtir.)

V - (IV. Mad.) esaslara göre, maliyeti yapılmış yapıdaki proje tanzim ve fenni mesuliyet hizmetlerinin karşılığı aşağıdaki tarzda hesaplanacaktır. Bunların haricindeki hizmetler için Mimarlar ve İnşaat Mühendisleri Odaları ücret tarifesi karşılığı ayrıca alınacaktır. Aşağıdaki şekilde hesaplanacak bedellere masraflar dahil değildir.

Yapı maliyeti : maliyete göre	
1 — 10 000 - T. L. ya	: a) 250. - T. L. b) 225 T. L. c) 200 T. L.
2 — 10 000. - 50 000 T. L.	: a) %3, 75 b) %3, 40 c) %3, 10
3 — 50 000 - 100 - 000 T. L.	a) %3 30 + 500 b) %2 90 + 400 c) %2.60 + 300
4 — 100 000. 500 000. T. L.	: a) %3,60 × 1 500 b) %2,5 + 1 000
5 — 500 000 1 000 000 T. L	: a) %1,60 × 8 000 b) %1,40 + 7 000
6 — 1 000 000. 5 000 000.	: a) %1, 10 + 15 000 b) %1,00 + 12,500

NOT : Bu ücret proje tanzim ve fenni mesuliyet için olup yalnız proje tanzim işi yapılırsa 2/3 ü, fenni mesuliyet görevi ifa edilirse 1/3 ü alınacaktır.

VI — Yapı sahibinin proje ve fenni mesuliyet için mimar veya mühendise ödeyeceği ücrete ait fasıura 4. ve 5. maddelere göre hesabedilerek kesilecektir.

VII Mühendislik ve mimarlığın fonksiyonuna uygun bir hüviyet kazanabilmesi için imar çapı tetkiki ile proje hususunda avan proje ve diğer bütün teknik hususlarda yapı sahibi ile yapılabilecek konuşmalar için asgari 50. T. L. olmak üzere danışma ücreti alınması âdet ve anane haline getirilecek ve bu hususta 4. meddedeki tasnife uygun olara imar çapının arkası mühürlenecek meşruhat verilecektir.

VIII — Bu işin mevcut kanun ve mevzuat çerçevesinde yürütülmesini Yukarıdaki imza sahipleri olarak, meslek şerefi yönünden taahhüt ederiz.

IX — T.M.M.O.B. tarafından kabul olunan «MÜHENDİS ve MİMARLARIN MESLEK AHLAKI KAİDELERİ» ne uymayı ittifakla kabul ettik ve bu protokola bağlı olarak tasdik ettik.

X — Bu protokolda kenüz imzası bulunmayan ve serbest çalışacak olan mühendis veya mimarlar da, bu protokolu istirak edeceklerdir Etmedikleri takdirde, onlara karşı, bu protokola aykırı harehet etmiş meslekdaşlar gibi davranılacaktır.

VI — İş bu Protokol 1/Mayıs/1961 tarihinden itibaren tatbik edilecektir.

1 - İsmet Aktop
2 - Muhittin Bürücek
3 - Mehmet Güngör
4 - Nüzhet Özışık
5 - Mesrur Dındın
6 - Naci Endem
7 - Niyazi Künkçü
8 - Rifat Kuşman
9 - Mehmet Sağlam
10 - Attila Dericioğlu

G. THE COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROJECTS CARRIED OUT BY ARCHITECT NÜZHET ÖZIŞIK

Müessesemizde şimdiye kadar yapılan Kooperatif Projeleri:

1.	DDY.Sendikaları Yapı Kooperatifi	38	Mesken
2.	DDY.İşçileri Birlik Yapı Kooperatifi	46	"
3.	Yeşilyurt Yapı Kooperatifi 1.Tertip	18	"
4.	" " " 2. "	61	"
5.	" " " 3. "	24	"
6.	İnan " "	20	"
7.	Basma Fab.1.Nolu Yapı Koop. 1.Tertip	39	"
8.	" " " " " " 2. "	84	"
9.	DDY.5.Nolu Yapı Kooperatifi	65	"
10.	DSI.ve Orman İşçileri Yapı Koop. 1.Tertip	34	"
11.	" " " " " " 2. "	24	"
12.	Yün Sanayi Yapı Kooperatifi 3. "	35	"
13.	" " " " 4. "	47	"
14.	" " " " 5. "	68	"
15.	Havacılar Yapı Kooperatifi	120	"
16.	Toprak Su Mühendisleri (Müteahhit	12	"
17.	Özlem Yapı Kooperatifi	15	"
18.	Özen " "	40	"
19.	Fuar " " (Müteahhit	48	"
20.	Yıldırım Yapı Kooperatifi	48	"
21.	Güven " "	12	"
22.	Porsuk " "	15	"
23.	Ümit " "	8	"
24.	Umum Sigortalı İşçiler Yapı Kooperatifi (Kütahya)	52	"
25.	Nasip Yapı Kooperatifi (Adapazarı)	9	"

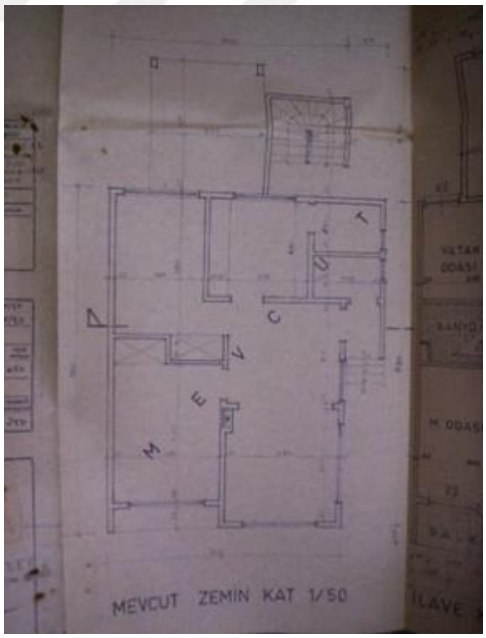
Ayrıca halen yapılmakta olan inşaatlarımız:

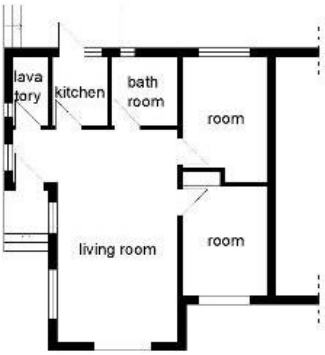
DDY.5 nolu Yapı Kooperatifi	2.Tertip	54	Dairelik
Porsuk Yapı Kooperatifi	2.Tertip	24	"
Sakarya " "		12	"
Güven " "	2. Tertip	12	"
İpek " "		40	"
Şenyuva " "	2. Tertip	15	"

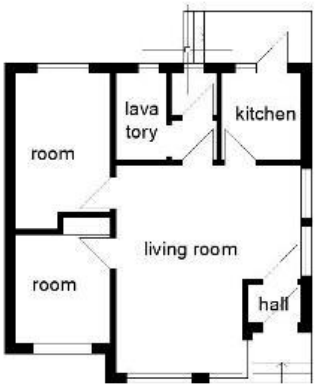
31 —

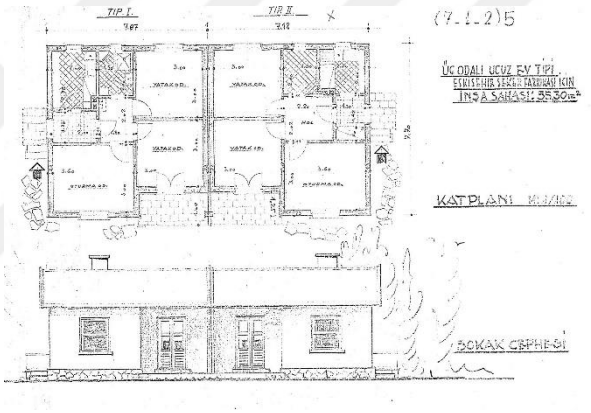
1185 Daire

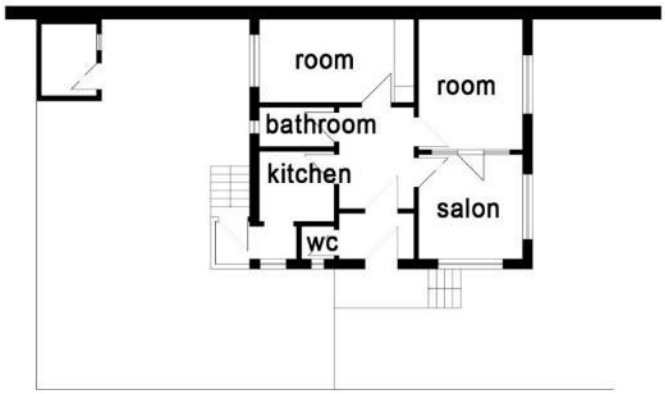
H. TABLES SHOWING HOUSING COOPERATIVES

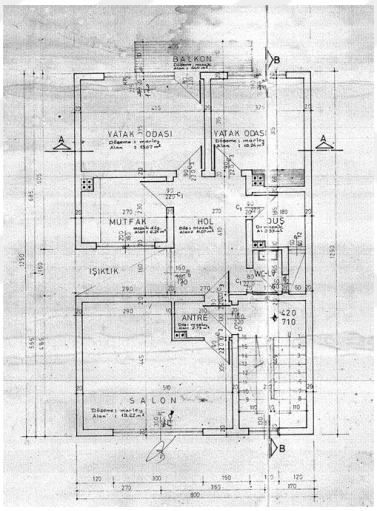
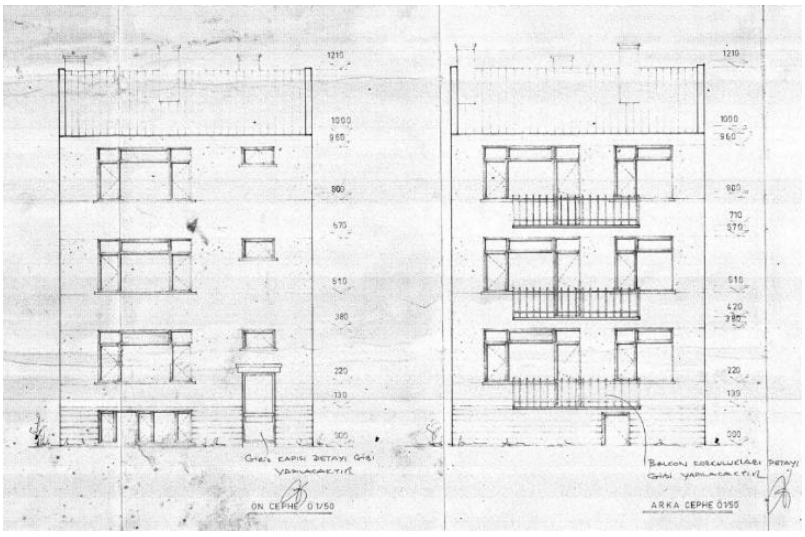
<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">RAILWAY WORKERS' BUILDING COOPERATIVE NO. 2/ Ertuğrulgazi - No. C1</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">PERIOD</td><td>1953-1957</td><td rowspan="2">- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden
- Two rooms (with built-in cupboards), living room (used as a distribution space), lavatory, bathroom, entrance hall
Total number of units: 260</td></tr>
<tr><td>ARCHITECT</td><td>Nüzhet Özışık</td></tr>
<tr><td>ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT</td><td colspan="2"> 
</td></tr>
</table>

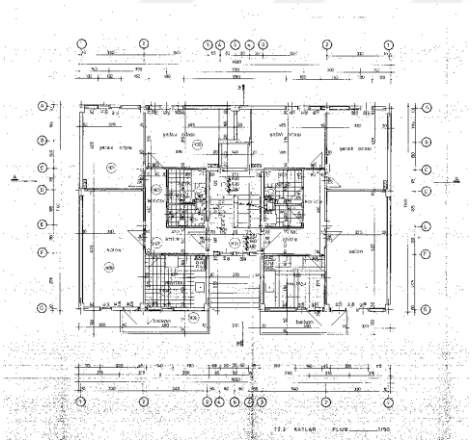
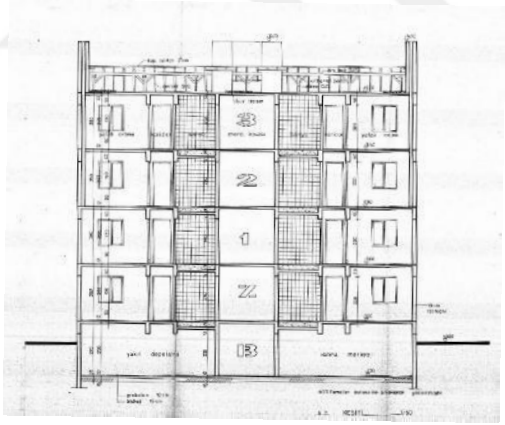
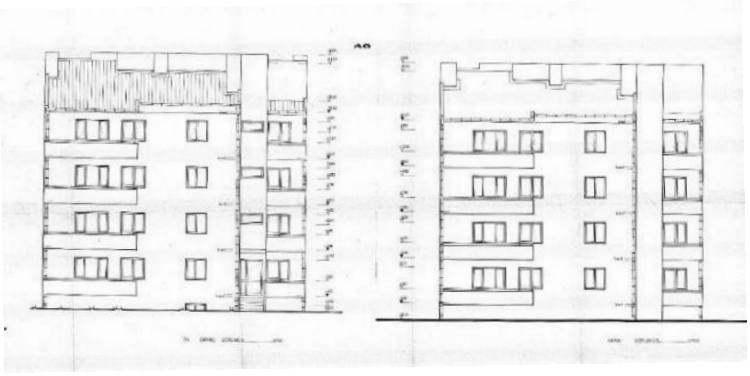
RAILWAY WORKERS' BİRLİK BUILDING COOPERATIVE - No. C2 RAILWAY WORKERS' BUILDING COOPERATIVE / Osmangazi - No. C2'		
PERIOD	1950	- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms (with built-in cupboards), living room (used as a distribution space), lavatory, bathroom, entrance hall **Total number of units (Birlik): 209**
ARCHITECT	Nüzhet Özışık	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

RAILWAY OFFICIAL'S BUILDING COOPERATIVE / Osmangazi - No. C3		
PERIOD	1953	- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms (with built-in cupboards), living room (used as a distribution space), lavatory, bathroom, entrance hall
ARCHITECT	Nüzhet Özışık	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

SUGAR HOUSING COOPERATIVE I / Gökmeydan - No. C4		
PERIOD	1953	- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms, living room, bathroom, entrance hall, hall **Total number of units : 120**
ARCHITECT	Nüzhet Özışık	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

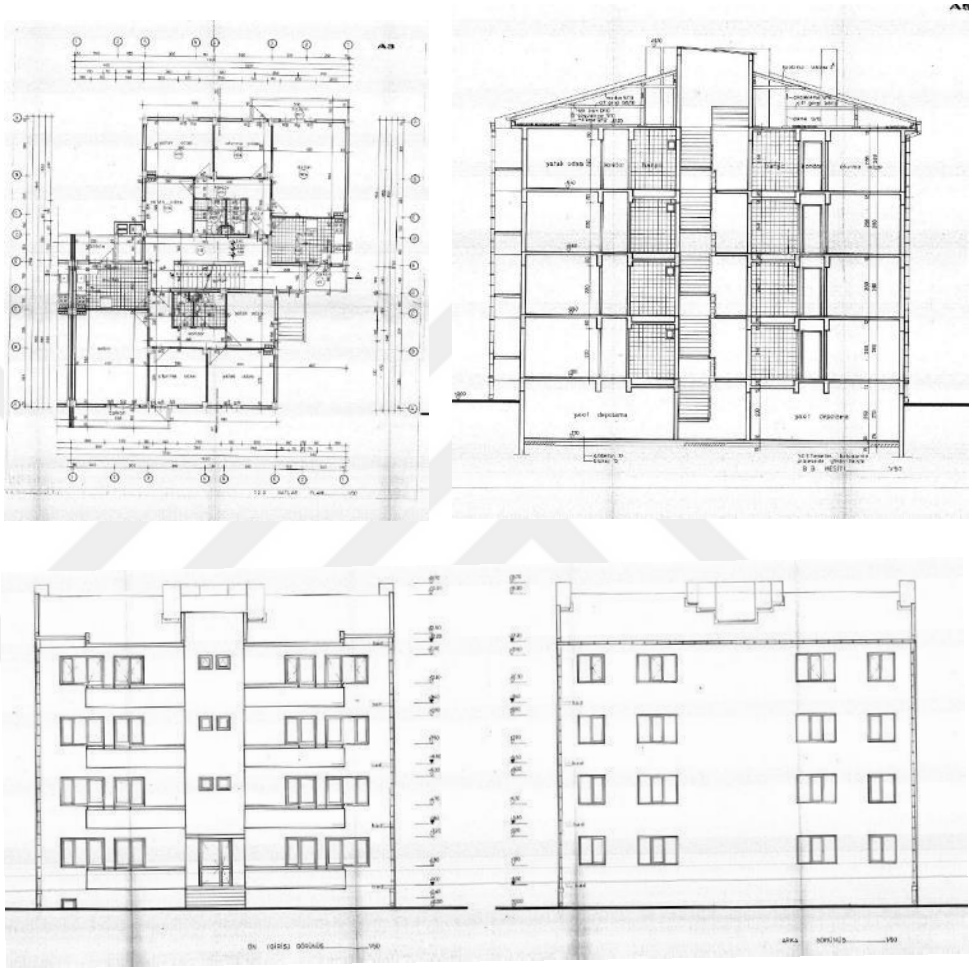
SUGAR HOUSING COOPERATIVE II / Yenimahalle - No. C4		
PERIOD	1954	- Single-storey semi-detached house with garden - Two rooms, living room, kitchen, lavatory, bathroom, entrance hall, hall, coal cellar (out of the house) **Total number of units : 124**
ARCHITECT	Nüzhet Özışık	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

S.S. SAKARYA 2. TERTİP HOUSING COOPERATIVE - No. C8		
PERIOD	1975	- Three-storey apartment - Two rooms, living room, kitchen, lavatory, bathroom, entrance hall, hall **Total number of units : 124**
ARCHITECT	Nüzhet Özışık	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT	 	

S.S.RAILWAY WORKERS' BUILDING COOPERATIVE COLLECTIVE SETTLEMENT - No. C10		
PERIOD	1977-1979	STANDARD A - Four-storey apartment - Two rooms, living room, kitchen, lavatory, bathroom, hall, terrace STANDARD B - Four-storey apartment - Two rooms, living room, kitchen, lavatory, bathroom, hall, terrace
ARCHITECT	Dedelek Design Office (İbrahim Dedelek)	
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT - Standard A	  	

S.S.RAILWAY WORKERS' BUILDING COOPERATIVE COLLECTIVE SETTLEMENT - No. C10

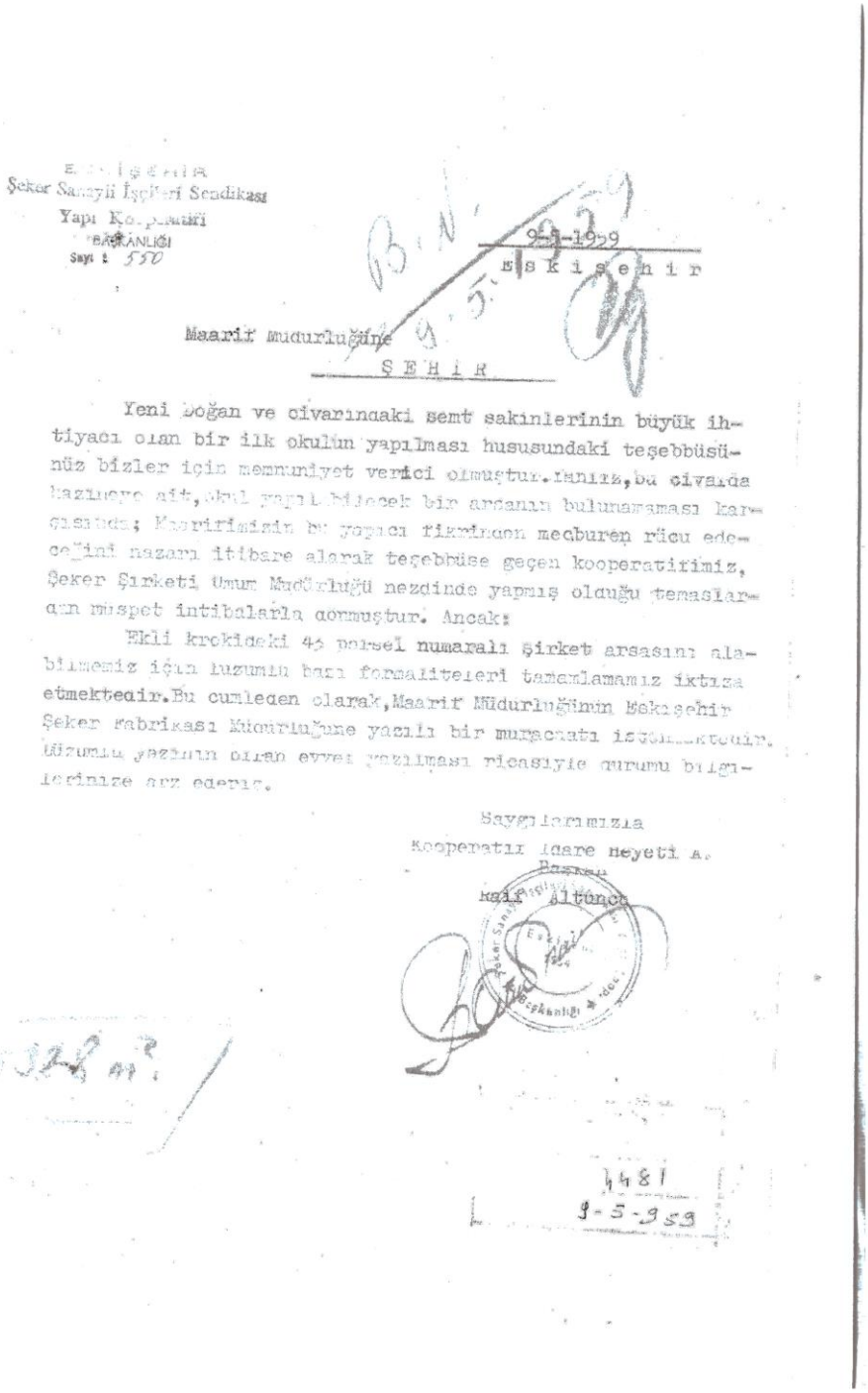
ARCHITECTURAL PROJECT - Standard B



* Original architectural drawings were provided by the Eskişehir Municipality.

I. SUGAR PRIMARY SCHOOL IN THE SUGAR HOUSING COOPERATIVE

II



E.S. İşçileri
Şeker Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası
Yapı Kooperatifi
BAŞKANLIĞI
Sayı : 550

9-1-1959
Eskişehir

Maarif Müdürlüğüne
ŞEHİR

Yeni doğan ve civarındaki semt sakinlerinin büyük ihtiyacı olan bir ilk okulun yapılması hususundaki teşebbüsünüz bizler için memnuniyet verici olmuştur. Sanırız, bu civarda hazineye ait, okul yapılabilecek bir arsanın bulunamaması karşısında; Müdüriyetinizin bu yoğun ihtiyacın mecburen rica edeceğini nazarı itibare alarak teşebbüse geçen kooperatifimiz, Şeker Şirketi Umum Müdürlüğü nezdinde yapmış olduğu temaslarından müspet intibalarla dönmüştür. Ancak:

Ekli krokideki 43 parsel numaralı şirket arsasını alabilmemiz için tüzümün bazı formaliteleri tamamlamamız iktiza etmektedir. Bu cümleden olarak, Maarif Müdürlüğünün Eskişehir Şeker fabrikası Müdürlüğüne yazılı bir müracaatı iktiza etmektedir. Tüzümü yazının ekini teşkil eden evvel yazılması ricasiyle durumu bilgilerinize arz ederiz.

Saygılarımızla
Kooperatif İdare Heyeti A.
Başkanı
Kazım Altunç

1481
9-5-959

5 3 60

Okul yeri olarak arsa verilmesi hk.

700.I/ 2684

Şeker Fabrikaları Müdürlüğüne
Eskişehir

13/5/1959 tarih ve 7104679 sayılı yazılarımıza ektir.

Şeker Sanayii İşçileri Sendikası Yapı Kooperatifi tarafından inşa edilen mahallede bir ilkokul yapılmasına karar vermiş bulunmuyoruz.

Bu maksatla müessesenize ait olup, 1036 ada 43 parselde kayıtlı 5328 M2 lik arsanın ilkokul yeri olarak, Vilâyet Hususi Muhasebe müdürlüğüne devredilmesi hususunda gerekli işlemin yapılmasını rica ederim.

M. D.

Vali V.

Ş.A.

2.6.1961

715/ 7325

Şeker Sanayi İşçiliği Sendikası
Yapı Kooperatifi Başkanlığına
Eskişehir

Kooperatifiniz tarafından Kurtuluş mahallesi Çekmeydan mevkiinde inşa edeceğiniz işçi evleri civarında Okul yeri için tefrik ettiğiniz 1036 ada 43 parseldeki 5328 m2 lik yerde bu yıl Okul inşaatına başlıyabilmemiz için dilekçenizde zikrettiğiniz gibi Şeker Fabrikaları Umum Müdürlüğümden Okul inşaatı için 100 000 Lira bağışta bulunulması sağlandığı takdirde inşaata başlanacak ve kendi imkânlarımızda ilâve edilerek bitirilmeğe çalışılacaktır. Bu yıl kendi imkânlarımızın ilâvesi ile bitirilemediği takdirde 1962 yılında tamamlanarak hizmete açılacaktır.

Durumdan bilgi edinilerek namına sağlanması gereken bağış miktarının bildirilmesini rica ederim.

M. D.

Vali

K.A./B.M.

11/Mayıs/1961
Eskişehir

699

Maarif Müdürlüğüne

Eskişehir

Kooperatifimiz tarafından Kurtuluş Mahallesi Gökmeydan mevk inşa edilen 124 işçi evi ve sitemiz civarına sanişlar tarafından ya lan meskenler yekunu 200 ü aşmış bulunmakta olup ayrıca ilişik çapt arazının yanına Petrol işçileri Yapı Kooperatifi ile Şeker Fabrikas müstandemleri yapı kooperatifi tarafındanda 91 ev inşasına bugünlerd lanmak üzeredir.

Yukarıdaki bilançodanda anlaşılacağı üzere sitemiz civarı o nayli kalabalıklaşmış bulunmaktadır. Mahallemizin herşeyi ile modern site olmasını arzulayan idare heyetimiz Şeker Fabrikaları Umum müdür mezdindeki vaki temaslar sonunda, İlişik imar çapında gösterilen 105 43 parsel 5328 M2 arsanın 1961 yılı içinde okul yapılması kaydiyle fe devri ve okul inşaatında bir miktar bağışta bulunulacağına dair s aimiş bulunmaktadır.

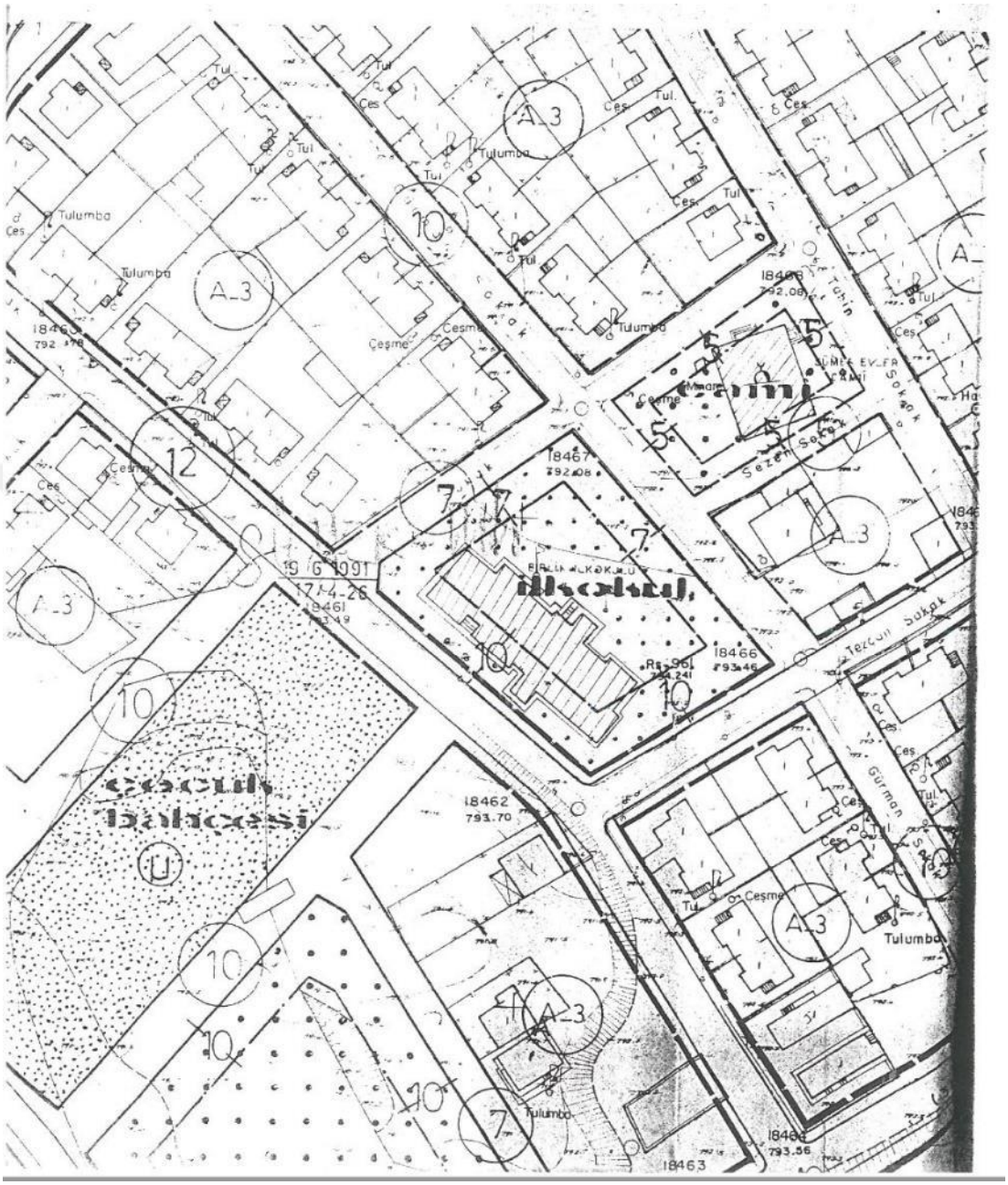
Yukarıda arzettiğimiz hususlarin meyanında durumun tetkikini v cuklarımızın bir an evvel yeni bir okula kavuşmaları hususunda gere. amelenin ifası ile neticenin tarafımıza bildirilmesini emir ve müs rinize arzederiz.

Saygılarımız.
Kooperatif İdare
A.

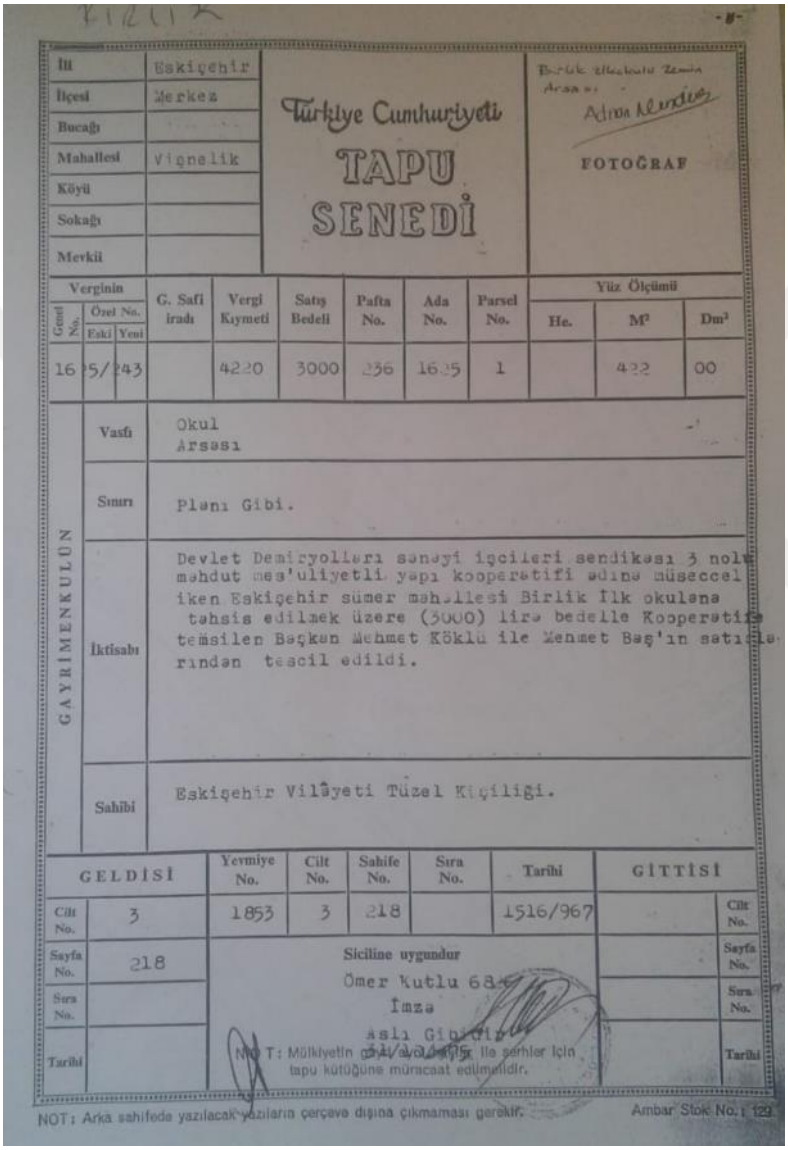
Eki: 1 imar çapı

DAMGA PULU 15 62 15

6575
11.5.1961


Tulumba
A_3
Çeşme
Cami
İlkokul
Çocuk
bahçesi
Sezen
Sok.
Tezcan
Sokak
Gürman
Sok.
18462
793.70
18463
18466
18467

J. BİRLİK PRIMARY SCHOOL IN THE RAILWAY WORKER'S BİRLİK BUILDING COOPERATIVE



İli: Eskişehir
İlçesi: Merkez
Bucağı:
Mahallesi: Yiğnelik
Köyü:
Sokağı:
Mevkii:

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti
TAPU SENEDİ

Birlik Elektrik Zemin Arsası
Adres Alındı
FOTOĞRAF

Verginin Genel No.	Özel No. Eski	Özel No. Yeni	G. Safi irad	Vergi Kıymeti	Satış Bedeli	Pafta No.	Ada No.	Parsel No.	Yüz Ölçümü He.	M²	Dm²
16	5/	243		4220	3000	236	1635	1		432	00

GAYRİMENKULÜN

Vasfı: Okul Arsası

Sınırı: Planı Gibi.

İktisabı: Devlet Demiryolları sanayi işçileri sendikası 3 nolu mahdut mes'uliyetli yapı kooperatifi adına müseccel iken Eskişehir sümer mahallesi Birlik İlk okulana tahsis edilmek üzere (3000) lira bedelle Kooperatifi temsilen Başkan Mehmet Köklü ile Mehmet Baş'ın satışlarından tescil edildi.

Sahibi: Eskişehir Vilâyeti Tüzel Kişiliği.

GELDİSİ		Yevmiye No.	Cilt No.	Sahife No.	Sıra No.	Tarihi	GİTTİSİ	
Cilt No.	3	1853	3	218		1516/967		Cilt No.
Sayfa No.	218							Sayfa No.
Sıra No.								Sıra No.
Tarihi								Tarihi

Siciline uygundur
Ömer Kutlu 68
İmza
Aslı Gibidir

NOT: Mülkiyetin [illegible] ile şahıslar için tapu kütüğüne müracaat edilmelidir.

NOT: Arka sahifede yazılacak yazıların çerçeve dışına çıkmaması gerekir. Ambar Stok No. 129

K. LOCAL ARCHITECTS WHO DESIGNED ESKİŞEHİR WORKERS' HOUSING COOPERATIVES

- Nüzhet Özışık

Nüzhet Özışık was born in 1932 in Eskişehir. His mother was a teacher. Nüzhet Özışık desired to become a technical teacher, however he completed the architecture department of İstanbul Technical University, where he collected his first experiences in his profession. In his university years, he was fond of art, and described the architect and journalist, Aydın Boysan, as his most influential lecturer. He worked as a delegate in the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, until he decided whether he would stay in İstanbul or not. He left İstanbul for Eskişehir in 1959. Due to the beginning of his professional life intersected with the coup d'etat in 1960, Nüzhet Özışık, with his friend, Architect Mesrur Dındın, decided to go to the military. He completed his military service as a reserve officer in Edirne between 1961 and 1963.

Throughout his career in Eskişehir, Nüzhet Özışık worked on a large number of cooperative housing projects for low and middle income families. Some of them, from the list (Appendix G) founded from his own archive dated to the end of the 1980s, were State Railway Union Housing Cooperative (38 units), State Railway Workers' Birlik Housing Cooperative (46 units), Yeşilyurt Housing Cooperative (103 units), İnan Housing Cooperative (20 units), Basma Factory Housing Cooperative No.1 (123 units), State Railway Housing Cooperative No.5 (120 units), State Hydraulic and

Forestry Works' Housing Cooperative (58 units), Wool Industry Housing Cooperative (150 units), Aviators' Housing Cooperative (120 units), Soil and Hydraulic Engineers' Housing Cooperative (12 units), *Özlem* Housing Cooperative (15 units), *Özen* Housing Cooperative (40 units), *Fuar* Housing Cooperative (48 units), *Yıldırım* Housing Cooperative (48 units), *Güven* Housing Cooperative (24 units), Porsuk Housing Cooperative (39 units), *Ümit* Housing Cooperative (8 units), Public Insured Workers' Housing Cooperative (Kütahya) (52 units), *Nasip* Housing Cooperative (Adapazarı) (9 units), *İpek* Housing Cooperative (40 units), and *Şenyuva* Housing Cooperative (15 units). According to the list the total number of cooperative housing, that Nüzhet Özışık designed, is 1185. In addition to these cooperative housing projects, he dealt with the projects of apartment blocks, a mosque, and factory buildings in Eskişehir, İzmir, Aliağa, Sivrihisar, Çorum, Bilecik, and Bursa.

- Mesrur Dındın

Mesrur Dındın was born in 1934 in Silistra, Bulgaria. During the Second World War (1940), as the German army moved to Russia, Dındın and his family came to Eskişehir as immigrants, by selling all of their assets. His grandfather, was assigned as an imam to Railway Street No.2 in Hacıseyit Neighbourhood, in the South side of railway.

After completing primary school in 1945-46, Mesrur Dındın continued his education in the technical school. There were three branches in the school: carpentry, ironwork, and fitting. He graduated from fitting in 1951, and began to be a worker in Aircraft Repair Shop, while he developed his skills in English and oil painting. In these years he became a worker in the construction process of Doğan Brick and Tile Factory, and Disaster Houses [Seylap Evleri]. The graduates of technical school could enter İstanbul Technical School or Technical Education School in Ankara. İstanbul Technical School

had departments of architecture, civil engineering, electric, mechanical and survey engineer. In 1956, Mesrur Dındın quit his job in the repair shop, and registered the Architecture Department of İstanbul Technical School. He described his initial involvement in architecture as without knowing what an architect was, and identified Architect Doğan Hasol as an inspiring figure in his professional career. He did his internship in Eskişehir Sugar Factory, and completed his higher education in 1960. While he returned to Eskişehir, there was no employment opportunities in the public institutions due to the order of National Unity Committee, formed after coup d'etat in 1960. Dındın started to work under Naci Endem, whose office was located in the Officer's Club. Naci Endem, as a civil engineer, built various smokestacks, and the silo of Cement Factory in Eskişehir (1965), and worked as a supervising engineer of the Feed Plant as well. Endem designed a climbing form, which was considered as an innovation in the construction of high technical structures such as silos and smokestacks.

After working as a reserve officer in Afyon Main Storehouse and Repair Factory, in charge of construction projects, between 1961 and 1963, Mesrur Dındın returned to Eskişehir. In his return, Dındın worked in the construction project of four clinker storehouse in Cement Factory with the height of 20 meters, undertaken by Naci Endem. There were solely two office buildings in Eskişehir, Sümerbank and Kanatlı, that made difficult to find a working space for architects. In 1964, Mesrur Dındın bought an office on the third floor of Sümerbank Office Building, a modern building of its period with an elevator. Its ground floor was reserved for sales unit for the products of Sümerbank, and the entrance to the office units was provided from back street. Mesrur Dındın's office with dimensions of 3 meter x 7 meter, divided by glass separator.

In line with the Architect Mesrur Dındın's record book, he designed and took technical responsibility of 100-150 projects between 1960 and 1980. While Nüzhet Özışık, known with his housing cooperative projects, Dındın focused on housing projects for middle-class families. Mesrur Dındın designed Railway Housing Cooperative No.5 in Çukur Tarla, and designed a conservatory for "Bay Behçet Aytaç"s house in Sugar Cooperative Houses in Işıklar in 1960.

L. GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND DEFINITIONS: INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

LABOR AND LABOR RELATIONS

absenteeism:

"a situation in which people are not at work when they should be."

confederation:

" a peak organization of employers or trade unions."

discrimination:

"any employment practice that disadvantages a worker or category of workers on the basis of some attribute of the individual or group."

employer:

"a person or organization that employs workers under a written or unwritten contract of employment which established the rights and duties of both parties. Governments, public authorities and private enterprises as well as individuals may be employers."

force majeure:

"an unexpected event such as a war, crime, or an earthquake which prevents someone from doing something that is written in a legal agreement."

fringe benefits:

"employment benefits granted to employees in addition to their current base salary or wages (i.e., cash, merchandise, services, health insurance, pension plans, holidays, paid vacations, etc.)."

incentive payment:

"a payment to stimulate greater output or investment or to encourage someone to take part in an activity."

industrial action:

"any form of action threatened or taken by a party in order to protect or promote its interests, which may lead to disruption in production."

industrial conflict:

"disagreement between labour and management expressed through behaviour like sabotage, absenteeism and strikes. These specific actions can be distinguished according to their form (organized or unorganized) and to the party involved."

industrial relations:

"the individual and collective relations between workers and employers at work and arising from the work situation, as well as the relations between representatives of workers and employers at the industry and national levels, and their interaction with the state."

labor division:

"the assignment of different parts of a manufacturing process or task to different people in order to improve efficiency."

labor turnover:

"the rate at which employees leave a company and are replaced by new employees."

"describes changes in the work force resulting from voluntary or involuntary -resignations."

"The movement between one job, employment sector or region and another."

paternalism:

"a system under which an authority undertakes to supply needs or regulate conduct of those under its control in matters affecting them as individuals as well as in their relations to authority and to each other."

proto-industrial:

"of or designating a society or economy based on rural or cottage industries producing goods for external markets, considered as a precursor of industrialization."

social welfare:

"The well-being of a community or society, especially with regard to health and economic matters."

trade union:

"an association of workers organized to protect and promote their common interests."

"A formal organization certified by the National Labor Relations Board and authorized to act on behalf of employees regarding wages, benefits, working conditions, conditions of employment and job security."

welfare plan:

"a plan designed to provide employees with coverage for medical or hospital care and surgical procedures. May also include other benefits, such as vacation or scholarship programs."

worker/ employee:

"any person who works for a wage or salary and performs services for an employer. His/ her employment is governed by a written or verbal contract of service rather than a contract for services."

INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

animal husbandry:

"the farming of animals to produce foods such as meat, eggs, and milk."

apprenticeship training:

"a system used to train a person in a recognized trade or craft in accordance with specific standards. The apprenticed individual obtains his or her skills by performing the related duties for a specified period of time under the tutelage of an experienced craft or tradesman."

bradawl:

"a small, sharp tool used for making holes."

cambric:

"a lightweight, closely woven white linen or cotton fabric."

crane:

"a tall metal structure with a long horizontal part, used for lifting and moving heavy objects."

crepe:

"thin cloth with uneven lines on its surface."

crop rotation:

"a method of farming where a number of different plants are grown one after the other on a field so that the soil stays healthy and fertile."

dairy farm:

"a farm that produces milk or milk products."

dornier:

"a loom brand used in weaving production."

drapery:

"hangings of heavy fabric for use as a curtain."

duvetyn:

"a smooth lustrous velvety fabric."

flannel:

"a kind of soft woven fabric, typically made of wool or cotton and slightly milled and raised."

fertilizer:

"a chemical or natural substance added to soil or land to increase its fertility."

***kampana* [campane]:**

"a bell."

***kampanya* [campaign] period:**

"the cultivation of the beet regulated the work period of the sugar industry."

"the campaign period is the time interval when the beet is produced in the factory from the beet to the sugar."

lathe:

"a machine for changing the shape of a piece of wood, metal, etc. that works by turning the material while a sharp tool is pressed against it."

locomobile:

"a self-propelling vehicle or engine."

loom:

"a frame or machine for interlacing at right angles two or more sets of threads or yarns to form a cloth."

milling machine:

"a machine tool on which work usually of metal secured to a carriage is shaped by rotating milling cutters."

molasses:

"thick, dark brown juice obtained from raw sugar during the refining process."

pest control:

"the elimination or control of an insect or animal pest."

plantation:

"a usually large group of plants and especially trees under cultivation."

plow:

"an implement used to cut, lift, and turn over soil especially in preparing a seedbed."

pomace:

"the pulpy residue remaining after fruit has been crushed in order to extract its juice."

poplin:

"a plain-woven fabric, typically a very lightweight cotton, with a corded surface."

psychotechnology:

"the application of psychological methods and results to the solution of practical problems especially in industry."

rake:

"an implement consisting of a pole with a toothed crossbar or fine tines at the end, used especially for drawing together cut grass or smoothing loose soil or gravel."

reed:

"a reed is a metal comb that is mounted in the loom. It keeps the warp threads at equal distances from each other and you can press the weft thread against the former pick."

residue:

"something that remains after a part is taken, separated, or designated or after the completion of a process."

revision period:

"after the period that sugar is produced, the revision period starts consisting of maintenance and repair of the factory."

roller printing:

"a method of printing textiles that uses a series of engraved metal rollers each of which contains the parts of the pattern to be printed in one color."

sateen:

"a smooth durable lustrous fabric usually made of cotton in satin weave."

sawmill:

"a mill or machine for sawing logs."

seedbed:

"an area of ground prepared for growing plants from seeds."

seed drill:

"a machine that sows seeds in a row at regular intervals, especially one which also ploughs a furrow and covers the seed with soil."

shop floor:

"the area where products are made in a factory."

"the part of a workshop or factory where production as distinct from administrative work is carried out."

spare part:

"an extra piece that can be used to replace a piece that breaks, especially in a machine."

spindle:

"a slender rounded rod with tapered ends used in hand spinning to twist and wind thread from a mass of wool or flax held on a distaff."

stationary printing machine:

"a printing machine not moving or not intended to be moved."

thread:

"a long, thin strand of cotton, nylon, or other fibres used in sewing or weaving."

training hall:

"a large room used for the provision of training."

truck loading equipment:

"an equipment used to unload and load distribution vehicles."

twist drill:

"a drill having deep helical grooves extending from the point to the smooth portion of the shank."

upholstery:

"the cloth and other materials used in upholstering furniture, or the process of using them."

vestibule school:

"a school organized in an industrial plant to train new workers in specific skills."

vibro sugar cube plant:

"a plant, operated by vibration, produced a small cube of compacted sugar used especially for sweetening hot drinks."

vocational school:

"a school where students learn skills that involve working with their hands."
"a school in which people learn how to do a job that requires special skills."

weeding:

"the act of removing wild plants from a place where they are not wanted."

weft:

"the threads that go across the length of a piece of cloth or a loom, a special frame for making cloth."

weighbridge:

"a machine for weighing vehicles and their loads, that you drive onto."

workbench:

"a bench on which work especially of mechanics, machinists, and carpenters is performed."

workshop:

"a room or building in which goods are manufactured or repaired."

***** The glossary consists of commonly used terms and definitions in the dissertation and that are significant to the industry and industrial relations. This glossary is produced by the following documents, books, and publications: Cambridge Dictionary. 2020. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/thesaurus/.; Doherty, E. Robert. 1989. Industrial and Labor Relations Terms: A Glossary. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.; Holloway, Michael, and Chikezie Nwaoha. 2013. *Dictionary of Industrial Terms*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.; Macdonald, David, and Caroline Vandenabeele. 1996. *Glossary of Industrial Relations and Related Items*. Thailand: ILO regional office for Asia and the Pacific.; *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary.* 10th ed. 1999. Merriam-Webster Incorporated. https://www.merriam-webster.com/.; and Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. 20 vols. 1989. Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/.

M. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Tülce Uman, Ayten Hüma
Nationality: Turkish (TC)

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
Ph.D	METU History of Architecture	2021
MS	METU Conservation of Cultural Heritage	2012
BS	Yeditepe University	2009

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2019-2021	Başkent University	Research Assistant
2017-2019	Kütahya Dumlupınar University	Research Assistant
2012-2016	YPU	Architect, Project Director
2010-2012		Freelance Architect

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Elementary German, Beginner Ottoman Turkish

N. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Yeni Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşu sırasında, devletçi sanayileşme, modern bir Türk devletinin inşasında kullanılan başlıca araçlardan biriydi ve çeşitli endüstriler için devlete ait fabrikaların kurulmasına yol açtı. Küçük bir Anadolu kasabası olan Eskişehir'de on dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonunda bir demiryolu tamir atölyesi, un değirmenleri ve birkaç küçük sanayi atölyesi vardı. Eskişehir'de sanayi, yirminci yüzyılın ikinci çeyreğinde devlete ait fabrikaların kurulmasıyla kurumsallaştırıldı. Buna göre üç büyük sanayi, demiryolu fabrikası, şeker fabrikası ve Sümerbank basma fabrikası devlet tarafından kurulmuş veya geliştirilmiştir. Bu gelişmeler doğrultusunda kent, Cumhuriyetin ilk dönemlerinde 1923-1950 yılları arasında küçük bir kasabadan devletçi politikaların hakim olduğu modern bir sanayi şehrine dönüşmüştür. 1950 seçimleriyle seçilen Demokrat Parti, çok partili sistem içinde ekonomik liberalizme geçişte rol oynamıştır. Çok partili rejime giden geçiş döneminde, ülke nüfusunun önemli bir bölümünü temsil eden işçilerin talepleri göz ardı edilememiş ve bu zorunluluk, işçilerin ekonomik politikaların oluşturulmasına ve kurumsallaşmaya katılımıyla sonuçlanmıştır. 1960 darbesinin hemen sonrasında, işçi örgütleri Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'nin bağımsız örgütleyici stratejisiyle daha görünür hale geldi. 1960 ile 1980 arasında, devlete ait fabrikaların örgütlü işçilerinin grevleri ve boykotlarıyla da şekillenen, işçi hakları için hızlanan bir mücadele vardı. 1950-1980 yılları arasında Eskişehir'deki sanayi işçileri kendi seslerini bulmaya başladılar ve işçi örgütleri içindeki yoğun örgütsel tartışmalara katıldılar. Ortaya çıkan örgütlü işçiler, fabrikanın daha önce izin vermediği şekillerde gelişmeye başladılar: kendi yaşam ve kollektifleşme yollarını belirlemek için tasarım süreçlerine dahil olan ve çalışma ortamlarını dönüştürmek için mücadeleye katılan bireyler haline geldiler. Bu dönemde düzenlemeler önemli belirleyicilerdi ancak tüm bu gelişmelere kolektif örgütler ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan kolektiflik olgusu yardımcı oldu. Bu kolektiflik, işçi ile çalışma alanı arasındaki etkileşimi değiştirerek, işçi ile kentsel çevre arasındaki ilişkileri kademeli olarak dönüştürdü.

Devlete ait fabrikalarla ilgili önceki mimarlık ve kent tarihi çalışmaları, kavramsal, teorik ve mekansal boşluklar bırakmıştır. İlk boşluk aktörler ile ilgilidir. Endüstriyel aktörler çoğunlukla mimari çalışmalara entegre edilmemiştir. Aktörleri içeren bazı çalışmalar, devleti tek ana aktör olarak ele almıştır. Bununla birlikte, bu tür fabrikalardaki sanayi kuruluşu devlete indirgenemez ve endüstriyel üretime dahil olan çeşitli aktörlerin araştırılmasını gerekmektedir. Bu tür araştırmalar, devleti ve devletin elitlerini tarihsel anlatının merkezine yerleştirirken, işçilerin varlığını indirgemektedir. Bu bakış açısı, devlete ait fabrikaların tüm çalışanlara aynı mekanları ve hizmetleri sunarak kentsel çevre ile hiçbir bağlantısı olmayan tek tip aktörlerin şekillendiği yanılgısına yol açmaktadır. Bu tez, çeşitli aktörlerden oluşan ağı keşfetmek için fabrikada çalışan tüm endüstriyel çalışanları - yöneticiler, memurlar, mühendisler, işçiler ve diğer çalışanlar - kapsamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, ana odak noktası, çoklu, çeşitli ve dinamik temsilleri çoğunlukla göz ardı edilen sanayi işçileridir.

Önceki çalışmalardaki ikinci boşluk, bağlam ile ilgilidir. Devlete ait fabrikalar üzerine yapılan ilk araştırmalar, fabrikayı, kentsel çevrenin gelişiminden bağımsız ve içe dönük kompleks olarak değerlendirmiştir. Endüstriyel aktörlere tek tip özneler olarak odaklanmak, araştırmacıların bu aktörlerin kentsel bağlamla ilişkilerini göz ardı etmelerine neden oldu. Sanayinin gelişmesi, genişleyen bir işgücü gerektirdi. Böylece, birçok sanayi işçisi daha geniş kentsel çevreye yayıldı, yaşam ve kolektif alanlar aradı, örgütlenen sanayi özneleri olarak örgütler oluşturmak için mücadele etti ve şehrin sosyal ve kültürel yaşamıyla etkileşime girdi. Devletin sunduğu mekanlara ek olarak, bu tez, sanayi çalışanlarının kendini ifade etmeleri ile bağlantılı olarak kentsel çevrede üretimlerini ve kentle nasıl etkileşime girdiğini tartışmaktadır.

Üçüncü boşluk çalışmaların kapsamı ile ilgilidir. Mevcut çalışmaların çoğu, devlete ait fabrikalarla ilgili olarak ya belirli bir döneme ya da belirli bir konuya odaklanmıştır. Bu tezde, konut, sağlık, ideoloji veya politika gibi belirli konuları ele almak yerine, bu fabrikaları ve kentsel çevreyi bütünlükleri ve karmaşıklıkları içinde anlamak için bütünleşik bir içerik temelli yaklaşım geliştirilmiştir. Bu tür heterojen ve karmaşık aktörler ve mekanlar, onları kavramsal olarak birbirine bağlayan ortak bir payda gerektirmektedir. Bu çalışmada, bu ortak payda, çalışma mekanı, yaşam mekanı ve kolektif mekanı olarak belirlenen üç ana temayı birbirine bağlayan günlük hayattır.

Gündelik hayatı oluşturan bu temalar, Eskişehir'de birden fazla endüstriyel öznenin oluşumunu anlamak için tutarlı bir bütün oluşturmaktadır.

Tezin ana araştırma sorusu, günlük hayatta endüstriyel öznenin şekillenmesiyle ilişkili olarak çalışma, yaşam ve kolektif mekanların nasıl üretildiğini ve kullanıldığını, ve bu yapılı çevrenin kentteki sosyal, ekonomik ve politik değişim içinde nasıl konumlandığını anlamaktır. Aktörler, bağlam ve temalar üzerine tartışmayı ilerletmeye yönelik diğer araştırma soruları şunlardır:

- Eskişehir'de devlete ait fabrikalar endüstriyel aktörlere ne sunuyordu: içe dönük ve bağımsız kompleksler mi yoksa kentsel çevre ile etkileşim ya da kentsel çevrede üretim mi? Kentsel çevre ile bağlantılarla hangi temsiller şekillenmiştir?

- Kendi dergilerini yayınlayan, toplantılar düzenleyen, örgütsel modeller tasarlayan ve hatta mekanları için mücadele eden işçiler tarafından ne tür mekanlar üretildi ve bu çabalar, devlet üretiminden mekansal, kavramsal, öznel ve dönemsel olarak nasıl farklılaştı? Örgütlü işçiler ile ürettikleri ve deneyimledikleri mekanlar arasındaki etkileşimler yoluyla aktivizm ve bilincin geliştiğini düşünmek mümkün müdür?

Çalışmanın amacı, mekanların üretiminde ve kentsel çevre ile dinamik ilişkilerde aktörlerin rolünün nasıl oluştuğunu keşfederek, farklı endüstriyel öznelerinin oluşumunun tarihsel ve eleştirel çalışmasına katkıda bulunmaktır. Kent, 1923-1980 yılları arasında geçirdiği kentsel değişimlerle de bu fabrikalarla dinamik bir etkileşim oluşturmuştur.

Tezin genel kurgusu giriş ve sonuç bölümleri ile birlikte dört ana bölümü kapsamaktadır. Giriş bölümünde, tezin amacı ve araştırma sorularına ek olarak literatür taraması, metodoloji ve strüktür sunulmaktadır.

***

Tezin ikinci bölüm, 1923 ve 1980 arasındaki sanayi kenti bağlamını incelemektedir. Eskişehir'deki sanayi yerleşimleri, kent tarihi ve işçi örgütleri üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, kentsel çevrenin daha geniş bir çerçevede oluşumu hakkında arka plan

oluşturmaktadır. Sanayi yerleşimleriyle ilgili ilk bölüm, devlete ait endüstriyel yerleşimlerin tarihi, mimari ve sosyal gelişimleri bağlamında nasıl kurulduğu ve geliştiğine yönelik genel bir bakış sağlamaktadır. 1930 ile 1980 yılları arasında Eskişehir'de üç tür sanayi kuruluşu vardı: özel küçük ölçekli atölyeler; tuğla, kiremit, un ve şarapta uzmanlaşmış orta ölçekli özel fabrikalar; ve geniş yerleşimleri olan devlete ait fabrikalar. "Devlete ait fabrikalar ve kalifiye işgücü, 1930'lardan beri Eskişehir'in ve sanayisinin gelişmesinde önemli rol oynadı."[683] Bu kuruluşlar fabrikaların kuruldukları ve geliştikleri dönem itibariyle önemliydi ve Eskişehir endüstrisinde dikkate değer bir büyüme yaşandı. Fabrikalar şehre teknik işgücü, ekonomik kalkınma ve kamu yatırımı getirdi. Eskişehir'de 1924-1956 yılları arasında devlete ait üç fabrika kuruldu: demiryolu fabrikası, şeker fabrikası ve Sümerbank basma fabrikası. Bu geniş endüstriyel kompleksler, yalnızca devletin pratik ihtiyaçlarını karşılamakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda bir yaşam biçiminin de temsilcisi haline geldiler. Endüstriyel üretim, çalışanların alışkanlıklarını ve yaşam koşullarını dönüştürdü ve daha disiplinli, nitelikli ve amaca yönelik niteliklere yol açtı. Cumhuriyet döneminde üretilen şeker ve Sümerbank fabrikalarından farklı olarak, 1890'larda itibaren kurulmaya başlanan demiryolu fabrikası küçük bir atölyeden geniş ölçekli bir demiryolu fabrikasına kademeli olarak şekillenmiştir. Bu komplekslerin her birinin kendine özgü mimari biçimleri, üretim türleri ve sosyal ve toplumsal özellikleri bulunmaktadır. Devlete ait sanayi yerleşimleri, her şeyden önce Eskişehir'in endüstriyel gelişimine katkıları ve bir sanayi kentine dönüşmesi açısından önemliydi. İkincisi, devlete ait kendi kendine yeten endüstriyel yerleşimlerin Eskişehir'deki tek örnekleriydi.

Kent tarihi, kent bağlamını ve Eskişehir'in endüstriyel karakterinde meydana gelen değişiklikleri anlamak için Cumhuriyet döneminin devletçi eğilimlerinden başlayarak 1980'lerdeki özelleştirme sürecine kadar olan kentsel gelişmeyi ele almaktadır. Bununla birlikte, tarihsel bir sürekliliği sağlamak ve kenti etkileyen parametreleri keşfetmek için önceki zaman aralığını da dahil edilmiştir. Cumhuriyet öncesi kent yapısını tarımsal gelişmeler, göçler, istasyon ve demiryolu atölyesi şekillendirmeye başlamıştır. Taksim-i Arazi haritasına göre Cumhuriyet öncesi şehir, güney sırtına

[683] Y. Emre Heper, "Eskişehir Sanayii Dünü- Bugünü," in *Eskişehir Sanayi Odası 25. Yıl Özel Sayı,* ed. Eskişehir Sanayi Odası (Eskişehir: Eskişehir Sanayi Odası, 1993), 43-44.

kurulan çarşı ve manavların (yerel halk) yerleştiği tarihi Odunpazarı semtinden oluşuyordu. Kuzeydeki istasyon boyunca yeni yerleşim alanları gelişmekteydi. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde devlet teşebbüsleri Eskişehir'de sanayi ve kentsel kalkınmanın temel aracı oldu. Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında kentin tarım ve maden kaynaklarına bağlı olarak özel sanayi kuruluşları da kurulmuştur. 1925'ten itibaren fabrikaların gelişmesi ve bu tesislerde işçi ihtiyacı ulusal ve uluslararası göçü çekmiştir. 1923 ile 1950 arasında, Makedonya, Yugoslavya, Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dan kente çeşitli göç dalgaları yaşanmıştır. Sivrihisar, Kütahya, Söğüt gibi çevre il ve kasabalardan iş gücü akış 1945'te başlamıştır. Böylelikle fabrikaların çevresinde yerleşimler oluşmuştur. Kent meydanındaki yeni istasyonun inşasıyla demiryolu çevresi, yeni bir hareketlilik ve değişim kültürünü temsil eden bir mobilite ve iletişim düğümü haline geldi. Cumhuriyet kentinin en önemli simgelerinden biri olan Eskişehir İstasyonu, kentsel çevrenin yeniden oluşumunda baskın bir rol oynadı. İstasyon binasının inşa edilme şekli nedeniyle iki ana cadde, Atatürk Caddesi ve İstasyon Caddesi, istasyonu şehrin konut ve çarşı bölgeleri ile bütünleştirdi. Atatürk Caddesi, kuzeyi ve güneyi, eski ile yeniyi, geleneksel ile moderni bütünleştiren, bulvar-meydan-kurumsal yapılar dizgesinin de oluştuğu en önemli kent aksı haline geldi. Bu cadde, yeni kentsel yaşamı temsil eden merkezi bir bağlantıya dönüştü. Hareketli bir cadde olan İstasyon Caddesi, şehrin ticari ve ekonomik faaliyetinde baskın bir role sahipti. Fransız şehir plancısı J. Lambert, 1938-1939'da Eskişehir için imar planını tasarladı. Bu plan uygulanmamış olsa da, kentte farklı merkezlerin yaratılması, bulvar-meydan-kurumsal bina dizgesinin tasarlanması ve geleneksel ve modern bağlantı arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanması açısından kentsel gelişmelere öncülük etmiştir.

1950 sonrası liberal model içinde, ekonomik büyüme ön plana çıkmıştır ve Marshall Planı'nın yardımıyla ülke ekonomisi yabancı yatırıma açıldı. Bu durum tarım makineleri ithalatına, Batılı uzmanların gelişine ve karayollarının inşasına yol açmıştır. Bu ekonomik gelişmelerin yanı sıra Cumhuriyet döneminin başlayan sanayi büyümesi kentte devam etti. 1950'li yıllarda Eskişehir'de yapılan sanayi yatırımları, yer seçimi ve kültürel bilgi birikimi, endüstriyel deneyim ve gelişmiş teknik beceriler nedeniyle meyvelerini verdi. 1960'lı yılların başı 27 Mayıs darbesi nedeniyle bir durgunluk yaşansa da, 1960'lı yılların sonlarından itibaren Eskişehir imalat sanayi

hızlı bir gelişme yaşadı. Devlete ait sanayi fabrikaları, bankalar ve devlet daireleri, işgücünün kente akışını motive etti. Bu artışın nedenlerinden biri, kırsal yapının parçalanması ve tarımsal nüfusun sanayi kentlerine göçü olmuştur. 1950'li yıllarda Bilecik, Afyon, Kütahya, Konya, Balıkesir ve Sivas'tan Eskişehir'e göç olmuştur. İkinci neden ise 1950-1955 yılları arasında Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dan gelen göç nedeniyle kentin nüfusunun ülke ortalamasından daha fazla artmasıydı. Diğer bir taraftan kentleşme faaliyetleri de hız kazanmıştır. Kentin kentsel gelişimini etkileyen en önemli faktörlerden biri, 1952 yılında İller Bankası tarafından Eskişehir imar planı için düzenlenen ulusal proje yarışmasıdır. İmar planı ile birlikte planlı kentleşme başlatıldı. Planın amacı, demiryolu ve anayolu kentin mevcut ağına bağlamaktı. Etrafında yeni gelişim alanlarının da tanımlandığı bu ağ aracılığıyla kent genişlemeye devam etti. 1950 ile 1980 arasındaki hızlı kentleşme, sosyal yaşamda büyük değişikliklere yol açtı. 1950'lerden sonra tüketim kalıpları ve ekonomik refah genişleyerek ve değişmeye başlayan kültürel değerler günlük yaşamın rutinlerini değiştirdi. Hızlı kentleşmenin kritik bir sonucu, 1950'den sonra meydana gelen konut sıkıntısı oldu.

Kentsel bağlamda 1930 ile 1980 arasındaki bu gelişmeler, sanayileşme, kentleşme ve nüfus artışı arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiler aracılığıyla şekillendi. Cumhuriyetin ilk dönemi 1923-1950 arasında devletçi politikalar modern bir Anadolu sanayi şehri oluştururken, 1950 sonrası sanayileşme ve kentleşmenin liberal eğilimlerin etkisiyle ivme kazandığı görülmektedir. Her iki dönemde de kentleşme yaygın bir olgu iken, 1950'lerden sonra kentleşmenin tüketici pratiği, kolektivite ve konut gelişimi gibi birçok faktörü içeren farklı bir paradigma içinde ilerlediği sonucuna varmak mümkündür.

İşçi örgütlenmeleri ile ilgili bölüm, yerel ve ulusal düzeyde sendika politikası, sosyal sigorta düzenlemeleri, emek ve kooperatif konutları ile ilgili sosyal düzenleme, endüstriyel eğitim politikası ve sağlık politikasına odaklanan işçi örgütlerinin gelişimi içinde gelişen yeni rollere odaklanmaktadır. Bu bölüm aynı zamanda Eskişehir'deki örgütlü işçiler, örgüt liderleri, mali ve hukuki kurumlar ve politik figürlerin yanı sıra sosyal aktörler, medya ve eleştirmenlerinden oluşan bu sürece dahil olan örgütsel ağı

da göstermektedir. Yapılı çevreye dair tartışmaları çerçevelemek için sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik ve politik parametreler araştırılmaktadır.

***

Endüstriyel öznelerin günlük yaşamı, aktörler, bağlamlar ve temalar arasında çoklu etkileşimler sağlamaktadır. Çalışmanın ortak paydası günlük yaşam olduğundan, üçüncü bölüm tematik olarak anlamlı bir bütün oluşturan, çalışma, yaşam ve kolektif mekan olarak, üç tema ekseninde tasarlanmıştır. Her alt bölüm, tüm endüstriyel çalışanları içermekte ve hem fabrika hem de kentsel bağlam ekseninde ilerlemektedir. Ek olarak, bu temalar, devletin mekansal üretimi ile işçilerin kendi girişimleri arasındaki ikilik içinde geliştirildi. Bu çerçeve, aktörler, bağlamlar ve temalar arasındaki etkileşimin ilişkili anlayışını sağlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, her bölüm, hem 1950 öncesi hem de 1950 sonrası dönemleri kapsayan kronolojik bir sıralamadan ziyade tematik olarak biçimlenerek, mimarlık ve kentsel tarih kapsamında daha geniş bir tartışmaya yol açmaktadır. Eskişehir'deki endüstriyel yapılı çevreye odaklanmanın yanı sıra, üçüncü bölüm iki ana konu hakkındadır. İlk bölüm fabrikalarda ve kentsel çevrede iş, yaşam ve kolektif mekanların üretimini incelemektedir. İkinci bölüm olan tartışma, bir bütün olarak bu mekansal temaları ele almakta ve değişimi kentsel ve ulusal olmak üzere iki bağlamda araştırmaktadır. Bu iki bölüm birlikte, çalışma, yaşam ve kolektif alanların birden çok endüstriyel özne tarafından nasıl üretildiğini ve etkileşim içinde nasıl kullanıldığını anlamaya çalışmaktadır.

*

Üçüncü bölüm, çalışma mekanı üretimi ile başlamaktadır. Çalışma alanının ilk analizi, yeni rejimin sembolleri ile özenle tasarlanmış Eskişehir ve Türkiye'deki devletçi endüstri mimarisinin üretimi inceleyerek, devletçi temsil ve kentsel anıtsallığa odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma mekanının üretimini inceleyen bu bölüm sadece endüstriyel üretime ve mekanlarına odaklanmanın ötesinde, endüstriyel öznelerin yaratma becerisini nasıl kazandığını da araştırmaktadır. Bir imparatorluktan cumhuriyete geçişte devlet, yeni bir ulus inşa etmek için birçok politika geliştirdi. Ulus, sosyo-kültürel bir fenomen olarak, yeni devletin amaçlarını temsil etmek ve hayata geçirmek

için endüstriyel-ulusal bir ağ tasarlandı. Cumhuriyet döneminin endüstriyel mimarisine ilişkin devletçi temsilde iki olgu önemliydi. İlk olgu, modernin ruhunu temsil eden yeni mimarlığın sunulmasıydı. Modern mimari kanon, modern çağın ruhunu ifade eden entelektüel doktrine paralel olarak oluşturulmuştur. Fabrikaların ve endüstriyel sergilerin bu görsel ve mekansal özelliklerin tezahürü olduğunu iddia etmek mümkündür. İkinci olgu, endüstriyel mimariye ilişkin devletçi politikanın temsili olarak "endüstriyel ikonografi"ydi. Endüstriyel ikonografi sosyal dönüşümün bir yansıması olarak tanımlandı. Endüstriyel ulusal ağın parçası olarak Eskişehir'de devlet eliyle kurulan fabrikalar Fritz August Breuhaus de Groot, İhsan Ünal, Şekip Akalın gibi modern mimarlar tarafından tasarlanmışlardır. "Endüstriyel ikonografi" kavramı genel müdürlüklerin kurumsal yayınları tarafından Eskişehir'e aktarılmış ve yerel yayınlar aracılığıyla devletçi sanayileşme ağının bir parçası haline gelmiştir.

İkinci analizde, çalışma alanı, endüstriyel aktörlerin ilk olarak endüstrinin rutinleri ve ritimleriyle etkileşime girdiği mekan olarak kabul edilir. Aynı zamanda, eğitici endüstriyel yapılı çevre - sanat okulu, çırak okulu, eğitim salonu ve atölye - aracılığıyla yetiştirilen farklı kökenlere sahip bireylerin, endüstriyel üretime yönelik adaptasyonu mekansal olarak nasıl kazandıklarını anlatmaktadır. Sanayileşme ile birlikte zaman ölçülebilir, değişken ve kontrol edilebilir modern bir kavrama evrilerek, endüstriyel zaman endüstriyel üretim tarafından düzenlenen farklı bir ritme sahip oldu. Eskişehir'de sanayileşme döneminde, işgücü, kırsal ve kentsel çevredeki tarım işçilerinden ve geleneksel zanaat kültürüne alışkın proto-endüstriyel göçmenlerden oluşan çeşitli kökenlere sahipti. Sanayileşmeye uyum süreci farklı endüstriyel aktörler için farklılık gösterdi. Göçmenler ve köylüler olarak tanımlanan işçi grupları, endüstriyel üretimin normları ile farklı şekillerde karşılaştı. Üretim tekniklerine alışkın olan ilk grup daha kolay adapte oldu. Kentli çiftçiler veya kırsal köylüler, kendi zaman kavramını düzenlemeye alışkın gruplar olarak, adaptasyonda zorluklar ile karşılaştılar. Adaptasyonu sağlamak için fabrikada ve kentte eğitim kurumları ve aktiviteler oluşturulmuştur.

Akılcı, planlı ve verimli inşa edilmiş mekanlar olarak endüstriyel üretim alanları, zaman yönetimi, disiplin ve kontrol mekanizmasına paralel olarak tasarlandı. Bu parametreler, mekansal organizasyonla fabrika kapısından üretim alanına kadar bir

üretim öncesi rotası oluşturmuştur. Fabrika giriş kapıları, endüstriyel yerleşim yerlerinin dışında yaşayan işçilere yönelik disiplin, denetim ve yönetim işlevini vurgulamak için tasarlanmış bir kontrol noktasıydı. Çalışma mekanları; görsel teması, ışığı ve havayı en üst düzeye çıkarmak için makine düzenine göre üretildi. Zaman yönetimi, disiplin mekanizması, üretim hızı ve verimlilik bu yapıların mekansal düzenlemesinde belirleyici faktörlerdi.

Taylorizm ve bilimsel yönetim gibi üretimdeki sosyal ve ekonomik paradigmalar, endüstrideki mekansal organizasyon ve işbölümünü anlamak için kritik öneme sahiptir. Endüstriyel mimari, bu sosyo-ekonomik modellerin yansımasıdır. Demiryolu, şeker ve tekstil fabrikalarındaki özel üretim türleri, mekanlarını şekillendiren kendine özgü üretim tekniklerine sahiptir. Bu sosyal ve ekonomik paradigmalar, mekanın üretimini ve yaşamın her alanını etkileyen üretim ilişkilerini ve yönetim tekniklerini sunmuştur. Bunlara ek olarak, üretimde bilimsel yönetim ve organizasyonun ifade edildiği fabrikada emek hiyerarşisine dayanan yeni roller ortaya çıkmıştır.

*

Üçüncü bölüm, yaşam alanı üretiminin incelenmesiyle devam etmektedir ve 1923 ile 1980 arasında endüstri özneleri için inşa edilen çeşitli yaşam alanlarına değinmektedir. Fabrika çalışanları için konut sorunu, 1930'larda devlet fabrikalarının Anadolu'da az gelişmiş bir kentte kurulmasının ardından gündeme geldi. Fabrikaların lojman blokları ile sanayi işgücü için konut ihtiyacı sınırlı ölçüde çözüldü. Bu eksikliği gidermek için en etkili araç, çalışma alanını yaşama bağlayarak konut olanakları sunmak ve buna bağlı olarak endüstriyel zamana uyarlanmış istikrarlı ve kalıcı bir işgücü sağlamaktı. Bununla birlikte, Eskişehir'in devlete ait fabrikalarında en yoğun nüfuslu kesim ve hiyerarşik olarak en alt sıralarda olan işçilere nadiren lojmanlar sunulmuştur. Tüm fabrikalarda lojman blokları çalışma hiyerarşisine göre tasarlanarak kullanılmıştır. Sanayinin ürettiği bu hiyerarşi, yaşam alanı üretimine de yansımıştır. Fabrika lojmanı ne kadar çok birim ve daha yüksek yaşam standartlarına sahipse, konutta yaşayan çalışanın konumu da hiyerarşik olarak o kadar yüksektir.

Eskişehir'de devlete ait sanayi kuruluşları geliştikçe, kentte sanayi ekonomisinin hızlı büyümesi, şehre yoğun bir göçmen nüfus akışını beraberinde getirdi. Kente gelenler arasında 1950'lerde Bulgaristan ve Romanya'dan gelen göçmenler ile çevre illerden gelen göçmenler de vardı. Konut sıkıntısını artıran bir diğer etken de 1950 yılında yaşanan sel oldu. Düşük konut standartları ile birlikte konut kıtlığı, çeşitli konut alternatifleri arayan daha yoğun işgücü nüfusu ile sonuçlandı. Kentleşme, göç ve selin bir sonucu olarak bu zor yaşam koşulları, işçiler için konut tipolojisini, tasarımlarını ve standartlarını dönüştürdü. Barınma olanaklarının sınırlı olması, işçilerin kentin farklı bölgelerinde yer alan göçmen evleri, seylap evleri ve gecekondular olarak çeşitli konut türlerine yerleşmelerine neden oldu. Göçmen konutlarının yapımı hem zaman aralığı hem de yaklaşım açısından iki farklı grupta incelenmiştir. 1923-1950 arasındaki ilk dönem, göçmenlerin devletten mali yardım alarak inşaatı kendilerinin yönetmesini sağlamıştır. 1950 ve 1980 arasındaki ikinci dönem, devletin yerleşimlerin tasarımına aktif olarak katıldığı görülmüştür. İkinci dönem göçmen nüfus için daha fazla planlı yerleşim olanağı sunsa da, işçiler konut kooperatifini geliştirerek kendi yerleşimlerini kurmaya başlamış ve işçilerin göçmen konut kullanımı giderek azalmıştır. Hızlı nüfus artışı ve kentleşmenin yanı sıra, konut kıtlığına yol açan bir diğer önemli parametre 1950 yılında yaşanan sel felaketiydi. Kerpiçten yapılan gecekondu yerleşimleri, 1950 seliyle kolayca yıkıldı. Cumhuriyet gazetesinin haberine göre Sarısu Nehri'nin taşmasıyla oluşan sel ile 5,000 demiryolu işçisi evsiz kaldı.[684] 1951 yılında şehrin kuzey bölgesinde 500 blok ve 1.000 müstakil konut seylap evleri olarak inşa edildi. Finansal kaynak kısmi olarak sağlanan devlet hibesi ve ev sahiplerine sağlanan kredi ile sağlanmıştır. Eskişehir'de gecekondu yerleşimleri ağırlıklı olarak 1940'lı yıllardan başlayarak 1955'ten sonra hızlanan büyüme ile birlikte inşa edildi. Bu yerleşimlerin yaygınlaşması Eskişehir'de düzensiz bir konut örüntüsü oluşturdu. Bu yerleşimler aynı zamanda tarım arazilerindeki daralma, kırsal alanlardan kentsel alanlara göç akışı, emlak ve arazi spekülasyonu ve kentsel çevrede lüks konut yapımındaki artıştan kaynaklanmıştır. Konut açığı, sanayi işçilerinin Esentepe, Şarhöyük, Ömerağa, Hacı Seyit ve Sümerbank fabrikası çevresindeki bölgede yasa dışı olarak gecekondu yerleşimleri inşa etmesine neden oldu.

[684] Cumhuriyet, "Sel Felaketine uğrayan Vatandaşlara Yardım: Dün Şehrimizde bir Toplantı Yapıldı: Yardım Yekunu 100 bin Lirayı Aştı," *Cumhuriyet 26, no. 9190 (*March 11, 1950): 1-3.

İşçilerin konut kredileriyle ilgili düzenlemeler, 1950'lerden itibaren hızlı bir değişikliğe yol açtı. Bu dönemde işçi örgütleri arttığı için, konut ihtiyacını karşılayacak konut kooperatifleri ortaya çıktı. Düşük ücretler, eğitim faaliyetleri ve kredi yardımı, işçileri pasif konut sakinleri olmanın ötesinde barınma arayışında aktif roller almak için motive etti. Eskişehir'deki işçi örgütleri, konut sorunu önemli bir parametre olarak ele alan ileri görüşlü işçilerden oluşuyordu ve bu nedenle, konut kooperatiflerinin gelişimi için ilk motivasyonu sağladılar. 1950'lerde, işçi örgütlerinin ortak hedefi, daha iyi bir yaşam tarzının nasıl tasarlanacağına dair bir tartışmalar paralelinde kooperatif yerleşimleri kurmaktı. Bu hedef, kooperatifler, mimarlar, politikacılar, finansal kurumlar ve belediyeler dahil olmak üzere çok sayıda aktörün dahil edilmesi yoluyla daha kapsamlı bir organizasyon mekanizması ortaya çıkarmıştır. Konut kooperatifinin gelişmesiyle birlikte, işçilerin rolleri eski konut üretimine kıyasla değişmiştir. İşçiler konut kullanıcıları ve sakinlerinden, yatırımcılara ve tüketicilere dönüşmüştür. Devletin finansal kredileriyle oluşturulan konut kooperatifi, örgütlenen işçilere kooperatiflerinin konumunu, mimarını ve üyelerini belirleme yetkisi vermiştir. Eskişehir'deki işçiler için konut kooperatifleri iki konut modeli kullandı. Birincisi bahçeli yarı müstakil ev, ikincisi ise apartmanlardır. Yarı müstakil ev için, standart alan mali kısıtlamalar tarafından belirlendi ve işçi ve memur evleri aynı özelliklerle inşa edildi. Minimum barınma standartlarına sahip ilk işçi konut kooperatifleri, elektrik ve su tesisatı gibi belediye hizmetleri olmadan inşa edildi. İşçiler gerekli otoritelerle görüşerek ve kollektif olarak bu hizmetleri sağlamışlardır. İşçi konut kooperatifindeki ikinci model, üç veya dört katlı bir apartman konutlarıydı. 1960'dan sonra işçi yaşam alanlarına hakim olan ve yirminci yüzyılın ortalarında müstakil evlerin yerini alan apartmanlar, ulusal yapı üretimi gelişmelerine paralel bir geçişe işaret ediyordu. Konut kooperatifi, kooperatif kuralları ile düzenlenen aynı mesleğe sahip sakinlerden oluşan samimi mahalleler yarattı. Konut kooperatifindeki kültür, diğer işçilerin yaşam alanlarına göre daha homojendi çünkü benzer alışkanlıklara, tutumlara ve arzulara sahip sanayi işçileri bir arada yaşamaktaydı. Örgütlenen işçiler, kooperatiflerde liderlik rolleri alarak, bilinç ve aktivizmlerini göstererek mahallelerin gelişimine katkıda bulundular. Zamanla okullar, açık alanlar ve küçük dükkanlar inşa ederek bir kolektiflik bilinci yarattılar. Bu kolektifliğin nedenlerinden biri, konut kooperatiflerinin geliştirilmesinde göçmenlerin liderliğiydi.

Onlar için, kente geldiklerinde karşılaştıkları zorluklar gereği karşılıklı yardım ve işbirliği kökleşmişti. Bu hizmetler başlangıçta konut kooperatifinin ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak tasarlanmamış, zaman içerisinde kollektif aktiviteler ile geliştirilmiştir.

Böylelikle kentte endüstriyel özneler ile ilgili olarak üç tip konut üretimi ortaya çıkmıştır. Devlet, modern ve ilerici yaklaşımı doğrultusunda devlete ait fabrikalarda lojmanlar inşa etti. Ancak devletin tüm çalışanları için konut üretmemesi, işçilerin fabrika dışında yaşam alanları aramasına neden olarak kentsel çevre ile farklı etkileşimlere yol açtı. 1923 ile 1950 arasında, işçiler bireysel konut alternatifleri buldular. 1950'lerden sonra sanayi fabrikalarının çevresinde kooperatif yerleşimleri kurmaya başladılar ve bu mekansal üretim kentsel alana yayıldı. Kooperatif modeli, doğrudan sendikalarla bağlantılı işçiler tarafından geliştirildi. Bu devlet dışı aktörler, sendikaların liderleri veya aktif üyeleri, işçi sorunları, özellikle de konut yetersizliği ile ilgileniyorlardı ve yazılı kaynaklarında da bunları ele alıyorlardı. Konut kooperatifleri bu tür bir bilinç ve aktivizm yoluyla geliştirildi.

***

Yirminci yüzyılın ikinci çeyreğinde, fabrika yerleşimlerinde sadece üretim alanlarında değil aynı zamanda lokaller, yüzme havuzları ve sinemalar gibi ortak alanlarda yeni bir kolektiflik tanıtılmıştır. Bu yıllarda, kentsel mekanda kolektif alan üretimi hem nicelik hem de çeşit olarak nadirdi, bu nedenle fabrika modern kolektifliğin kaynağıydı. Paternalist bir model aracılığıyla, bu fabrikalar tarafından yeni yaşam biçimleri, rutinleri ve kalıpları tanıtıldı ve kentsel çevreye de sunulmuş oldu. Bu alanlar sadece sosyal ve politik amaçlar için tasarlanmadı, aynı zamanda modern kolektivite aracılığıyla yeni ortaya çıkan devletin fikirlerini ve ilkelerini tezahür ettirebilecek sağlıklı ve sosyal açıdan sorumlu endüstriyel aktörler oluşturmak ve onların eğitimi için de işlev görmekteydi. Devlet, modern ve kültürel açıdan bilgili sanayi çalışanlarının oluşumunu teşvik etse de, farklı fabrika üyelerine farklı düzeylerde kolektif etkileşim sağlandı. Teknokratların, çalışma ve yaşam alanları fabrikada yer aldığı için bu hizmetlerle en entegre olan çalışan grubuydu. Fabrikadaki işçi konutlarının olmaması nedeniyle işçilerin fabrikadaki kolektif mekanlarla etkileşimi teknokratlara kıyasla sınırlıydı.

İşçiler ve devlet, 1950'lerden itibaren sendikacı ve işveren haline geldi. Devletin modernize edilmiş kolektivite biçiminden kendi kendine üretilen ve organize bir kolektiviteye geçiş yoluyla işçiler için yeni bir kollektivite ortaya çıkardılar. Devletin ürettiği kolektiviteye ek olarak o dönemde yeni ilişki türleri ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Üretim alanlarında işçiler fabrika yönetmelikleri ve kurallarına tabi tutuldu. Fabrika sınırlarının ötesinde, aktivizm ve bilinçlerini şekillendiren çalışma, yaşam ve kolektif alanlar üretmeye ve kullanmaya başladılar. Mücadelelerini sürdürürken ve mekanlar inşa ederken, hükümet yetkilileri, politikacılar ve gazeteciler de dahil olmak üzere farklı aktörlerle toplantılar yaptılar ve emek sorunlarını tartıştılar. Böylece emek hakkında fikirler geliştirdiler ve bu gelişme aktivizme yol açtı. İşçiler, yasal düzenlemeleri ve aktivizmi kullanarak, sendikalar ve tüketici veya konut kooperatifleri kurma, tatil kampları kurma ve işçi dergilerini yayınlama ve okuma gibi farklı bir kollektivite tanımlamaya başladılar. Kendi sosyal ve kültürel girişimleri ve mimari oluşumları ile bu yeni kolektivite, fabrika sınırlarını aştı ve kente yayıldı.

Kentsel çevrede sendika salonları ve binaları kurulmadan önce demiryolu ve şeker fabrikalarında lokal sendika toplantıları için bir toplantı salonu olarak kullanılıyordu.[685] Sümerbank fabrikasında tüketim kooperatifi yanındaki bina işçi bekleme odası olarak tasarlanmış ve Eskişehir Sümerbank Sendikası'nın ofisi olarak kullanılmıştır. Kentsel mekanda sendika toplantıları için kullanılan diğer yapılar ise Halk Evi ve İşçi Barınağıydı. 1946 yılında Eskişehir Demiryolu Sendikası ilk sendika binasını satın aldı, ancak bu yapı sendika faaliyetleri için yeterli gelmiyordu. 1970'lerin sonunda açılan proje yarışma sonucunda mimar ve mühendis Fahrettin Şengör tarafından Demiryolu Sendika Binası tasarlandı ve inşa edildi. Kapsamlı bir işgücü merkezi olarak düşünülen modern bina, sendikaya özgü hizmetlerinin yanı sıra eğitim odaları, sinema salonu, işçi pazarı ve ofisler gibi birçok fonksiyon aracılığıyla işçilerin konforunu ve sendikal gelişimini sağlamak için tasarlanmıştır. Şeker ve Sümerbank İşçi Sendikası ise Köprübaşı İşhanı ve Birlik İş Hanı'nda bir katta sendika faaliyetlerini yürütmüşlerdir. Sendika liderleri, işçilerin refahının yalnızca ekonomik

[685] İşçinin Sesi, "D.D.Y. Sanayi İşçiler Sendikasının Yıllık Normal Kongresi Yapıldı," *İşçinin Sesi* 1, no.1 (September 22, 1951): 3.

ve politik gelişmelerle değil, aynı zamanda kültürel, örgütsel ve eğitimsel özgürleşme yoluyla sağlandığına inanıyorlardı. Bu nedenle, kültürel ve entelektüel büyümeye yol açan ilerlemeye de öncelik verildi. Örgütlenen işçiler, işçi dergi ve gazetelerini işgücü sorunlarına ilişkin farkındalığı yaymak, aktivizme ilham vermek ve bilinçlendirmek için bir araç olarak kullandılar. Öncelikleri örgütsel literatürü kendileri araştırdılar ve daha sonra buldukları bilgileri dergiler aracılığıyla sanayi işçilerine aktardılar. Örgütlenen işçiler ve kentli entelektüeller, basılı medya ve işçi örgütleri aracılığıyla işçilerin aktivizmi ve bilinci için bir ağ oluşturdular. Bu kolektif üretimleri, ağ aracılığıyla kendi seslerini duyurmalarına yardımcı oldu. İşçi dergilerinden *İşçinin Sesi, İş Yolu* ve *Türk Gücü* kendi idarehanelerini kiraladılar. 1960 yılında *Türk Gücü* dergisi Kılıçoğlu İşhanı'nın birinci katını kiralamıştı. *Hürbilek* ve *Çalışanlar* dergileri ise, sendika binaları ve salonlarını idarehane olarak kullandı. Sendika binaları, salonları ve idarehaneleri örgütlenen işçiler için bir araya geldikleri mekanlardı. İşçilerin endişelerini ve çatışmalarını tartışmak için özgürce ve gönüllü olarak bir araya gelebilecekleri bir tür kolektivite oluşturdular.

*

Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında, devlete ait fabrikalar, daha önceki geleneksel olandan ayrılan yeni bir mekansal oluşum yaratarak sosyalleşme ve tüketim için yeni alışkanlıklar getirdiler. Devletçi politikalar, modernleşme ve Batılılaşma eğilimlerine paralel olarak geliştirilen fabrikalardaki kolektif alanlar, bu toplumsal değişimi endüstriyel aktörlere aktaran unsurlardı. Bu yeni sosyal ve mekansal konfigürasyon, başlangıçta, her üç fabrikada da var olan ve yeni kolektif alışkanlıklar getiren sosyal bir toplanma alanı olan lokal içinde ifade edildi. Bu dönemde, sosyal ve tüketim alanları, yardım dernekleri fabrikanın sunduğu hizmetleri desteklemek için devlete ait fabrikalarda ortaya çıktı. Yardım dernekleri, genellikle memurlar ve işçiler tarafından oluşturulan, ancak fabrika yönetimine bağlı organizasyonlardı. İlk yardımsever tüketici modelleri fabrikalarda devlet güdümlü veya işçi tarafından başlatılan iki ana yöntemle oluşturuldu. Tüm fabrikalarda kantin, ekonoma veya kooperatif olarak adlandırılan satış birimleri faaliyet göstermiştir. Sümerbank ve demiryolu fabrikalarında çalışan işçiler tüketim kooperatifleri kurarak tüketici ihtiyaçlarına cevap verdiler. 1950'li yıllarda kentleşmeye bağlı olarak tüketim ve boş zaman kalıplarının

değişmesi, kentteki sosyal ve mekansal ortamı değiştirmeye başladı. 1950'lerde işçiler için kolektivitenin anlamı devletçi refah imajından liberal ve piyasa odaklı ilerleme yaklaşımına kaymıştır. Kent merkezi olan Köprübaşı'nda oteller, ofis binaları, tüketim, ticari ve finans kuruluşları inşa edildi. İyileştirilmiş finansal koşullar, tüketim alışkanlıklarındaki değişiklikler ve kentsel çevrenin gelişmesi deneyimledikçe, işçiler boş zamanları için kentsel ortamı kullanmaya başladılar. 1930-1950 yılları arasında fabrikalarda kurulan satış mağazası ve tüketim kooperatifleri, 1950'lerden sonra yerini kentsel ortamda kurulan şirket mağazaları ve tüketim kooperatiflerine bırakmıştır. İlk satış mağazası, 1955 yılında Köprübaşı'nda inşa edilen Sümerbank'tır. Bu çok işlevli bina, tüketim mağazası, banka, ofisler ve misafirhane birimlerini içeriyordu. Şirket mağazası, sanayi işçilerine modern tüketimi deneyimleme fırsatı sundu. Daha önce fabrika içindeki küçük satış birimlerini kullanan işçiler için modern tüketim alışkanlıkları son derece yeniydi. 1978'de işçi pazarını da içeren Demiryolu Sendikası Binası inşa edildi.

*

Devletin sağlık politikalarına uygun olarak, devlete ait fabrikalar sağlık ve refahı temel konular olarak önceliklendirerek, sağlıklı ve temiz mekanlar sağlamayı amaçladı. Diğer olanaklarla birlikte, sağlık üzerine kolektif aktiviteyi teşvik etmek için spor tesisleri devlete ait üç fabrikaya entegre edildi. Bu tesislerle, çalışanların sağlıklı bedenlere ve zihinlere sahip olmalarını amaçlamışlardır. 1954 yılında Eskişehir İşçi Hastanesi, şehir merkezinde artan işçi sayısının sağlık bakım ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu tarafından yaptırılmıştır. 1957'de işçilerin tatil zamanlarında yapılan düzenlenmelerle, sanayi çalışanlarının zihinsel ve fiziksel sağlığını iyileştirme amaçlandı. Bu düzenlemeler sayesinde izin ve tatil günleri düzenlenmeye başlandı. Şehir dışına seyahat etme pratiği, başlangıçta fabrikaların yardımsever toplulukları tarafından düzenlenen şehir dışı gezilerle başladı. Bu günlük geziler, kolayca erişilebilen alanlarda aile temelli boş zaman aktiviteleri sunuyordu. II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra, artan motorlu araçlar ve karayolu yapımı nedeniyle sahiller kolayca erişilebilir hale geldi. Genel müdürlüklerin endüstriyel ağının bir parçası olarak tatil kampları ortaya çıktıkça, 1950'lerde işçiler için deniz kenarına yazlık geziler yaygın hale gelmeye başladı. Eskişehir'in sanayi fabrikalarında çalışanlar coğrafi olarak kendilerine yakın yaz kamplarını tercih ettiler. Eskişehir demiryolu

fabrikası çalışanları Gölcük Tatil Kampı'na, Eskişehir şeker fabrikası çalışanları Erdek Tatil Kampı'na, Eskişehir Sümerbank fabrikası çalışanları Kuşadası Tatil Kampı'na gidiyorlardı. Devlete ait bu tatil kampları, tüm endüstriyel aktörlere tatil imkanı sunamıyor, öncelikle teknokratlar bu faaliyetlerden faydalanabiliyordu. Böylelikle tatile gitmek isteyen teknokratlar bu hizmetten her yıl yararlanabiliyordu. Modern fabrikada yaşayan ve kollektifleşen teknokratlar, modern konfordan boş zamanlarında da devlet tarafından faydalanıyorlardı. Sanayi işçilerinin kentsel-endüstriyel yaşamın zorluklarıyla yüzleşmek için zihinsel ve fiziksel yenilenmeye ihtiyacı vardı. Eskişehir'de çalışan işçilerin çoğu, artan ücretler, ücretli izinler ve artan mobiliteye paralel gelişen işçi hareketinin bir sonucu olarak tatile çıkabildi. Eskişehir Demiryolları Sendikası tarafından kurulan Akçay Tatil Kampı, yerel bir organizasyon inisiyatifiyle oluşturulmuş olması nedeniyle diğer tatil kamplarından ayrıldı. Tatil kampları, işçilere günlük yaşamın rutin ve geleneklerinden bir tür kurtuluş ve çalışma alanı ve emek uygulamalarından uzakta zamansal ve mekansal bir aralık sunuyordu.

*

Bölüm 3.1, gündelik yaşamın çeşitli bileşenlerinin incelenmesi yoluyla mekân üretimini araştırdı. Bölüm 3.2, daha kapsamlı bir anlayış sağlamak için bu temaları entegre ederek endüstriyel öznenin yeniden üretimini kent ve ulusal bağlamda araştırmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, 1923'ten 1980'e kadar olan dönemde Eskişehir'de endüstriyel aktörlere ilişkin uyum, değişim ve etkileşimi incelemektedir.

Sanayileşme, kırsal ve kentsel, mitolojik zaman ve endüstriyel zaman, geleneksel ve modern arasındaki ikilemi ortaya çıkardıkça, teknokratlar, işçi aristokrasisinin üyeleri olarak, bu değişikliklere en çok uyum sağlayan grup oldu. Teknokratlar, büyük şehirlerden göç ettikleri, yabancı ülkelerde eğitim aldıkları ve büyük şehirlerde yüksek öğrenim gördükleri için modern yaşam alışkanlıklarına alışkınlardı. Dönüştürücü rolleri ve sınırlı sayıları nedeniyle devletin sunduğu ayrıcalıklı hizmetler, sanayi kültürünü ve sosyal normları işçilere aktarabilecek olan teknokratlara sunuldu. Çalışma, yaşam ve kolektif mekanlar arasındaki etkileşimler, fabrika içinde yaşayan teknokratlar için çoklu bağlantılar oluşturmuştu. Teknokratlar, bahçenin içindeki modern fabrikayı romantik bir imge olarak düşünüyorlardı. Teknokratlara göre konut birimleri, kulüp binası ve restoranı içeren tesisler, kendileri gibi olanlarla vakit

geçirebilecekleri modern bir yerleşim olanağı sunuyordu. Aynı zamanda, bu içe dönük yerleşim, emek hiyerarşisine uygun modern bir yaşam biçimi sunuyordu. Böylece, teknokratlar fabrikaya öylesine bağlı hale geldi ki, kentsel çevre ile etkileşime girmeye ihtiyaç duymadılar. Modern günlük yaşam, bu aktörlere üretim kültürünün bir parçası olarak tanıtıldı. Fabrikada çalışan, yaşayan ve sosyalleşen teknokratlar, çoğunlukla devletin üretmeyi amaçladığı ideal, eğitimli ve disiplinli endüstriyel aktörleri temsil ediyordu.

Sanayi işçileri çoğul aktörlerdi ve sanayiye adaptasyonları, kökenlerine ve iş bölümündeki rollerine göre farklılık gösteriyordu. Eskişehir'deki sanayi işçileri kırsal köylüler, kentli çiftçiler ve göçmenlerdi. İşçi olarak rolleri çoğunlukla şu kökenlere göre belirlendi: kırsal köylüler mevsimlik işçi oldu ve göçmenler ise tam zamanlı işçi oldu. Sanayileşme yeni çalışma ritimleri, yeni emek dinamikleri ve yeni yerleşim alanları getirdikçe, işçiler sanayileşme ve modernleşmeye farklı kökenlerine göre farklı şekilde adapte oldular. Sanayi işçileri, endüstriyel eğitim almadıkları için teknokratların aksine fabrikada çalışırken endüstriyel dinamikler ve uygulamalarla ilk kez karşılaştılar. Fabrikalara uyumu en zor olan işçiler, Eskişehir yakınlarındaki köylerden gelen mevsimlik işçilerdi. Göçmen işçiler, sanayileşme ve modernleşmeye uyumları açısından en ilerici gruptu. Fabrikada yeterli sayıda lojmanların olmaması, birçok işçinin 1923 ile 1950 arasında şehrin çeşitli bölgelerinde yaşamasına neden oldu. Fabrikanın kollektif mekanları da aktörlere göre farklılık gösteriyordu: işçilerin erişimi sınırlıyken, teknokratlar geniş olanaklara sahiplerdi. 1923 ile 1950 yılları arasında kent, fabrika dışında yaşam ve kolektif alanlar açısından geniş hizmetler sunmuyordu. 1950'lerden sonra, kentsel alandaki gündelik pratikler ticari ve finansal kurumlar ve konut yerleşimleri tarafından dönüştürüldü. Kentsel ortamda modern ticari ve finansal hizmetler ortaya çıktı. Bu değişim, fabrika içindeki günlük yaşam ve kolektivite deneyimlerine bir katman daha ekledi.

Eskişehir'deki işçi örgütleri, sanayi işçilerinin rollerini değiştiren belirleyici bir faktör olarak ortaya çıktı. Genel olarak emek tarihçileri, ağır sosyal koşullar nedeniyle işçilerin yüksek devir oranları şeklinde tepki verdiğini iddia etmişlerdir. Ancak Eskişehir'deki işçilerde, daha aktif bir işgücü bilinci bulunmaktaydı. Bu emek bilinci, emeğe ilişkin sosyal ve mekansal koşulları iyileştirme mücadelelerinde önemli bir rol

oynadı ve aktif mücadeleleri, işçilere grev hakkı, çalışma saatleri ve izin günleri ile ilgili düzenlemeler, ve iyileştirilmiş beslenme hizmetleri ve konut kooperatifleri, sendikalar ve tatil kampları dahil kolektif alanlar vasıtasıyla yeni yaşamın inşasını sağladılar. Bununla birlikte, "modern işçilerin tipik davranış biçimi" ve "modern işçi kimliği",[686] gibi kavramlar işçilerin kökenleri, eğitim düzeyleri, iş bölümündeki rolleri ve örgütsel düzeylerdeki farklılıklar nedeniyle tamamen devlet tarafından şekillendirilmemiştir. Dolayısıyla, geliştirilen aktivizm ve bilinç, tüm işçileri tek bir çatı altında kapsayan kolektivite değildi. Sendika liderleri, mevcut ve ideal bilinç arasındaki boşluğu doldurmada önemli figürlerdi. Örgütlenme ağlarıyla bu liderler, emek sorunları hakkında okuyarak, araştırarak, yazarak, ilişkiler kurarak ve üreterek farklı bir bilinç düzeyi oluşturdular. 1950'lerden sonra kentsel çevre, önceki dönemde devlet tarafından üretilen alanlardan farklı olarak gelişti. Bu kentsel gelişim içinde, işçiler kentsel çevre ile giderek daha fazla etkileşime girdi. Özellikle, örgütlü işçiler kentsel çevrede kolektifliklerini ifade edebilecekleri yeni potansiyel alanlar aradılar. Organize sanayi işçileri, kentsel çevrede konut kooperatifleri, sendika binaları ve salonları, tüketim kooperatifleri gibi mekanlar ürettiler ve mekansal üretimde aktörler olarak kendilerini ifade ettiler. Tüm işçiler aynı ölçüde kentleşmedi. Ortak geçmişleri olan göçmen işçiler, kentsel çevrede hayatta kalmak için karşılıklı yardım ve yaşam pratikleri geliştirdiler. Bu ortak toplu yaşam, organizasyon ve işbirliği ile ilişkilendirildi. Bu nedenle, göçmen işçiler, işçi örgütlerinde ve konut kooperatifi gelişmelerinde öncü bir role sahipti. Köylü ve yarı köylü işçiler köy ile bağlarını koparmadılar.

*

Devletçi sanayileşme ve Cumhuriyet'in modernite projesi ile Eskişehir, Kayseri ve Karabük hızlı bir değişim yaşamaya başladı. Ancak sanayileşmeye tepkileri tarihsel, sosyal ve kültürel geçmişleri nedeniyle farklılık gösterdi. Kayseri ve Eskişehir, devlete ait fabrikaların kurulmasından önce önemli yerleşim yerleriydi. On dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonlarında inşa edilen demiryolu ağı nedeniyle Eskişehir, modern gündelik uygulamalarla bir kente dönüşmeye başlamıştı. Kayseri, yirminci yüzyılın ilk

[686] Can Nacar, "Our Lives Were Not as Valuable as an Animal": Workers in State-Run Industries in World-War-II Turkey," *IRSH* 54 (2009): 147.

yıllarında önemli konumu nedeniyle bir ticaret merkeziydi. Karabük, on altı aileden oluşan küçük bir kırsal köydü. Üç şehir, devletçi sanayileşme ve kentleşmeye paralel olarak ulusal bir modernleşme programı içinde gelişti. 1923 ile 1950 arasında karşılaştırıldığında, Eskişehir ve Kayseri daha benzer kentsel gelişmelere işaret ediyor. Bu şehirlerde geleneksel dokunun yanında modern devlet fabrikaları kurulmuş, kentin de bir parçası olan bu fabrikalarla kent şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Kentin ana aksında, bulvar-meydan-kurumsal yapıların bir araya geldiği bir merkezi alan oluştu. Bu nedenle sanayileşme ve kentleşme, kuzey ile güney, geleneksel ile modern arasında ikilikler ortaya çıkarmıştır. Karabük ise Henri Prost'un küçük bir köyden tasarladığı şirket kasaba modelinden türetilmiştir. 1950 ile 1980 arasında, bu şehirler endüstriyel ve ekonomik gelişme ve nüfus artışı ile birlikte kentleşme yaşadı. Her şehrin kentsel gelişimi kentsel planlarla şekillendi. Bu nedenle yeni ticaret merkezleri oluşturulmuş ve artan endüstriyel işgücü konut sıkıntısına neden olmuştur. 1950'lerden sonra tüm şehirlerde işçilerin barınma ihtiyaçları için konut kooperatifleri ve gecekondu yerleşimleri tercih edildi.

Endüstriyel aktörlerin farklı kökenleri birden fazla temsil yarattı. Eskişehir, Kayseri ve Karabük'teki devlete ait fabrikalarda çalışan teknokratlar, bu küçük kasabalarda eğitim kurumlarının bulunmaması nedeniyle büyük şehirlerden göç ettiler. Devlet fabrikaları benzer mekansal programlar sunduğundan, teknokratlar bu kentlerde benzer yaşam biçimlerine sahipti. Bu tek tipliğin aksine, işçilerin kökenleri üç şehirde farklıydı. Kayseri ve Karabük'te işgücünün neredeyse tamamı köylülerden oluşuyordu ve bu da istikrarsız bir işgücüne yol açıyordu. Eskişehir, Kayseri ve Karabük'ün aksine, büyük ölçüde göçmenlerden oluşan bir şehirdi. Eskişehir'deki kentli göçmenler girişimciydi ve daha iyi yaşam standartları arıyorlardı, bu da onları endüstriyel üretime uygun hale getirdi. 1950'ler, bu üç şehirdeki işçi örgütlerinin başlangıcı oldu. Kayseri ve Karabük'te işçi konut kooperatifleri büyük ölçüde sanayi kuruluşu tarafından üretildi. Fabrikalar inşaat için arazi sağladı, tasarım ofislerinde çalışanlar evler tasarladı, ve konut kooperatifi sendikalar tarafından üretilmedi. Eskişehir'de tüm işçi kooperatifleri sendika liderleri aracılığıyla kuruldu. Eskişehir'in farklılaşmasının temel nedenleri, ev sahibi olma ile vatandaş olmayı özdeşleştiren bir gelenekten gelen, çoğunluğu göçmen işçilerden oluşan sendika ve sendika liderlerine dayalı konut kooperatifi üretimi olmuştur.

Eskişehir'de örgütlü işçiler, sendika binaları, tüketim kooperatifleri ve konut kooperatifleri aracılığıyla kentsel çevrede üretim yaptı ve onunla etkileşime girdi. Kalıcı işçi nüfusu, kentsel çevre ile güçlenen bağları onları bu alanları üretmeye yönlendiren göçmen işçilerden oluşuyordu. Bu nedenle Eskişehir'de konut kooperatiflerinde yer alarak, sendikalarda fikirler tartışarak, dergilerde yayın yaparak, satış mağazasında alışveriş yaparak kentsel mekanı aktif olarak kullanan bir "kentli işçi" ortaya çıktı. Kentsel çevre ile etkileşimleri işçi örgütleri aracılığıyla üretildi. Tüm şehirlerde, işçiler, kırsal bağlarını koruyan köylü işçilerin dışında, 1950'lerden sonra kentleşme nedeniyle kentsel çevre ile etkileşime girdiler. Ancak işçi örgütleri tarafından "kentleşme" yalnızca Eskişehir'de açıkça görülmüştür.

***

Sonuç olarak, bu temaları analiz ederek, tezin ana araştırma sorusunun cevabı, endüstriyel öznenin tek tip bir birey olmadığıdır; tersine, son derece katmanlı, çeşitli ve dinamiktir. Bu tez sanayi öznesine etnik, eğitimsel, örgütsel, hiyerarşik, mesleki ve profesyonel temelli çoğul özneler olarak yaklaşmaktadır. Teknokratlar, devlete ait fabrikalarda çalışırken, yaşarken ve kolektifleşirken, devletin üretmeyi amaçladığı ideal tip ve kolektiviteye en uyan grup haline geldiler. Yalnızca kurumsal kimliğe ve devlet politikalarına odaklanmak yerine, bu tez çok çeşitli aktörlerin temsilini araştırmıştır. Endüstriyel aktörlerin çeşitliliğin en görünür anlaşılabileceği grup, sanayi işçileridir. Bu çeşitliliğin belirleyici faktörleri kökenlerine, eğitim seviyelerindeki farklılıklara, işbölümündeki farklı rollerine ve işçi örgütleri içindeki statülerine dayanıyordu. Tüm bu faktörler, çalışma, yaşam ve kolektif alanlar arasındaki etkileşimler içinde birden çok temsil ve kolektivitenin ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu.

İlk araştırma sorusu, Eskişehir'de devlete ait fabrikaların endüstriyel aktörlere içe dönük ve bağımsız kompleksler mi yoksa kentsel çevre ile etkileşim ve üretim halinde olan kompleksler mi sunduğu üzerinedir. Eskişehir'deki sosyal, ekonomik ve politik süreçler paralelinde çalışanların çoğu, yaşam ve kollektif mekanlar aramak için daha geniş kentsel çevreye yayıldı. Kente yayılım, örgütlenen, kentleşen, tüketen ve

ilerlemeci hale gelen çok boyutlu sanayi işçileri üretti. Aksine, köylü işçiler kırsal bağlarını korurken kentsel çevre ile sınırlı etkileşime sahipti. Fabrika ve kentsel çevre arasındaki bu ilişkinin bir sonucu olarak, endüstriyel aktörler için mekanlar "profesyonel tasarım" ile "kendiliğinden üretim" ve "kendine özgü üretim" ve "ortak üretim" arasındaki ikilemin ürünleriydi.

İkinci araştırma sorusu, kendi dergilerini yayınlayan, toplantılar düzenleyen, örgütsel modeller tasarlayan ve hatta mekanları için mücadele eden işçiler tarafından üretimi sorgulamıştır. Ayrıca, bu çabaların devlet üretiminden mekansal, kavramsal, öznel ve dönemsel olarak nasıl farklılaştığını araştırmakta ve aktivizm ve bilincin örgütlü işçiler ile ürettikleri ve deneyimledikleri mekanlar arasındaki etkileşimler yoluyla geliştiğini düşünmenin mümkün olup olmadığını incelemiştir. Eskişehir'deki işçi örgütleri, sanayi işçilerinin rollerini değişiminde belirleyici bir faktör olarak ortaya çıktı. Aktif örgütlü işçi ağı, mekansal, sosyal ve ekonomik mücadeleyle ilgili kendi aktivizm ve bilinçlerini oluşturdu. Konut kooperatifleri, sendikalar, dergi idarehaneleri, işçi pazarları ve tatil kampları gibi kentsel ortamda yaşam ve kolektif alanlar ürettiler ve kullandılar. Bu alanlar ve faaliyetler aracılığıyla örgütlü işçiler, emek meselelerini tartıştı, formüle etti ve yürürlüğe koydu ve fabrika idarelerine, politikacılara ve devlet yetkililerine kendi örgütlerini temsil etti. Bu tür bir aktivizm ve bilincin ortaya çıkışının bir başka göstergesi de, örgütlü işçi ağının yaşayan üyelerinin hala bağlarını sürdürmeleridir. Bu bağlar o kadar kalıcı ve köklü ki bu işçiler örgütsel faaliyetlere devam ediyorlar, yerel dernekler kuruyorlar ve Emekli İşçi Derneği aracılığıyla emek meseleleriyle ilgili tartışmalarına devam ediyorlar. Ancak bu aktivizmin ve bilincin tüm sanayi işçilerine yayıldığı ve bir sınıf bilincini şekillendirdiği iddia edilemez. Örgütlenme, sanayi işçileri arasında bir ağ oluşturarak özellikle 1960'lardan sonra birçok grev, boykot ve sendikal yürüyüşü sağlamış olsa da, işçi hareketi oluşumunu tamamlayamamıştır.

1980'lerden sonra, endüstriyel aktörlerin fabrikalarla bağlantıları sona erdi veya değişime uğradı, ve böylelikle bu fabrikaların bütünlüğü önemli ölçüde zarar gördü. Son özelleştirme süreci ile aktörler arasındaki bağlantılar hakkında daha fazla araştırma yapılmasını sağlayarak, bu fabrikaların önemini anlaşılır kılarak, sorunlu özelleştirme / dönüştürme / yıkım süreci hakkında farkındalık yaratabilir.

T. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Tülce Uman
Adı / Name : Ayten Hüma
Bölümü / Department : Mimarlık Tarihi / History of Architecture

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English):
THE MAKING OF INDUSTRIAL SUBJECTS IN SPACES OF WORK, LIVING AND COLLECTIVITY: ESKİŞEHİR 1923-1980

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master ☐ **Doktora** / PhD ☒

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years. *** ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. ***** ☐

***** *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature ..... **Tarih** / Date .....