

SPATIAL MEMORY OF ELECTRIFICATION IN EARLY REPUBLICAN
CAPITAL, ANKARA

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

BY

ÖVGÜ PELEN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

SEPTEMBER 2008

Approval of the thesis:

**SPATIAL MEMORY OF ELECTRIFICATION IN EARLY REPUBLICAN
CAPITAL, ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL MEMORY OF ELECTRIFICATION IN EARLY REPUBLICAN CAPITAL, ANKARA

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September 2008, 153 pages

The search for the process of electrification in Turkey and how it is materialized in urban space in different scales in indoor and outdoor is the aim of this thesis. Looking for the effects of electrification by means of making a discursive analysis and taking into consideration the objects in substance, concerning the practice itself, and searching for the transformations in the urban space and in urban living are the main objectives of this research.

Consequently, popular media will be the main source to look for how electrification was materialized and depicted in the publicity. The popular publications of the period like; magazines, newspapers, films are going to be investigated and re-read in order to decipher how discursive formations were constructed. The intervals of the research period are the

heydays of these Modernist discursive formations, mainly the 1930s; starting from 1928 the foundation of Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory which is the symbol and generator of electrification in the new capital Ankara, and ending with 1938 with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death which can be considered a major turning point in the discursive formations. The theoretical framework of the thesis will take the "modernity project" in the Turkish Republic, focusing on how collective memory and social identity was constructed at that time.

Keywords: modernization, discourse, discursive formations, industrialization, progress, electrification, popular publications.

ÖZ

ERKEN CUMHURİYETİN BAŞKENTİ ANKARA'DA ELEKTRİFİKASYONUN MEKANSAL HAFIZASI

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Eylül 2008, 153 sayfa

Tezin amacı, Türkiye'nin elektrifikasyon sürecini ve onun kentsel mekânda farklı ölçeklerde, ev içi ve dışında nasıl cisimleştiğini incelemektir. Bu araştırmanın ana hedefleri arasında elektrifikasyonun etkilerini araştırmak, bunu da söylem analiziyle ve objelerin kendisine bakarak, pratik ile ilişkilendirerek ve kentsel mekânda ve kentsel yaşamdaki değişimleri inceleyerek yapmaktadır.

Bu sebeple, popüler medya, elektrifikasyonun cisimleşmesi ve tanıtımının nasıl olduğunu anlatması yönünden ana kaynak olarak kullanılmaktadır. Dönemin popüler yayınları; dergiler, gazeteler ve filmler söylemsel oluşumların nasıl çatkılandığının şifresini çözmek adına incelenecek ve yeniden okunacaktır. Araştırmanın zaman aralığı, Modernist söylemsel

oluşumların altın çağı olarak nitelendirebileceğimiz 1930'lardır. Araştırma, yeni başkent Ankara'nın elektrifikasyonun jeneratörü ve sembolü olan Ankara Elektrik ve Havagazı Fabrikası'nın kuruluş tarihi olan 1928'den başlar, söylemsel oluşumların dönüm noktası sayılabilecek Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün ölüm tarihi olan 1938'de son bulur. Tezin teorik çerçevesi, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki "Modernite Projesi" ve bu dönemde kolektif bellek ve sosyal kimliklerin nasıl çatkılandığına odaklanarak oluşturulmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: modernleşme, söylem, söylemsel oluşumlar, endüstrileşme, ilerleme, elektrifikasyon, popüler yayınlar.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis's supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan and my co-supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin for their guidance and valuable comments throughout the study, and for their support to realize my ideals in academic terms.

In addition, I would like to thank for the financial support provided by TÜBİTAK BİDEB (Bilim İnsanı Destekleme Daire Başkanlığı) during one year of my research study. Additionally, I would like to thank the staff of Turkish National Assembly Library, especially Zihni Engin Keleş and İhsan Güler for helping me to gather the necessary data and for being hospitable. Moreover, I would like to convey my gratitude to Mustafa Tatlısu from Turkish Prime Ministry Achieves and to my friend Abdullah for helping me translate certain Ottoman Turkish documents.

I also wish to thank Evrim Özlem Kale for encouraging me to progress through the thesis and handling my questions under any conditions. Moreover, I would like to thank especially Ali Aslankan and all other friends for providing me with the necessary mental support and trying to cheer me up. I would like to thank Rick Zwerver for the emotional support he gave when I was under pressure and when I lost my patience.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their endless support and patience. Without their support the completion of this thesis would never be possible.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the thesis is to find out how indoor and outdoor electrification process was materialized in urban space at different scales in the context of Turkey. The main goal of this research is to search for effects of electrification via not only by making a discursive analysis but also by considering the objects in substance, regarding the practice itself, and to look for the transformations in the urban space and in urban living. Therefore, it will investigate the electrification process, how it was materialized, and how it was depicted in the popular media. The theoretical framework of the thesis will take the “modernity project” in the Turkish Republic, focusing on how collective memory and social identity were constructed at that time.

As a method of analysis, discursive analysis is the main tool, so publications such as magazines, newspapers, films of the period are going to be investigated and re-read, which will intend to reveal how discursive formations were constructed by the popular media. The period for the research will be defined by the heydays of the discursive formations that

is starting with 1928 when Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was founded, which can be taken as the symbol of electrification of the capital, and ending with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938, which can be considered as a turning point in the discursive formations.

The research will be dealing mostly with three different scales; the first scale is the territorial scale, the second one is the urban scale, and finally the last is the home scale. However, before going deeper into the electrification in different scales, it is better to have a look at the idea of Modernity as a project to set the theoretical background, and then, the industrialization period of Turkey and the dominating discourse.

The starting idea of the thesis was the destruction of Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory in 2006. However, in an attempt to avoid being a nostalgic repetition of explaining its history or stating its importance in terms of industrial and cultural heritage of the Turkish Republic, the main issue of the thesis is the idea of modernity and electrification and how this became materialized in different scales in urban space. Yet, since Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was the generator, or in other words, it was the object by means of which this process came true, therefore, a very brief history of the factory is worth to mention.

Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was designed in Germany, in April, May, and June in the year of 1928, construction started in the same year. It started to produce electricity on 19th of October 1928 and succeeded in

bringing light to each corner of the capital. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the young notables of the new nation state wanted Ankara, the new capital of the Turkish Republic, to be civilized, contemporary, modern and just like any other world cities to have illuminated houses and streets, offices and factories equipped with contemporary installments. In the year 1924, the region Demirtepe- Maltepe, which was just outside the old and new city and close to the stream İncesu, was allocated as the “Industrial Area”¹. The opening of the factory, regarding the city planning of Ankara, was at the same year with the new and second plan of Jansen that was in 1928, which was also the fifth anniversary of the Republic that was not a coincidence. Within the futuristic, progressive world views of the 1920s, productive and setting a system against nature was a very modern and progressive attitude. Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was a civilization dynamo, producing the energy for urban lightening, residential and indoor heating and electricity that was going to become widespread within other Turkish cities later on.²

Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory served Ankara for about 60 years and enlightened the citizens of Ankara.³ Production in the Gas Factory ceased in 1990, then the local administration unit (EGO) decided to demolish or

¹ The 1924 Lörcher Plan had made the zone allocations for more information about Lörcher Plan see Ali Cengizkan, Ankara'nın ilk planı : 1924-25 Lörcher planı, kentsel mekan özellikleri, 1932 Jansen Planı'na ve bugüne katkıları, etki ve kalıntıları, Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 2004.

² Ali Cengizkan, Selahattin Önür, İbrahim Atılğan, Bilirkişi Raporu (Expert Report) prepared for the Ankara 2. Sulh Hukuk Mahkemesi Hakimliği, 2006, p.2

³ Ali Cengizkan. “Ankara Havagazı, Artık Yok: Bir Ağıt” Arredemento Mimarlık July – August 2006 p.75

displace the nonfunctioning structures of the factory. However, it confronted with civic and organizational reactions. In order to prevent these operational actions, Chamber of Architects applied to Preservation Board, which decided on its registration for conservation in 1991.⁴

Nevertheless, its conservation decision was not sufficient to protect it against decay. It had to face a deterioration process until its destruction on 13th of June in 2006, when its conservation decision was cancelled unexpectedly by the Preservation Board. Almost all the citizens of Ankara reacted against its destruction whether they had deep knowledge on it or not. This important industrial structure of the Early Republican Period was demolished in line with the cooperation between the Preservation Board and the local administration.

The reason for placing emphasis on modernity, electrification and Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory, the generator of electrification, as a subject matter for the thesis is the rejection of the position being only staying as a spectator of the things happening in our own city. Another reason for this choice is that the gap between what we research, what we believe in to be 'true', what we physically and psychologically identify ourselves with and the city where we live is getting wider.⁵

⁴ Mehmet Saner. The Transformation of Old Industrial District of Ankara and Political Actors. Master's thesis, METU, June 2004. pp.44-45

⁵ Ali Cengizkan. "Ankara Havagazi, Artık Yok Bir Ağıt" Arredemento Mimarlık July – August 2006 p.72

The existence of the factory used to be important for the inhabitants of Ankara, perhaps due to pragmatic reasons. Some people used to work there, others used to pay their bills there, some others had special memories there. It used to be in the experiences of the citizens since it was “touching their body”, they could feel its existence everywhere, in streets, in houses, in transportation vehicles, in kitchen appliances and so on. A feeling of possession was gained with such a kind of usage. Relationships with the Factory were different at that time. However, with its closing down and its destruction, these relationships changed. One rupture was its cease of function in 1990; its existence became unimportant, since the relationship between citizens and the factory was not the same as it was before. It was departed, distanced from the experience of individuals and the final step for this alienation process was its destruction in 2006. It had lost its function, thus it needed to be transformed. What Marc Augé stated about place, relations, history, and identity is as follows:

Place can only exist if there is a meaningful “relation” between social agent and his/her surrounding, if there exists “historical” context formed during this relation and “identity” defined at the end of the relation. In other words, place can be defined as relational, or historical and conceived with identity.⁶

The factory lost its function therefore, a transformation was necessary. What is meant by transformation was defined by İlhan Tekeli as a structural change; and an urban transformation defined as “a structural

⁶Marc Augé, Non- Places: Introduction to an Antropology of Supermodernity. London New York: Verso, 1992.

change in spatial, functional, or social formation of urban areas. A renovation, regeneration, rehabilitation, revitalization, re-functioning, re-definition, or gentrification, any urban transformation comprises a structural change.”⁷ Thus urban transformation changes and effects both the spatial situation and social structure. Consequently, urban transformation is necessary under the following conditions:

- Population increase
- Change in economic life of the city
- Growth of the city
- Re-organization of the social strata
- Requirement for new viable buildings instead of older ones.⁸

When the condition of the Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory site was considered, transformation was necessary for this particular area; however, there could be another solution for the transformation problem just like how it has been done in other countries, in other words, there was no need for its destruction. Moreover, it can be observed in other transformation projects conducted in different areas as well. Certain power groups claimed that transformation is necessary just to earn some money from these projects.

In addition, Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory can be considered as a monument. Alois Reigl created certain taxonomy of values to define a cult

⁷ İlhan Tekeli, “Kentleri Dönüşüm Mekanı Olarak Düşünmek.” In Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumu proceedings of the symposium held in İstanbul, 11-12-13 June 2003, İstanbul: Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Basım-Yayın Merkezi, 2003, p.5.

⁸ Mehmet Saner, “The Transformation of Old Industrial District of Ankara and Political Actors”, Master’s thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2004, p.2.

of monument in his essay “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin”⁹. The main purpose of this thesis is not to deal with Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory as an object itself or the space it is occupying, the main problem is how people placed it in their social memory or in other words, how they internalized it. The idea and the discourse of the period is the main issue. The study area of this thesis is based on the discursive formations and the social memory, but as a generator, Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was standing in that particular area in the city. And concerning the preservation issues of the factory, there are certain other statements of Riegl, which are not the main issue in this thesis. His taxonomy mostly considered as for tangible product and as conservation culture, however what he was referring to was something wider, which was even dealing with the social memory.

Riegl defined a monument in “its oldest and most original sense as a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations.”¹⁰ He stated the values of a monument as “commemorative” and “present day values”. The commemorative ones were “age value”, “historical value” and “intentional commemorative value”. “Present day values” were “use value” and “art value”.

⁹ Alois Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin”. Oppositions, translated by Kurt w. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, New York: Rizzoli, Fall 1982:25

¹⁰Ibid., p.21.

The age value was defined as can be betrayed at once in the monument's dated appearance.¹¹ It claimed to address one and all to possess universal validity. "Age value manifests itself immediately through visual perception and appeals directly to our emotions... Age-value conveys the achievements of scholarship to everyone, as it spends in emotion what intellect has fashioned."¹² Historical value of a monument was defined as to "arise from the particular, individual stage it represents in the development of human activity in a certain field." The objective of it is not to conserve the traces of age which have been produced by nature since its creation, but rather to maintain as genuine as possible a document for future art historical research.¹³ The third commemorative value is intentional commemorative value whose aim stated as "to preserve a moment in the consciousness of later generations and therefore to remain alive and present in perpetuity."¹⁴ It was stated to make a claim to immortality to "an external present and an unceasing state of becoming." Therefore, it fights with the "natural process of decay which militates against the fulfillment of its claims. The effects of nature's actions must be countered again and again."¹⁵

Riegl stated use value as one of the present day values. It was described as "the need to maintain buildings in use is as compelling a demand as is the counterclaim of respect for age-value wherein the monument would be

¹¹ Ibid., p.31.

¹² Ibid., p.34.

¹³ Ibid., p.34.

¹⁴ Ibid., p.38.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.38.

abandoned to its natural fate; the latter could only be entertained if equivalent works came to replace all monuments required from use.”¹⁶

The other present day value is art value which was defined as follows:

Modern art value shares with that of earlier periods the notion that every work of art needs to be a discrete entity which reveals no decay of shape or color. In other words, each new work already possesses art value because of its newness alone; we may call this its essential art value or simply newness value. Second, the specific nature of the perception of a monument makes for a distinction between the modern *Kunstwollen* and those of earliest times; we may call it relative art value as it is not objective and lasting but undergoes constant change.¹⁷

These values are mentioned to remind once again the importance of values ignored by the Preservation Board giving 2005 decision. It is their responsibility to decide whether these values are valid or not. That could only be possible if they could benefited from such kind of research studies like this thesis however, these studies are rare. If board had used such kind of studies they could have created their own judgments of value systems.

This thesis together with the research conducted aims to decipher the urban memory hidden in the archival materials of the period. Before going deeper into this archival research, it is better to have a look at modernity as a project in early Republican Turkey and to set background information about the discursive formations of the period regarding the ideas of

¹⁶ Ibid., p.39.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.42.

industrialization, progress, civilization, electrification in different scales. Moreover, the thesis deals with not only the discursive formations but also deals with the practice considering the objects in substance and to look for the transformations in urban space and urban living. Consequently, it will investigate the electrification process, how it is materialized, and how it is depicted in the popular media.

CHAPTER 2

MODERNITY PROJECT AS A DISCOURSE*¹⁸ In Early Republican Turkey

The project of modernity formulated in the eighteenth century by the philosophers of the Enlightenment consisted in their efforts to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic. At the same time, this project intended to release the cognitive potentials of each of these domains from their esoteric forms. The enlightenment philosophers wanted to utilize this accumulation of specialized culture for the enrichment of daily life – that is to say, for the rational organization of everyday social life. Enlightenment thinkers still had the extravagant expectation that the art and sciences would promote not only to control natural forces but also the understanding of the world and of the self, moral progress, the justice of institutions and even the happiness of human beings.¹⁹

Modernity Project as introduced by Jürgen Habermas had and still has a great impact on worldviews, living patterns, and working habits of people since it introduced a new approach to life. The “project of modernity” introduced more secular, more rational, and freer individuals, getting rid of dogmatic thoughts, superstition, irrationalities, and non-scientific beliefs. The aim of the Kemalist reform for the newly

¹⁸ Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Something to Talk About. Modernism, Discourse, Style." *ISAH* Vol.64, no.2, June 2005.

¹⁹ Jürgen Habermas, "Modernity—an Incomplete Project" in Thomas Docherty (ed.), *Postmodernism: A Reader*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p.103.

founded Turkish Republic was the appropriation of the principles of this modernity project. The vision about Turkish Republic was to make it a modern, secular, democratic social state and to alter its members into free, secular, and rational individuals. The following sentences of David Harvey continue to clarify, modernity project that Atatürk adopted as a goal for the Turkish Republic and Turkish Nation.

The development of rational forms of social organization and rational modes of thought promised liberation from the irrationalities of myth, religion, superstition, and release from the arbitrary use of power as well as from the dark side of our own human natures. Only through such a project could the universal, eternal, and the immutable qualities of all of humanity be revealed. Enlightenment thought embraced the idea of progress, and actively sought that break with history and tradition which modernity espouses. It was, above all, a secular movement that sought the demystification and desacralization of knowledge and social organization in order to liberate human beings from their chains.²⁰

Internalization and appropriation of these principles were essential for the success of the project and this would be maintained with the help of education system, media, institutionalization, and spatial formations. The spatial formation of modernism that is architecture, specifically the Modern Movement, was commonly explained in term of stylistic features. These features are; use of reinforced concrete, glass, and steel as materials, geometric, cubic forms, asymmetrical compositions, flat roofs, and open plan, absence of ornaments, traditional motifs, and historical references.

²⁰ David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 12-13.

However, this type of understanding was not sufficient to grasp the term modernism with all its complexities. Some architectural historians placed importance on cultural, social, political, and economical dimensions in order to understand the idea lying underneath the term.

Sibel Bozdoğan in her book “Modernism and Nation Building; Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic” offers “evidence for the essentially ideological appropriation of modernism in Turkish architectural culture of the 1930s.” Moreover, she deals with “how this imported ideology was interpreted, justified, modified, and contested in ways unique to the Turkish experience.” She claims that there is plenty of evidence in the architectural culture and production of the early republican period “to the ambiguities, complexities, and contradictions resulting from encounters between imported ideas and local realities.”²¹ Bozdoğan asserts that “architecture not as an autonomous, self-referential discipline interested in forms and form making alone, but rather as a larger institutional, cultural, and social field with important political implications.”²² In addition, she emphasizes that her study deals with the “transnational and cross-cultural histories of modern architecture and their relationship to culture and politics.”²³

²¹ Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building; Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.6.

²² Ibid., p.12.

²³ Ibid., p.ix.

Exceedingly parallel to Bozdoğan's ideas about architecture as a referential discipline, Sarah Williams Goldhagen suggests that "modernism is not [merely] a style" and affirms that the critical literature of the last several decades has made it clear that "neither a definition of the new architecture after the First World War nor a framework of analysis can be founded on style."²⁴ She emphasizes the importance of cultural, political, social dimensions to understand the complexity and evolution of modernism. This can be inferred from these of her sentences:

If the critical literature of the last several decades has made one thing clear, it is that we must therefore dig beneath style to get at the movements generative principles and, based on them, to develop a framework that is descriptively powerful and analytically useful, and that distinguishes these principles from their manifestations in typology, style, and individual orientation. Only when the interlocking cultural, political, and social dimensions that together constitute the foundation of modernism in architecture are identified and analyzed can we properly make sense of modernism's initial complexity and evolution over time.²⁵

Williams Goldhagen dug beneath style to get at the movements generative principles, as she concludes, "all modernists shared the conviction to employ the tools of their discipline politically to facilitate social betterment and progress." She thinks that, "Modernism could not be founded around the work of or ideas of any single individual, group, or style" since it has been "multifaceted, pluralistic, and sometimes self-contradictory

²⁴ Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Coda: Reconceptualizing the Modern" in Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (eds.), Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000, p.302.

²⁵ Ibid., p.303.

phenomenon". While dealing further with the cultural, political, and social dimensions, she makes distinctions about the strains of political and social dimensions due to "modernism's internal complexity". Goldhagen concentrates on three strains in political dimension; consensual, negative critique, and reform and two strains in the social dimension; machine and situated modernisms.²⁶ Nevertheless, she asserts that all of them "whether they were consensualists, reformers, or negative critics, whether they were machine or situated modernists, all shared the bedrock modernist credos that architects should reject the authority of tradition, that architectural practice must facilitate social and political progress, and that contemporary architecture needs to reflect the *Zeitgeist* (Soul of the age).²⁷

2.1. Definition of Discourse and Discursive Formations

In another article of Goldhagen, she asserts that "modernism was not a result of a discourse but as itself a discourse."²⁸ However before coming to a conclusion that "modernism as itself a discourse" we must discuss what discourse is and how it is maintained. As Goldhagen defines:

A discourse is an extended expression of thoughts on a subject or related collection of subjects, conducted by a self-selected group of people within a discrete set of identifiable social institutions, and lasting over a bounded, which does not necessarily mean short, period of time. It is

²⁶ Ibid., p.308.

²⁷ Ibid., p.309.

²⁸ Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Something to Talk About: Modernism, Discourse, Style." *ISAH* Vol.64, no.2, June 2005, p.159.

focused around an essentially coherent (although not always articulated) group of questions and has its own jargon, its own contested terms.²⁹

The aim of this chapter is to discuss "modernism as itself a discourse" especially in the case of Turkish Republican Modernization in the early republican period, aiming to dwell on the definition of the term and how this discourse was preserved and reproduced with the help of Michel Foucault's explanations as a theoretical framework, through the re-reading the popular magazines of the period as a socio-cultural base. Moreover, it emphasizes the counter-reformist discourses employed in the recent years.

2.2. Preservation and Reproduction of Discourse

Putting forward a project, as modernity, with all its discursive formations, has to be preserved and reproduced in order to succeed in its goals. Michel Foucault's explanations of the concept of discourse might further develop this idea. Foucault explained two concepts whose function is to preserve and reproduce discourse. These are "fellowship of discourse" and "doctrine". In "fellowship of discourse the number of speakers that discourse was allowed to circulate and be conveyed is limited within a closed community, according to strict regulations." On the other hand, Foucault claimed that "doctrine tends to diffusion: in the holding in common of a single ensemble of discourse that individuals, as many as you wish, could define their reciprocal commitment." However, these two

²⁹ Ibid., p.159.

concepts seem different; their function with a small nuance is the same. What are required in both are the "recognition of the same truths and the acceptance of a certain rule -more or less flexible- of conformity with validated discourse."³⁰

Modernity Project in the early republican period Turkey was a "discursive bombardment" ³¹ especially the first ten years of the newly founded republic. When the modernity project in early republican period Turkey is considered, elite class of the state and bourgeois class can be defined as fellows responsible for the role of "fellowship of discourse". The modernity project was an organized operation whose fellows were responsible for transforming the fellowship of discourse to doctrine. What Güven Arif Sargin thinks about the modernity project in Turkey, and its sustainability by the elite groups is as follows:

The principles of Modernity Project lie in the center of "organized forgetting" which was designed by "Kemalist Revolution." On the other side, this kind of construction associated with "forgetting" needs specialized discourses, social fictions planned by elite groups, and cultural codes related with space. According to early republican staff, bourgeoisie values should be internalized unconditionally aiming modernity should be taken up as an entire project. An organization

³⁰ Michel Foucault, "The Discourse on Language." The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith, (originally published in French in 1969) New York: Pantheon Books, 1972, p.226.

³¹ Ali Cengizkan, ARCH 708 Lecture. "Housing and Discourse", Middle East Technical University, October 2005.

defined by national discourses is unavoidable during the design process of a new collective identity.³²

However, it should not be inferred that modernity was imposed upon people by a certain group like elites of the state or technocrats like architects and planners. Bozdoğan's ideas about the conception of it as an oppression that "power, was not only about oppression but also and literally about empowerment, and it was the factor of historical agency associated with the modernist vision that has made it so appealing to non-Western nations—nations that for centuries were cast as ahistorical."³³ It can be understood from her following sentences that modernity in Turkish Republic was not imposed upon Turkish people indeed it was popular among them.

I am fascinated by their heroic feelings of nation building and history making, which come across in contemporaneous documents, testimonies, photographs, and publications. Such evidence suggests to me that, emerging out of a highly popular nationalist war of independence and conceived by the hero of the war, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey's modernist vision was more popular than is typically suggested by other

³² Güven Arif Sargın, "Kamu Adına Örgütlü Unutma ve Yeniden-anımsama", Arredamento Mimarlık, translated by the author 2002. p.47. (Kemalist İnkılâp'ın tasarladığı örgütlü unutmanın merkezinde, Modernite Projesi'nin ilkeleri yer alır; öte yandan, "unutmayı" çağrıştıracak bu tür bir yapılanma, özelleşmiş söylemlere, seçkin grupların planladığı sosyal kurgulara ve mekâna ilişkin kültürel kodlara gereksinim duyar. Sözgelimi, erken dönem cumhuriyetçi kadroya göre, burjuva değerleri koşulsuz içselleştirilmeli ve bu maksatla, Modernite bütüncül bir proje olarak ele alınmalıdır... Yeni bir kolektif kimliğin tasarımı aşamasında, ulusal söylemlerle tanımlı bir örgütlülük kaçınılmazdır.)

³³ Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.10.

cases of high modernist social engineering “forced upon” traditional societies.³⁴

The reason why modernity as an important part of a political system happened to be so popular in Turkey can be engaged to the need for a change since people experienced the harsh conditions of the decaying government which had made crucial mistakes and warfare which lasted several decades. James C. Scott argues that there were conditions for the flourishing of modernism; these conditions were “crises of state power, such as wars and economic depressions, and circumstances in which a state’s capacity for relatively unimpeded planning is greatly enhanced, such as the revolutionary conquest of power and colonial rule.”³⁵ Bozdoğan also argues that all of the conditions, which Scott states, existed in Turkey in the early nineteenth century. Heroically, as a final stage for these conditions Kemalist regime “with all encompassing project of modernization” was standing. As she explains:

Finally and most importantly, after the consolidation of single-party rule under Mustafa Kemal’s Republican People’s Party (RPP) (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*), there was a new revolutionary regime in power with an all-encompassing project of modernization and civilization at the top of its agenda. With its predilection for social engineering and top-to-bottom modernization and its self-declared revolutionary premises, the Kemalist regime embraced the high modernist faith as one of its founding ideologies. The architectural culture of the early Turkish republic amply illustrates how high modernism as an ideology appealed particularly to “planners, engineers, architects, scientists and technicians” who “wanted

³⁴ Ibid., p.11.

³⁵ James C. Scott, Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve Human Condition Have Failed, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, p.97.

to use state power to bring about huge, utopian changes in people's work habits, living patterns, moral conduct and worldview." Modern architecture was imported as both a visible symbol and an effective instrument of this radical program to create a thoroughly westernized, modern, and secular new nation dissociated from the country's own Ottoman and Islamic past. In this respect, architecture in early republican Turkey can be looked at as a literally "concrete" manifestation of the high modernist vision.³⁶

2.3. "Social Appropriation of Discourse": Education System, Media, Institutionalization, Spatial Formations

The preservation and reproduction of discourse is very important for the success of any ideological project. The only way is what Foucault called the "social appropriation of discourse." For social appropriation of discourse, education system, media, institutionalization and spatial formations are important tools. Foucault emphasized the importance of education system, as an instrument whereby every individual in a society, can gain access to any kind of discourse. He stated that:

Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it. Education system is a realization of the word; a qualification of some fixing of roles for speakers; the constitution of a (diffuse) doctrinal group, a distribution and an appropriation of discourse, with all its learning and its powers.³⁷

³⁶ Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, pp. 5-6.

³⁷ Michel Foucault, "The Discourse on Language." The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith, (originally published in French in 1969) New York: Pantheon Books, 1972, p.227.

Another important tool for social appropriation of discourse is media, which has an important role in the preservation and reproduction of a discourse. This situation can obviously be seen when we examine the newspapers and magazines of early republican period. These means of media, in order to constitute social appropriation of discourse, put forward concepts like “ideal home”, “ideal life”, “ideal family”, and “ideal roles for woman and man” in a society.

It was obvious that the social appropriation of discourse have contributed to the discourse of modernity project. For instance, it was not surprising to see an article titled “*Ev Nedir ve Bir Ev Nasıl Kurulmalı?*” (What is Home and How to set up a Home?) in the magazine called “*Modern Türkiye Mecmuası*” (Modern Turkey Magazine).³⁸ (**Figure 1**) The name of the magazine and the title of the article very well explains the discursive formations of the period, where the article emphasized the features of modern house, healthy living conditions, and the importance of functionalism and comfort.

Alternatively, an article called “New Turkey: a Country of Pioneers”³⁹ published in *La Turquie Kemaliste*, which was the official propaganda publication of the republic, distributed by the Ministry of Interior, praising the modernization of Turkey in every sphere; in education of women and youth, in agriculture, and in industry. This can be inferred not only from

³⁸ Ev Nedir ve Bir Ev Nasıl Kurulmalı?” (“What is Home and How to set up a Home?”) *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası* no:2, 1938, pp.16-17.

³⁹ Philip W. Ireland, “New Turkey: a Country of Pioneers.” *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:27, October 1938, pp.10-16.

the text itself but also from the article's title and the images employed.
(Figure 2 - Figure 3)



Figure 1: “Ev Nedir ve Bir Ev Nasıl Kurulmalı?” (“What is Home and How to set up a Home?”) Modem Türkiye Mecmuası no:2, 1938, pp.16-17.

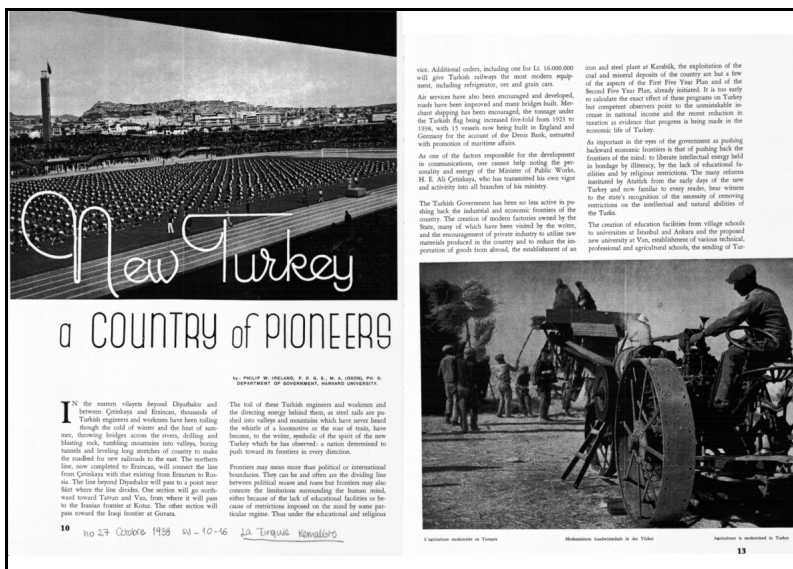


Figure 2: Philip W. Ireland, “New Turkey: a Country of Pioneers.” La Turquie Kemaliste no:27, October 1938, pp.10,13.

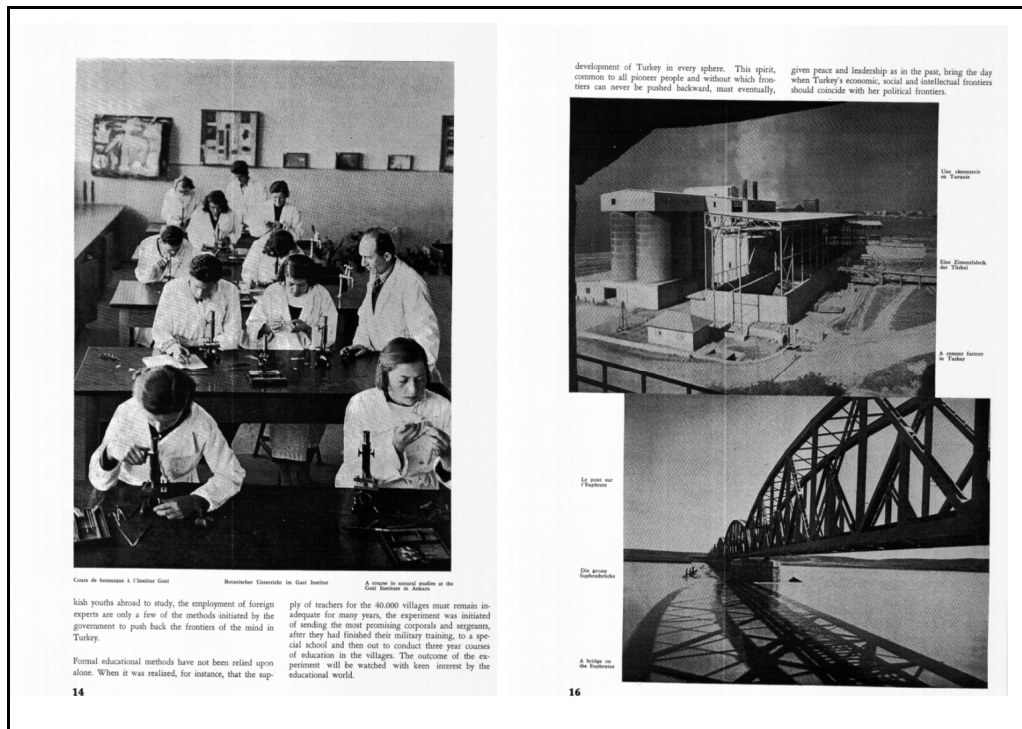


Figure 3: Philip W. Ireland, "New Turkey: a Country of Pioneers." *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:27, October 1938, pp.14,16.

Every society produces its own space and every political power produces its own space too. Each political power wants to have control over space and wants to shape it, according to its own political wills. In this way, space has become a concretization of political ideology. About the political organization of space, Henri Lefebvre said that each new form of state, each new form of political power, introduces its own particular way of partitioning space, its own particular administrative classification of discourses about space and about things and people in space.⁴⁰ Lefebvre

⁴⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991, p.281.

also examined the relationship between revolution and space. He thought that:

A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed, it has failed in that it has changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space though its impact need not occur at the same rate, or with equal force, in each of these areas.⁴¹

What Lefebvre called social transformation, truly revolutionary in character can easily be seen in Kemalist reforms because they had creative effects on daily life, on language and on space. Kemalist revolutions from hat and outfit to alphabet, from measurements, time and calendar to surname and taxation laws had a challenging effect on political, social, economical, juridical, educational and cultural aspects of life. He tended to open factories and People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) in each town of Anatolia, encouraged the construction of new railroads and roads to reach every corner of the country and abolished the old taxation laws in order to obtain the progress in Anatolian towns regarding economical, educational, and social aspects. Bozdoğan stresses the scope and radicalism of "Kemalist reforms as being distinguishable from everything preceded, lending it its revolutionary aura." She continues to state these reforms:

The most radical of these reforms were the abolition of the caliphate, the ultimate religious authority for all Muslims, and of *şeriat* (sharia), the

⁴¹ Ibid., p.54.

Islamic law (1924), the adoption of the Swiss civil code (1926), and the replacement of the old Ottoman-Arabic script with the Latin alphabet (1927). Collectively, they amounted to nothing less than a total civilizational switch from a traditional order grounded in Islam to a Western and secular one. To this day, the word *inkılap* designates this founding idea of switching civilizations that marked the making of modern Turkish out of disintegrating Ottoman Empire.⁴²

Kemal Atatürk also founded certain institutions in order to maintain the continuity of his reforms. Institutionalization, as mentioned earlier, is another important tool for social appropriation of discourse, and has a great role in the preservation and reproduction of discourse. People's Houses (*Halkevi*) could be exemplary ones for these institutions in order to maintain its goals as a social transformer in every corner of Turkey. A magazine called *Ülkü* (Ideal) was officially published by Republican People's Party, whose mission was stated in the first issue:

Ülkü is being issued to nurture the spirit of the young generation that has left the dark ages behind and is marching toward a bright future. It is issued to mobilize the revolutionary elements in society... and to establish the union of minds, hearts, and action among those committed to this great mission.... In writings, analyses, and commentaries of *Ülkü*, the ideas of republic, nation, and revolution will be primary.⁴³

Its aim was to expand the discourse of modernity in rural areas and to transform the discourse into "doctrine". This is what Bozdoğan calls as

⁴² Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.57.

⁴³ Editorial in the inaugural issue of *Ülkü* [Ideal], the journal of "People's Houses (*Halkevleri*), 1, no: 1, 1933, pp. 1-2 quoted in Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.93.

“popular training” for social appropriation of discourse “by illustrating the republican belief in the power of representation (through publications, posters, radio, and film)”⁴⁴ and it was also important in the name of media’s role.

One other important tool for social appropriation of discourse is spatial formations, which has an important role in the preservation and reproduction of a discourse. According to Henri Lefebvre's previous explanation for revolution and its impact on space, it can easily be said that Ankara was the spatial concretization of Kemalist reforms. From a modest Anatolian town to the capital of young Turkish Republic, Ankara was the spatial production of the new political power, and as a role model for other Turkish cities. The process of building Ankara as the capital of Turkey was a deliberate political choice. This idea can be interpreted from the sentences of Gönül Tankut:

The process of capitalization should be perceived first as a political act. What is expected from the capital is to create a new symbol for the new political system, to carry on sociopolitical acts like independence, national unity, nationality, modernization. The capital Ankara was the symbol of Republic, and the most pretentious one of Kemalist principles, which came true... Moreover, what is expected from the new capital Ankara is to provide the modern setting that is necessary for contemporary life.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.94.

⁴⁵ Gönül Tankut, Bir Başkent'in İmarı Ankara: (1929 -1939) translated by the author, İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1993, pp. 22 -36. (Başkentleşme her şeyden önce siyasal bir eylem olarak algılanmalıdır. Başkentten beklenen yeni siyasal sistemlere yeni bir simge yaratmak, bağımsızlık, ulusal birlik, uluslaşma, çağdaşlaşma gibi sosyo-politik eylemleri gerçekleştirmektir. Başkent Ankara, Cumhuriyetin simgesi ve gerçekleşen Atatürk ilkelerinin en iddialısı olabilmiştir... Ayrıca yeni başkent Ankara'dan, çağdaş yaşam için gerekli, modern dekoru sağlaması da beklenmektedir.)

One of the most important reasons for Ankara to be chosen for the capital of Turkish republic was its symbolic meaning, with what Ankara and Istanbul was associated. Istanbul, which was identified with the old regime that is the Ottoman Empire, cannot anymore be considered as the capital. We can trace its evidences from the article called “Ankara – Istanbul” published in *La Turquie Kemaliste* in 1943. This article, written from a tourists perspective, was celebrating Ankara as the “city of the future” and Istanbul as the “city of the past”. The images were intentionally used to depict the newly constructed modernist government buildings of Ankara, signified the modernizing discourse of the new government; whereas, the mosques, traditional, nostalgic, and romantic silhouettes of Istanbul signifying the oldness, and old-fashionedness, and decay of the Ottoman Empire (Figure 4, Figure 5).

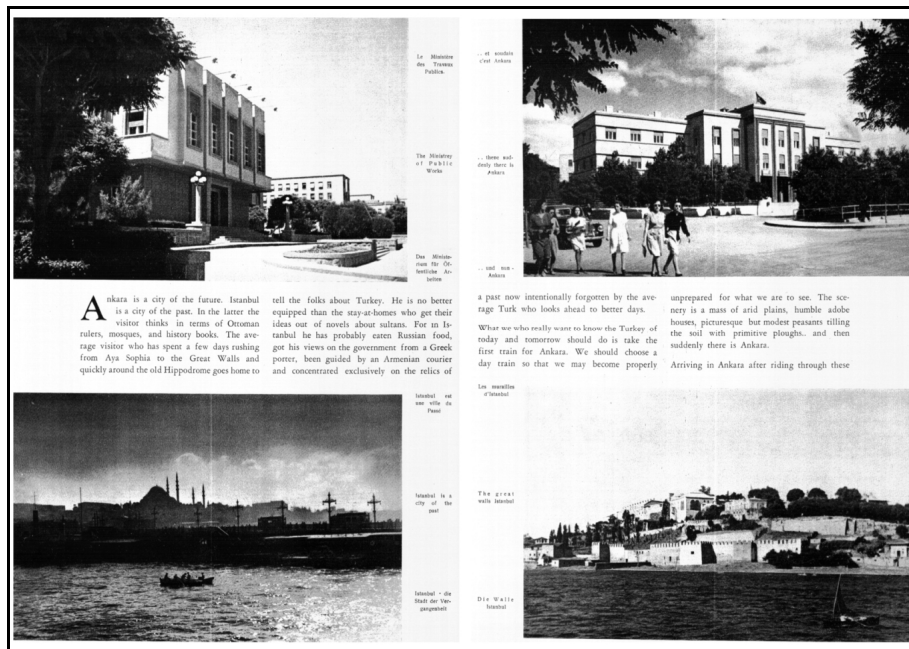


Figure 4: “Ankara – İstanbul.” *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:47, 1943, pp.38- 39.



Figure 5: "Ankara – İstanbul." *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:47, 1943, pp.43-44.

The sentences quoted from this article in *La Turquie Kemaliste* would show how dramatically the comparison between Ankara and Istanbul was made.

Ankara is a city of the future. Istanbul is a city of the past. In the latter, the visitor thinks in terms of Ottoman rulers, mosques, and history books. The average visitor who has spent a few days rushing from Hagia Sophia to the Great Walls and quickly around the old Hippodrome goes home to tell the folks about Turkey. He is no better equipped than the stay-at-homes who get their ideas out of novels about sultans. For in Istanbul he has probably eaten Russian food, got his views on the government from a Greek porter, been guided by an Armenian courier and concentrated exclusively on the relics of a past now intentionally forgotten by the average Turk who looks ahead to better days. What we who really want to

know the Turkey of today and tomorrow should do is take the first train for Ankara. ⁴⁶

The reason why Ankara had to be chosen as a new capital is that there should be a total revolution and rapture from the old regime. Istanbul, which signifies Ottoman Empire, could not any more symbolize the new discourse that is the modernity. A new capital, which was going to be a role model for the other cities of the Turkish Republic and which is open to the new construction process had to be chosen. What Tankut stated about the expectations from the capital is as follows:

Ankara, coming from Eastern world, is a government center, oriented to rational world. What is expected from this city is not only to be a symbol, but also to be a capital to carry out the new necessities of the new worldview and to reflect the life style proper to it. For this reason, it should be constructed away from old Ankara, which contains the historical and organic growth.⁴⁷

It could be inferred from Tankut's words that Ankara as the new capital of Turkish Republic, was constructed away not only from the old capital, that is Istanbul, but also from the old city, that is *Ulus. Yenişehir* (New city) was a strong expression of rupture from the old in the political context. It was the model for the constructed social and spatial tissue, as a break from

⁴⁶ "Ankara – İstanbul." *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:47, 1943, pp.38-39.

⁴⁷ Gönül Tankut, *Bir Başkentin İmanı Ankara: (1929 -1939)* translated by the author, İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1993, p.44. (Ankara, doğulu bir dünyadan çıkıp, akılcı bir dünyaya yönelmiş bir yönetim merkezidir. Bu kentten beklenen sadece bir simge olmak değil, yeni dünya anlayışının tüm işlevlerini yerine getirebilecek ve ona uygun yaşam biçimini yansıtacak bir başkent olmaktır. Bu nedenle de, mevcut tarihsel ve organik gelişmeyi bünyesinde taşıyan eski Ankara'dan bağımsız olarak kurulması zorunludur.)

the old one. Moreover, the architectural language a crucial element in visual culture that was going to be utilized in this rapid construction process of the capital should not have visual references to Ottoman precedents. As Bozdoğan claims, “Republican architects sought to disassociate from any connection with the forms and stylistic features of the Ottoman precedents.” In addition, adds that supporting the European Modern Movement, Ottoman revivalist “national style” that had dominated Turkish architectural education and practice from about the early 1900s to 1930s, was abandoned. Also stresses how Modern Movement became popularly known as “cubic architecture” as “itself indicative of the formal biases of the republican culture of modernity.”⁴⁸ Bozdoğan also emphasizes that Modern Movement was identified with the new political order or ideology. She dwells on the two meanings of the term “*inkılap mimarisi*” these two meanings are “it signified both the Modern Movement (i.e. revolution in architecture) and the particular building program of the new Kemalist regime in Turkey (i.e., architecture of revolution).⁴⁹ How Bozdoğan explains the rupture from the old regime and old architectural style is:

The ambiguity of Ottoman forms in signifying the Empire and the nation simultaneously, the very reason for their ideological appeal in the 1920s, was no longer appropriate for a state intent on dissociating itself radically from its dynastic imperial legacy and its traditional Islamic culture.

⁴⁸ Sibel Bozdoğan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.59.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.60.

Modernism offered precisely the kind of abstraction and formal novelty devoid of historical associations that matched this ideological agenda.⁵⁰

The change should be not only in stylistic terms, but also in architectural programs. New architectural programs celebrating the progress and modernization like, industrial buildings, factories, or People's Houses; structures like bridges, dams should be introduced. When popular magazines of the period investigated such as *La Turquie Kemaliste*, *Ülkü* (Ideal) or newspapers like *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Sovereignty) are investigated, we come across with industrial and technological accomplishments of the new republic. Industrial iconography was utilized in the pages of these magazines as a propagandistic tool for the modernization. Nearly in every issue, a few pages were allocated to the images of industrial buildings, factories, power plants, bridges, and dams. (Figure 6, Figure 7, Figure 8)

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.61.



Figure 6: La Turquie Kemaliste no:5, Fevrier 1935, pp.10-11.

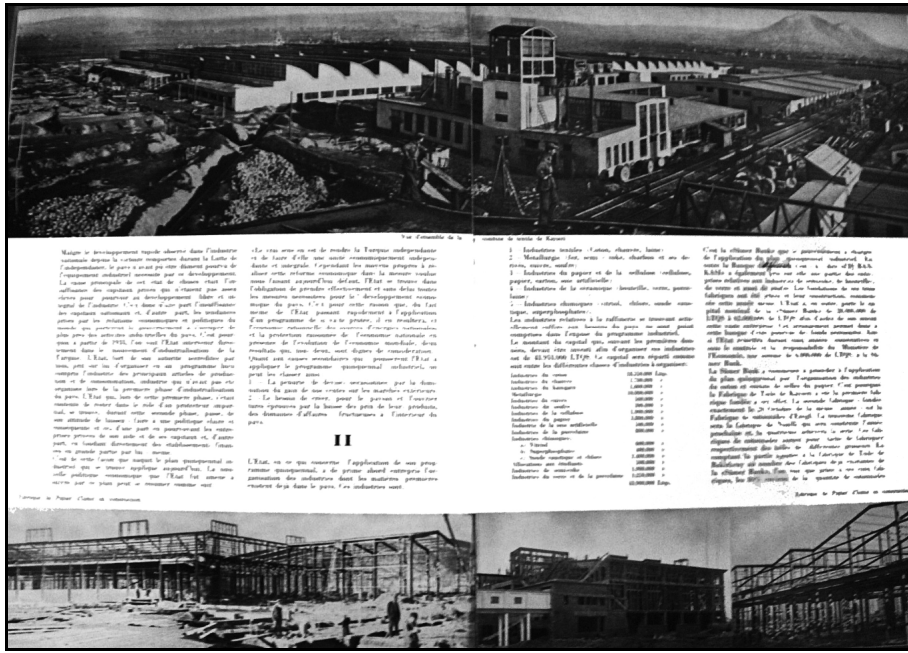


Figure 7: La Turquie Kemaliste no:5, Fevrier 1935, pp.12-13.

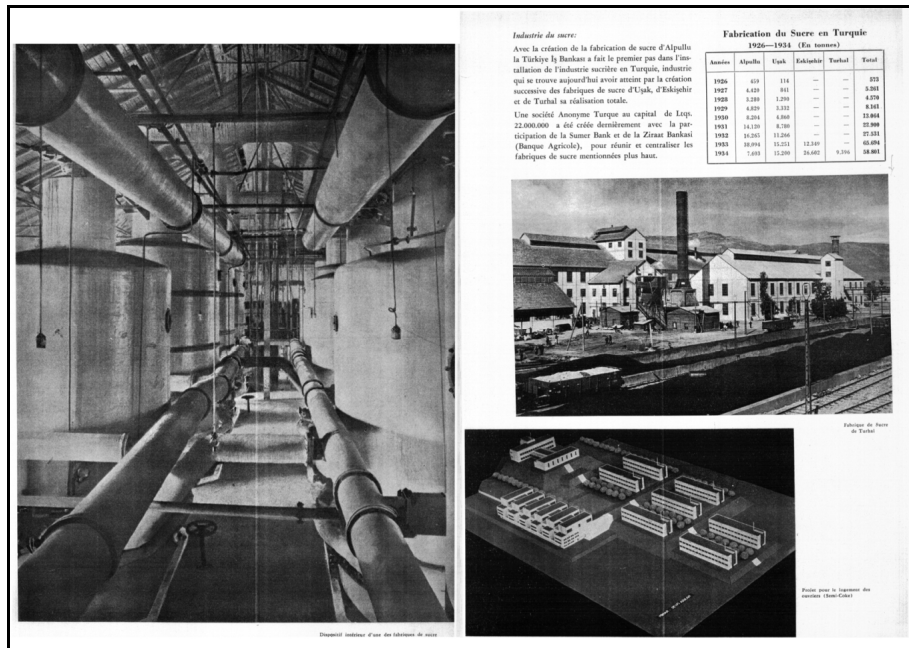


Figure 8: *La Turquie Kemaliste* no: 10, December 1935, pp. 5-6.

These were not only symbols for development and “celebrated as centerpieces of nationalism”⁵¹, but also an important part of the aesthetic understanding of the time. The next chapter will more deal with the idea of industrialization and electrification. About “machine aesthetics”, Bozdoğan writes:

The celebration of bridges, industrial plants, and railroads as aesthetic objects followed similar recent developments in European architectural culture. Grain elevators and silos, for example, the well-known Corbusean archetypes of modern architecture, were such objects of architectural and

⁵¹ Ibid., pp.117-118.

aesthetic interest for Turkish architects, who admired their basic composition of unadorned masses and volumes and their utilitarian design precepts.⁵²

However, Bozdoğan stresses “Modern science, technology, and industry were idealized in Kemalist Turkey less as aesthetic, poetic, and fantastic experiences in themselves than as the goals, means, and instruments of a larger national program.”⁵³

Just like the importance of architecture as a crucial element of visual culture for social appropriation of discourse, buildings, publications, architecture education, and exhibitions had great importance for the preservation and reproduction of architectural discourse. Exhibitions could sometimes be considered as the generators of architectural styles, therefore they had great impacts for “social appropriation of discourse”. Together with the republican regime, a new conception of exhibition, “as a progressive necessity”, was introduced to Turkish nation. Bozdoğan emphasizes the change in conception that:

In the dynastic empire, the meaning of the word "exhibition" was limited to the *tespih* (prayer beads) and spice stands that opened in the courtyard of-Beyazit Mosque in the month of Ramadan. In the new Turkish republic, which is building up its national industry, the modern concept of exhibition has been accepted as a progressive necessity."...The connection between the modernist design of exhibition spaces and the progressive claims of political regimes in the 1930s is a well-known theme in the history of architecture.⁵⁴

⁵² Ibid., p.120.

⁵³ Ibid., p.150.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.138.

In this regard, the exhibition is an important example. Exhibition held in Ankara Exhibition Hall in 1934.⁵⁵ This exhibition was different from the other exhibition of the same year, which had accustomed themes, since it aimed to “give an educational history of Turkish industry, agriculture, and economy from the late empire to 1934.”⁵⁶ (Figure 9, Figure 10) The posters, photographs, or collages used in this exhibition were important in the sense that, they used an educative and promotive language in the name of the new regime.



Figure 9: “Die Erste Ausstellung im Neuen Ausstellungs: Gebäude in Ankara.” *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:4, December 1934, pp.23-24.

⁵⁵ “Die Erste Ausstellung im Neuen Ausstellungs: Gebäude in Ankara” *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:4 December 1934, pp.23-28.

⁵⁶ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.140.

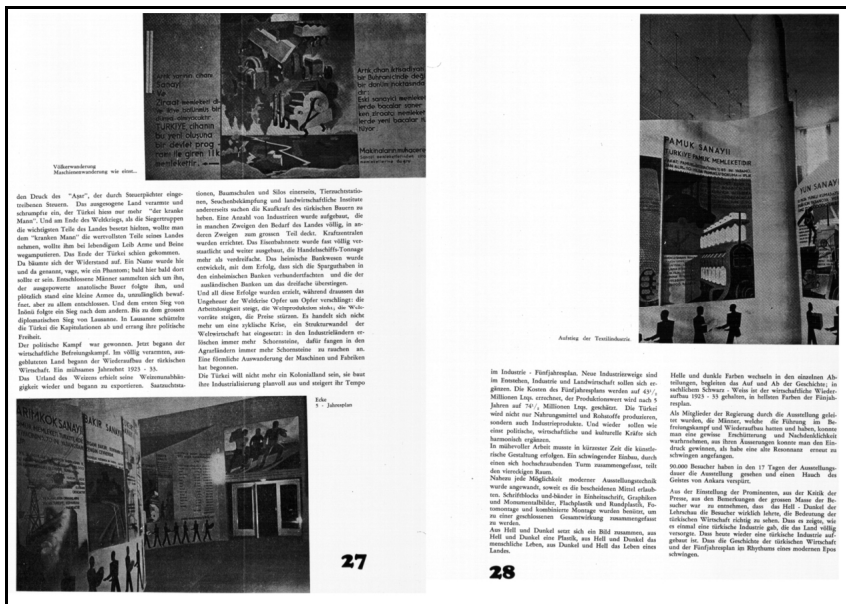


Figure 10: "Die Erste Ausstellung im Neuen Ausstellungs: Gebäude in Ankara." *La Turquie Kemaliste* no: 4, December 1934, pp.27-28.

Monuments are also a way of displaying, preserving and reproducing discourse. Iconography utilized in the monuments is in a way the representations of a discourse. Güven Arif Sargin defines "the narrations designed in the monuments, as the spatial stimulations of collective discourse, to get rid of the "old" and to form a new ethos."⁵⁷ However, it

57 Güven Arif Sargin, "Kamu Adına Örgütlü Unutma ve Yeniden-anımsama." *Arredamento Mimarlık* translated by the author 2002, p.50. (Mekânsal uygulamaların "bağımsız Türk ulusu söylencesini" güçlendirdiği ve ulusal kimliğin tasarımında etken olduğu görüşü ağırlıklıdır. Daha geniş bir açılımla, "eski"den kurtulabilmek ve yeni bir ethosun yaratılabilmesi adına anıtlarda tasarlanan söylencesel anlatıların, "kolektif" söylemlerin mekânsal uyarıcıları olduğu savlanabilir.)

can be observed that the "narrations designed in the monuments" have changed especially in the last twenty years.

Early Republican period monuments, as an effort to produce new sign systems, can be considered as a "social metaphor" contributing to the new identity and memory needed by the Turkish nation. On the other hand, in the context of Turkey's political fluctuations, it could be seen that the monuments have started to change creating a new iconography... Counter-reformist process has become effective and an architecture related to it employed.⁵⁸

The reason why early republican period modernity project was emphasized on this chapter is the concern towards "counter-reformist" discursive tendencies, which have become effective especially in these last twenty years. What Sargın had stats in his essay very well explains these new tendencies towards counter-reformist discourse.

Counter-reformist process has become effective and an architecture related to it employed. Counter-reformist block, acting with the thesis that the identities and memories before the republican period was erased with the "organized forgetting process", after 1950, have forced to change the cultural and spatial image of Turkey... These partial public discourse and applications resist directly to national ethos... conservative applications have changed the Ankara's face intending to be modern, rumbled the "organized forgetting", brought forward the "organized remembrance".

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.50. (Erken dönem Cumhuriyet anıtlarının, yeni simge sistemleri üretmeye yönelik bir girişim; Türk ulusunun gereksinim duyduğu yeni kimlik ve belleğe katkıda bulunan, "sosyal bir metafor" olduğu söylenebilir. Öte yandan, Türkiye'nin politik sıçramaları bağlamında, anıtların da değişmeye başladığı ve farklı bir ikonografiye yol açtığı görülecektir... Karşı reformist bir süreç işlevsel kılınmış ve buna bağlı bir mimari göreve çağırılmıştır.)

Ankara cannot go beyond a historicist visionary, consume the images activating the counter identities and memories limitlessly.⁵⁹ This new discursive formation has brought us to very different directions than what are targeted or should be targeted. In this chapter it is tried to lay a general structure about the discursive formations and how they are constructed in terms of theoretical framework and especially in Early Republican Turkey by a certain group of elites. The theoretical framework of the thesis will take the “modernity project” in the Turkish Republic, focusing on how collective memory and social identity were constructed at that time. In the third chapter the thesis will be dealing more with the idea of industrialization for modernist discourse particularly dealing with the industrialization process of Turkey. Moreover, the idea of electrification and how it was conveyed through popular media of its time is going to be investigated.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.50. (Karşı reformist bir süreç işlevsel kılınmış ve buna bağlı bir mimari göreve çağırılmıştır. Cumhuriyet dönemi öncesi bellek ve kimliklerin, “örgütlü bir unutmada sürecinde silindiği” savıyla hareket eden karşı-reformist blok, 1950 sonrasında, Türkiye’nin kültürel ve mekânsal görünümünü değişime zorlamıştır... Bunlar ulusal ethosa doğrudan karşı koyan, parçacı kamusal söylem ve uygulamalardır... Muhafazakâr uygulamalar Ankara’nın modern olmaya özenen yüzünü değiştirmiş, “örgütlü unutmada”yı örselemiş, “örgütlü yeniden anımsama”yı cepheye sürmüştür. Ankara kenti tarihselci bir sanallığın ötesine gidememekte; karşı kimlik ve bellekleri harekete geçirebilen imgeleri sınırsızca tüketebilmektedir.)

CHAPTER 3

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS AND AN INDUSTRIALIZED NATION

3.1. Progress and civilization

What does the concept “civilization” mean? The common meaning of the word is an advanced stage or system of human social development. However, the word means much more to Modernists. It is a very broad concept that cannot be reduced to the way women, cities, buildings, or kitchens look. Many republican intellectuals, artists, and architects define it as something broader than that. The common philosophical premise that the Modern Movement and Kemalism shared about the term “civilization” is that: “It designated what they perceived to be the universal trajectory of progress that every nation had to follow—a teleological destiny that could not and should not be resisted.”⁶⁰

The term “civilization” is reconceived by the Kemalist Republic as something beyond the formal understanding, as a power to produce information and technology. What Bozdoğan writes about the notion of the term very well explains the idea underneath:

⁶⁰ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building; Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2002,p.106

With the Kemalist republic, the term "civilization" was reconceived more broadly, not just as the superior tools, technologies, artifacts, and knowledge of the West but as a historically inevitable process of social evolution in which scientific and technological development assumed historical agency.⁶¹

According to Kemalist worldview, the "contemporary civilization" should not be understood as a property of Western Nations just because it initiated there. It is a general understanding of the historical evolution of humanity and it should be considered as the property of all nations. How contemporary civilization is understood is that it is the stock of accumulated scientific knowledge, methods and tools, worldviews and lifestyles. Technology, industry, and progress are the main textual themes assembling the Kemalist notion of "contemporary civilization." In the 1930s, the iconography of this idea was really powerful. Moreover, it can be inferred that the visual and spatial embodiment of these themes in the architecture of infrastructure, factories, and industrial exhibitions was especially powerful marker of republican modernity.⁶²

Therefore, it can be argued that Kemalist Reforms were not intended to break all the bridges with the past, to erase the history and identities. The idea lying beneath these reforms was to keep up with the soul of the time; i.e. *Zeitgeist*, that is the modernity. The statement will be much clear when the following sentences of Bozdoğan are explained:

⁶¹ Ibid.,p.107

⁶² Ibid.,pp.108-109

Kemalist *inkılap* not as destruction of the past (since the past was, after all, the locus of national identity) but it is redemption to a higher level of social evolution, represented by contemporary Western civilization... to break away from Ottoman culture was not an arbitrary ideological decision but simply the need to follow the flow of history and capture the *Zeitgeist* of the modern age.⁶³

In order to keep up with the soul of the modern age in terms of spatial terms, new architectural programs celebrating the progress and modernization such as industrial buildings, factories, or People's Houses; structures such as bridges, dams were introduced as already mentioned in the previous chapter. What is more, these new architectural programs had similar stylistic features with their foreign examples. As a source of inspiration, most of them were designed like certain machines. The idea lying underneath was the aesthetical quality of machines of the modern age.

Popular publications of the period, especially the ones published in the 1930s, formed one of the best ways to be used as a propagandistic tool to establish the discourse. Together with the implementation of the first five-year industrial plan (1934), certain state industries established, such as Sümerbank for textile (1933) and Etibank for mining (1935), these institutions were considered and celebrated as centerpieces of nationalism in terms of industry and technology.⁶⁴ For example, Sümerbank was

⁶³ Ibid.,pp.111-112.

⁶⁴ Ibid.,pp.117-118

considered as “a helping institution to state and national industry” which can also be seen in the article in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* together with different industry sectors and import and export statistics were given.⁶⁵ (Figure 11)



Figure 11: “Devlet Sanayi ve Milli Sanayiye Yardım Müessesesi: Sümerbank”. (“Sümerbank: Helping Institution for National and State Industry”) *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. 29 October 1933.

Bozdoğan explains that these new enterprises toward industrialization were regarded as the continuations of the nationalist War of Independence on a different phase, this time against the forces of nature. This “national legend” was in two stages, the first one is “Before the Treaty of Lausanne”

⁶⁵ “Devlet Sanayi ve Milli Sanayiye Yardım Müessesesi: Sümerbank”. (“Sümerbank: Helping Institution for National and State Industry”) *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. 29 October 1933.

and the second one is “After the Treaty of Lausanne.” All of these stages were depicted in the popular publications extensively. While in the former stage “heroic scenes of the nationalist war” were mostly illustrated, the second was devoted to the “post war accomplishments of the republic in the form of technology, industry, and transportation.” Accordingly, it is very usual to see images, showing “a train entering a village, concrete bridges, harbors and docks, irrigation canals, agricultural scenes, factories with smoking chimneys, the construction of Ankara, highways and airplanes, evoking similar examples of Soviet social realism around the same time.”⁶⁶

The special issue of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* published for the tenth anniversary of the republic is one of the best examples expressing the discursive formations in the 1930s.⁶⁷ It is about 90 pages, all explaining what had been done in terms of progress and to reach the “civilized nation” ideal; such as accomplishments in industry, in infrastructure such as electrification, gas, railroads, motorways, bridges, and also improvement of public health and hygiene. The cover of this special issue is a collage of all the formation works of the items of progress (**Figure 12 Left**). In addition, it also emphasizes the success of the Republican regime within 10 years in terms of industrialization, with the article called “*Milli Sanayinin Temelini On Yılda Attık*” (“We Set the Foundations of National Industry Within Ten

⁶⁶ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2002, pp.118-119.

⁶⁷ *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. 29 October 1933.

Years”) (Figure 12 Right). Moreover, public health and hygiene was another sign of progress that was to be achieved. In another article in the same issue the accomplishments achieved by the health politics of the state is discussed (Figure 13 Left). Ankara as a symbol of the new political power and modern capital was another accomplishment of the new government so the construction images from Ankara and different views from newly designed and constructed parts are successes of first ten years (Figure 13 Right).



Figure 12: Left: Cover page of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 29 October 1933. Right: “Millî Sanayinin Temelini On Yılda Attık”. (“We Set the Foundations of National Industry Within Ten Years”) *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 29 October 1933.



Figure 13: Left: “Sağlık, Devlet işi Oldu. Köyler Cumhuriyette hekim Yüzü Gördü”. Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 29 October 1933. Right: “Milli Sanayinin Temelini On Yılda Attık”. (“We Set the Foundations of National Industry Within Ten Years”) Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 29 October 1933.

Infrastructures such as railroads, motorways, bridges were important not only in terms of the literally accessibility of every corner of the country, but also symbolically in terms of representing the new territorial consciousness of the nationhood, and of building the idealized image of the new modern and civilized nation. Bozdoğan explains that:

By the mid-1930’s slogans such as “electrification of Turkey” and “covering the motherland with an iron map of railroads” expressed the goals of national economic policy. Networks of communication and transportation – railways, roads, bridges and tunnels – were particularly significant in representing a new territorial consciousness of nationhood.

Like newspapers, which were instrumental in the spread of nationalism by making every corner of the country accessible and linked to every other, these networks and structures of transportation contributed to the mental mapping of the “imagined community.”⁶⁸

These idealized images of the accomplishments in infrastructure were usually emphasized in the newspapers and magazines of the period. In an article dates back to 1929 the construction of the railroad to Sivas was heralded with the article titled “*Cumhuriyetimizin Büyük Eseri*” (“The Big Accomplishment of Our Republic”) (**Figure 14 Left**)⁶⁹. The cover of the special issue of *Demiryolları Mecmuası* (Railroad Magazine) celebrating the tenth year of the Republic, was another sign of this proud with the newly constructed railroads (**Figure 14 Right**).

In another article, it was stated that good roads were one of the needs of a modern city. This was actually the title of the article which was a part of series in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* called *Şehircilik Sayfası* (City Planning Pages) dealing with different issues how a modern, civilized, ideal city should be.⁷⁰ Moreover, the special issue of the same newspaper, published on 29th of October 1933, we can see different articles explaining the achievements of the ten years political and economical program. For instance, one article is “Demiryolu, Yol, Su, Elektrik, Hepsine Cumhuriyette Kavuştuk” (We All

⁶⁸ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building; Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2002,p.119.

⁶⁹ “Cumhuriyet’in Büyük Eseri”. (“The Big Product of Republic”) *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. 9 March 1929.

⁷⁰ “İyi Yollar Şoseler Modern Bir Memleketin En Büyük İhtiyaçları Arasındadır”. (“ Good Roads are one of the Need of a Modern Nation”) *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. 6 September 1930.

Succeeded in Getting; Railroad, Road, Water, Electricity with Republic)
 (Figure 15 Left).⁷¹ Furthermore, there were also articles about bridges and
 electricity, gas, tram, docks and so on. (Figure 15 Right, Figure 16).

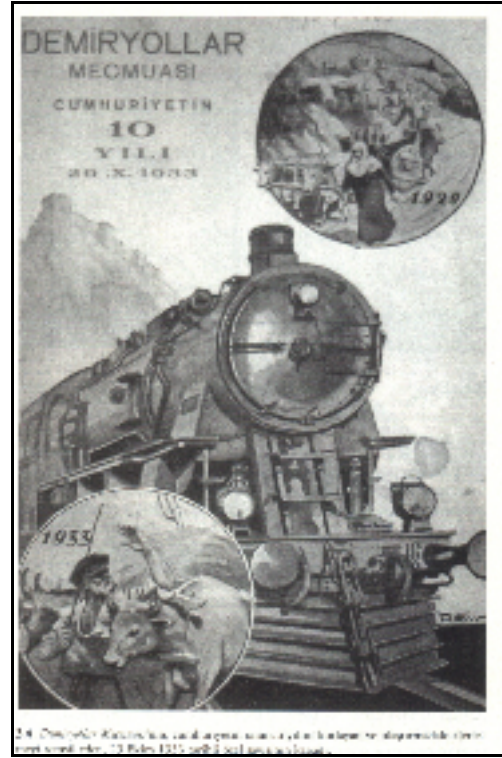


Figure 14: Left: “Cumhuriyet’in Büyük Eseri”. (“The Big Product of Republic”) Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 9 March 1929. Right: Cover of Demiryolları Mecmuası. 29 October 1933.

⁷¹ “Demiryolu, Yol, Su, Elektrik, Hepsine Cumhuriyette Kavuştuk”. (“We All Succeeded in Getting; Railroad, Road, Water, Electricity with Republic”) Hakimiyet-i Milliye. 29 October 1933.

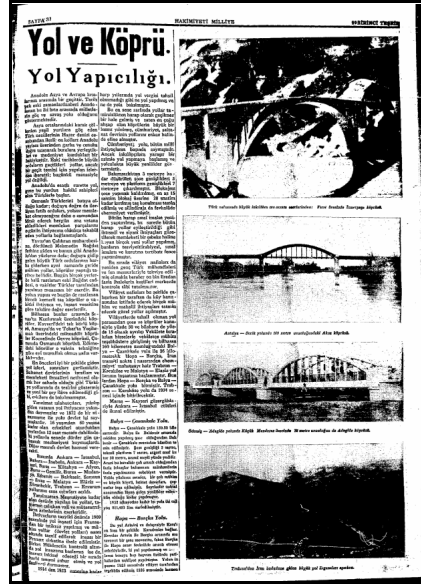


Figure 15: Left: “Demiryolu, Yol, Su, Elektrik, Hepsine Cumhuriyette Kavuştuk”. (“We All Succeeded in Getting; Railroad, Road, Water, Electricity with Republic”) Hakimiyet-i Milliye. 29 October 1933. Right: “Yol ve Köprü”. (“Roads and Bridges”) Hakimiyet-i Milliye. 29 October 1933.

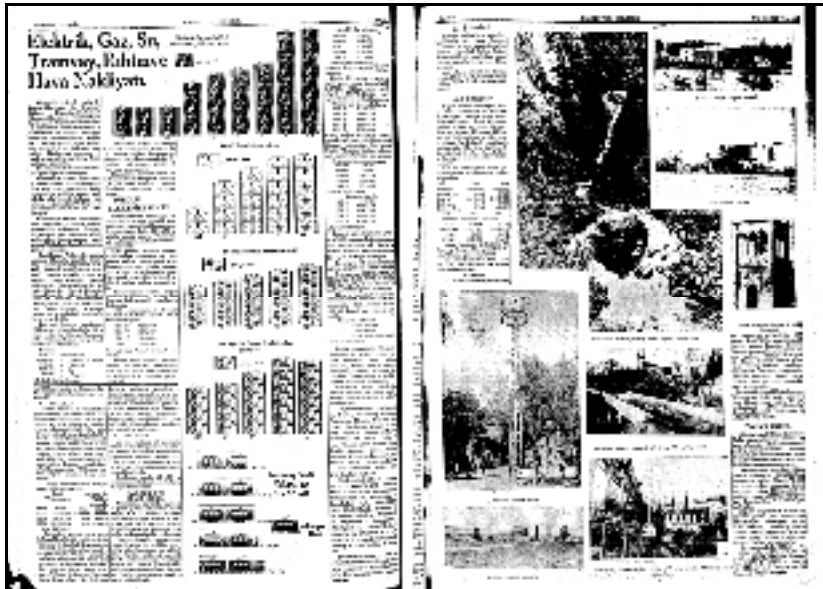


Figure 16: “Elektrik, Gaz, Su, Tramvay, Rıhtım ve Hava Nakliyatı”. (“Electricity, Gas, Water, Docklands, Air Transport”) (Hakimiyet-i Milliye. 29 October 1933.

Factories had a special meaning not only as new architectural programs but also in terms of symbolizing the idea of progress and to catch up with the “contemporary civilization”. Bozdoğan explains that from the nineteenth century, foreign architects and engineers had been commissioned to design factories in Ottoman Turkey. And this situation can also be seen as an extension in the republican regime when it is also systematized. It is also inferred that some of the most prominent European names in modern architecture designed industrial buildings for Turkey during the first decade of the republic.⁷² Factories were not only important in terms of the ideals they represented but also in terms of new architectural features to the architectural culture of their age. How these features were stated is as follows:

The factories displayed clear formal distinctions between different components of the program and were informed by functional considerations such as receiving northern light in the main sheds. Most of the buildings were conceived as simple, undecorated geometric volumes with details such as metal railings and circular windows, which in the context of modernist architectural culture of the 1930s signified the machine aesthetic of the ocean liners.⁷³

The popular publications of the period are full of the images of the newly founded factories all over the country. Their exterior views, and the architectural features like the chimneys and the huge volumes are considered as aesthetic objects. Additionally, it is very common to see the

⁷² Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building; Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2002,p.124.

⁷³ *Ibid.*,p.124.

interior views showing the laborers in huge numbers while working or the amount of raw materials or the products also in huge numbers as a symbol of the idea of mass production for masses (**Figure 17**). In La Turquie Kemaliste there is a part called “Ankara Construit” (Ankara Built) in this section, the best examples from the newly constructed parts of Ankara were depicted usually in heroic viewpoints as a symbol of concrete formation of the ideals and progress. As mentioned earlier, factories are very special examples in this respect; it is even more special if they are in Ankara, the modern capital. Therefore Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory is one of the best examples to be the cover of this section (**Figure 18**). Its photos taken from the bottom part can be considered as signs of power and heroic images, then in this way its chimney which is a symbol of industry and production, which will be discussed later in detail, looks even higher.

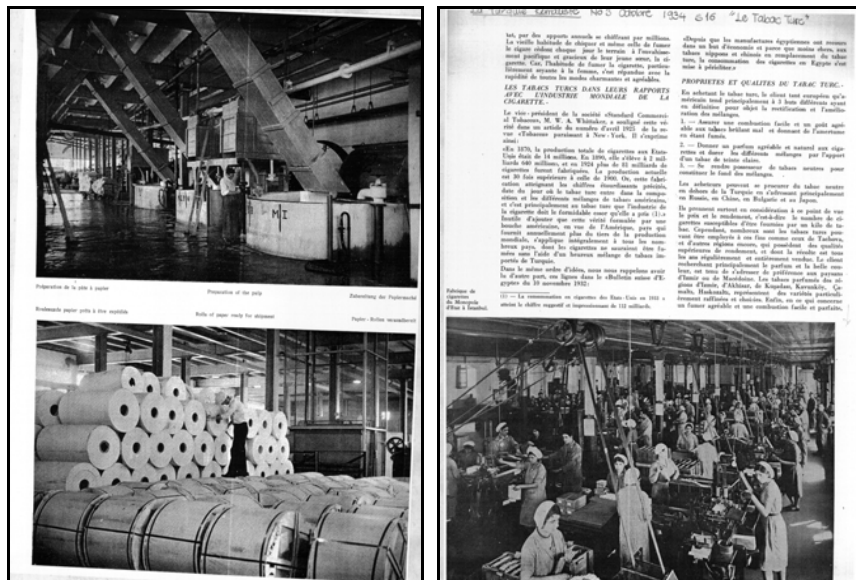


Figure 17: Left: La Turquie Kemaliste no:43, Juin 1941, p.15. Right: La Turquie Kemaliste no:3, Octobre 1934, p.16.

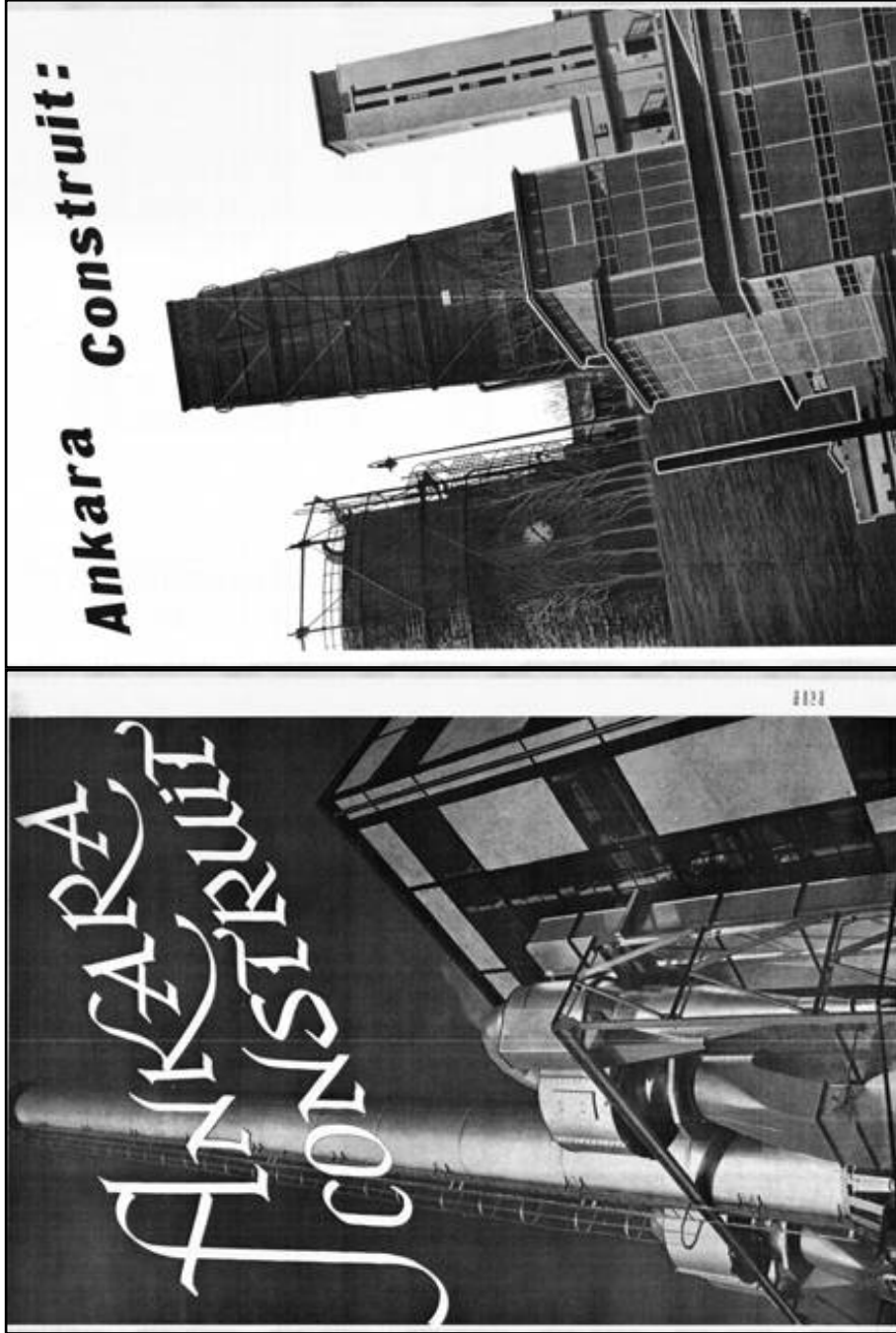


Figure 18: Left: La Turquie Kemaliste no:5, Fevrier 1935, p.29. Right: La Turquie Kemaliste no:17, Fevrier 1937, p.26.

One of the new architectural programs of the new system was People's Houses. They are very important in terms of sustainability of the discourse, as they are educating the community in different fields, but the idea is again to keep up with the "contemporary civilizations", while instilling the discourse to the public. In her study of the architecture of People's Houses, Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya emphasizes that two important architectural features are typical of People's Houses one is the balcony or platform on which party's notables give a speech to the public, and the other is the tower to serve as a vertical element and as a landmark. These towers with their abstract geometric designs, signs in modern lettering, and night illumination were stated as the characteristic elements of the Republican People's Party propaganda tool and were used extensively as temporary commemorative structures erected for national holidays⁷⁴ (Figure 19).

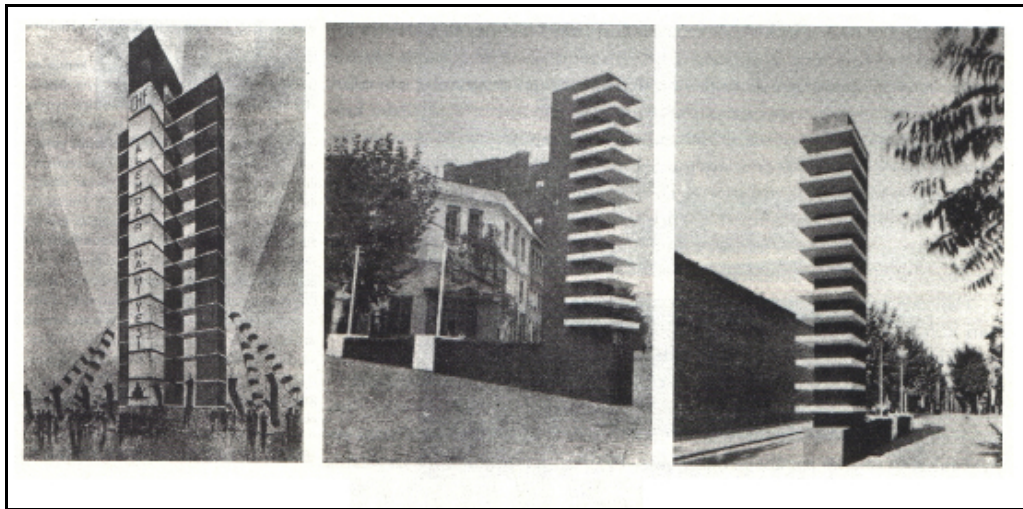


Figure 19: Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p.96.

⁷⁴ Ibid.,pp. 94-96

Yeşilkaya states that in state socialist economies, industrialization is one of the most important goals and every new factory is a source of proud. Consequently, just like in constructivists, factory and a chimney giving off smoke, is the symbol of industry and production. Then she makes an analogy with the chimney of the factory and the tower of the People's House and gave the example of İzmit People's House. İzmit as being an industrial town is full of chimneys, hence; it is understandable why the chimney- tower of the İzmit People's House is higher than usual. This chimney-tower is not only symbolizing the People's House without keeping in the background of the minaret nearby by signifying the new "national sanctuary", but also it is placed as one of the industrial buildings of the city which is full of chimneys. Accordingly, People's House can be conceived as a factory where moral values are produced.⁷⁵ It can be inferred that the tower symbolizes not only republican ideals of production and progress but it has a deeper meaning that is the victory of secularism over religion, since the tower, mentioned as chimney-tower, was higher than the minaret of the mosque.

3.2. The Movie "Ankara: Turkey's Heart" and Relations with USSR

Visual media is another means of conveying discourse, as well as the popular publications, therefore cinema, as it was the only means of visual media of that time, was one of the best tools for political power. The movie "Ankara: Turkey's Heart" is one of the most important movies to be

⁷⁵ Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya, Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999, p.153.

exemplified as a socio-cultural, and political propaganda. It was directed by one of the most important directors of Soviet cinema that is Sergei Yutkevich, finished at 1934, not only describes Kemalist ideals, but also put forth the ideological context Soviets attributed to the new Republic. It was done for the celebrations of the Turkish Republic's tenth anniversary. The movie resembles to the numerous examples of Revolution cinema produced by Soviets, its fiction is constituted by the public spaces of Ankara, users and their daily practices.⁷⁶ What is stated by Sargın about the movie is as follows:

“Ankara: Turkey's Heart”, is a movie taking over the narrative of early Republican period. Moreover it is a propaganda film directed by the contributions of Soviet Union. What is making it more meaningful is that the “other” is fictioning the Turkish reforms by a propaganda movie. The real object of the propaganda is chosen as the Modern City and Architecture. “Modernity Project” that is calling out the *tabula-rasa*, identified with the development of Ankara, therefore, on one side the historical, traditional is rejected, on the other side; Ankara is placed in the axis of modern- traditional debate. To sum up Ankara is the social metaphor of construction from zero point that is ahistorical.⁷⁷

In the movie, we can see all symbols of Turkish Revolution, and Mustafa Kemal was giving a speech explaining what has been done within these ten years. The movie is full of images of cities like construction sites.

⁷⁶ Güven Arif Sargın, “Ötekinin Gözüyle Ankara'yı Kurmak: Sovyet Propaganda Filmlerinde Devrimci Bellek Kaybı ve Anımsama,” (Constructing Ankara by the Vision of the Other: Memory Loss and Remembering in Soviet Propaganda Films) in Tansı Şenyapılı (ed.), *Cumhuriyet'in Ankara'sı*, Ankara: ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı Yayınları, 2006, p. 369.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 370-71.

Master builders paving tile, machines assembling factories, workers operating on machines, industrializing cities, engineers building dams and bridges, rural class farming with modern techniques are certain images from the movie depicting the idealized nation.⁷⁸ What is also stated about the movie is that it is trying to fiction the common denominator between the Soviet and Turkish nations. It is constructing the politics of Modernity Project with cinematic skills.⁷⁹

Furthermore, Sargın placed emphasis on the similarities between Moscow and Ankara in terms of political attitude that they possess in common. The symbolic value about the change of capital of Soviet Union from St. Petersburg to Moscow and similarly the change of capital from İstanbul to Ankara is common and they have symbolic meanings.⁸⁰

The similarities between Moscow and Ankara worth to mention since they are all the symbols of the new regimes as shifting capitals and they should not have connections with the old ones. Newly founded Turkish Republic could not be considered as a socialist country as Soviet Union, but certain political decisions about economy, and industry are similar being statist rather than liberal. Therefore, it is worth to mention a little about what occurred in USSR at that time in spatial and political terms. These two

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.389.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.383.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.383.

cities needed special attention in spatial terms, in terms of city planning and architecture.

In Manfredo Tafuri's book titled *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, there is a chapter called "Toward the 'Socialist City': U.S.S.R., 1917-28" which explains the process of planning phases of Moscow. He stated that ideologies work in groups. The politico-economic utopias of the Soviet planning may adopt different forms and different techniques, however, these are not really different from suprematism, productivism, and constructivism. From the first Five Year Plan on, they considered the city no longer in terms of a sickness to be cured, but as a privileged site for experimental formalization. On 13 January 1918, Soviet state, for the first time in contemporary history, abolished the right of property ownership with the declaration of Fundamental Rights of the Working and Exploited People.⁸¹ How the different phases of Soviet planning are explained by Tafuri clarifies the idea better:

The entire first phase of Soviet planning is actually geared toward the development of instruments of planning, rather than toward the elaboration of concrete programs. Architects and urban planners believed themselves to be equipped to begin the development of regional, urban and sectorial plans; and it is clear that these theoretical foundations had their roots either in the tradition of humanistic and utopian socialism or in the instruments devised by nineteenth century reformism.⁸²

⁸¹ Manfredo Tafuri, "Toward the 'Socialist City': U.S.S.R., 1917-28." *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press, 1987, p.149.

⁸² Ibid., p.150.

It is also stated that the “socialist city” is advanced as the product of programs elaborated between the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth by bourgeois culture. And there were four theoretical sources available for city planning. These theoretical sources are: “that of Germanistic urban thought, that propagated by the Garden City Movement; that deriving from Fourierist tradition; and that pertaining to the anarchist tradition.”⁸³ Tafuri explains these phases in more detail:

On the one side, they involve partial and sectorial projects, relating to the basic restructuring of urban services, to reorganization schemes, to new residential districts of an experimental nature, to single infrastructures (projects for new bridges on the Moscow River in 1920-21, projects for the subway system, etc.) On the other, they involve comprehensive projects that have a direct impact upon the regional dimension...The complex, became a sort of showcase city, presented polemically as a counter model to the European garden cities, being distinguished both by the greater abundance of green areas and lots, and by the high quality of its general services. (Kazan garden city was equipped with a theater, with every type and level of school, with a hospital, a tuberculosis asylum, a rest home, and so forth.)⁸⁴

It is also stated that together with the 1920s plans Moscow is connected with the major centers by radial electrified railroad lines that connects the centers to each other. The integration of transportation infrastructure is among the most significant elements of the 1922 plan: railroad, automobile, and navigation lines are coordinated, as connecting axis of an

⁸³ Ibid., p.152.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.153.

integrated region. Together with the plan of 1935, Moscow became the city of planning and of culture, that is, *as the city of socialist form*.⁸⁵

Moscow as a socialist city is one of the very early examples. However, after Second World War most of the European cities are needed to be reconstructed in a very short time. Therefore Modernism with all its ideological connotations that is breaking off from the past was a very good solution also as an architectural style since it would be very fast to reconstruct a city with mass production idea of the International Style. Cor Wagenaar in his book titled *Happy: Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe*, mentions the two periods of modernism before and after the Second World War. He states that prewar modernism had been very critical of the establishment, and its critical attitude partly coincided with the leftist political views of many of its protagonists. After Second World War by the 1950s, modernism has become the household style of capitalist establishments as well as the socialist countries in Eastern Europe. It is also mentioned that because it was considered as a style derived from the production process of mass housing, and rooted as a contribution to the new, socialist society, it was adopted by the socialist countries. The places inspired by socialist- realism fell out of fashion and replaced by housing estates built with industrially- produced, prefabricated panels.⁸⁶ Wagenaar

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.158-159.

⁸⁶ Cor Wagenaar, "Science, Technology, and the International Style." *Happy. Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004, p.80.

explains the reasons as mentioned earlier about why modernism became so inevitable in this way:

The desire to break away from the past has always been one of the modernism's inherent qualities. It's strong and willfully destructive undertones found an outlet in the demolition of entire urban districts in the 1950s and 1960s... The planner's ideal of purifying society by eliminating everything that appeared to be irrational was reminiscent of the way modernism had stripped architecture and town planning of everything that could be seen as contingent... the need to reconstruct almost the entire European continent called for industrialized, modern building techniques on an unprecedented scale, and that obviously called for a modernist approach. What, then, could be more logical than that the International Style become the leading design fashion of the first three decades after 1945?⁸⁷

The images depicting how entire Europe is being reconstructed after Second World War is very similar to images from newly founded Turkish Republic after the War of Independence. Wagenaar in his book *Happy: Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe* spared a section, titled "Building Socialism: Posters from Hungary", all showing constructivist images of Europe after the war and these can be comparable especially with the covers of *La Turquie Kemaliste*. (**Figure 20, 21, 22, 23**)

All of these images showing construction sites, laborers or technocrats building cities, bridges, roads, and factory chimneys giving off smoke and so on. All of the human figures have a happy expression in their faces, revealing the joy of progress. Additionally, these images resemble each

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.79.

other in terms not only of their content deciphered but also in terms of the way people and objects represented. Therefore, it can be inferred that both images display a common language regarding the themes and representation techniques. The reason for this might possibly be the effects of constructivist drawings of the socialism.



Figure 20: Cor Wagenaar, "Building Socialism: Posters from Hungary." Happy. Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004, p.80 and p.87



Figure 21: Cor Wagenaar, "Building Socialism: Posters from Hungary." Happy. Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004, pp. 84-85.



Figure 22: Cor Wagenaar, "Building Socialism: Posters from Hungary." Happy. Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004, pp. 88-89.

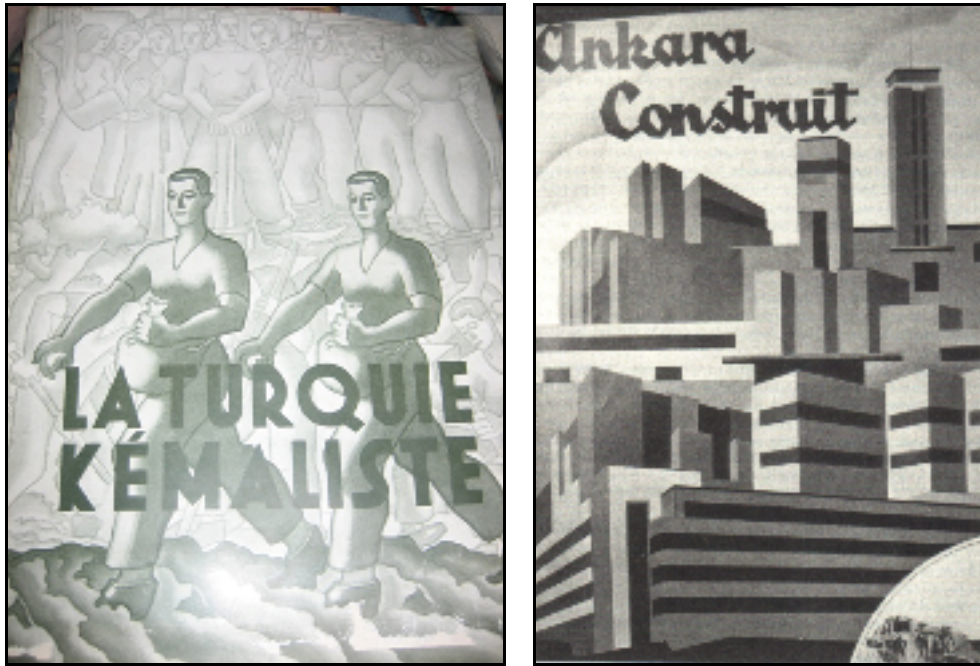


Figure 23: Left: La Turquie Kemaliste. Avril 1938. Right: La Turquie Kemaliste no:6, Avril 1935.

3.3. The Idea of Electrification

Today people hardly ever think of electricity as something special. It is simply there and always has been. It cannot even be considered a life without electricity, where we have no light to see in the dark, no televisions, no house appliances, no computers, and so on. When the lights cut off for about a couple of hours, we get angry because electricity is an indispensable part of our life.

Before electricity people had to use candles and oil lamps as sources of light. This was not long time ago just more than a century. Therefore what

humankind has done is very impressive in terms of progress. Electricity is not only indispensable in terms of making the appliances work but also has meanings in terms of progress and development. It is a depiction of civilization both in literal and metaphorical senses of the term “illumination”, hence, it is always stated as one of the most important themes of modernity. It is very easy to grasp this idea from the state publications which are celebrating the “electrification of Turkey”, mostly with electrified night views of streets and certain buildings. Moreover, the future houses are described as equipped with fully electrified appliances as the electrification of the home as a sign of contemporariness and to be modern (*asrilik*).⁸⁸

Bozdoğan states that “the Societe Anonyme Turquie d'Installation Electrique (SATIE)”, promoted the symbolic association between electricity and modernism. Its advertisements depicted modern buildings, modern interiors, and modern lifestyles with household appliances.”⁸⁹ However she puts forward that more than household appliances and interiors, what made electricity as the icon of republican modernity was the public use. For instance, “lighted-structures and illuminated signs were among the most important devices of Kemalist propaganda, again similar to the political function of light in contemporaneous fascist and socialist contexts”. As a group of examples, the temporary

⁸⁸ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2002,p.128

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*,p.128

commemorative structures celebrating the tenth anniversary can be given, since they were illuminated towers and especially remarkable is their constructivist statements: abstract prismatic towers of thin, cantilevered slabs lit from below (**Figure 19**).⁹⁰ How Bozdoğan evaluates electricity is very important in this respect. She states that:

Such images suggest that electricity was a key ingredient in the spirit of celebration, youth, optimism, and progress embodied by the spaces of public gathering and recreation, a spirit that reached its zenith in the exhibition spaces of the republic.⁹¹

The idea of being an ingredient in the spirit of celebration, youth, optimism and progress can be very well explained by an article written by Niels Gutschow in Wagenaar's book. This article explains the micro history of a power plant in Kaunas, Lithuania in 1959, together with the interview conducted with the town planner of the city in 2000. As the author was explaining his plans about the book to the members of the city government and the technical university, the town planner (Nerijus Vlatkevicius) responded shortly that happiness arrived at Kaunas with electricity, with the power plant which brought light to the city and together with the dam which was protecting the city.⁹² This is a very important statement that is making a connection with happiness and electricity. He continues as:

⁹⁰ Ibid.,p.130

⁹¹ Ibid.,p.132

⁹² Niels Gutschow, "Happiness in the Light. The Construction of a New Power Plant in Kaunas, Lithuania, 1959." in Cor Wagenaar (ed.), Happy. Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004, p.94.

From darkness to light – Lenin’s promise was fulfilled. The search for happiness became an overwhelming vision: electricity not only lights inner and outer spaces. Light is more than that. It brings forth a new promise of liberation. Was not Stalin seen as a beacon of liberation? The proletarian October Revolution of 1917 built its myth of ‘electrification’ as a symbol of progress and even revolution. Was it not Lenin himself who stated that communism was equivalent to ‘the power of the Soviet Union plus electrification’? Or put differently. “Revolution with electrification?” the pioneers of the revolution also spoke about electrification and the abolishment of illiteracy.’⁹³

Beyond the literally meaning of “illumination” as mentioned above it has even more deep connotation that is the abolishment of illiteracy which might bring progress and even revolution. As stated earlier the development of Soviet Union required electricity, however the word ‘light’ characterized a social program: “electricity would, literally, carry the light of the revolution and demonstrate the wealth of the communist era to come. To read by the light of an electric lamp and thus educated, to belong to the socialist community of mankind – that also was part of the program.”⁹⁴

The power plant which brought light and happiness to Nemusas started to be constructed in 1959. It is stated that each phase of its construction was celebrated with sophisticated opening rituals (**Figure 24, 25**). These festivities were commemorated in a movie called *Light of the Nemusas*. It can be seen that even the title of the movie is highlighting the glory of the

⁹³ Ibid., pp.90-91.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.94.

construction and the celebrations. The movie tells “the go of a light not only shines in the city and the villages, but also illuminates the country’s future.” Moreover, it is stated that a series of postcards were produced in the year of the opening “depicting the power plants towers above the river, transforming the latter’s former destructive potential into useful energy that is distributed via transmission towers to the remotest villages of the land.”⁹⁵

All these celebrations, movie, and postcards brought to the city, thus in 1959, students of the technical university who worked in its construction site during their summer holiday, wrote an opera. This opera however remained unfinished and never performed. The lyrics are glorifying the students’ life in the *Tents of the Students* which was also the title of the opera, and the happiness of the light will soon be shining. Only a small part of the lyrics is enough to express how happy the city would be with the new power plants opening.

....
New construction in Kaunas
dammed up swift Nemunas.
Nemunas brings light
and happiness to cities and villages.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp.95-96.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp.95-96.

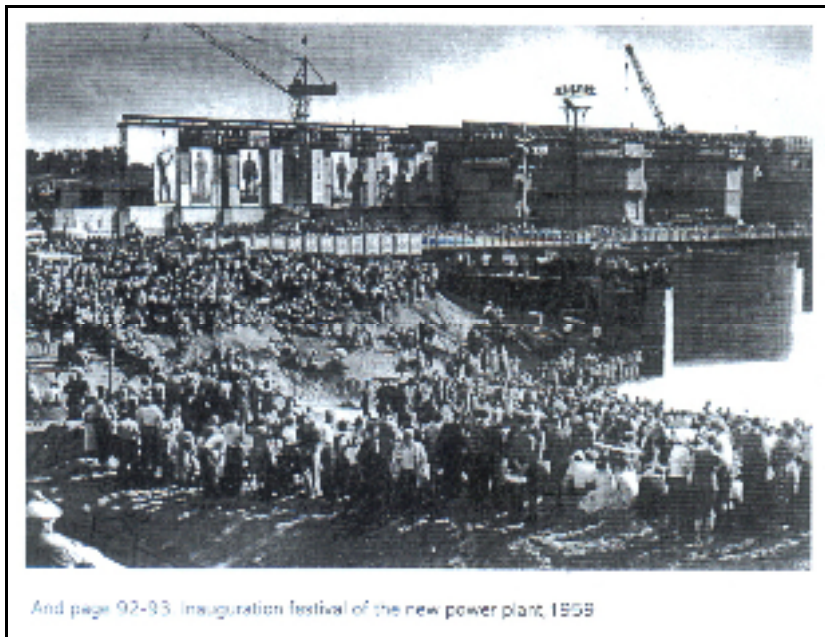


Figure 24: Niels Gutschow, "Happiness in the Light. The Construction of a New Power Plant in Kaunas, Lithuania, 1959." in Cor Wagenaar (ed.), Happy. Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004, p.91.



Figure 25: Niels Gutschow, "Happiness in the Light. The Construction of a New Power Plant in Kaunas, Lithuania, 1959." in Cor Wagenaar (ed.), Happy. Cities and Public Happiness in Post-War Europe, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2004, pp.92-93.

CHAPTER 4

INDUSTRIALISATION AND ELECTRIFICATION PROCESS OF TURKEY

The aim of this chapter is to deal more with the process of industrialization and electrification process in Turkey and focusing on the dominating discourses of the time. As a method of analysis, the popular publications of the period are investigated between the years 1928 and 1938.

The main sources of this chapter will be archival material conducted during this research process, and these sources are the popular publications of the period; newspapers such as, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Ulus*, *Cumhuriyet*, and magazines such as, *La Turquie Kemaliste*, *Hayat Dergisi*, *Ülkü*, *Mimar – Arkitekt*, *Belediyeler Dergisi*, and also EGO's publications.

Unfortunately, all these sources are not within easy reach of all researchers as they were all in different libraries or in different collectors. The libraries containing these valuable resources of this study are: Turkish Grand National Assembly Library which posed difficulty to enter and to access the material, National Library, Turkish Historical Society's Library, State

Archives of Prime Ministry, Library of Chamber of Architects, and collections of Ankara Institute Foundation.

The research process of these sources took more than three months since all these are spread in different libraries and some of the sources are very hard to reach, and still some of them cannot be read clearly because of the age of the material and maintenance problems besides the lack of technical equipment of some of the mentioned libraries.

One of the most important sources to be used to analyze the discursive formations of its time is *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, of which I had a chance to investigate through the years in concern at the Turkish Grand National Assembly's Library. This took nearly two months, as the mentioned newspaper is full of important information worth to be used in other publications or research studies in various areas dealing with this period. All of the articles used in this thesis are listed in Appendix 1.

The main goal of this research is not only to make a discursive analysis but also to look for effects of electrification via considering the objects in substance, regarding to the practice itself, and to look for the transformations in the urban space and in urban living. Therefore, it will investigate the electrification process, how it is materialized, and how it is depicted in the popular media mostly in three different scales; first scale is the territorial scale, the second one is the urban scale, and finally the last one is the home scale. However, before going deeper into the

electrification in different scales it is better to have a look at the industrialization period of Turkey and the dominating discourse.

4.1. The Industrialization Period of Turkey and the dominating discourse

The publications are full of articles from notable writers, or thinkers of the Turkish Republic, trying to explain the meanings of industrialization, accentuating the advantages of it. And some are even trying to describe ways of how to industrialize. Falih Rıfki in his article "*Sanayileşme Ne Demektir?*" (What Does Industrialization Mean?) discusses why Turkey should industrialize and what the aim of industrialization is. It is stated that this new era is an era that every nation deserves the right to be prosperous and national prosperity can only be maintained by every nations own civilization, ideals, skills, and sources moreover, the new international balance can only be kept after each nation reaches its own prosperity.⁹⁷ The claim for industrialized Turkey is stated as to make industry convenient for its resources, and to sustain its agricultural economy for the inner market. Furthermore, it is emphasized that this claim is not harmful for any nation but for national prosperity. So there is no logical reason for criticizing this claim, however it is also added that:

We should never give up saying that the economical development claim of Turkey is not different from its political independence claim; indeed it

⁹⁷ Falih Rıfki, "*Sanayileşme Ne Demektir?*"("*What Does Industrialization Mean?*"), *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 10 Birinci Kanun 1933, p.1.

is the real target of this struggle. From the times of Tanzimat, state and nation did a lot to achieve the prosperity standards of the industrialized nations.⁹⁸

There were certain debates in the media that together with industrialization farmers would be suffering with poverty. However in the articles it was stated that it was not the case and even the reverse that the farmers would be advantageous for that. The advantages of industrialization were stated in articles. One of the most important advantages that are worth to mention is that factories were institutions bringing civilization to where it is incurred. Most of the underdeveloped agriculture regions would witness that their levels of prosperity and culture will become higher together with factories, even if these would be scattered all around the country and not only be located near Istanbul and its periphery just like what happened in the Ottoman empire.⁹⁹

These ideals not only stay in words but should forth true. Therefore the Republican government established *Sanayi ve Meadin Bankası* (Turkish Industry and Mine Bank) on 19th of April in 1925, with a special law numbered 633. Therefore the necessary capital was consigned and the factories that were about to be established by the national entrepreneurs

⁹⁸ Ibid., translated by the author. (Türkiye'nin iktisadi inkişaf davasının, siyasi istiklal davasından asla farklı olamayan, bilakis o mücadelenin hakiki hedefi olduğunu izah etmekten yorulmamalıyız. Tanzimat'tan beri, dev Türkiye'nin Endüstrileşme Davası let ve millet bütün imparatorluk sanayi memleketlerinin yüksek refah standartları uğruna haraçgüzarlık etti.)

⁹⁹ "Türkiye'nin Endüstrileşme Davası," ("Turkey's Industrialization Ideal") Ülkü. Halkevleri Mecmuası, Vol.36, February 1936, pp.417-420.

with the help of the government and the factories that were operated by soldiers were handed over to this bank to be operated in line to the necessities of the era. About a capital of four million liras were allocated to the bank by the government; what is more was that the phrase that the money which would be necessary for the future of the development of the job would be assured was also added to the law. ¹⁰⁰

Turkish Industry and Mine Bank was not the only way to make the ideal of industrialization materialized, a Five Year Industrialization Plan was prepared and it was applied properly. Therefore it is not unusual to see articles showing pride about the success of this First Five Year Plan. It is stated that the big Turkish revolution's effect was for sure is the industrialization of Turkey. First Five Year Program as all the other things Turkey dealt with was accomplished by a great success. ¹⁰¹

One of the most notable members of Republican People's Party, Nusret Köymen mentioned the important points about the program that was accepted in May 1935, in the fourth big deliberative assembly as:

Village, in all respects, is considered important in new Turkey's life. Big and small industry should be protected with respect to raw material producers' situation. We consider that industry not to be intensely located

¹⁰⁰"Memleketimizde sanayinin inkişafına doğru: Sanayi ve Meadin Bankası Milli teşekküllere ne surette yardım etti ve bugün alınan neticeler." ("To the development of Industry in our Nation") Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 1 Temmuz 1929, p.5.

¹⁰¹ Nusret Köymen, "Sanayileşmemiz Üzerine Düşünceler," ("Ideas About Industrialization") Ülkü. Halkevleri Mecmuası, Vol.37, March 1936, p.16.

in one region but to be scattered all around the country just in case their foundation should be economical.¹⁰²

With industrialization, it is always stated that it would bring prosperity in terms of civilization and life quality. But how this prosperity would diffuse into people's life is explained by Köymen as; along with industry in the villages, youngsters would be attached to their homes, and the living standards would be higher together with the revolutionary effects of radio, books, magazines, telephone, and similar civilization means and house comfort which could only be possible with the increasing income level. In addition, the living standards of the village itself has increased with adjustment of roads, reduction in electricity, selling better products in the shops, improvement of the school buildings, widening of the programs, and increasing the number of health organizations.¹⁰³

Köymen also stated that there were certain points that should be taken into consideration in industrialization in the light of world experiences, ideas, and most importantly the party's program. These points are:

- We should not found our industry inside or outskirts of cities. This will cause a lot of problems like class struggles, uneven developments, etc.
- We should not found big industries as there is a risk of being empty for a long time in a year, and of having surplus.

¹⁰² Ibid., translated by the author (Yeni Türkiye'nin hayatında, köyü, her bakımdan önemli sayarız... Küçük ve büyük endüstri, ilk madde üretmenlerinin aşığlarına daha uygun olarak korunmalıdır... Endüstrinin memleketin bazı köşelerinde toplanması yerine – kurulmaları ekonomik de olmak şartıyla- genişlikle yapılmasını göz önünde tutarız.)

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.18.

- Factories should be founded close to raw material or labor markets. Or else these should be supplied by creating industrial- farmer villages.
- All the available alternative spaces to develop quickly industry should be investigated
- All available kinds of arts and crafts should be organized and modernized.
- Ziraatbank and Sümerbank should be dealing with rural industry and should give financial support for that.
- All rural areas which want to be industrialized have to be encouraged by the state via road construction and electrification.
- An institution which is investigating the ways to get maximum use of the common agricultural products has to be founded.
- Peasant workers should be an associative of the land or home or even with a small amount to the factory. Therefore, they will not anymore be proletarian.¹⁰⁴

As there were some resemblances with socialist systems, there were also debates about liberalism and socialism in the publications. The system of statism that was applied in Turkey stated by Kemal Atatürk is not a direct translation of ideas that was put forward by the theorists of Socialism from the 19th century on. This system was born with the necessities of Turkey, it is unique to Turkey. He stated that they were considering individual enterprises and their private activities as the main issue; however, considering the needs of a big nation and a wide country a lot of things did not come true. Then the state took the control of country's economy in

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.21-22.

its hands. And this way, is different from liberalism. He stated that “Our understanding of statism is neither socialism, nor liberalism, it belongs to us and born out of our necessities.”¹⁰⁵

4.1.1. National Industry Exhibition and Congress

On April 29, 1930, National Industry Exhibition was opened together with a lot of celebrations. This exhibition was the symbol of success in the first Five Year Development Plan in terms of industry. It was showing what could be done in such a short time, and it was also depicting the recovery of Turkey in terms not only of economy but also of independency, and self sufficiency. On the 22nd of April, National Industry Congress was opened together with a lot of participation of the producers and politicians.

When the pages of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* are examined, it can be seen that from the 15th of February, there are a lot of articles heralding the opening of the National Industry Exhibition such as: “16 boxes of samples from Kastamonu came for the National Industry Exhibition”¹⁰⁶ quite surprisingly there is even a poem written about the exhibition, which says that with everybody should visit the exhibition, and making proud of the variations of the national products.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ “Celal Bayar’ın Endüstri Planımız Üzerine Söylevi,” (“Celal Bayar’s Speech About the Industry Plan”) Ülkü. Halkevleri Mecmuası, Vol.37, March 1936, p.12.

¹⁰⁶ “Milli Sanayi Sergisi için Kastamonu’dan 16 kasa numune geldi.” (“16 boxes of samples from Kastamonu came for the National Industry Exhibition) Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 15 Şubat 1930, p.1.

¹⁰⁷ “Sanayi Sergisi.” (“Industry Exhibition”) Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 17 Nisan 1930, p.4.

From the opening ceremony on 20th of April, it can be seen that everyday the cover pages of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* is full of news from the exhibition. Besides, the last pages of it are mostly allocated to the images from the opening ceremonies or notable people visiting the exhibition or different views from the exhibition showing the variation of the industrial products (Figure 26).

The exhibition was opened by the prime minister, İsmet İnönü together with a very big ceremony and in the opening it is reported that he said “we will enter a new life in National Economy”.¹⁰⁸ President, Kemal Atatürk visited the Exhibition as well, which shows the importance too. His attention to each of the stands and all the products was mentioned and it was also stated that Atatürk wanted the exhibition to be permanent since he was thinking once a year is not enough to be memorable and congratulated the organizing foundation. In the closing article, it is stated that the exhibition was very successful in terms of the demand and attention and also many products were sold. By this exhibition public had the chance to see and understand the quality of the national products and it was also a chance for the advertising of the producers.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 21 Nisan 1930, p.1.

¹⁰⁹ *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 5 Mayıs 1930, p.4.



Figure 26: Left: The opening ceremonies of the exhibition Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 21 Nisan 1930, p.8. Right: Different views from the exhibition Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 28 Nisan 1930, p.8.

4.2. The Electrification of Turkey: The Practice and the Discourse

We want Turkey to be electrified... We not only want electricity to decorate Turkish cities, but for the illumination of dark Turkish village, underdeveloped Turkish workbench turn into a developed factory, Turkish products to be processes with electricity to be produced cleaner, and cheaper. To sum up, we want electricity not as an ornament but for an extra power working for our economy. We want it to be cheap and accessible and usable in everywhere.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ M. Şevki, "Elektrikli Türkiye" ("Electrified Turkey"), Kadro, translated by the author Vol.13, İkici Kanun 1933, p.35. (Türkiye'nin elektriklelenmesini istiyoruz... Biz elektriği yalnız Türk şehrinin süslenmesi değil, karanlık Türk köyünün ışıldaması, geri teknikli, Türk tezgahının ileri teknikli bir fabrikaya çevrilmesi, Türk malının elektrikle işlenerek daha temiz, daha ucuz çıkarılması için istiyoruz. Hulasa elektriği bir süs değil, iktisadımıza hizmet eden bir fazla kudret olarak istiyoruz. Ucuz, her tarafta ve herkes tarafından kullanılabilir bir hale gelmesini istiyoruz.)

In the article entitled "*Elektrikli Türkiye*" (Electrified Turkey) written by Mehmet Şevki, it is obvious that how much electrification of Turkey was wanted, and how much importance was attributed to the electrification of the towns. When we have a look at the keywords used in the article such as; decorative, illuminate, dark, clean, cheap, accessible, and usable, these are conveying the discursive formation. These words are essential, important and at the same time primary in this new age, with new technological innovations. It is more than something for aesthetics; it has a mission to work for the national economy. Therefore it has to be in everywhere, and has to be cheap. It was a two way situation that electricity in order to be common it should be cheap, and at the same time, in order to be cheap it has to be common, and used widely. The installation could only be done by an institution which does not consider profit for a few years. And it is stated that this could only be possible by an "electrification plan" together with an economical plan and only by the state which is the protector of economy.¹¹¹

In the 1930s, electricity was used in trams, completely, and in trains, steamboats, and in automobiles, partially. Electrical motors were started to be used in airplanes as well. For lighting, there was no other means of lighting other than electric light. In certain cities, where electricity was cheap all the electricity need of small industries was supplied by electric

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.35.

motors. In harvest machines and some other farming works electricity was utilized as well. In mining and chemistry electricity was playing the biggest role, in construction work it was also important. Furthermore, it was also common to use electricity in medicine too.¹¹² It can be seen that how wide electricity was used in different sectors of life and how crucial role it was playing for our survival. It was stated that “if the important position that the electric power is gaining for human beings it is normal to consider twentieth century as the era of electricity.”¹¹³

As mentioned earlier, most of the factories were started to be running with electricity, even if the prize was not so fair, and it was a new means of energy for Turkey when it is compared with steam power that was available for more than a century at that time. These steam machines were stated to be only used 22% in the industry, water motors which were as well very old were only covering 4%, however electricity that was developed just after the war was covering 53% in industry. The aim in Turkey and in the world at the time was to make this percentage a hundred,¹¹⁴ to make electric power as the first and the only power used in industry.

¹¹² Emin Bey, “Türkiye’de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı: Elektriğin Asrımızdaki Rolü”. (“The Development of Electrification in Turkey: The Importance of Electricity in our Age”) Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 18 Temmuz 1933, p.4.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.4.

¹¹⁴ M. Şevki, “Elektrikli Türkiye” (“Electrified Turkey”) , Kadro, Vol.13, İkinci Kanun 1933, pp.35-36.

It is also possible to infer from the articles that there was no proper electrical installation except for İstanbul in Ottoman cities. There were very few electricity only in İzmir and Tarsus.¹¹⁵ In 1923, the electric power available was 35,120 horsepower; however in 1933 it was about 132,418 horsepower. Which was nearly four times than it was in 1923.¹¹⁶ This was a sign of how successfully the Five Year Economical Program was implicated in terms of electrification.

These statistical data and certain articles about the electrification of Turkey were not enough for its concretization. It can be traced that certain sample modern buildings were constructed to serve a special purpose. One of them was the shop of the company of Ankara Gas and Electricity, named Telgaz on Anafartalar Street which was one of the main streets in the city center. In a newspaper article, together with the photos of the shop, it is stated that in this building modern gas and electricity advertisements would be carried out. The shop was considered as one of the most beautiful shops of Ankara in a modern style. What is more, it is stated that the Şehremini the mayor and his high official visited the shop.¹¹⁷(**Figure 27**)

There was an “*Elektrik Evi*” (Electricity House) in İstanbul Kadıköy, where its ground floor is allocated for the exhibiting and selling of electrical appliances. In the magazine *Arkitekt*, from the article titled “*Elektrik Evi*”, it

¹¹⁵ “Elektrik, Gaz, Su, Tramvay, Rıhtım ve Hava Nakliyatı”. (“Electricity, Gas, Water, Tram, Docklands and Air Transport”) *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 29 Ekim 1933, p.26.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.26.

¹¹⁷ *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 7 Mayıs 1930, p.8.

is possible to have some knowledge about its architectural features with the help of the architectural drawings, and certain photos of the shop (Figure 28).



Figure 27: Left: Telgaz shop Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 7 Mayıs 1930, p.8. Right: Telgaz shop from the Anafartalar Street Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 8 Ağustos 1930, p.1.

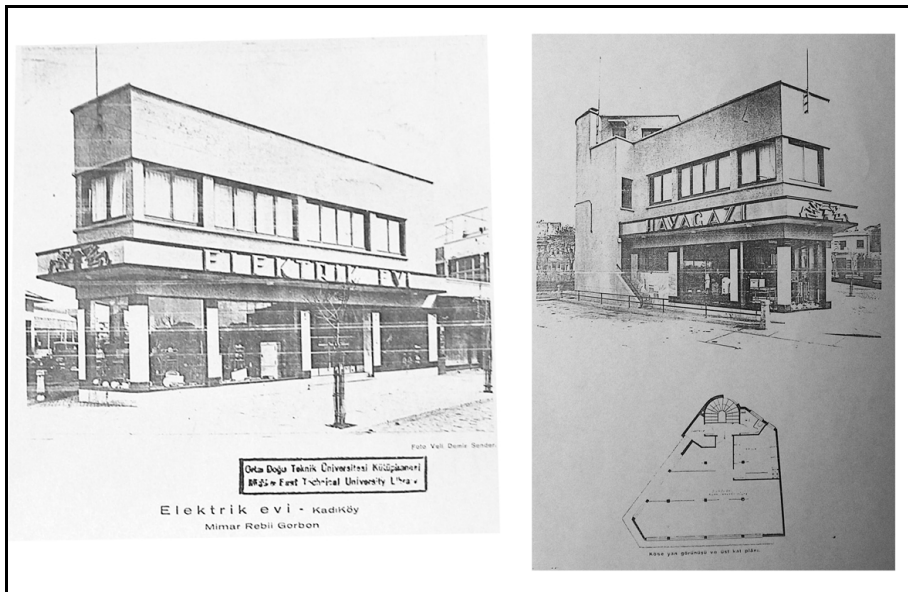


Figure 28: “Elektrik evi – Kadıköy.” (“Electricity House – Kadıköy”) Arkitekt, no:1, 1937, pp.1-2.

It is possible to see the same type of houses in the other parts of the world as well. One example can be given from Germany, in Frankfurt in Römerstadt which was an example of modern living and the first completely electrified settlement in Germany. Therefore, appliance manufacturers used the image of Römerstadt to advertise their products. Susan R. Henderson explained how they used the image of it in the newspaper advertisements as well:

Covering the opening of the settlement, the newspaper *Frankfurter General Anzeiger* saw the electricity as its most notable feature. It led with the headline: "America at the Gates: the electric stove. The permanently installed water heater. Everyone can hear the radio without an antenna."...The main thing is the electricity. Naturally, in the new current of 220 volts. In the new home it is "the servant girl who performs all tasks": it cooks the soup, grills the meat, bakes the cake, heats the bath and the cooking water- and, of course, lights the house.¹¹⁸

The importance given to the electrification can be observed, consequently, she explains that the Frankfurt Kitchen was the focus for most of these innovations, the electrified communal laundry, complete with washers, dryers, mangles, and irons, was also hailed for its labor saving potential. Henderson explains Frankfurt Kitchen as:

The modern Frankfurt household was to be based on this happy combination of a "scientifically" designed house and rationalized furnishings and equipment... modernizing efforts focused on the kitchen above all. The center of household labor, it became the professional

¹¹⁸Susan R. Henderson, "A Revolution in the Women's Sphere: Grete Lihotzky and the Frankfurt Kitchen," in Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, eds., *Architecture and Feminism*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, pp.239-240.

“office” of the housewife and the subject of endless technological improvements.¹¹⁹

Therefore, a permanent exhibition was needed to be organized in order to display all the wonders of the new kitchen technology. The exhibition necessitated a permanent space as well so the architect Adolf Meyer in Frankfurt design team implemented a scheme. The old shopping arcade in the city center was transformed into the “*Gaspassage* a permanent forum for demonstrating the latest in gas appliances. Heating equipment, including gas and electric ovens and stoves, hot water heaters, and various modern kitchen apparatus flanked the passage”.¹²⁰

The household appliances making life easier as mentioned before can be dated back to even the 1860s. The invention of certain household appliances can be given as, for example; vacuum cleaner in 1868, electric stove in 1892, gramophone in 1877, radio in 1893, refrigerator in 1927, and ventilator in 1931. However, they started to be used at homes not as immediately as they invented just like how it is today. It took certain time for them to become widespread. The case for Turkey is even later; usage of electrical appliances at Turkey became widespread only for about 40 to 80 years later then their invention. The common usage of washing machine dates nearly to 1950's, the usage of it in Turkey is approximately in the 1970's. Dish washer became widespread in the 1970's but in Turkey this is

¹¹⁹ Susan R. Henderson, "A Revolution in the Women's Sphere: Grete Lihotzky and the Frankfurt Kitchen," in Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, eds., Architecture and Feminism, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, p.232.

¹²⁰Ibid., pp.240-241.

approximately in the 1980's. However, it is still something luxurious to have a dish washer at home in some parts of the country. TV started to be used in the 1950's, however, in 1970's it was a luxury to have a TV at home. Therefore, people used to visit their neighbors who have TV in the evenings. Electricity in this case had an indirect effect on people's lives and their relations with each other brought a new understanding of neighborhood relations.

In Turkey there are also a lot of newspaper advertisements depicting the life and comfort level that would be possible with the new appliances powered by electric and gas. These advertisements are advising to visit the shop to buy these appliances or to have more information about them (Figure 29).



Figure 29: Newspaper advertisement *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 22 Şubat 1930, p.7.

4.2.1. Electrification as Process at the Territorial Scale

The process of electrification can be investigated in three different scales the first one is the territorial scale which deals with the electrification of

whole country. It can be claimed that the process of electrification had been very poor, it had been only limited with the palace and its surrounding in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore this period can not be considered as a part of organized electrification program.

It is stated that Ottoman Empire was not courageous in terms of electricity.¹²¹ In Abdülhamid's sultanate period, only his palace and Hidiv palace in Çubuklu and a few hotels were electrified. Meşrutiyet period was a bit more successful in terms of electrification, in 1914 İstanbul electric company started to work. During the World War I the electric company was in trouble to find enough coal. Moreover, it is not possible to see any developments in terms of electrification until 1923. In 1923 a santral in Adapazarı was founded. Much bigger developments can be observed from the year 1925.¹²² Mehmet Şevki stated about the politics of Ottoman Empire about electrification is:

The electricity industry of Ottoman Empire which is transferred to National government was very weak and primitive. One of the reasons why it stayed that primitive was the mentality of the government at that time and public was not interested in science and technology because of that mentality, in addition, long term wars, and finally the social life of Turkish people was too low.¹²³

¹²¹ M. Şevki, "Elektrikli Türkiye", ("Electrified Turkey") Kadro, Vol.13, İkinci Kanun 1933, p.40.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Emin Bey, "Türkiye'de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı: Elektriğin Asrımızdaki Rolü". ("The Development of Electrification in Turkey: The Importance of Electricity in our Age") Translated by the author Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 18 Temmuz 1933, p.4. (Osmanlı imparatorluğunun milli hükümete geçen elektrik sanayi çok zayıf ve iptidai bir halde bulunmaktaydı. Geri kalma sebeplerinden biri o zamanki hükümetlerin zihniyeti ve

Therefore, the electrification of Turkey was considered as starting from 1914 and onwards. And it is stated that the process of electrification of Turkey can be divided into two periods:

1. From 1914 to the foundation of the national government.
2. From the foundation of the national government to 1932.¹²⁴

It is also stated that before 1914 the electricity installations of Saloniki, Beirut, and Damascus were started however these cities were not any more inside the national boundaries, and therefore, they cannot be considered in the process. In 1914, the electrical installation of Istanbul started which was suitable for the latest technology of the era. Consequently the process of electrification said was officially started.¹²⁵

Regarding the second period which starts from the foundation of the national government in 1923, it can be affirmed that a rapid process of electrification started throughout the country in a planned way, running parallel with the economical plans.

On the other hand, the role of foreign capital in electricity industry was very critical. The electric centrals in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Bursa, Adana, Edirne, Gaziantep, Balıkesir, Tekirdağ were established by foreign

gerekse halkın geri bu zihniyet sebebiyle fenne olan alakasızlığı, birbirini takip eden harplar ve nihayet Türk camiasının içtimai hayat seviyesinin çok geride bulunmasıdır.)

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

companies. The capital that these companies brought to Turkey was about 21.5 million liras, which was covering the 76% of the capital allocated for electricity industry.¹²⁶

On October 29, 1933, a special issue of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* was published which is very impressive in terms of depicting the discourse. The main aim of the issue was to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the republic. It was about a hundred pages. In each page there were certain articles and photographs about what was the goal and what had been done so far and what was going to be done. There were also a lot of statistics and charts explaining the growth of the Turkish Republic. According to the statistics given in this special issue the usage of electricity produced from the year 1928 to 1932 is shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Table showing the usage of electricity produced from the year 1928 to 1932.

Year	Kilowatt hour
1928	68.893.622
1929	69.871.858
1930	95.477.224
1931	109.022.695
1932	110.405.229

¹²⁶ Emin Bey, "Türkiye'de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı II: Memleketimizde Elektrik işlerinin Kuruluşu". ("The Development of Electrification in Turkey II: the Foundation of Electric Works in the Country") *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 19 Temmuz 1933, p.4.

There were also certain tables trying to show how electricity usage was increased within this ten years time. These are showing a few different usages of electricity; such as; usage in industry, in street illumination, in trams and inside houses as well. (Figure 30)

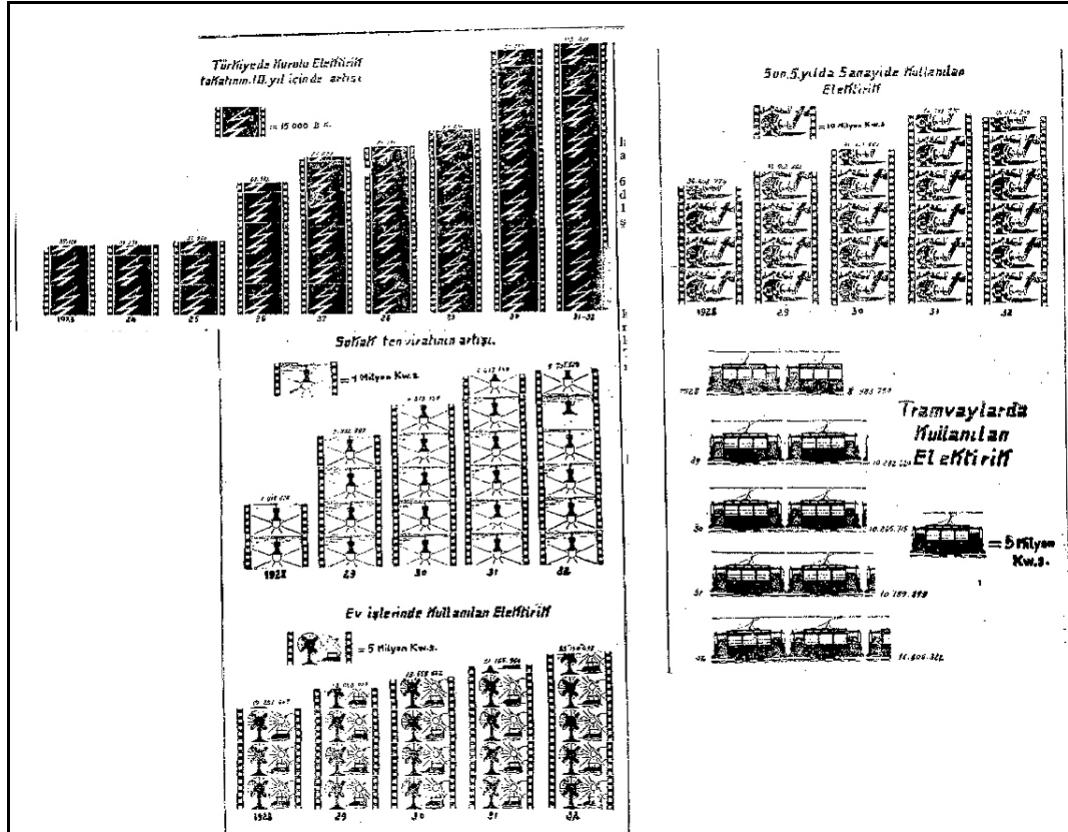


Figure 30: Drawings showing the increase in the usage of electricity in different areas within ten years Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 29 Ekim 1933, p.36.

In 1928, there were 61.479 subscribers, in 1929 this number increased to 67.241, in 1930 to 91.078, in 1931 to 110.485 and in 1932 to 115.868. This means that it nearly doubled. Most of Turkish electric power used to be

supplied from coal. In 1932, 83.3% of the electricity which was 132.418 horsepower was supplied from coal, 12.3% from fuel-oil, 3.6% from water, 0.8% from wood coal.¹²⁷

In 1933, there were several electric companies in very different parts of Turkey. For example; in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Adana, Trabzon, Bursa, Konya, Kayseri, Eskişehir, Samsun, Malatya, Antalya and Ödemiş the electricity installations were given to privileged companies. Apart from these cities, there were others which produced electricity. These were: Edirne, Gaziantep, Balıkesir, Adapazarı, Mersin, Aksaray, Giresun Bandırma, Afyon, Tekirdağ, Ayvalık, Kütahya, Manisa, Edremit, Tire, Bafra, Ordu, Uşak, Tarsus, Söke, Nazilli, Çorlu, İzmit, Akhisar, Dinar, Muğla, Bodrum, Kırkağaç, Çarşamba, Hayrabolu, Milas, Çankırı and Fethiye.¹²⁸

It is very common to see articles heralding the electrification of different Anatolian cities. One is the electrification of Konya for instance; it was stated in the newspaper that the installation of electricity that had been continuing for quite a long time was finally finished and from the first night of 1929, electricity was given to the city.¹²⁹ Another example was Giresun; here it was written that the electrification of the city was successfully completed. And the opening ceremony was impressive under

¹²⁷ "Elektrik, Gaz, Su, Tramvay, Rihtim ve Hava Nakliyatı". ("Electricity, Gas, Water, Tram, Docklands and Air Transport") Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 29 Ekim 1933, p.26.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.26.

¹²⁹ "Konya Elektrikleri." Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 3 Kanunisani 1929, p.4.

the congratulations of the guests. It was also stated that there was a lot of application for houses and shops, and the installation of these were continuing. Furthermore, it was claimed that the installation of electricity to Giresun brought beauty to the city.¹³⁰ One other example is İzmir, where the newspaper makes people know that, Tepecik, Elevan street, Şehitler, Sinekli, Gerenlik graveyard and its surrounding is electrified. And the installation would be complete within a few days.¹³¹

4.2.2. Influences of Electrification at the Urban Scale

It is already mentioned that the process of electrification can be investigated in three different scales the first one is the territorial scale which is dealing with the electrification of whole country. And the second one, which will be the main issue of this part, is the urban scale, which deals with the transformations in relation to the electrification of streets and the use of electricity in public transportation.

This part would deal more with the changes and new attempts in the city planning which has supported and constituted each other. Moreover, it ran parallel with electrification as well even if it has never been said aloud; the reasons and consequences of these changes will be discussed. In many different sources, it is common to see the modernization of streets in the

¹³⁰ "Giresun'da Elektrik."("Electricity in Giresun") Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 21 Kanunisani 1929, p.2.

¹³¹ "İzmir'de Elektrik."("Electricity in İzmir") Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 21 Kanunisani 1929, p.2.

Ottoman Empire. The reason for widening and flattening the streets mostly mentioned as attempts for modernization process conducted especially in *Tanzimat* and *Meşrutiyet* periods. However, neither of the sources mentioned the possibility of electrification of streets came true together with the widening and flattening of streets. This hidden engineering necessity might have never been mentioned before, however in this part it will be discussed as an important part of street life.

Another thing about city planning is the grid system which was proposed as the best planning solution the reason for that might be that it was solving a kind of systematic for electrification, road networks, water, and drainage in the city. This grid system in planning was a turning point for traditional planning which even turned out to be status quo. The new attempts for city plans and electrification ran together, as electrification, was as important as accessibility, drainage, and water. Since both electricity and city plan attempts tires to find the shortest way between two points, they can be both considered as rational attempts.

Among the sources discussing the new attempts in urban scale, one article, written by Celal Esat and entitled "*Sokakların Genişliği*" (The Width of Streets) (**Figure 31**) explains the reasons why streets were widened and flattened as a result of the increasing population and the need for public transportation. Besides, the healthy houses were stated to be full of sunshine and fresh air. This also demanded wider road systems. Transportation vehicles made long distances shorter and the bad

consequences that could be possible when the city get wider were not valid anymore. Moreover the municipalities founded which were responsible for the streets. Climatic conditions such as wind and sun not as harmful as it was, since people started to use public transportation. These new attempts and developments in cities necessitated new road regulations.¹³² The electrification of roads followed these developments and it became only possible with the widening and flattening of the streets. Or else the streets would be dark or it would cost much more to illuminate them as they would need longer lampposts and cables.

Serim Denel also mentions the changes in streets. She states that İstanbul, as the capital of the Ottoman Empire, was the most important example in the westernization process of cities where the effects of this process is visible. She also explains that together with Tanzimat the written regulations of widening and flattening the streets was occurred not only because of necessities, but also the eager to be appropriate for a western look. However, either because of being aware of the necessities or only for show off, this condition was mentioned in the law and regulations. In the rule, named "*I. Ebniye Nizamnamesi*" and "*Ebniye Beyannamesi*" inured in 1848 and the rule, named "*2. Ebniye Nizamnamesi*" inured in 1849, this issue was explained and stated in a clear way. Therefore, places became empty after fires, the streets constructed as wider and flatter according to

¹³² Celal Esat, "Şehircilik Sayfası: Sokakların Genişliği." ("City Planning Pages: The Width of Streets") *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 2 Teşrinievvel 1929, p.6.

the rules, and as a result, the appearance of İstanbul started to change radically part by part.¹³³

Denel also mentions that this different attempt can also be seen in Ankara as well in the neighborhood called Boşnak Mahallesi which was in Ulucanlar just outside of Kayseri Kapı, in between the third row of the city wall and river Hatip. This settlement was constructed obeying the rules and regulations mentioned, as it was an attempt to search for an order in placing the streets and residences. This example was stated as the first attempt outside the city walls and first geometrically ordered “grid” plan.¹³⁴ This might be the reason why these changes could be what we can mention as important in terms of electricity.

As well as these unspoken conveniences made electrification possible, there are many more articles in the newspapers explaining the street lighting, and how important it became. One example of these articles is written by Emin Bey, and the article is entitled “Türkiye’de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı II: Memleketimizde Elektrik İşlerinin Kuruluşu” (The Development of Electrification in Turkey II: the Foundation of Electric Works in the Country). This article is the second in the serial articles titled “The Development of Electrification in Turkey”. Here Emin Bey

¹³³ Serim Denel, “19. Yüzyılda Ankara’nın Kentsel Formu ve Konut Dokusundaki Farklılaşmalar” (“19th century Transformations in the Urban Form and Residential Tissue of Ankara”), in Erdal Yavuz, Ümit Nevzat Uğurel (ed.), Tarih İçinde Ankara: Eylül 1981 Seminer Bildirileri, Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1984, p.130.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.136.

emphasized the importance given to street lighting by municipalities. He stated that:

Municipalities started to deal seriously with the street lighting within last few years. They started to illuminate the streets with the most useful, the best, and the most civilized lighting which is electric lighting via giving privileges to certain companies, or citizens or they spare some money from their budgets. The aim of the applications is the public use of electricity.¹³⁵

Street lighting was also important for the safety of the public. In a well illuminated street people could walk more freely, and in a well illuminated public space such as parks people feel more secure while sitting. Illumination would decrease crime rates.

¹³⁵Emin Bey, "Türkiye'de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı II: Memleketimizde Elektrik işlerinin Kuruluşu". ("The Development of Electrification in Turkey II: the Foundation of Electric Works in the Country") Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, translated by the author 19 Temmuz 1933, p.4. (Son seneler zarfında belediyeler sokakların tenviri meselesiyle ciddi surette alakadar olmağa başlamışlardır. Işıkların en kullanışlısı en ehveni ve en medenisi olan elektrik ışığı ile sokaklarını aydınlatmak için ya bazı şirket ve eşhasa imtiyaz vermek veyahut ta bütçelerinden bir miktar sermaye ayırmak suretiyle elektrik tesisatları yaptırmışlardır. Elbet bu tesisatlardan halkın istifade edebilmesi ciheti de unutulmamıştır.)

Şehircilik Sayfası

Sokakların Genişliği.

Asıl şehirlerin inşasında üç mühim esasın nazarı dikkate alındığı görülmüştür. SAHHAT, İDARE, GÜZELLİK.

Büyük şehirlerde ise en başta konurmak meslehi gelirdir. Yani bu başlıkta en başta sularla mahat bir şehrin içinde mahallat olmaksızın başka bir şey düşünülmez. O sebeple bu konuyu vortaya ait şehirlerde sokaklar kılometre dardır, çünkü şehirler sularla mahat sularla mahat.

Sokakların geniş tutulması evlere arazi kazandı ve yolların genişliği de genişletti. Bu da şehrin genişliğini artırıyor ve yolların genişliğini artırıyor.

Birinci — Ümmi münakale ve hizmet yolları. Diğer — İki yol. Ki bunların birincisine çarşı ikincisine sokak diyorlar.

Bir şehrin temeli veya yerinden inşası planında (Urbanist) her iki cümleler de şehrin mühimliklerini ve mesleklerini gösterir. Bunların birincisi şehrin genişliğini ve yolların genişliğini gösterir. İkincisi ise şehrin genişliğini ve yolların genişliğini gösterir.

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Bir şehrin genişliğini ve yolların genişliğini gösterir. İkincisi ise şehrin genişliğini ve yolların genişliğini gösterir.

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Yangın Yerindeki Halin İnşaatı Devam Ediyor.



Hal ile caddede üzerine yapılacak binaların alacağı şekil.



Halin inşaatı kazılarla devam ediyor.

Halin inşaatına devam olunmaktadır. Temeller karlılıklarla beraber devam etmektedir. Vakitle daha çabuk olan bu yer git gide mükâssir yapılmış olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Profesör Jansen'in Ankara için Yapmış Olduğu Muhtelif Yol Profillerinden Bazıları.

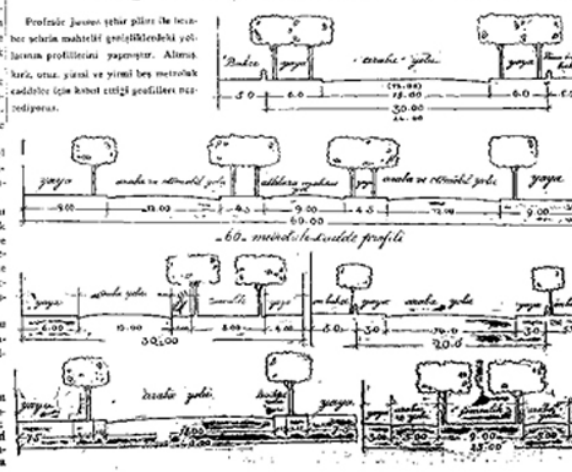


Figure 31: Celal Esat "Şehircilik Sayfası: Sokakların Genişliği." (City Planning Pages: The Width of Streets") Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 2 Teşrinievvel 1929, p.6.

The rapid development of street lighting from 1928 to 1932 was given in the article in the special issue of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, which, as we can see below shows electricity in kilowatts produced each year. Moreover, the electricity used by the trams will also be given:

Table 2: Table showing the street lighting development from the year 1928 to 1932¹³⁶

Year	Kilowatt hour
1928	1.918.226
1929	3.932.997
1930	4.873.558
1931	5.607.540
1932	5.701.606

Table 3: Table showing electricity used in trams between the years 1928 to 1932¹³⁷

Year	Kilowatt hour
1928	8.983.750
1929	10.282.320
1930	10.265.715
1931	10.789.899
1932	11.606.322

It is stated that the length of tram lines in the Ottoman Period was 28.151 meters, however, in 1932 the length of the tram lines in İzmir and İstanbul

¹³⁶ "Elektrik, Gaz, Su, Tramvay, Rıhtım ve Hava Nakliyatı". ("Electricity, Gas, Water, Tram, Docklands and Air Transport") *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 29 Ekim 1933, p.26.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.26.

was about 51.628. The number of tram wagons ten years ago was 166, however, in 1932 this number raised to 377 wagons.¹³⁸

It is possible to come across certain discussions in the publications about whether to lay down tram lines for Ankara or not or else chose bus instead for public transportation. In the article entitled "*Tramvay mı Otobüs mü?*" (Tram or Bus?) it is stated that the available transport in cities at that time was automobile, bus, and electrified trams. The public transportation vehicles were bus and tram, as automobile was for personal use. Then in the article the question whether to lie down tram for Ankara or not is asked. The answer of Jansen to this question was no since he was thinking that tram has no place in a modern city and the newest cities use buses for public transportation.¹³⁹ However the German transportation engineer Professor Blum's answer was different since he was thinking that there was a big propaganda against trams and railways but for automobiles and trucks. That was because of the pressure of auto and rubber industries. But he insisted on the importance of science and technology and calculations before making a decision. He explained that the rubber needed for the busses was imported from other countries however; electricity needed for the trams could be produced in Turkey. He stated that Ankara needs only one line of tram starting from Yenışehir, going to Anafartalar, then Samanpazarı, Cebeci and then ending in Yenışehir again. The buses

¹³⁸ Ibid., p.26.

¹³⁹ Celal Esat, "*Tramvay mı Otobüs mü?*" ("Tram or Bus?") *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 4 Kanunievvel 1929, p.6.

should be used while going to the other directions of the city. He also emphasized that trams were cheap because they could run with the electricity produced in the country, and furthermore they were safe. Therefore, his answer to the question of tram or bus was that it should be decided according to the needs of the city by looking at the advantages and disadvantages of both.¹⁴⁰

In order to celebrate the 29th of October, all the streets and important buildings of Ankara were illuminated in a specially articulated and more decorated way, for instance; the symbolic buildings of Ankara, such as National Assembly building in Ulus and so on were illuminated in a special way. This can be seen in the movie “Ankara: Turkey’s Heart” or also in certain postcards (**Figure 32-33**). It is also possible to prove this special care to illumination in this very important day for Turkish history in newspaper advertisements given by Ankara Electricity Company. It was announced that there will be electricity cut off in Yenisehir on 13th of October from 8 to 12 due to the special illumination needed to be intensified in the center of Yenisehir because of the Republican anniversary ceremonies ¹⁴¹ (**Figure 34**).

It is possible to trace the importance given to the illumination of the boulevard starting from Nation square in Ulus going to Çankaya from the novels. In the novel written by Claude Farrere, titled “Ankaralı Dört

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁴¹ Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 12 Birinci teşrin 1933, p.8.

Hanım", the illumination of the main axis of the new capital was emphasized by the foreign main character of the novel as:

He walked through the big and magnificent road which was going to Yenişehir and Çankaya. He sincerely admired the road. Two parallel roads were surrounding the pavement in the middle, and two side walks were surrounding the roads. All the area, was so much illuminated by three electric bulbs in electric lampposts placed regularly, even cannot be compared with the boulevards in Paris... It was beautiful. He thought that this is much more beautiful that what can be seen in daylight.¹⁴²

The author emphasized how much the main character was impressed by the exaggerated illumination of the boulevard, and keep on walking even without considering how long it could be. He described the road as empty at the same time as there was no car, no pedestrian. And he continues:

Buildings were scattered around the road, sparse and rare. There were few side roads, a little further there were steppes. There was no illuminated window, no bulb, and no candle... nothing except the exaggerated illumination... He thought that here is desert... desert illuminated with white light...there is nothing more dazzling, more weird and at the same time more expensive than that. He thought that Turkey must be very rich to spend his money for something this much useless.¹⁴³

These examples all depict the importance given to the image of the main axis and new public buildings of the new capital Ankara. By illuminating the main axis and these new public buildings in such an exaggerated way, which is totally leaving the rest in the darkness has a symbolical meaning

¹⁴² Claude Farrere, Ankaralı Dört Hanım, Kriton Dinçmen. (trans.), İstanbul: Scala Yayıncılık,1999. pp.61-62.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

at the same time. In other words, the important ones regarding the new ideals of the republic were illuminated.



Figure 32: Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi Kataloğu. Ankara: Belko. 1994, p.73

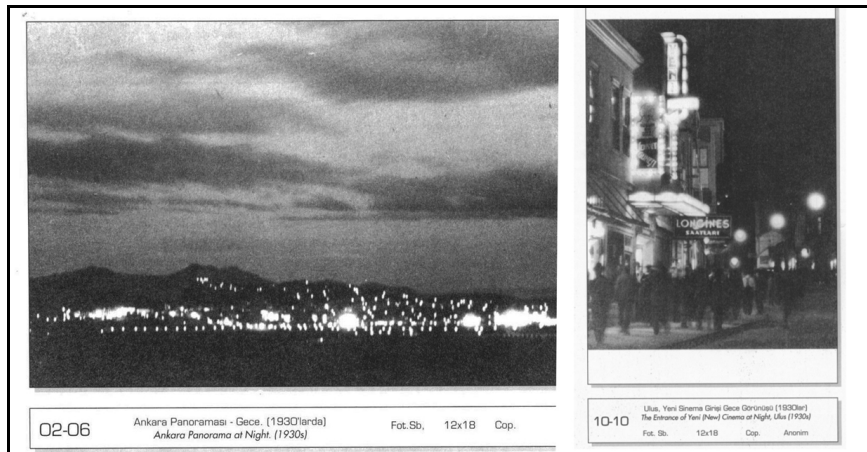


Figure 33: Night views from different parts of the country Ankara Posta Kartları ve Belge Fotoğrafları Arşivi Kataloğu. Ankara: Belko. 1994.

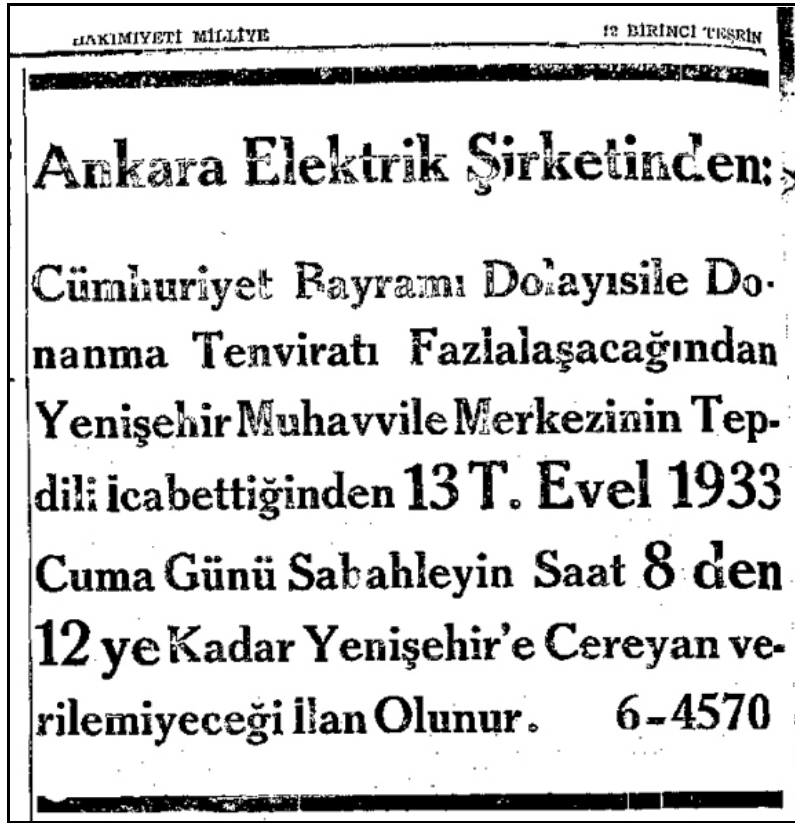


Figure 34: Advertisement in Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 12 Ekim 1933, p.7.

4.2.3. Electrification with the Influence at the Home Scale

The process of electrification can be investigated in three different scales the first one is the territorial scale which is dealing with the electrification of whole country. The second is the urban scale dealing with the transformations regarding the electrification of streets and use of electricity in public transportation. And third one is the home scale that is going to be discussed in this part. It is about the new way of life, new homes and new appliances.

What is reflected about homes in discursive terms is that they would be more contemporary, modern and civilized. However the idea lying underneath is that electricity brought certain new things in everyday practices. Together with electricity:

1. Life became easier; all the places in a house became accessible every time. This is something related with locomotion. Before electricity inhabitants used to hold a candle in their hand in order to go to another room but with electrification of houses there is no need for that. Moreover, together with electricity inhabitants could read and study during night time. These examples can be multiplied.
2. Life became more hygienic. Inhabitants became more aware of their houses. It made possible to see the dusts, insects, even mice, etc. The places inside houses became more accessible and easier to clean so this brought level increase in health quality.
3. The electrical appliances increased and these came inside houses which brought connection with outer world. House was a closed entity, however, together with the radio; it stimulated different memories and brought outside to inside of the houses.

Other appliances such as ventilator, stove, or refrigerator would both make life easier and at the same time make life more hygienic and increased the quality of life.

In the special issue published for the tenth anniversary of the republic there were certain lists about the usage of electricity inside houses in between the years 1928-1932. It can be concluded that the usage of electricity inside houses increased considerably, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 4: Table showing the usage of electricity in lightening and in houses between the years 1928 - 1932 ¹⁴⁴

Year	Kilowatt hour
1928	15.237.607
1929	18.058.007
1930	19.599.622
1931	21.165.966
1932	23.154.498

In addition to the statistical data given about the electrification of houses, it is common to see certain articles dealing with the new life style and new furniture entering to the lives, bringing newness and 'civilization' to the inhabitants. One of these articles is "*Modern Bir Ev Nasıl Döşenmelidir?*" (How to Decorate a Modern House?) (**Figure 35**)

¹⁴⁴ "Elektrik, Gaz, Su, Tramvay, Rıhtım ve Hava Nakliyatı". ("Electricity, Gas, Water, Tram, Docklands and Air Transport") *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 29 Ekim 1933, p.26.

MERAKLI SAYIFA.

Modern bir ev nasıl döşenmelidir? *Ein güzelliğini temin eden inşadan ziyade döşeme tarsıdır* **Salon, yatak, oturma ve yemek odaları-Çocuk odası.**

Bir evin aklı şüpheye kapılmadan diğer evleri düşünerek tasarlanır. Bunu aklın olarak yapılacak ev, bir evin güzelliğini temin eder.

Bir evin her bir odasına nasıl döşenmelidir? Bu soruya cevap verirken, her odanın bir işi olduğunu düşünmek gerekir. O işi en güzel şekilde yapacak döşemeyi bulmak gerekir.

Salon, evin kalbi gibidir. Burası her zaman canlıdır. Bu nedenle, salonun döşemesi diğer odalardan daha önemlidir.



SALON

Salon, evin kalbi gibidir. Burası her zaman canlıdır. Bu nedenle, salonun döşemesi diğer odalardan daha önemlidir. Salonun döşemesi, evin genel görünümünü belirler.



YATAK ODASI

Yatak odasının döşemesi, rahatlığı ve konforu sağlamak için önemlidir. Yatak odasının döşemesi, evin genel görünümünü belirler.

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Portremini kime yaptıracağım?

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Figure 35: "Modern Bir Ev Nasıl Döşenmelidir?" ("How to Decorate a Modern House?")
Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 20 Temmuz 1929, p.5.

In this article it was stated that the beauty of a house can be maintained by the way how it is decorated rather than how it is constructed. It is proposed that the house has to be healthy and comfortable and should be away from ornaments. How to decorate living room, bedroom, dining room, children rooms, kitchen, and even bathroom described in a detailed way.

Salon should be illuminated with a little scattered and matt light; it is a good idea to put ornamented table lamps just next to the chairs... Bed room should be healthy and comfortable, with a wide bed, and smooth surfaced furniture which would not collect dust such as a dressing table, a wardrobe, one or two chairs, and a nightstand, and on top of the nightstand there should be a lamp... In the living room, it is good to have either day light or electric light; there should be a standing lamp. A short tea table, colorful pillows, chandeliers would bring happiness and peace to the room. In the modern kitchen there are not any more big cooking stoves, black pans. White sink made of porcelain, little gas stove and aluminum pans are filling the kitchen.¹⁴⁵

Another article about the new life style is "*Ev Dâhili Tertibatında İnkılapkar Yenilikler*" (Revolutionary Novelties in Indoor Installments) (**Figure 36**).

¹⁴⁵ "Modern Bir Ev Nasıl Döşenmelidir?" ("How to Decorate a Modern House?") *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, translated by the author 20 Temmuz 1929, p.5. (Salonu hafif, dağınık ve mat bir ışıkla aydınlatmak lazımdır, koltukların yanına ayrıca süslü masa lambaları koymak muvafık olur...Yatak odasının sıhhi ve rahat olması gerektiğini belirterek, geniş bir karyola, toz yuvası olamayacak düz eşya- tuvalet masası, komidin, gardırop ve bir iki sandalye, komidinin üzerine gölgelikli bir lamba...Oturma odasında gerek gün ışığı gerekse elektrik ışığı makbuldür, ayrıca bir de ayaklı lamba vardır. Alçak çay masası, renkli ve süslü yastıklar, avizeler odaya neşe ve hususiyet verir... Asri mutfakta ise koca yemek sobaları, kara tencereler görülemez. Beyaz porselen bulaşık teknesi, küçük havagazı sobası, alüminyum kaplar mutfağı süsler.)

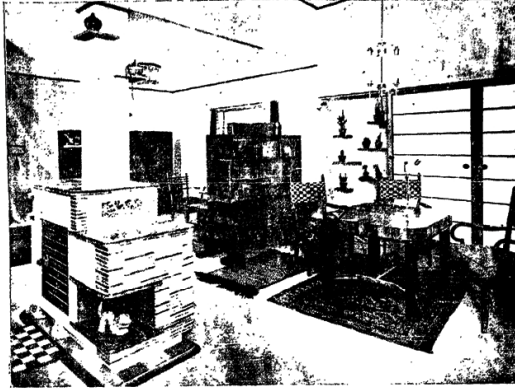
MERAKLI SAVIHA

Ev Dahili Tertibatında inkılapkâr Yenilikler.

Geçen bir sayfamızda Avrupa'da hüküm olmaya başlayan yeni mimari cereyanlarından ve bu cereyanların en toplu biçiminde göstermek itibarıyla hususî bir ehemmiyeti haiz olan Viyana Mimari Serpintisinden bahsetmiştik. Karierimiz hatırlar ki orada en büyük hususiyeti haiz olan bir tek büyük odanın mürekkep bir kir evi idi. Bu oda hem turna, hem yemek, hemde vata' odası olarak kullanılıyordu. Yatakların bir kısmı kaldirılmışta, ortama sine giriyor, bir kısım da duvarlara dıvan olarak tutulmuş oluyor. Son gelen akomodasyonlar ise bu tarzda mimari ve ebitişlerine ile tesmül edilmiş odalarda kuvvetli oturma odaları olduğu mu görüyoruz. Şehir evinde bu yukarıki kombinasyona bir de çalışma odası ilave ediliyor.

Gayet güzel villalar ve dahili takimatın inşaatında meskur bir Viyana'lı mimar, aynı zamanda mahir ve interessant bir ressam olan Fritz Gross bir oda'ın ebitişlerini mübittir. Bu bir oda esas itibarıyla aynı kısımları teşkil etmektedir.

Yemek odası, salona odası, yatak odası, misafir odası. Yataklarda bahsettiğimiz bir evinde odanın kısımlarını birbirinden ayırmak için bir tertibat yoktur. Halbuki bu şehir evinde odanın mühter kısımlarını duvar ve paravana gibi şeyler kullandıktan birbirlerinden ayırmak mes'alesi eşyaları aynı zamanda bölme olarak



ADANIN UMUMİ GÖRÜNÜŞÜ.

rafları, çekmeleri ve gözleri bir de telefon yeri vardır. Kenarlarından taşın küçük raflar üsteri koymak için pek faydalıdır. Odanın bu kısmına dahil olan köşesinde bir yatak vardır. Bu yatak gündüz dıvan olarak kullanılır. Yatağın üzerinde



Yatak odası kısmı.

dinlenirken okunması husu gilecek birkaç kitabı koymak için, duvarın içine yapılmış ufak bir raf ile dıvan yukarıda duvar ve amudi olarak hareket ettirilebilen ve yatırdığı yerden yakıp söndürülebilir bir lamba vardır. Büyük bir hususiyete malik olan bu loş köşe yorgun bir adam için çok caziptir.

Yatak çarşafı odanın münaşip bir yerine yerleştirilmiş olan

lapta bir traş için küçük, diğeri giymek için büyük iki ayna, a-yak kablolar için de ayrıca bir göz vardır.

Üstleri çini biblolarla, saksularla süslü küçük raflar, çini lambalar odanın ortasında dönece ve tarzı

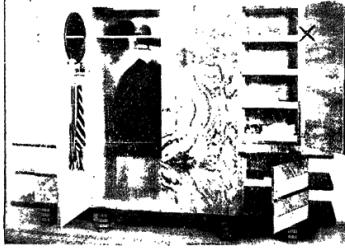
büyük bir elbise ve çamaşır dolabının bir gözünü işgal eder. Bu donmalarının usunulmuşu uygun bir şekilde yapılmış olan yerli çinli soba odanın hususiyetine vurulan son fırça darbeleridir.

Şimdiye kadar klasik ev tertibatına alışmış olanlara bir oda içinde yatıp kalkmak, oturmak, yemek yemek ve misafir kabul etmek biraz aykırı gözükebilir. Fakat bu yeni tarz bu gibi şeylerde fevkalade mülhafazakâr olan Viyana cereyanının bile odasının estemidir.

Pasaul davaları altında ve inşa olanın tabiiatın azami istifadeyi temin etmesi hasabıyla bina masrafında çok büyük bir tasarruf temin etmektedir. Kısmi tesahur masraflarından edilecek tasarruf da zikre layıktır.

Ortada yanan büyük çini soba bütün odada ımtedil ve mustazam bir hararetin idamesine kifayet edecek ve bütün ev bir tek soba ile mükemmel idare edilecektir. Bundan başka, bu kadar büyük bir oda daima birçok kişiye kifayet edecek temin hava bulunacak, oda dahilinde tehlikeli hava cereyanları yapmaksızın havayı değiştirmek kabil olacak, yazın ise hararet odanın boş yerlerinin serinliğini ihlal edemeyecektir.

Odanın hâiz olduğu sanimiyyet



Elbise ve çamaşır dolabı.

kullanmak suretile edilmiştir.

Ev esas itibarıyla gençlerin oturması için yapılmış ve döşenmiş olmakla beraber küçük bir aile için de fevkalade elverişlidir. İnsan odanın içeri girince tertibatın güzelliğine ve mevcut yerden ve esyadan azami istifade temini hususunda sarfodilen meharrete hayret etmelten kendini alamaz. Odanın bir köşesinde bir masa ile dört sandalye vardır. Bu kısmın iki duvarını odanın esas duvarları teşkil eder. Bir tarafı yazı masası olan bir hüfe de bu kısmın üçüncü duvarı vazifesini görür. Bu kütüphaneye hüfe büyük, yekpare bir mobilye olup diğer taraftan itipye gösterecek her işe yarar. Kıymetli bir ağaçtan, ağacın tabii güzelliklerinden istifade edilerek çok san'atkârene bir tarzda süslenmiştir. Hüfe tarafında kapıları da cam levhalarından yapılmış olan camciklar, bir sigara gözü, bir likör rafı, bunun üstünde bir kitap gözü en üstte de geniş bir kitap rafı vardır.

Bu mobilyenin yazı masası olan cephesi ise yatak ve çalışma odasının bir duvarını teşkil etmektedir. Yazı masasının müteddit



Süs olarak kullanılan çini eşya ve çini beder üzine yapılmış modern bir masa lambası.



Yazı masası ve hususiyet havası ve fevkalade orijinal değışiş bir zevk vermektir.

Bu tarzın hâiz olduğu diğer bir fayda da kolay döşenebilir olmasıdır. Orta halli bir aile başka bir evde mecburen malik olacağı yatak, yemek, misafir ve oturma odalarını döşemek için sarfedeceği aşırı bir paradan daha az bir meblağla bir odayı çok daha güzel döşeyebilir.

Zengin gelince, bu odada istediği kadar lüks yapmağa hudutsuz saha bulmakta güçlük çekmez, ve eşyanın imtiyaz ve abnec dahilindeki tenevüü ile büyük bir ihtişam elde edebilir.

Bütün dünya, bizdeki eski harim — selamlık teskilatına benzeyen yemek — yatak — oturma — misafir odası tertibatından bilmıştır.

Herkes evinin biraz daha sana yakın olmasını istemektedir. Bizlerin de yeni bir şehir olan Ankara'nın tam manasile modern olmasını temin için evlerimizden işe başlan evi başka yerlere taşıyarak lütfi tetik etmemiz lâzımdır.

Figure 36: "Ev Dâhili Tertibatında İnkılapkâr Yenilikler." ("Revolutionary Novelties in Indoor Installments") *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 20 Ağustos 1929, p.3.



Figure 37: A modern table lamp designed on a ceramic base “Ev Dâhili Tertibatında İnkılapkar Yenilikler.” (“Revolutionary Novelties in Indoor Installments”) Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 20 Ağustos 1929, p.3.

What is revolutionary in the furniture design stated in the article was that the house explained did not have partition walls, all the partitions were carried out with furniture. It also deals with the decoration of each room of the house, however what is worth to mention is the bed room, where there should be a shelf on top of the bed on the wall to put a few books it is stated that it would be nice to read while having a rest and therefore, above the shelf, there should be a moveable light, and it should be turned on and off while lying on bed. This cozy corner is stated as a wonderful place for a tired man.¹⁴⁶ Quite importantly, at the bottom of the article, a table lamp is defined in a closer view. This lamp is stated as “a modern table lamp designed on a ceramic base” (**Figure 37**). So the importance given to electric appliances in houses can be traced in the images used to support the idea as well as in the main text.

In another article, entitled “*Eski Ev, Yeni Ev*” (Old House, New House) the kitchen was explained in a very unique way. It is mentioned that, it was decorated as a factory. It is interesting to note that the oven was described as an “enamel drawer”, refrigerator as an “enamel cupboard”. As the article continued to explain the ideal kitchen:

The place that is going to cook the dishes is an enamel drawer, where no flame and no smoke could be seen. Just next to it there is again an enamel cupboard, the air inside is freezing, which could keep food fresh for

¹⁴⁶ “Ev Dâhili Tertibatında İnkilapkar Yenilikler.” (“Revolutionary Novelties in Indoor Installments”) *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 20 Ağustos 1929, p.3.

months. Moreover, brushes working with electricity, ventilators, dish driers, glass cleaner, and driers and so on.¹⁴⁷

One other article mentioning the importance of electricity inside houses is entitled “*Asri Bir Ev: İçinde Her Şey Elektrikle Yapılan Güzel Bir Oturma Makinesi*” (A Civilized House: A Living Machine Where Everything is Carried Out with Electricity) (**Figure 38**). First it discussed how a plan of a house should be. It was said that a house has to be first of all useful and at the same time healthy. A plan of a house is just like a machine plan¹⁴⁸ as in a machine there is nothing that does not have a function, or a machine is designed not only to be an ornament but to serve as a function, so, it is claimed that a house have to be the same.¹⁴⁹ As similar to all the other articles, different parts of the house were started to be described. For example; while describing the living room the existence of gramophone and radio were emphasized, and it was stated that electric switches on top of the writing table were controlling light, movement, and music. In the description of bathroom, on top of the mirrors there placed electric lamps. In addition, the heat can be conducted by heating all the glass with electricity.

¹⁴⁷ “Eski Ev, Yeni Ev.” (“Old House, New House”) *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 3 Mayıs 1930, p.6.

¹⁴⁸ This reminds the popular saying of Le Corbusier “The house is a machine for living in.” in his *Towards a New Architecture*, London: Architectural Press, 1946

¹⁴⁹ “Asri Bir Ev: İçinde Her Şey Elektrikle Yapılan Güzel Bir Oturma Makinesi”. (“A Civilized House: A Living Machine Where Everything is Carried Out with Electricity”) *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 1 Teşrinisani 1929, p.6.

What is more, there was a screen in order to control the water going outside the bathtub. The middle part of this screen is mirror, in order to prevent mirror to be damp it is heated with electricity.¹⁵⁰

The description of the gramophone and stove is worth to mention as well. The gramophone located in the living room, was described as something newest and important since it was only produced a little numbers. It was controlled by electricity, and its voice could be a whisper and like an orchestra with pushing one button. Furthermore, it is praised that it could change the disk by itself. The stove was also praised and described in a detailed way. It is said that walls and ceiling were covered with thin aluminum plates. The stove made of shiny blue steel was sunken inside the wall. This stove was giving a powerful heat with its roasted pipes. It was placed in the middle of the wall instead of on the floor. In addition, it was concluded in the article that everything in this house is controlled by electricity and electric buttons.¹⁵¹

The importance of electricity in home scale can be observed in the advertisements as well. In one of the advertisements it was stated that the only way to get rid of the burning summer hot was ventilators of the brand AEG, and these ventilators could be bought in Ankara Electric Turkish Joint Stock Company (**Figure 39**).¹⁵² Or in another advertisement it was proposed to heat the rooms with Telgaz gas stoves by adding that

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.6.

¹⁵² Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 11 Eylül 1929, p.7.

the gas started to be used in October, and to hurry to apply for installation¹⁵³ (Figure 40). Another advertisement emphasized the importance of gas as the winter had arrived and the cold started. And it was stated that there was no need for coal and wood at houses since gas started to be used in Ankara. And placing the emphasis on the advantages of gas as being cheap, healthy, clean, and its heat was nice¹⁵⁴ (Figure 41).



Figure 39: Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 11 Eylül 1929, p.7.

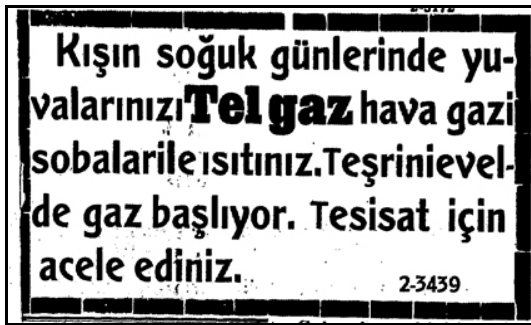


Figure 40: Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 27 Eylül 1929, p.6.

¹⁵³ Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 27 Eylül 1929, p.6.

¹⁵⁴ Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 1 Teşrinievel 1929, p.7.

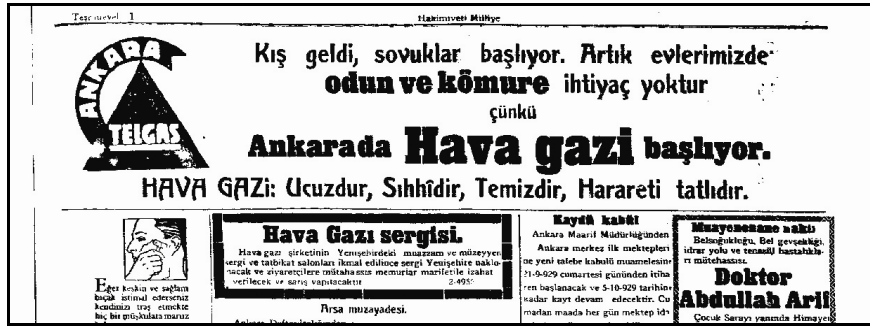


Figure 41: Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 1 Teşrinievvel 1929, p.7.

In one other advertisement it proposed to use a stove in order to protect ourselves from the cold of the winter. The image of the product was also depicted in the advertisement (Figure 42). This advertisement was one of the earliest examples as it can be understood from the Arabic alphabet.¹⁵⁵ In addition to these examples, there were two different advertisements of OSRAM bulbs. This company, in one advertisement, put forward that the brand “OSRAM” was a sign of perfection for a lamp¹⁵⁶ (Figure 43). This advertisement was one of the earliest as well. In the other advertisement of the same company, it was stated that by using the “OSRAM” bulbs, which are the latest products of the newest technology, in the display windows of the shops, it would be possible to sell more products¹⁵⁷ (Figure 44).

¹⁵⁵ Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 21 Kasım 1928, p.5.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.,p.5.

¹⁵⁷ Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, 22 Şubat 1930, p.7.



Figure 42: *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 21 Kasım 1928, p.5.



Figure 43: *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 21 Kasım 1928, p.5.



Figure 44: *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 22 Şubat 1930, p.7.

Normally these innovations and changes in life seem normal as if they are all taken for granted, however, when we examine them more closely from another perspective we can see more. All the discussions and all the examples shown in this chapter were tried to dig beneath what seem normal in everyday use. However the facilitator of all of these is electricity itself. It seems normal to everybody today to read under the lamp, or to go to any room in the house without carrying a candle, but these all came to be true together with electricity. And this is a proof of how important it was for our life.

In the discursive arena, electricity means being prestigious and being modern, and 'to be modern' refers to an identity. When somebody says "I am living in a modern house" he/she is referring to the advantageous circumstances, like making his/her life easy, healthy and hygienic. When we come across with newspaper articles, like "Ankara modernized", it is self approvals with the entire citizens who started to take advantage of the situations mentioned. The aim of this chapter is to have a deeper look at these kinds of situations, hidden in daily life via publicity and try to find out electricity as the facilitator of all these innovation for life.

4.3 The Electrification of Ankara: Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory

Ankara has never been considered as an industrial city. The industrial facilities are mostly related to meet the needs of the growing capital rather

than being for industrial production.¹⁵⁸ The first industrial district of Ankara was regarded as Maltepe - Demirtepe region since the density of industrial establishments on that axis had increased more than any other part of the city in the early Republican period.¹⁵⁹ The first planned development process of this region as industrial district was carried out by Lörcher Plan in 1924 (**Figure 45**). Even though the area had been reserved for industrial development in Lörcher plans, it was not possible to define Maltepe as an industrial district, until the establishment of Electricity and Gas Factories in the area at the end of the 1920s.¹⁶⁰

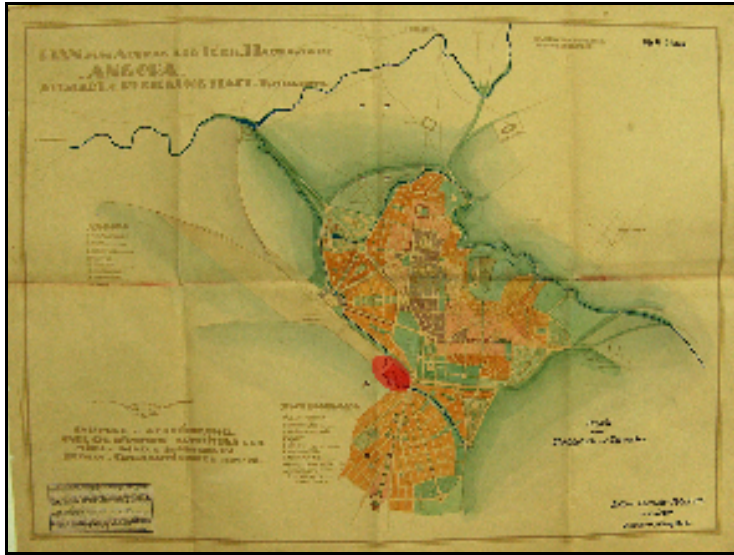


Figure 45: Red area showing the industrial district in 1924 Lörcher Plan “Plan zum Aufbau der Türk. Hauptstadt- Angora- Altstadt und (Regierungstadt= Tschankaya) The Structuring Plan of Turkish Capital Ankara / Old City and Governmental Part= Çankaya) Source: Turkish Republican Priministry Archives Republican Archives (TRPARA) 230/5.17.1(14)

¹⁵⁸ Raci Bademli, “Sanayinin Yerleşimi Süreçleri,” in Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Ego Genel Müdürlüğü, *Ankara 1985’ten 2015’e*, Ankara, 1982, p.49.

¹⁵⁹ Mehmet Saner, “The Transformation of Old Industrial District of Ankara and Political Actors”, Master’s thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2004, p.7.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp.13-17.

Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory and its site (**Figure 46**) were designed in between April and June 1928 and built in 1929, constructed and operated by the Stettiner Chamotte-Fabrik A.G. whose name changed as Didier later on. The electricity factory was designed by the architects and engineers of AEG (Allgemeine Electricische Gesellschaft). These two companies were the most important factories of its time, developing the electricity power stations secured by patents and as they worked with the best architects and engineers. The most important buildings of Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory are; Diesel Generator and Pumps, Electricity Production Plant and its chimneys, entrance building, directorates building, residential units, gas branch directorate building and some other small buildings, designed by the architect, Wernel Issel (1884-1974). Issel was emphasized as a perfect expert about electricity generators, and his electric centrals in Germany were preserved by re-functioning as a part of industrial heritage. Thus certain buildings in Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory have exceptional architectural features.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ Ali Cengizkan, Selahattin Önür, İbrahim Atılgan, Bilirkişi Raporu (Expert Report) prepared for the Ankara 2. Sulh Hukuk Mahkemesi Hakimliği, 2006, p.6

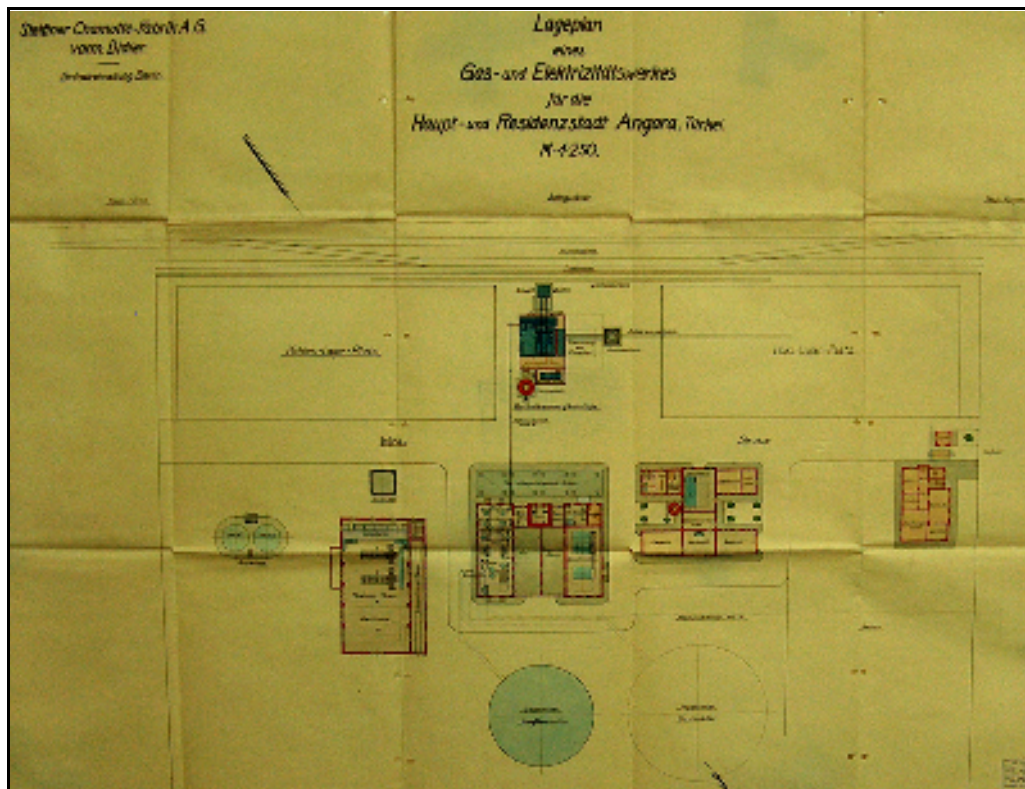


Figure 46: Ankara Gas and Electricity Site Plan Source: TRPARA 230/5.17.1

It was stated that the first transformations in the industrial district of the capital dated to 1957 with Yücel Uybadin Plan. With this plan a new boulevard, that was Celal Bayar Boulevard in the middle of the industrial district, was proposed. The position of the boulevard was carried out the functional division of the industrial district since in the north part of the boulevard industrial service structures such as the storing units and maintenance ateliers were mostly located whereas in the south part industrial production areas were mostly placed.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Mehmet Saner, "The Transformation of Old Industrial District of Ankara and Political

Moreover, due to the population increase, and to meet the needs of the city, the factory had to produce too much and therefore, the air pollution created by the coal gas factory increased in the city so much that natural gas started to be used instead of coal gas at the end of the 1980s. Furthermore, not only the use of coal gas decreased in the factory, but also its production reduced. The industrial facilities were threatening the public health and there was an increasing consciousness about the pollution, created by the industries, and about the precautions to be taken around the industrial district. In the early 1990s, the most important change in the industrial district's site occurred with the land allocation for a new hypermarket.¹⁶³ About the changes started from 1957, the following passage summarizes the transformation process insightfully:

To sum up, beyond the activation of the transformation of the old industrial district by 1957 Yücel-Uybadin plan there were two kinds of necessities: urban and environmental. These complementary factors had made the replacement of the industrial establishments inevitable so that the area could be considered as the location of new projects, such as the cultural center.¹⁶⁴

In 1990, when the production of the coal gas factory ended, the local administration unit (EGO) decided to demolish -or displace- the non-functioning structures of the factory, and to evaluate the area with new buildings and functions. However, with the leadership of Chamber of

Actors", Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2004, p. 43.

¹⁶³ Ibid. p. 43.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 32-34.

Architects, this attempt was confronted with a public reaction in the same year. The argument was about the preservation of significant structures, including the gas factory, on behalf of collective memory of Ankara. Chamber of Architects applied to the Preservation Board in order to prevent those operational actions with an official decision as they have observed that the structures of the gas factory were either deconstructed or demolished.¹⁶⁵ This reaction had initially prevented the industrial structures from demolition. Preservation Board, on March 19, 1991 together with the law number 1697, decided that some of the buildings had to be preserved in its original location some others (like chimneys and gasometers etc.) could be replaced but should be protected.

The reasons stated in the registration text, why it was recorded as a building with cultural value on March 19, 1991 was as follows:

- The law number 2863 6th article, it is one of immovable cultural heritage.
- It is a combination of buildings representing the process and technology of the Republican period.
- In architectural terms it is a combination of buildings representing the process and technology of the 1930s German 'industrial building design' that still displays 'building crafts' with its instalment and machinery.
- The money gained from its site when it is moved from its location and the money spend for its maintenance in its site, is close to each other.¹⁶⁶

Furthermore, what is also emphasized about its destruction is that if it was going to be destroyed, Ankara Train Station and its environment, which

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁶⁶ Ali Cengizkan, Selahattin Önür, İbrahim Atılgan, Bilirkişi Raporu (Expert Report) prepared for the Ankara 2. Sulh Hukuk Mahkemesi Hakimliği, 2006, p.2

were one of the most important elements of civic culture, would possibly be faced with disturbing speculative efforts.¹⁶⁷

In spite of this preservation decision, depending on the law given on May 25, 2006 number 1545, preservation decisions of the cooling tower, crane, gas store, rails and pump station were cancelled, as it was stated that they had lost their features. Therefore, with a sudden midnight operation on June 13, 2006 the destruction process started by the EGO general directorate. However, it was stopped by the Preservation Board on June 14, 2006; depending on the law number 1595, nonetheless the same board decided on the continuation of the destruction process in the law number 1600 on June 16, 2006. As observed by the experts the destruction was carried out by inappropriate dismantling and transportation conditions and there was a risk of explosion.¹⁶⁸

The expert committee examined the Electricity Factory, and detected that the building and its chimneys had become neglected due to the fact that it had lost its function; however, there was no dismantling procedure going on in the electricity production units on June 21, 2006.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Underlined by the author. "Türkiye'de Bir Başka Koruma Paradoksu: Ankara Havagazı Fabrikası" Yeni Mimar 19.06.2006, <http://www.yenimimar.com/general/news.asp?contID=846>, Accessed: 29.09.2006.

¹⁶⁸ Ali Cengizkan, Selahattin Önür, İbrahim Atılgan, Bilirkişi Raporu (Expert Report) prepared for the Ankara 2. Sulh Hukuk Mahkemesi Hakimliği, 2006, p.3.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p.3.

What is also stated by the expert report is that from 1991 onwards BEDAŞ and EGO applied to regional preservation board frequently and they have organized an expert commission from its constitution, which was composed of a civil engineer, a mechanical engineer, and an art historian. When conservation and restoration, industrial archaeology, modern architectural history expertises were taken into consideration, these structures and structure parts could be considered as “art works”. Therefore the commission was stated to be insufficient and they ignored how crucial the issue was and did not want to collect comprehensive ideas.¹⁷⁰

Regarding the national identity and history of Turkish Republic Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was stated as one of the structures included in the scope of the law number 2863 the 6th article that has importance for the national history as it witnessed big historical events in the national fight and the foundation of Turkish Republic. What was also emphasized about the factory is that:

- It was the first urban industrial site of the Turkish Republic.
- It had a crucial role in the new capital’s electrification, heating and supply of gas in the kitchen, therefore its increase in prosperity level.
- It was a symbol of development and an international icon of prosperity
- It was an exemplary site for other cities creating a competition and emulation. (For instance there were Yedikule and Dolmabahçe gasometers of the Ottoman government)
- The big efforts were spent for the foundation of the factory by the notables of the newly founded Turkish Republic. (This effort can be

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p.4.

understood by amount of the expenses and the employment of the best factories in the world which were Didier and AEG).¹⁷¹

The expert committee regarded Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory worth to be preserved even after the destructions in 1990, 1994, and 2006, because it was a civilization monument representing and being an evidence of national development, civilization, contemporariness desire, just like political activities, or military accomplishments, commanders, historical events, meetings, and the actors of these.¹⁷²

In the expert report, each of the buildings was described and evaluated as to be worth to be preserved or not.¹⁷³ They made a list about the following buildings: Guardhouse Building, Residence of the Director, General Directorate of EGO, Gas Factory, Coal Charging Crane, Sulphur Purification Plant, Cooling Tower of Gas Factory, Diesel Generator and Pumps with Electricity Production Plant and its Chimneys, Transformer Building, Electricity Workshop, Multilevel Parking Area, and First Gasometer.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p.5. (AEHF'nin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk kentsel sanayi tesisi olması nedeniyle,/ AEHF'nin kuruluşunun yeni başkentin elektrifikasyonu ve ısıtılması, mutfak gazının sağlanmasıdaki, dolayısıyla refah seviyesini yükseltmesindeki yadsınamaz büyük rolü nedeniyle,/ AEHF'nin bir kalkınma göstergesi, bir kalkınmışlık ikonu (evrensel işareti) olması açısından,/ AEHF'nin yarattığı örnek işletme ve tesis ile diğer kentlere bir özenme ve yarışma kaynağı oluşturmasından [Osmanlı Devleti yönetiminde örneğin Yedikule ve Dolmabahçe Gazhaneleri bulunmaktadır.]/ AEHF'nin kurulması için Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurucu kadrolarının sarf ettiği çabanın büyüklüğünden (ki bu çaba sırf fabrikanın kurulmasındaki harcamaların büyüklüğünden, dünyanın en önde gelen fabrika işletmecileri Didier ve AEG firmalarının görevlendirilmesinden) anlaşılmaktadır.)

¹⁷² Ibid., p.5.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p.6

They started with the Guardhouse Building. It was described as a modest building that was one storey high and had a porch in the front. It was stated to be changed a lot with the refurbishments but it could still return to its original appearance even if it was representing the architectural features of its age, it was demolished. Then they explained the residence of the directorate as a two storey building whose attic floor was used. And it was located on Toros Street and it had preservation decision in its location. General Directorate of Ego was explained as designed in 1928 whose ground floor was used as entrance and management and the upper floor as residences. Its usage today is the general directorate of EGO. It was advised to be preserved and the experts comment that it should be preserved. About the Gas factory (**Figure 48 - 49**) they stated that:

Gas Factory: Designed between April and June in 1928 by AEG. Its construction started in 1928. It was decided to be preserved in its location however its preservation decision cancelled in 26.05.2006. Before it was decided to be demolished, it destructed in 13.06.2006.¹⁷⁴

So they placed particular importance about its historical value and emphasized that its destruction was done before a decision for its demolition. The Coal Charging Crane, Sulphur Purification Plant, and Cooling Tower of Gas Factory were stated as even though there was a decision about their preservation, they were destructed partially or fully

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p.7. (Havagazı Fabrikası: Nisan- Haziran 1928 arasında AEG bünyesinde tasarlanan Havagazı Santrali'nin inşaatına 1928 yılında başlanmıştır. Yerinde korunması tespit konusu olan yapının tescili 26.05.2006 tarihinde kaldırılmıştır. Tescilden düşürülmesinden sonra, yıkım kararı alınmadan 13.06.2006 günü yıkılmıştır.)

on June 13, 2006. The committee also placed much importance on the Diesel Generator and Pumps with Electricity Production Plant and Its Chimneys (**Figure 47**). They stated that:

In the year 1928 the electricity and the pumps started to work in order to produce electricity for Ankara. It was a three storey trussed structure and its machinery ribbed in 1991. It was representing the architectural features of its age. Then the electricity central and the chimneys were constructed. It is understood that electricity central has three additions. Its interior machinery is still inside thus it contains a rich and original industrial archaeology inventory in its original location. Both the building and the machinery inside should be preserved.¹⁷⁵

The expert committee emphasized that although there was a preservation decision, it was stated that obviously the previous expert committee did not use the accumulation of knowledge; since the issue was only dealt with respect to the risks and Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was considered only as a source of environmental and visual pollution, and urban dangers, however that was a limited understanding. Moreover the three parcels used by EGO, Greater Municipality of Ankara, and BEDAŞ were responsible to protect and preserve the site regarding regulations set by the law number 2863, 9th article. It was stated in this law that there should not be a physical interference in the site that were supposed to be

¹⁷⁵Ibid., p.7. (Diesel Jeneratörü ve Pompaları ile Elektrik Üretim Tesisi ve Bacaları: 1928 yılında ilk önce Diesel Jeneratörü ve pompaları devreye girerek Ankara için elektrik üretilmiştir. Üç katlı iç hacimleri çelik makasla geçilmiştir; makine aksamı 1991 yılında sökülüştür. Döneminin mimari özelliklerini yansıtmaktadır. Daha sonra Elektrik santrali ve takiben de Bacalar oluşturulmuştur. Elektrik santraline üç kez ek yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Özellikle iç makine donanımı sökülmemiştir; çok zengin ve özgün bir endüstri arkeoloji envanterini hala yerinde sunmaktadır. Hem yapı hem de içindeki aksam derhal tescillenmelidir.)

preserved as a natural and cultural heritage, they could not be re-used or their functions could not be changed. Renovation, construction, installation, sounding, partial or full destruction, burning, destruction, excavation or activities like that could be considered as physical or constructive intervention.¹⁷⁶ Unfortunately, all of these responsibilities of the governing institutions did not taken seriously; therefore a big cultural and historical industrial heritage was destructed.

During the archival study, the original drawings of Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory by Wernel Issel was reached. The original drawings are very good proofs of documenting the architectural styles and the drawing techniques and the technical equipment utilized in the factory. They are very inspirational in terms of representation techniques as well. (**Figure 50-51**).

In the Prime Ministry Archives there are certain folders about the privileges given to the Company of Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory,

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p.9(Söz konusu koruma kararına rağmen, bu bilgi birikiminden en ufak bir biçimde yararlanılmadığı, hak sahibi idarelerce bilirkişi heyetleri oluşturulurken konuya yalnızca riskler açısından, AEHF'ye ise çevre kirliliği, görüntü kirliliği ve kentsel tehlikeler açısından sınırlı bir biçimde yaklaşıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Oysa söz konusu üç parselde kullanımlarını sürdürmekte olan Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, EGO Genel Müdürlüğü ve BEDAŞ, 2863 sayılı yasanın emirleri uyarınca Madde 9 kapsama giren biçimde, yapıları gözetmek ve korumakla yükümlüdürler. Bu çerçevede "... korunması gerekli kültür ve tabiat varlıkları ve koruma alanları ile sit alanlarında inşai ve fiziki müdahalede bulunulamaz, bunlar yeniden kullanıma açılmaz veya kullanımları değiştirilemez. Esaslı onarım, inşaat, tesisat, sondaj, kısmen veya tamamen yıkma, yakma, kazı veya benzer işler inşai ve fiziki müdahale sayılır.)

and contract signed between the government and this company, general information about the factory, its design stages and its plans, and in addition, the plans of the electricity cable lines that were going to be installed in the streets (**Figure 52 - 53 - 54**) and about the street lighting armatures (**Figure 55**). These drawings give valuable information not only about the electrification of streets of the capital but also about the structure of the city at that time.

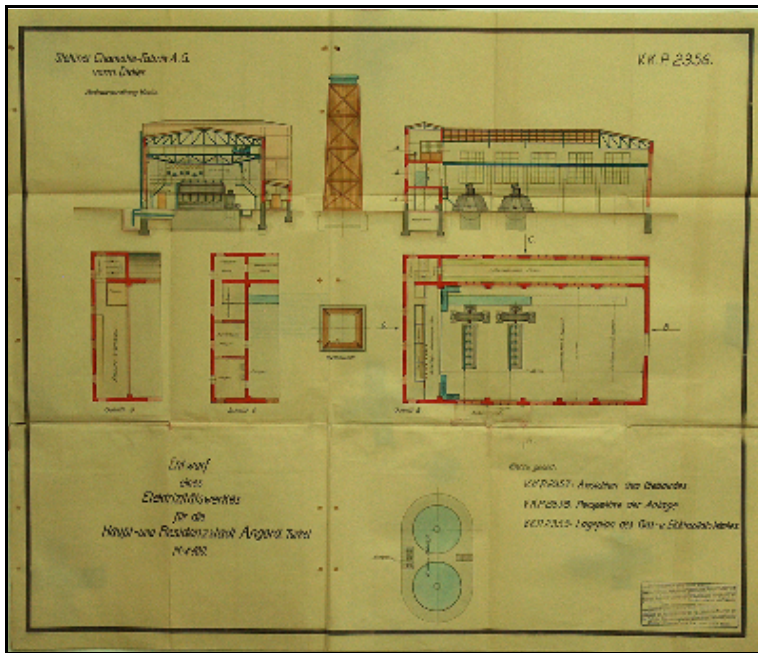


Figure 47: Ankara Electricity Factory plan and section drawings Source: TRPARA 230/5.17.1

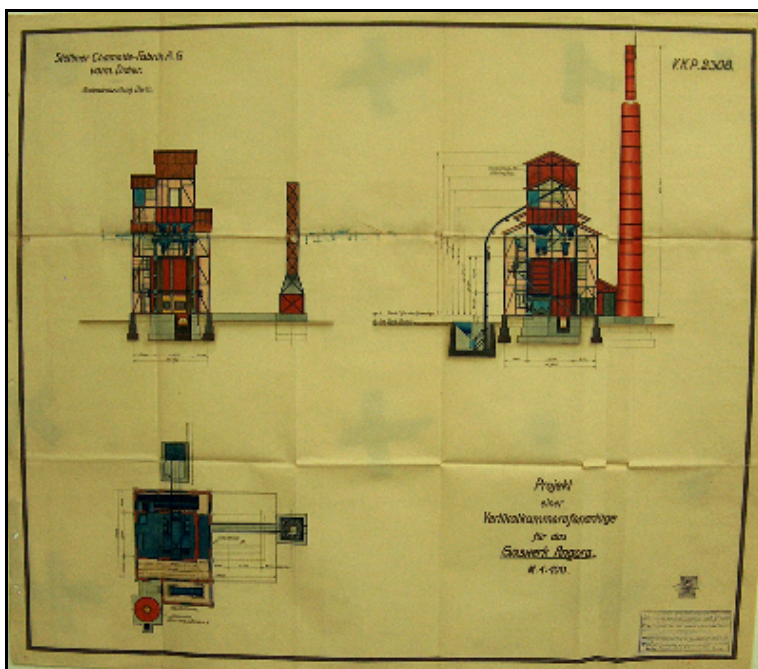


Figure 48: Ankara Gas Factory plan and section drawings Source: TRPARA 230/5.17.1

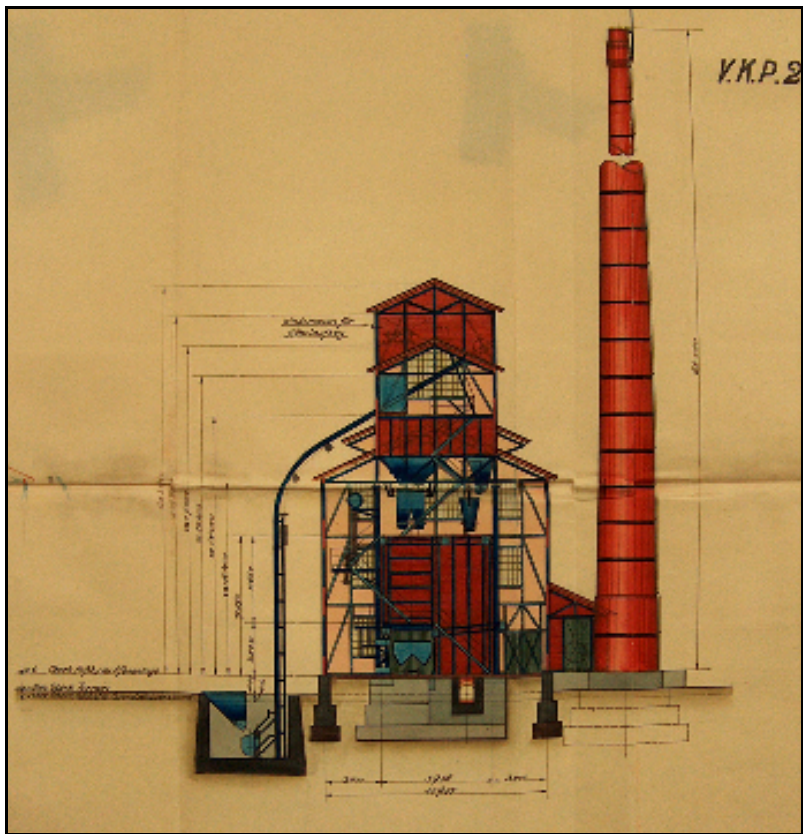


Figure 49: Detail from Ankara Gas Factory plan and section drawings Source: TRPARA 230/5.17.1

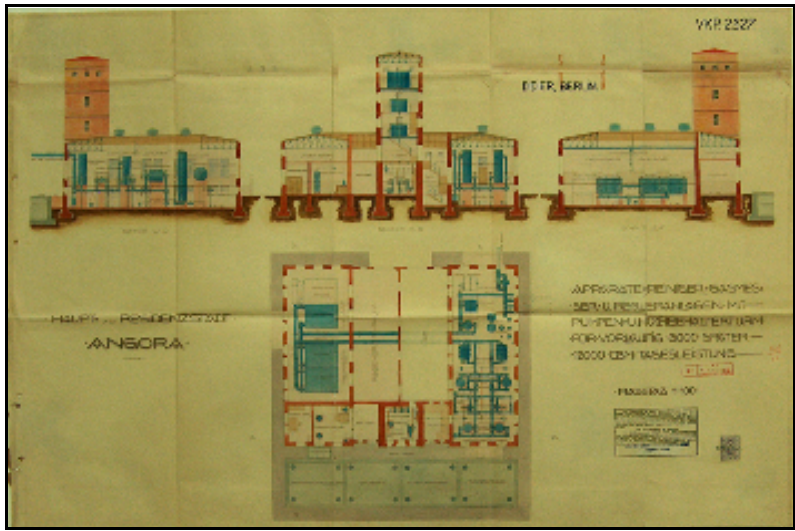


Figure 50: Drawings from Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory Source: TRPARA 230/5.17.1

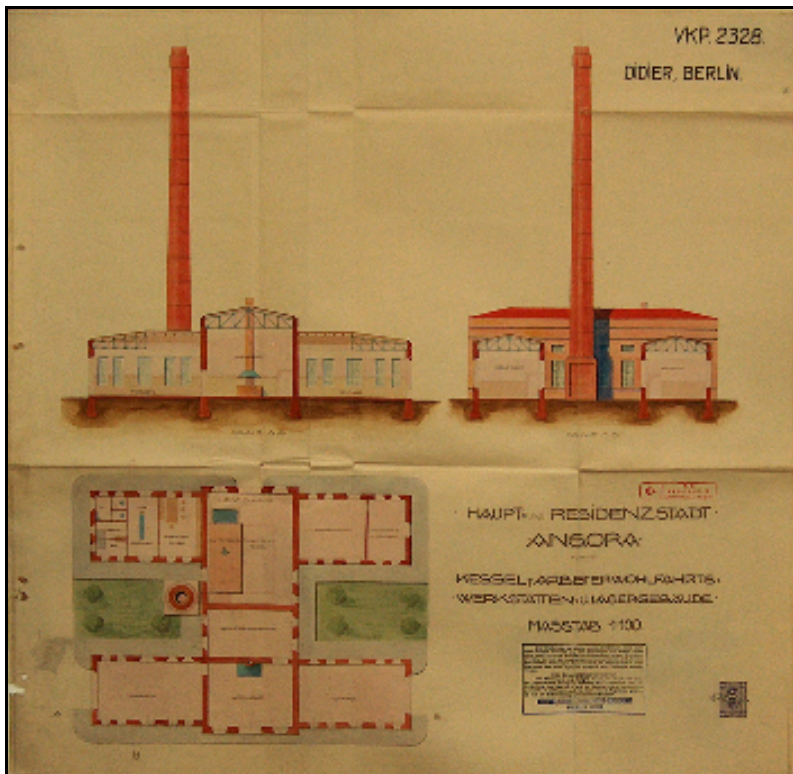


Figure 51: Drawings from Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory Source: TRPARA 230/5.17.1



Figure 52: Kabeltrace von der Station IV Gazischule nach der Station III Archiv (Cable Trace form Station IV Gazi School to Station III Archive) Source: TRPARA 230/4.15.1

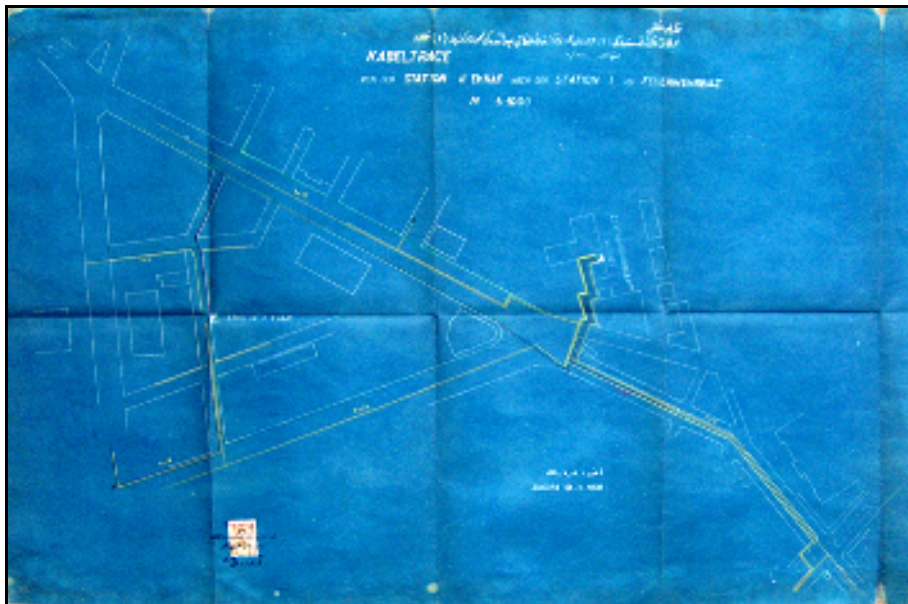


Figure 53: Kabeltrace von der Station II Evkaf nach der Station I Feuerwehrplatz (Cable Trace form Station II Efkaf to Station I Fire Brigade Square) Source: TRPARA 230/4.15.1

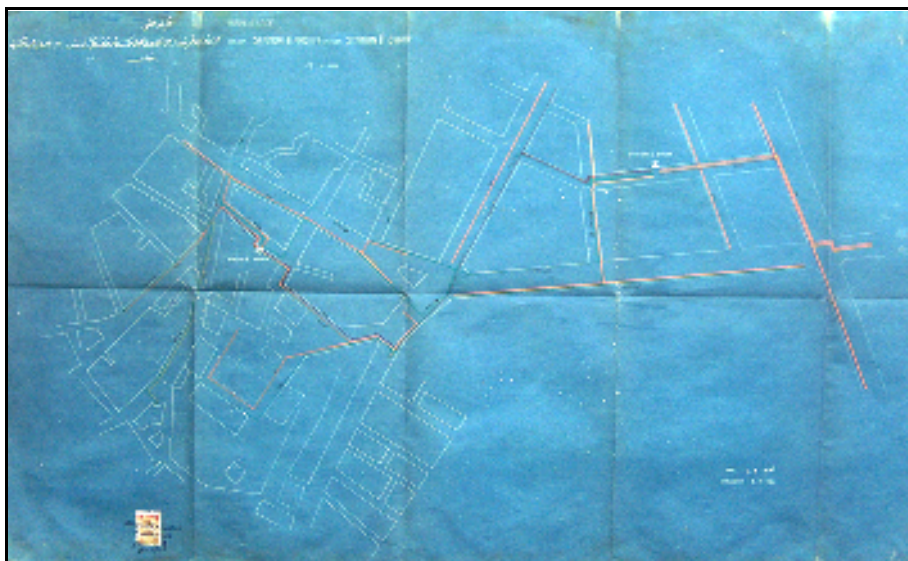


Figure 54: Kabeltrace von der Station III Arhiv nach der Station II Evkaf (Cable Trace form Station III Archieve to Station II Efkaf) Source: TRPARA 230/4.15.1

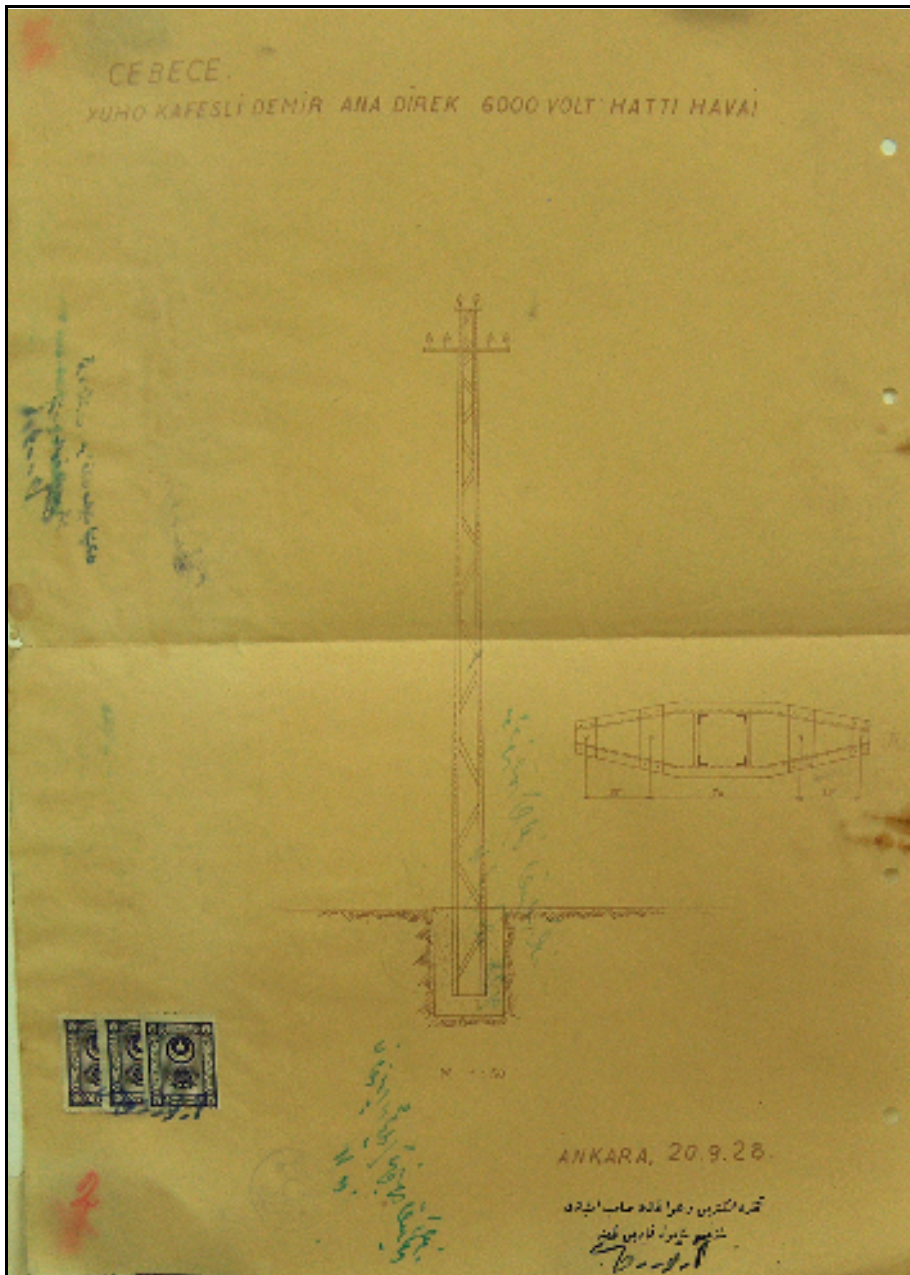


Figure 55: Cebeci Yuho Kafesli Demir Ana Direk 6000 Volt Hattı Havai (Cebeci Latticed Iron Main Lamppost 6000 volt Havai Line) Source: TRPARA 230/7.21.1

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Having mentioned the historical background of the Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory, the expert report also explained that how much the Factory was important regarding its site and its place in collective memory as it was located in the visual axis starting from Ankara Castle, going through Ankara Palace of Justice and ending up with Anıtkabir. Thus what was also emphasized is that its unity had to be preserved by conducting transformation in certain parts, or designing the demolished parts as open spaces or green areas, and preserving still the standing buildings. In this respect, the importance of the site of the Ankara Gas and Electricity factory, its place and importance for city's silhouette, and its structures designed by the most famous early Republican architects and industrial planners this fact intensifies its importance.¹⁷⁷ What is also mentioned that:

¹⁷⁷ Ali Cengizkan, Selahattin Önür, İbrahim Atılgan, Bilirkişi Raporu (Expert Report) prepared for the Ankara 2. Sulh Hukuk Mahkemesi Hakimliği, 2006, p.10 (AEHF içinde yer aldığı Ankara kentinde hem mekânsal, hem de ortak kamu belleği içindeki yeri de yadsınamaz biçimde önemlidir. Bugün Ankara Kalesi ile Ankara Adliyesi üzerinden Anıtkabir'e boşalan görsel-kentsel eksen üzerinde bulunan AEHF alanı, bütünlüğü bozulmadan, kısmen yeniden işlevlendirmeye açık biçimde, tercihen yıkımda boşalan alanları yeşil ve açık alan biçiminde değerlendirerek, kalan yapılarla da bir bütünlük oluşturacak biçimde korunmalıdır... Bu çerçevede AEHF, yapı arsasının kent içindeki

The flour factory nearby and other small industries together with State Railroad building are the symbols of the site's identity. Cities change, however a city cannot be built within one month or three years; it is a sum of historical processes, accumulation, and transformation. In this respect, even though the destructed parts of the Ankara Gas and Electricity site, it is necessary to protect it as a whole with registered and going to be registered buildings, and the new functions should be open to public use, it should be preserved as a monumental area with greenery and public spaces.¹⁷⁸

Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was an unfortunate example as it was destructed with a sudden operation without considering its values. This is not the case in other parts of the world. In 2006 expert report, it was stated that factories and industrial buildings, if they are good examples representing the period's production conditions and system, were preserved all over the world and examples from different cases were given.

One of the early examples from Seattle, Gas Factory Park in Washington, of the power station area that was constructed in 1906 which went through a transformation process and in the year 1975, it started to be used as a public space. In foreign countries for example in London, Kings Cross Gashouses were preserved and transformed into a landscape monument

konumu, silüetindeki yeri ve önemi; yapılarının erken Cumhuriyet döneminde günün en öncü ve en iyi mimar ve endüstri planları tarafından yapılmış olması açısından da pekişmektedir.)

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p.10 (Çevrede bulunan un fabrikası ve diğer küçük sanayi işletmeleri, Devlet Demiryolları ile birlikte bu bölge kimliğinin taşıyıcısıdır. Kentler değişir; ancak kent bir ayda, üç yılda var olmaz; bir tarihsel sürecin, birikimin ve değişimin toplamıdır. Bu bağlamda, yitirilen bütün unsurlarına karşın AEHF yerleşkesinin tescilli olan ve yeni tescillenecek yapılarla birlikte bütünlüğünün korunması, yeni işlevin toplumun kullanımına açık, yeşil ve açık alanlarla desteklenmiş bir anıtsal bölge olarak korunması gerekmektedir.)

and area, in addition, again in London, Central Electricity Power Station after retired from working, re-functioned as a new building for Tate Modern gallery and Museum. Simmering Gashouses in Vienna in Austria were preserved and transformed by different architects into housing complexes. In the years 1990s a very big industrial area in Germany in Essen that was Ruhr iron and steel basin, was preserved, certain factories were re-used as anthropology museum, some which are needed to be torn down, their plots are transformed into green areas like parks, forests, and gardens therefore they can be opened to public use.¹⁷⁹

Not only in foreign countries had certain transformations of industrial areas conducted but also in Turkey too. However, this was not the case in Ankara even if it was the first industrial example in Turkish Republican history. This type of transformation in different parts of the world accomplished owing to the values and criteria set by the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) which is the “world organization representing industrial heritage and is special adviser to ICOMOS on industrial heritage.” In the National Assembly of TICCIH held in Moscow on 17 July, 2003, the definition of industrial heritage, values of industrial heritage, and the importance of

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p.8 (Fabrika ve Sanayi yapıları, bir dönemin üretim koşullarını ve düzenini temsil eden iyi örnekler olmak koşuluyla, bütün dünyada koruma kapsamına alınmıştır. Yurt dışındaki erken uygulamalardan Seattle, Washington’daki gaz Fabrikası Parkı, 1906’da inşa edilen santral alanının dönüştürülmesiyle, 1975 yılında park olarak kamusal kullanıma açılmıştır. Yurt dışındaki örneklerde, örneğin İngiltere Londra’da Kings Cross Gazhaneleri, bir peyzaj anıtı ve alanına dönüştürülerek korunmuş; yine Londra’da Merkez Elektrik Santrali uzun yıllar hizmetinden ‘emekli olduktan sonra’ Tate Resim Galerisi ve Müzesi’nin yeni binası olarak yeniden işlevlendirilmiş; Avusturya Viyana Simmering Gazhaneleri, dördü de farklı mimarlar tarafından konuta dönüştürülerek korunmuştur. 1990’lı yıllarda Almanya’da çok geniş bir bölge sunan Essen eyaleti Ruhr Demir- Çelik havzası, koruma altına alınmış; kimi fabrikalar antropoloji müzesi olarak kullanılmış; işlev dışı olan, sökülmü gereken fabrikaların arsaları ise, aynı havzada geniş park, orman ve bahçeler şeklinde yeşil alanlar olarak düzenlenmiş; doğanın geri kazanımı en önemli amaç olarak kamusal yarar biçiminde öne çekilmiştir.)

their identification, recording and research, legal protection, maintenance and conservation, and education and training. It is stated in the Charter for Industrial heritage that together with The Industrial Revolution which could be considered as the beginning of a historical phenomenon that has affected an ever-greater part of the human population, as well as all the other forms of life and that continues to the present day. The emphasis was put on the recognition of the importance of study and conservation of the material evidence of these severe changes of the universal human value.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, in the TICCIH congress in Russia the delegates wished to declare that the buildings and structures built for industrial activities, the processes and tools used within them and the towns and landscapes in which they are located, along with all their other tangible and intangible manifestations, were of fundamental importance. They stated that these industrial structures should be studied, their history should be taught, their meaning and significance should be searched and the most significant and characteristic examples should be identified, protected and maintained, for the use and benefit of today and of the future.¹⁸¹ They defined industrial heritage as follows:

Industrial heritage consists of the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value. These remains consist of buildings and machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites for processing and refining, warehouses and stores, places where energy is generated, transmitted and used, transport

¹⁸⁰ "The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage" 17 July, 2003, [Internet, WWW, PDF], Available in PDF format; address: http://www.mnactec.cat/ticcih/industrial_heritage.htm, Accessed: 06 August 2008.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p.1.

and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education.¹⁸²

As a method of studying all the evidence, material and immaterial, of documents, artifacts, structures, human settlements and natural and urban landscapes, industrial archaeology was stated as an interdisciplinary method created for or by industrial processes which benefitted from methods of investigation that are most suitable to increase understanding of the industrial past and present. The scope of interest also mentioned as extending forward the Industrial Revolution in the second half of the 18th century up to including the present day, furthermore, it is stated to examine earlier pre-industrial and proto-industrial roots. Additionally, it utilizes the study of work and working techniques encompassed by the history of technology.¹⁸³ The values of industrial heritages were stated by the delegates of the TICCIH congress as follows:

- The industrial heritage is the evidence of activities which had and continue to have profound historical consequences. The motives for protecting the industrial heritage are based on the universal value of this evidence, rather than on the singularity of unique sites.
- The industrial heritage is of social value as part of the record of the lives of ordinary men and women, and as such it provides an important sense of identity. It is of technological and scientific value in the history of manufacturing, engineering, construction, and it may have considerable aesthetic value for the quality of its architecture, design or planning.

¹⁸²Ibid., p.2.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p.2.

- These values are intrinsic to the site itself, its fabric, components, machinery and setting, in the industrial landscape, in written documentation, and also in the intangible records of industry contained in human memories and customs.
- Rarity, in terms of the survival of particular processes, site typologies or landscapes, adds particular value and should be carefully assessed. Early or pioneering examples are of especial value.¹⁸⁴

After setting the values of industrial heritages, the delegates in the congress explained certain ways for the maintenance and conservation of industrial heritage. Not all of these ways are going to be mentioned but two of them are worth to mention in our case. The first one is regarding the priority given to the fact that they should be preserved in situ. It was stated that dismantling or relocating should not be considered unless the site was needed irresistibly by economical and social requirements. The second way is related with the new function of the industrial heritages. If the site does not have a special historical significance, the new use of the industrial site could only be acceptable in this respect. And about the new uses, they were stated to be respectful to the significant material; should maintain the original pattern of circulation and activity and should be compatible with the original or principal use. An area that interprets the former use was recommended.¹⁸⁵

Even if all the connections of Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory to what are broken down, it is a monument being the first electricity generator of

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p.2.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p.5.

the Republic. Even if it does not have any historical value as such, it was worth to be preserved because of its age and the information it is revealing about the way how electricity was produced in the 1920s. All of these values about the industrial heritage were related with the object in substance, however as tried to be mentioned earlier, these were not the main goals and objectives of the thesis, the study area was limited with the social memory and the discursive formations and about the idea of electrification. Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory was the symbol of all these revolutionary ideas but trying to reveal what is behind can be considered much more important as it necessitates more effort. The aim of this thesis is to decipher what is underlying the dominating discourse via looking at the publicity.

The vision about Turkish Republic was to make it a modern, secular, democratic social state and to alter its members into free, secular, and rational individuals. Modernity project was adopted by Mustafa Kemal and the notables of Republican Peoples Party as a goal for the Turkish Republic and the Turkish nation. Together with this project the idea of progress, and actively sought that break with history and tradition was put forward. It was above all a secular movement that sought the demystification and desacralization of knowledge and social organization in order to liberate human beings from their chains.¹⁸⁶ The theoretical framework or the thesis dealt with the Modernity Project, the

¹⁸⁶ David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989, pp. 12-13.

definition of discourse and discursive formations, how they are produced and reproduced. And howcome the social appropriation of discourse is conducted via, education system, media, institutionalizations, and spatial formations.

As an important part of the revolutions the level of contemporary civilizations had to be maintained. What is understood from the term “contemporary civilization” was that it is the stock of accumulated scientific knowledge, methods and tools, worldviews and lifestyles. Technology, industry, and progress are the main textual themes assembling the Kemalist notion of “contemporary civilization.” In the 1930s the iconography of this idea was really powerful. Moreover, it can be inferred that the visual and spatial embodiment of these themes in the architecture of infrastructure, factories, and industrial exhibitions was especially powerful marker of Republican Modernity.¹⁸⁷ The thesis deals with these ideals in Turkey and other socialist nations as well; focusing on the publications which draw a framework for the main discussion point takes the process of industrialization and electrification process in Turkey in hand and concentrates on the dominating discourses of the time. As a method of analysis the popular publications of the period were investigated between the years 1928 and 1938. The main goal of this research was not only to make a discursive analysis but also to look for effects of electrification via considering the objects in substance, regarding

¹⁸⁷ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building; Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2002, pp.108-109

to the practice itself, and to look for the transformations in the urban space and in urban living. It tried to emphasize the significance of electricity for the illumination of every corner of the country, as an extra power working for the economy to transform the industrialization into a different phase which is cheaper, cleaner and more accessible. Therefore, it investigated the electrification process, how it is materialized, and how it is depicted in the popular media mostly in three different scales; first scale is the territorial scale, the second one is the urban scale, and finally the last one is the home scale. As the generator of these discursive formations and which is making them into reality for the capital is Ankara Gas and Electricity Factory's brief history and importance in collective memory was mentioned.

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APPENDIX:

LIST OF SOME ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

ARALIK 2007- OCAK 2008 TBMM KÜTÜPHANESİ- ANKARA

Yayın Adı: Hakimiyet- i Milliye

<u>Tarih:</u>	<u>Sayfa No:</u>	<u>Haber Başlığı:</u>
11 Eylül 1928	1-2	"Ankara Elektrikleri Ne Zaman Daha İyi Yanabilecek?"
5 Ekim 1928	4	"Elektrik ve gaz Fabrikalarında"
21 Kasım 1928	5	İlan
14 Aralık 1928	4	Ankara Hava gazı Fabrikası
16 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
17 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
18 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
19 Aralık 1928	6	İlan
20 Aralık 1928	1-4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
21 Aralık 1928	4 -7	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."/ İlan
23 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
24 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
25 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
26 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
27 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
29 Aralık 1928	4	"Ankara Hava gazı Türk Anonim Şirketi ve ."
1 Temmuz 1929	5	"Memleketimizde Sanayinin İnkişafına Doğru"
9 Temmuz 1929	2	"Profesör Jansen'in Ankara Yazısı"
13 Temmuz 1929	2-6	"Modern Mimarlık Tarzı"/ "Meskenlerin Sühüleştirelmesi"
19 Temmuz 1929	6	"Cepte Taşınacak Elektrik Fabrikası"
20 Temmuz 1929	5	"Modern Bir Ev Nasıl Döşenmelidir?"

22 Temmuz 1929	11	"İlan
4 Ağustos 1929	3	"Viyana'da Açılan İnşaat Sergisinde Modern Evler"
5 Ağustos 1929	1	"Ankara'nın İmarı İçin Yapılacak İşler"
9 Ağustos 1929	7	İlan
20 Ağustos 1929	3	"Ev dâhili Tertibatında İnkılapkar Yenilikler"
11 Eylül 1929	7	İlan
16 Eylül 1929	7	İlan "Kışın soğuk günlerinde..."
18 Eylül 1929	7	İlan "Kış geldi soğuklar başlıyor...."
24 Eylül 1929	8	"Almanya'da Modern Mimarlık"
25 Eylül 1929	6-7	"Şehircilik Sayfası"/ İlan
27 Eylül 1929	6-7	İlan
28 Eylül 1929	6-7	İlan
1 Teşrinievvel 1929	7	İlan
2 Teşrinievvel 1929	6	"Şehircilik Sayfası"
4 Teşrinievvel 1929	5-7	İlan
6 Teşrinievvel 1929	6-7	İlan
7 Teşrinievvel 1929	5	"Ankara'nın Elektrikleri"
8 Teşrinievvel 1929	8	"Yeni Çeşit Elbiseler"
10 Teşrinievvel 1929	6-7	İlan
6 Teşrinievvel 1929	5-6	"Şehircilik Sayfası" / İlan
23 Teşrinievvel 1929	6	"Şehircilik Sayfası"
29 Teşrinievvel 1929	7	İlan
1 Teşrinisani 1929	6	"Asri Bir Ev"
5 Teşrinisani 1929	2	"Ankara"
18 Teşrinisani 1929	1-2-3	"Şehremaneti ile Elektrik Şirketi Arasındaki İtilaf"
23 Teşrinisani 1929	2-8	"Elektrik Ücretleri Zammoldu"
4 Kânunuevvel 1929	6	"Şehircilik Sayfası"
12 Kânunuevvel 1929	6	"Şehircilik Sayfası"
18 Kânunuevvel 1929	6-7	"Şehircilik Sayfası"
20 Kânunuevvel 1929	6-7	Meraklı Sayfa- İlan
25 Kânunuevvel 1929	6	"Şehircilik Sayfası"
2 Kânunusani 1929	5	"Elektrik fabrikasında İlkbaharda havagazı tevziatı başlıyor."
3 Kânunusani 1929	4	"Konya elektrikleri"
21 Kânunusani 1929	2	"Giresun'da elektrik"
21 Şubat 1929	2	"İzmir'de elektrik"
9 Mart 1929	1-3	"Cumhuriyet'in büyük eseri"
12 Mart 1929	6	İlan
28 Mart 1929	4	"Elektrik ve havagazı tesisatı"
9 Mayıs 1929	3	"Şehir İşleri Ankara'nın Suyu/ otobüs seferleri"

10 Mayıs 1929	4	İlan
14 Mayıs 1929	6	İlan
27 Mayıs 1929	1	"Ankara'nın planı: Jüri Jansen Planını..."
1 Haziran 1929	1-2	"Ankara'nın kati planı"
6 Haziran 1929	1	"Jansen Planı Tatbik Edilince"
14 Haziran 1929	2	"Ahi Mes'ut Köyü elektrikle Nurlandı"
26 Haziran 1929	5	"Cumhuriyet'in birkaç eseri Ankara"
28 Haziran 1929	4	"Bir Fikir: Modern Binalar"
2 Kânunusani 1930	9	"Yeni Mimari"
18 Kânunusani 1930	7	İlan
19 Kânunusani 1930	1	"Ankara Elektriği Ucuzlayacak"
26 Kânunusani 1930	5	"Ankara Koku Ankara Havagazı fabrikası..."
29 Kânunusani 1930	2	"Havagazı hakkında faydalı bir konferans"
11 Şubat 1930	6-7	"İsmet Paşa kız enstitüsü"/ İlan "Havagazı..."
15 Şubat 1930	1	"Milli Sanayi Sergisi için numunedir / Kastamonu"
1 Nisan 1930	3	"Ankara Elektrik Türk Anonim Şirketinin Alelade..."
9 Nisan 1930	4	"İndüstriyalizm nereye gidiyor?"
16 Nisan 1930	7	Havagazı ilanı
17 Nisan 1930	1-4	"Türk Ocağındaki Milli Sanayi Numune Sergisini Ziyaret"
18 Nisan 1930	1	"Milli Sanayi Numune Sergisi Pazar günü 4'te"
20 Nisan 1930	1-7	"Herkes Sergiyi Görmeli..." "Milli Sanayi Numune Sergisi"
21 Nisan 1930	1-2-3	"Milli Sanayi Numune Sergisi"
22 Nisan 1930	1-3-7	"Sanayi Kongresi bugün..."/ Ayn Yirmibeşine..."
23 Nisan 1930	1-4	"Sanayi Kongresi"/ "Ankara Elektrik ve Havagazı Meşheri"
25 Nisan 1930	1	"Sanayi Kongresi ikinci içtimamı yaptı"
26 Nisan 1930	2	"Sanayi Sergisinde Türk..."
28 Nisan 1930	1-7	"Sanayi sergisi değirmencilik, ipekçilik,..."
29 Nisan 1930	1	"Sanayi Kongresinin Yeni Kararları"
30 Nisan 1930	1	"Sanayi Kongresi Mesaisini Bitirdi"
1 Mayıs 1930	8	Resim
3 Mayıs 1930	6	"Eski Ev Yeni Ev"
4 Mayıs 1930	1	"Milli Sanayi Numune Sergisi yarın kapanacak"
4 Mayıs 1930	2	"Türkiye'nin Büyük İnkılabı"
5 Mayıs 1930	1-2-4	"Sergi bugün kapanıyor"/ "Sanayi Kongresi Sergi"
6 Mayıs 1930	1	"Sergi dün kapandı" / "Gazi Orman çiftliğinin"

kuruluş yıldönümü"		
7 Mayıs 1930	1-7	"Ankara Elektrik ve Havagazı Meşheri" / "Serginin Son günü"
9 Mayıs 1930	7	Resim "Havagazı şirketi mağazası telgaz"
14 Mayıs 1930	1	"Kalenin Planı: Profesör Jansen yeni planlar gönderdi"
19 Mayıs 1930	4	"Elektrikten Evvelki gün bir çocuk öldü"
3 Haziran 1930	1	"Yeni bir terakki amili: Rasyonalizasyon"
17 Haziran 1930	6	"Fen Sayfası"
23 Haziran 1930	1	"Şiddetli Sel Yenişehir'in Elektrik Fabrikası"
25 Temmuz 1930	4-5	"Modern Ev Modern Möble" / Havagazı ilanı
8 Ağustos 1930	1	"Ankara'da bir sokak Anafartalar caddesi"
17 Ağustos 1930	6	"Ankara Sivas Demiryolu"
18 Ağustos 1930	2	"Ankara'yı nasıl buldular?"
20 Ağustos 1930	2	"Ankara'yı nasıl buldular?"
21 Ağustos 1930	2	"Ankara'yı nasıl buldular?"
27 Ağustos 1930	4	"Havagazı Elektrik Fabrikası / Resim"
29 Ağustos 1930	4-5	"Muhterem İsmet Paşa Güzel Sivas'a saadet..."
2 Eylül 1930	1	"Cebeci'nin planı"
6 Eylül 1930	6	Şehircilik Sayfası
18 Eylül 1930	3-4	"Mimarlarımız/ Modern Şehir Mimarisi"
20 Teşrinievvel	4	"Türkiye'nin Elektrikleştirilmesi"
18 Kânunuevvel	1	"Gazi dün İstanbul Fabrikalarını gezdi"
19 Kânunuevvel	6	"Memleketimizde Modern Mobilya Fabrikası"
18 Temmuz 1933	1-4	"Türkiye'de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı1"
19 Temmuz 1933	4	"Türkiye'de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı2"
21 Temmuz 1933	4	"Türkiye'de Elektrikçiliğin İnkişafı4"
28 Temmuz 1933	1	"Yeni Zamanlara Doğru"
5 Ağustos 1933	1-3	"Türk inkılabının kendine göreliği"
11 Ağustos 1933	5	"Cumhuriyet'in Sıhhat siyaseti"
12 Ağustos 1933	1	İnkılap Sergisi Ankara'da Ticaret Lisesinde..."
19 Ağustos 1933	4	"Ankaralı nerelerde nasıl eğleniyor? Çiftlik Ankaralınıdır"
2 Eylül 1933	1	"Ülkümüzdeki Ankara'ya doğru"
12 Eylül 1933	6-7	"Ankara Elektrik Türk Anonim Şirketinin..."
17 Eylül 1933	6	"Ankara Elektrik Türk Anonim Şirketinin..." /İlan
5 Birinci Teşrin 1933	1	"İnkılabımızın Kökleri"
6 Birinci Teşrin 1933	1	"Cumhuriyet Nesli"
12 Birinci Teşrin 1933	8	İlan

26 Birinci Teşrin 19333	“Cumhuriyetçi Türkiye 1923-1933”
27 Birinci Teşrin 19332	“Yeni ve büyük bir inkılap hamlesi daha”
29 Ekim 1933 90 sayfa tamamı (Özel sayı)	
22 İkinci Teşrin 1933 1-4	“Yapılanlardan daha fazla...” Şehir Mimarlığı”
1 Birinci kanun 1933 4	“Üç büyük icada doğru... elektrikli şimendifer”
10 Birinci kanun 19331	“Sanayileşme Ne demektir?”
11 Birinci kanun 19331-3	“yeni Türkiye'nin on yılı/ Kömürün sanayideki rolü”
12 Birinci kanun 19332-3-4	“Onuncu Yıl Bayramı filmi: Yeni türkiye'nin...”
16 Birinci kanun 19336	“Ankara elektrik türk anonim şirketi”
21 Birinci kanun 19336	“Daily telegrafın bizim için yazdıkları”