

WORKERS' HEALTH AND ARCHITECTURE:
A READING ON ESKİŞEHİR SUGAR FACTORY
WITHIN TURKISH MODERNIZATION

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ABSTRACT

WORKERS' HEALTH AND ARCHITECTURE: A READING ON ESKİŞEHİR SUGAR FACTORY WITHIN TURKISH MODERNIZATION

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This thesis aims an analysis of early Republican state factory settlements, in terms of their concern for workers' health and welfare, within Turkish modernization in the largest extent. State factory settlements are evaluated in terms of their architectural program(s), in terms of concern about the physical and mental health requirements of their future workers at the stage of their foundation. Different types of buildings, like workers' houses, cafeterias, health centers and clubs, with respect to their organization and architectural function and also areas spared for sports and recreation are examined in Eskişehir Sugar Factory, as an exemplary case of the state factories. The aim has been to reveal and evaluate the role of the social and architectural construction of state factories on workers' (and their families) health, as a part of the modernization project of Turkey.

Keywords: occupational health; public health; industrialization; modernization; etatism; state factories.

ÖZ

İŞÇİ SAĞLIĞI VE MİMARLIK: TÜRK MODERNLEŞMESİ İÇİNDE ESKİŞEHİR ŞEKER FABRİKASI ÜZERİNE BİR OKUMA

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Bu tez Türk modernleşmesi içinde erken Cumhuriyet dönemi devlet fabrika yerleşimlerini işçi sağlığı ile ilgisi bakımından incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Devlet fabrika yerleşimlerinin mimari programları işçilerin fiziksel ve ruhsal sağlık şartları ile ilgisi bakımından değerlendirilmektedir. Devlet fabrikalarından Eskişehir Şeker Fabrikası bünyesindeki spor ve eğlence amaçlı yapılmış alanlar ve mimari işlevleri ve örgütlenmeleri açısından işçi evleri, kafeteryalar, sağlık merkezleri ve klüpleri gibi çeşitli yapılar incelenmektedir. Amaç; Türkiye'nin modernleşme projesinin bir parçası olarak devlet fabrikalarının toplumsal ve mimari yapı(lanma)sının işçi ve işçi ailesi sağlığındaki rolünü ortaya koymak ve değerlendirmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: işçi sağlığı; halk sağlığı (hıfzısıhha); sanayileşme; modernleşme; devletçilik; devlet fabrikaları.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim, Scope and Structure of the Thesis

The present study aims to analyze the state factory settlements of the early Republican era, in terms of their concern for workers' health and welfare, and this analysis will be explored within Turkish modernization in the largest extent.

The modernization process of Turkey during the early Republican period can be summarized as the reconstruction of the country in social, cultural as well as economical terms. These issues are widely discussed by scholars from the early Republican period, as well as from the current generations. The modernization and industrialization discourse of the period under concern also implies the construction of a new built environment. The state factory settlements are exemplary physical environments to understand this process in depth. When etatism was accepted as the governmental economic-politics of the state after the 1929 Economic World Crisis, the First Five-Year Industrial Plan was put into action immediately and state factories were planned to be built according to this plan.¹ Thus, a user group-defined the architectural product in

¹ According to the Plan, five main sectors for industrial development were planned. These were textile industry, cellulose industry, mining industry, ceramic industry and chemicals industry. Sugar industry did not take place in this plan but the role and scope of the state in industrialization

several ways: the state factory settlements and in time, a life within the boundary of these settlements, constituted a “mini city” according to some witnesses, came into being:

Those state enterprises that are all around the country are like cities in themselves. With their parks, quarters, educational institutions, all facilities of social life and sports, healthy, peaceful and comfortable order of life, they are civilized institutions that can not be easily found in the democratic countries.²

In fact, considered from the workers’ point of view, industrialization had brought the formation of workers’ immediate working and living quarters and surroundings even during the late Ottoman period. As Tanyeli states, one-room-unit houses were used by the janissaries and single men, most probably bachelors, used these spaces called ‘cells/ chambers’, which were a kind of construction built and rented by trusts and prevented their users step into ‘married’ families quarters, and brought a structure of collective life among singles.³ Workers who worked at shipyards and in the navy are reported to live in these ‘singles’ rooms’ around Galata and Kasımpaşa.⁴ The ‘cells’ which were around Feshane at Haliç and in Darphane at Topkapı Palace, can be taken as the pre-formations of workers’ houses.⁵ Workers’ housing within early state factory settlements were usually thought as part of the plans drawn by foreigners. The fact is that they were generally built later because of economic and social reasons, which will be explained in details further in the thesis.

In this thesis, it has been argued that the dimension of ‘social welfare’ of this “constructed life” formed by several architectural spaces within the

happened to be more than the content of the industrial plan. There were other state enterprises as investments by Business Bank. Sugar factories, tobacco, alcohol monopolies can be given as examples to these investments.

² Aydemir, Şevket (1966). *İkinci Adam*. Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul. Quoted in Makal (1999, 258).

³ Tanyeli, Uğur (1996). “Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun ‘Reel’ Tarihi: Bir Standart Saptama Denemesi”, in *Doğan Kuban’a Armağan*, (eds.) Ahunbay Z., Mazlum D., Eyüpgiller, K., Eren Yayınları, İstanbul; 57-71.

⁴ *Ibid.*; 65

⁵ Cengizkan, Ali (2004). “Türkiye’de Fabrika ve İşçi Konutları: İstanbul Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali” (Workers Housing within Factory Grounds: The Case of Silahtarağa Electric Plant), *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*. v: 20(1-2); 28-55.

boundary of state factory settlements has brought keeping the worker within his own territory. But in the meantime, the opportunity of reading the reflection of politics on the making of the physical area and the new habits by which this reflection has brought, has been used and widely discussed.

While examining the social dimensions of statist industrialization and the reflection of these social politics onto the physical space in state factories, it has been accepted that this was realized within Turkish modernization in the largest extent. However, the delimitations which the modernistic-westernist paradigm might bring are tried to be overcome. The aim is like reading in-between the lines, without being obsessed with the preconception and pre-occupations of the statement: “State factory settlements are indicators of Turkish modernization”. Yet, the modernistic paradigm attributes a progressive and liberating content to daily life at state factories under the central management of the state during the single-party period by ignoring the control and possession mechanisms; and this attitude, by all means, brings nothing but only the reproduction of the formal discourse of the period.

A dimension of the ‘social welfare’ and a politics of ‘workers’ health’ find their discursive parallels, their discursive practice and action under the titles of “healthy dwelling and living conditions for workers” in factory settlements and the supply of an “ideal environment as one of the basic requirements of modern life”. It can be said that “healthy dwelling and living conditions” were tried to be created with a very truly effort and in a sincere manner in state factories. It is seen that preventing, protecting and improving workers’ health was aimed to be achieved, in addition to various factors in the design process of the factory settlements established by the state. This claim for more healthy life conditions and a higher standard of living, may be depicted as formed in Sümerbank enterprises and Sugar Factories integrated with collective public health and industrial

health reforms. The components of this attitude were addressing housing conditions, personal health, involvement in sports and facilitating recreation functions as social aspects which will be evaluated in thesis.

This study is composed of mainly four sections. In Chapter 2, a background information has been presented for the reader regarding the early attempts at maintaining industrialization, public health and workers health.

In Chapter 3, the interrelationships between workers and the state factories has been tried to be revealed. Besides, “the daily mandate and routines” that are determining workers’ part of life within the factory and its auxiliary spaces are tried to be interpreted with a perspective taking to the focus the axes of social politics and its related discursive formations, formed by and influencing the concerns for public health, militarization, economic development and social control.

In Chapter 4, “theories on body politics” and the theory of Utilitarianism are examined to read the exemplar state factory settlement with an alternative view point.

In Chapter 5, the focus of analysis has been the Eskişehir Sugar Factory, which will be examined under four sections. The Eskişehir Sugar Factory, which was one of the first state factories when it was established in 1933, its environments for working, dwelling and living that were formed by the factory and the counter effects of these on workers will be analyzed. By making a reading over the Eskişehir Sugar Factory, it is expected that spaces in the state factory settlements will be examined together with their political, social and economic connections and underpinnings.

1. 2. Promises and Expectations

This study claims and tries to point out that there are still much more specific fields regarding the Turkish architectural history waiting for their potential researchers. I think it is important to make researches at these new fields, so as to be able to re-interpret the results which history of architecture as a discipline has obtained in its own area, by comparing them with the established paradigms regarding the period, and to offer new study areas if needed.

I believe that the reading of the present material related to workers' health and to factory architecture of the early Republic period with a new view point promises a potential to open up new frontiers not only for architecture as a discipline, but also for all disciplines of the social sciences interested in early Republic period or the single-party democracy and state.

While evaluating the state factory settlements in terms of their architectural program(s), which was the field realized by the politics that found its discourse under the title/phrase of the "conditions of healthy dwelling and living", one of the promises of the study is to determine the "driving forces" behind.

With reference to the state's establishing and determining hegemonistic power on the modernistic body politics, it is expected to reveal and define the role attributed to workers' health, the ideological and political references of this role, and the architectural program(s) planned and attempted to realize this role.

The study does not promise to do "a comprehensive comparison" between the early Republican state factories in Turkey and the factories constructed by the other regimes with similar / different goals; but does expect to provide the possibility to re-read some pre-conceptions by (re-

)reading the spaces of factory settlements with the perspective of social politics formed by public health, militarization, economical development and social control.

I would like to state that the recent researches on Halkevleri, civic architecture and the history of the political arena of those days such as “Bir Modernite Projesi olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması” and “Türkiye’de 1923-1950 Dönemi Mimarlığının Toplumsal ve Siyasal Bağlamı” written by İlhan Tekeli in *modernite aşılırken kent planlaması*, “Türkiye’de Fabrika ve İşçi Konutları: İstanbul Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali” written by Ali Cengizkan in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar- Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* written by Yiğit Akın, *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık* by Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya and various similar critical researches and studies also enabled this study to come into being.

CHAPTER 2

COMPATIBILITY AND CONGRUENCE OF MODERNISATION AND INDIVIDUAL CARE FOR THE BODY

2.1. Discursive Formations Regarding Modernisation, Industrialisation and Public Health

In 1930s the total population in Turkey was about 17 million. The majority of the population were settled and lived in rural areas. The most important improvement project after the establishment of the Republic was to complete the railroad network. Despite the 1929 crisis, the Erzurum-Erzincan line was completed in the hands of domestic contractors. With the completion of this line, priority was given to the connection with Ankara and East and Sivas-Samsun line to Black sea.

Moving the capital to Ankara and the railroad policy were aimed at not only concerns for national defence but the spread of social, cultural and economic development and growth towards and in Anatolia. Indeed, this development was realized in a short time in the cities on the railroad lines. However, this development could not be spreaded towards the Eastern and Southeastern areas of the country.

With the reforms made one after another during the 1923–1938 period, Turkey aimed culturel development as well as economic development. The important point in the reforms made in social and culturel fields as

well as reforms made in religious, law, education and economics fields, was this: These reforms that were made to “reach the contemporary civilizations”, were realized “from the top to the bottom”.⁶ In order to achieve this, the policies of inoculating, training and strengthening the state of belonging were followed. The speech of Atatürk in the year 1918 reflects this situation early in the mind of the leader, before even the revolution and the proclamation of the Republic:

(...) Therefore, I do not accept that this act can be done slowly by accustoming thoughts of common people and wise people to mature and imagine to the level of my imagination. Why should I, after having all this advanced education, studying and after spending lots of time and my life to ensure freedom and examining social civilized life, go down to the level of common people? I will try to get them to my level, they try to be like me rather than me being like them.⁷

Atatürk, after the War of Independence, repeats this speech continuously: The War has ended, however, the real “independence war in the national economic fronts” has started now. As Niyazi Berkes states, the act of “fitting the Turkish society into the orbit of contemporary civilizations” has two sides: The first one is to remove the attitude of traditionalism. The second one is to replace it with the rules and organizations that are suitable to “this orbit” and raising this society in accordance with the needs of this orbit.⁸ Every association, organization and even space of the society was used as a means to reach this goal. The first state factory buildings that were established in the beginning of the 1930s were also conceived as the places as means for this objective.

After the declaration of the Republic on October 29, 1923, the sultanate was removed in March 3, 1924 and the constitution was approved in April 20, 1924. Until 1946, *Halk Partisi* (People’s Party and after November 10, 1924 it is called as Republican People’s Party) was the only party. The first state factories were established during this single party period. In the annual party congress in 1927, three arrows to symbolise and iconize the

⁶ Yeşilkaya, N.G. (1999). *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul; 54.

⁷ Köker, L. (1990). *Modernleşme, Kemalizm ve Demokrasi*. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul; 172.

Republicanism, Nationalism and Populism as policies were adopted and accepted. In 1928 Secularism was added as the fourth to the three arrows. In 1931, Etatism and Revolutionism were added to the four arrows and therefore the well-known six political principles were signified by the accepted six symbols. These six fields constituted six major discursive fields as well, which would/could guide the society at large. Actually, the Etatism principle was added as a result of the necessity for a planned economy after the 1929 World Economic Crisis. The administration had tried to industrialize the country by encouraging private entrepreneurship until 1929, but this time it started to establish state factories by itself as a public actor, in order to adapt new economic conditions, but with an increased state inspection and surveillance over the economy. After these developments, *Halkevleri* (Public Houses) were established in February 1932; *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes) were established in April 1940, in order to spread the revolution (or reformation?) to rural areas⁹. During all these years, the single-party-state and government cooperation had gradually increased and in June 18, 1936, with the general order published by İsmet İnönü, the Prime Minister, it was officially announced that the single-party-state and the government were united.¹⁰

The period that we are dealing with is important because of being both the single-party period and being the period when the Turkish Republican ideology was determined. While examining the ideology of the period and how it is reflected in the architecture and planning, it is necessary to remain in the historical context of this ideology. There are two main ideologic lines in this period: Continuation of the westernization process that started with the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the nation state. Adapting the positivist way of thinking and the modernist

⁸ Berkes, N. (1978). *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*. Doğu-Batı Yayınları, İstanbul; 512.

⁹ Yeşilkaya, N.G. (1999;42).

¹⁰ Koçak, C. (1986). *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi: 1938-1945*. Yurt Yayınevi, Ankara. Apparent reasons for this over-centralization can be traced and paralleled with the Nazi Administration in Germany. However, İnönü was asked to resign by Atatürk, and several consecutive changes were achieved within the government.

development meant adopting the Western model.¹¹ At the same time, positivist knowledge and modernist understanding of development brings forth the belief that well-educated people, intellectuals and administration should/would lead the society as a social responsibility. Therefore this belief legitimated the single- party administration in a way. Besides, the majority of the single-party administrations in the World and in Europe during the period should not be ignored.

After the adaptation of modernism as a state ideology, as Tekeli states, “in order to achieve this, the Republican government has given important roles to spatial strategies”¹². During this period, with the choice of the location of the new capital city, the location of the place for important public buildings, the reason for existence and presence of places such as the Republic squares, the Public Houses and the Village Institutes, the sports fields and sports areas, these ideologies gained strength. In order to understand and interpret these establishments more in depth, it is helpful to put forward the Republican government ideologies as well as the meaning that has been attributed to the period’s “architect” and how he perceives himself and the meaning attributed to architecture. Firstly, the architect was considered to be responsible to enlighten the public as well as other his fellow intellectuals. He will do this by the spaces he establishes. He is supposed to teach the public how they are required to live: “His work of art is the mirror of civilization” (Behçet and Bedrettin, 1933, 199).¹³ The space is an effective means on the behaviour of humans and guides human behaviour: “Ask the people that live in the real architectural works of art how these affect their spirit, health, life, culture and well-manner” (Ünsal, 1939, 60).¹⁴

¹¹ Tekeli, İ. (2001). *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*. İmge Yayınevi, Ankara; 59

¹² İbid.; 23-24.

¹³ Quoted in Yeşilkaya (1999; 114).

¹⁴ İbid.; 117.

Architecture and fine arts are a “language” for “the good manners that the state would teach” and for “the thoughts that the revolutions will put into place”.¹⁵ In this sense, architectural works are ideological means of the state.

2.2. History of Policies for Occupational Health

2.2.1. The Ottoman Period: The Period of Concessions Given to Foreign Countries

The occupational health came up as a problem both in the World and in Turkey with the help of the development in industrialization. The first industrial organizations in Ottoman Empire were established in Mahmut II. Period with the help of the war industry. In this period, steam ships were made in Sinop, İzmit and İstanbul shipyards.¹⁶ The need for coal for industrial institutions had increased and in 1829 the first coal basin was started to operate. During the Ottoman Empire period, other than coal production; there were military motivated businesses like ship-yards, gunpowder factories, artillery carriage production workshops, ammunition factories, casting factories and workshops and textile factories. Industry based on small crafts and workshop production was widespread. The relation between the workers and employees in these industries and the working conditions were determined by *loncas* (guilds) and traditions.¹⁷

The workers working in the coal mines in the Ereğli basin, if they got ill, or when faced with industrial accidents, would lose their lives. In that period, severe working conditions in the coal mines that were ran by the French

¹⁵ *Mimar*, 1933; 252.

¹⁶ Soğancı, M.(2001). “Architecture as Palimpsest: Re-Functioning of Industrial Building Within the Scope of Industrial Archeology”. Unpublished Master’s Thesis, METU Faculty of Architecture, Ankara; 104. Also see; Quataert, D. (1994) *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge Univ. Pres, Cambridge. Quataert, D. (1995) *Workers and the working class in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, 1839-1950*, Tauris Academic Studies, London. Quataert, D. (1999) *Sanayi Devrimi Çağında Osmanlı İmalat Sektörü* (Ottoman Manufacturing in the age of the Industrial Revolution), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

firms caused many workers get sick and therefore decreased the production. This stimulated Dilaver Paşa, the Minister of Imperial Mine (*Maden-i Hümayun Nazırı*), to prepare rules and regulations for this matter in 1865. *Dilaver Paşa Nizamnamesi* (The Dilaver Paşa Regulation)) that was not approved by the Sultan, was consisting of 100 articles. The Regulation which mainly aimed to increase the production is important as the first legal document about occupational health. The Regulation was organizing the working conditions and suggesting to provide a doctor in every mine.¹⁸

The second important document about occupational health is the *Maadin Nizamnamesi* (The Regulation for Mines; 1869). According to this regulation, the employer had to take necessary measures to prevent possible accidents. The compensation that had to be paid to the workers having accidents at work and their families would be paid by the employers. In the coal basin, every employer would employ a doctor and would provide a pharmacy.

In the beginning of the 20th century, working conditions and occupational health matters were put on the agenda by several deputies in the Assembly. The Selanik Deputy Dalçef Efendi stated the need for a law that would protect the rights of workers and determine the working conditions. The Erzurum Deputy Varteks Efendi stated the importance of similar concerns, such as the daily working hours and the working conditions of pregnant women, the working hours and conditions for women and children. In 1910, the draft law of Artin Efendi consisting of articles such as the prohibition of employing children smaller than 12 years of age and prohibition of employing workers before dawn and after dusk was rejected by the Grand Vizier İbrahim Hakkı Paşa.¹⁹

¹⁷ İbid.

¹⁸ Bilir, N., Yıldız, A.C. (1998) *Türkiye’de İş Sağlığı Konusuna Tarihsel Bakış*. Hacettepe Halk Sağlığı Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara; 12-16. Makal, A. (1997) *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Çalışma İlişkileri: 1850-1920*. İmge Kitabevi; Ankara; 280-285.

¹⁹ İbid.

In the period of the First Grand National Assembly, a law dated 1921 and numbered 151 (The Law of Rights of Workers Working in Ereğli Coal Basin) was put into effect, and new regulations were brought about coal mine workers' health. According to this law, employers had to provide a house where the workers could meet their sleeping, eating and cleaning needs. The employer was expected to treat the workers who had accidents or workers who became sick. Employers would open a hospital and a pharmacy and would employ a doctor in the workplace. The working period was to be 8 hours a day. Overtime would only be applied with the will of the two parties; in this case, the employer would pay double wages. The employer was also responsible for the education of the workers.

In the First Economic Congress that was held in İzmir on February 17, 1923, the worker delegates submitted a proposal list consisting of 34 article.²⁰ Dr.Şefik Hüsnü, as the representative of the *Aydınlık* Group, put on the agenda concerns such as an 8 hour-work day, the prohibition of working more than 6 hours in the underground mines, the prohibition of employing women and children at night, the right to go on a strike, the 24 hour-rest during a week, the right to be a member of a labour union. These proposals constituted the articles of the laws which were realized afterwards. The strike in many foreign and domestic enterprises for 8 hours of daily working, weekly holiday, forming a labour union and the right to go on a strike, shows an increase in the collective consciousness in these concerns.

2.2.2. The Republican Period: The Period of Etatism at a Fordist Stage

With the Republic, it seems that the concern about working hours, efficiency and the concern for workers' health and way of life was shared by the administration. Thus, it will be illuminating to trace this development

²⁰ See Appendix A for the full text of the proposal list of the worker delegates.

via the proposals and modifications of laws, codes, decrees and regulations, which intended to construct and regulate the working sphere.

The first regulation after the declaration of the Republic was the 1924 dated and 394 numbered *Hafta Tatili Yasası* (Weekly Holiday Law). This law brings forth the obligation of having a day off (Friday) every week for work places in cities having 10,000 or more population.

Borçlar Yasası (The Law of Contracts) dated 1926 regulated the relationship between employers and the employees until the year 1937, when the Labour Law came into force. Dealing with occupational health matters outside coal mines started with the Labour Law. The 332nd article of this Law charged the employer to take measures to protect the lives and the health of their workers. This Law consisted of articles that supported workers in cases of diseases, epidemics and accidents (Articles 55, 58 and 100). The wages would be paid to the worker who would not be able to work for a short period of time (Article 328).

Belediyeler Kanunu (The Law of Municipalities) dated 1930, stated these tasks among the duties of the municipalities;

- The health inspection of factories, work places and workers' residences,
- Checking electrical machines, boilers and other installations,
- Providing cheap accomodation or cheap rent,
- Checking the negative effects of industrial establishment and factories on health, peace and properties of surrounding people and preventing these damages.

Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu (The Law for Consolidation of Public Health) dated 1930, regulated health services throughout the country. According to the 7th section of this Law called as "*İşçi Hıfzısıhhası*" accepted the protection of all workers' health and lives as a governmental duty. This

Law contained the social policy measures related with the protection of children and women workers. The earliest working age was determined as twelve. This Law determines the prohibition of employing children between 12 and 16 years of age at night, setting maximum daily working hours as 8, prohibition of working more than 8 hours for underground or night working, obligation of providing a doctor for businesses employing 50 or more workers and setting the conditions for employing pregnant women before and after delivery. Article 179 of this Law states making detailed rules and regulations intending the protection of workers' health and security.

The 1935 dated *Ulusal Bayram ve Genel Tatiller Kanunu* (The Code of National Holiday and General Holidays) determined weekly holiday as 35 hours starting from Saturday at 13.00 p.m.

In the first years of the Republic, several proposals about the Labour Act were prepared. In the first two proposals dated 1924 and 1927, the opinion of supporting private sector interference in expectation of being helpful for the economic development of the country was deciding the general motive of the proposal. The third, forth and fifth proposals were dated as 1929, 1932 and 1934 respectively. The first Labour Act was approved in June 3, 1936. In November 1, 1936 in the opening speech of The General Assembly, Labour Act for marine and agriculture workers were also requested to take presence, but this request could not be fulfilled for many years. The first Labour Act covered the work places employing 10 or more workers. With the help of a Decree dated 1956, the Law covered work places with 4 workers.

In 1946, with the help of the "Law On Organization and Tasks of the Ministry of Labour" many regulations were made and laws, rules and regulations and statues were enacted about occupational health after the establishment of the Ministry of Labour.

International regulations are also important in the regulation process. Turkey who became a member of ILO (International Labour Organisation) in the year 1932, approved many agreements that ILO has published.

2.3. Project and Program for Industrialisation and Factory Buildings in the Early 20th Century: State Factories in Turkey

In order to comprehend especially the first years of the history of the Republic, it is essential to evaluate the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. As Makal stated, if the matter in question is economics, there is a continuity between the two periods. This is valid for all the sectors. The industry sector consists more of small enterprises that process agricultural products. Only 284 workplaces employed more than five workers, of which 148 were in İstanbul, 62 in İzmir, and the remaining 74 in Western Anatolia were established in 1915 industrial survey.²¹ As a result of the Republican policy in encouraging industry, there was an increase in the number of factories in 1930s (the number of factories²² was approximately 2200 in 1932).²³

In the beginning of 1920s, the Turkish economy still relied on agriculture as a dominant sector. The share of agriculture in GNP (gross national product) was %39.8 as of 1923, and share of industry was %13.2. The picture was the same when total employment is in question. The share of agriculture was %89.6, the share of industry was %4.6. When an income comparison is made between Turkey and some other countries for those years, the income per capita in Turkey is 83 TL while it is 784 TL in England, 197 TL in Romania, 90TL in Bulgaria and 54 TL in India.²⁴

²¹ Ahmad, F. (1981) "The Political Economy of Kemalism" *Atatürk; Founder of a Modern State* (eds.) Özbudun, E., Kazancıgil, A., C. Hurst & Company, Londra; 146.

²² Workplaces that employs 10 and more workers are accepted to be called as factories.

²³ Ahmad (1981; 148).

²⁴ Quoted in Makal (1999; 195-197).

The economic thought during the Republican period, as Makal stated, is also the “national economy” understanding that was in the II. Constitutional Monarchy period: “The economic policies that were implemented until 1930s and that were characterized as liberal policies and also the state controlled industrialism policies that were followed after 1930s were based mainly on this national economy understanding”.²⁵

The economic policies that gave more importance to the private sector were followed from the establishment of the Republic until 1930s. Therefore this period was in general characterized by “liberal” prefix. However, the existence of state interventionism in this period should also be considered. The main understanding in the economic policy in this period, as Kuruç has underlined, was to support “national” private entrepreneurship. As Kuruç states, “nationalism was more than an attribute and was the guaranteeing point for this new regime”.²⁶ The period of 1938-1940 is generally characterized with the “state control” prefix. However, the policies that were followed in 1920-1940 period can be considered as the different interpretation and application of the same economic policy (the “national economy” understanding) that were realized in different conditions.

The Turkish Economic Congress (generally known as İzmir Economic Congress) held in between February 17th and March 4th in 1923. In the opening of the Congress, in the speeches made by whether Atatürk or the Minister of Economy Mahmut Esat Bey, the importance of economic independence was highlighted with absence of classes and populism as well as solidarity thesis.²⁷

²⁵ Ibid.; 39.

²⁶ Kuruç, B. (1988) *Belgelerle Türkiye İktisat Politikası: 1929-1933*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, Ankara; 37.

²⁷ About the economic sovereignty, Mustafa Kemal stated: “No matter how big the political and military victories might be, if they are not crowned with economic victory, these victories will not

As Günce stated, the basic principles adopted at the İzmir Economic Congress might be listed under four topics:

- Promotion of legislation for the encouragement of industry,
- Lowering of rates in land and sea transport for domestic products,
- Need for the creation of credit facilities for industrialists,
- Extension of technical instruction & training of engineers for industry.²⁸

All the measures that were suggested in the Congress were in fact devoted to realize a single objective: Acceleration of the establishment of a national economy and strengthen the economic factors in the country that would provide the socio-economic basis for the newborn Republic government as soon as possible.²⁹

The Congress was organized based on occupational representation. Four social classes were represented in the Congress: These were farmers, merchants, industrialists and workers. In fact, as Makal highlighted, it was controversial that whether the representatives who attended the Congress in order to represent every class really represented these social classes or not.³⁰ If we consider the class that was important from our point of view, ie. the workers group, the head of this group was the writer Aka Gündüz. As Makal stated, a retired governor, a religious man and people from several professions were in this group.³¹ Actually, the dominant group at the idea generating level (although not being represented as a social class) was the bureaucracy; because, as Ahmad stated, “the social classes were far-off from directing the state. They had to be developed by the state”.³²

last and will not be continuous”. For the full text of the speech, see *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, II.Cilt. Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayını, Ankara; 99-112.

²⁸ Günce, E. (1967) “Early Planning Experience in Turkey”, in S.İlkin, E.İnanç (eds) *Planning in Turkey*, Faculty of Administrative Science, Ankara. Pub.no:9; 4.

²⁹ Ahmad, F. (1981; 151).

³⁰ Makal (1999; 206).

³¹ *Ibid.*; 206.

³² Ahmad, F. (1981; 151).

Each group in the Congress brought up requests that were in accordance with their benefits. One of the requests of the industrialist group was having a bank that will meet their needs established. Sanayi ve Maadin Bank was founded in 1925 to support the establishment of industrial institutions and to secure credit facilities for them. This bank would later be transformed into Sümerbank.³³ The worker group raised 34 claims.³⁴ If we summarize the requests that were related to workers' health; they comprised the regulations related with working hours, regulations related with working age, maternity leave with pay for working women, claims about vacation and leave, claims about health measures that need to be taken at workplace, claims about providing job inspection and claims about establishing different insurance branches including accident and old age insurance.

Although the İzmir Economic Congress enlightened the economic policies that would later be followed, the decisions that were taken in this Congress were general wishes and desires rather than a plan or a program.

In the years following the İzmir Economic Congress, the information about the situation of workers and industry could be obtained from the results of the "General Population Census" that was realized in 1927 and the "Industry Census" that was also realized in the same year.

According to "1927 General Population Census", the proportion of the workforce that is expressed as "people with occupation" to the general population was about 40%.³⁵ If we look at the sectoral distribution of the

³³ Dated 03.06.1933 and numbered 2262, "Sümerbank Law". Official Journal: 11.06.1933.

³⁴ For all these claims, see Appendix I. Also can be seen, Ökçün, G. (1971) *Türkiye İktisat Kongresi, 1923-İzmir*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, Ankara; 430-434 and İnan, Afet (1972) *Devletçilik İlkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci Sanayi Planı* (Statistical principles and the first industrial plan of the Turkish Republic) Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara: 51-55.

³⁵ Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü (1930; 52).

employed group, we can observe that 81.63% was in agriculture sector, 5.59% was in the industry sector.³⁶ In the 1927 Population Census, while 299.369 people stated that they were working in the industry sector, due to the results of Industry Census this number was 256.855. The difference between these two numbers arose from the presence of people who did produce at home.³⁷

Another fact that shows the underdeveloped structure of the industry was the scale of the industry institutions and rate of usage of engine power. In the table below, according to the 1927 Industry Census, the distribution of industry sector according to the number of workers that they employed is shown. According to this, 91% of the institutions employ 5 or less workers. As Keyder states, if we set the limit for factories as minimum 10 workers, 98.7% of workplaces and 67% of workers were in the small industry group.³⁸

About the usage of engine power in industry, due to Makal's calculations, only 4.33% of the workshops used engine power.³⁹ All these data evidently show the underdeveloped industry structure of the country.

³⁶ Quoted in Makal (1999; 213).

³⁷ *Ibid.*; 214-215.

³⁸ Keyder, Ç. (1982) *Dünya Ekonomisi içinde Türkiye: 1923-1929*, Yurt Yayınları, Ankara; 84.

³⁹ Makal (1999; 217).

Table 1. The distribution of industry sector according to the number of workers that they employ according to the 1927 Industry Census.

Institutions according to the number of workers that they employ	Number of Institutions	%
Institutions consisting of one person	23.316	35.74
Institutions consisting of one person and his family	4.914	7.53
Institutions employing 2-3 persons	23.332	35.76
Institutions employing 4-5 persons	7.683	11.78
Institutions employing 6-10 persons	3.940	6.04
Institutions employing 11-20 persons	1.188	1.82
Institutions employing 21-50 persons	551	0.84
Institutions employing 51-100 persons	166	0.25
Institutions employing 100 and more persons	155	0.24
<i>Total</i>	65.245	100

After the 1927 Industry Census, the incentive measures were put on the agenda in order to improve the industry. Actually, this was not the first time when incentive measures were used as an economic policy tool. During the Ottoman Empire, “The Interim Act about Incentives for the Industry” that came into force in December 14th, 1913, was for making various concessions to the domestic industry and for obtaining state support. This Act could not be very successful in practice.⁴⁰ There were very few industry enterprises that could benefit from the Act dated 1927. This resulted from the restrictions that this Act brings forth. Because of the restrictions about engine power that these enterprises used and about the number of workers, only the biggest enterprises of that period could benefit from this Act.⁴¹ The most important incentive measures that were brought by this Act were;

⁴⁰ Kepenek, Y. (1987) *Türkiye Ekonomisi*, Teori Yayınları, Ankara; 16-18.

⁴¹ Makal (1999; 219).

1. Allocation of free land from state property up to 10 hectares and allocation of land from private persons by expropriation,
2. Convenience in infrastructure investments that these establishments need,
3. 10% discount in carrying costs,
4. Exemption from many taxes and expenses,
5. Mandatory purchase of domestic goods for public sector,
6. Discount selling of some goods under state monopoly.⁴²

This Act remained in force until 1942 for 15 years. However, by import-export mechanisms 1929 World Economic Crisis had negative effects on Turkey as well as on other underdeveloped countries.⁴³ This depression caused social problems as well as economic problems; unemployment rose drastically. Especially, the knockout prices of agricultural products caused the peasants to look for jobs in cities.⁴⁴ When these conditions made it impossible to continue economic policies, statist economic policies were followed in order to speed up the economic development. As Aydemir stated, "At first, the state began to intervene the economic life by over controlling money and foreign trade payments. However, the real etatism action started with the State's access to state entrepreneurship by establishing institutions and organizations himself".⁴⁵

Etatism took part in the party program dated 1931 of the Republican People's Party and acceded into the Constitution with Populism and Revolutionism in 1937. Thus, this became a main principle of the state as well as the party.⁴⁶

⁴² Türk, İ. (1975) "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Teşvik Tedbirleri ve Geleceği" *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türkiye'de Sanayileşme ve Sorunları Semineri*, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, Ankara; 662.

⁴³ Makal (1999; 223).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁴⁵ Aydemir, Ş.S. (1965) *Tek Adam, Mustafa Kemal (1922-1938)*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul. v: 3; 372).

⁴⁶ Makal (1999, 232).

Atatürk explained etatism in his message which was read by Celal Bayar in the opening of İzmir Fair in 1935, as follows:

The etatism that Turkey is implementing is not a system that is interpreted by taking the ideas of the socialism theorists put forward since 19th century. This system urged by the necessities of Turkey and it is special to Turkey. In order to us, the meaning of etatism is this: Relying on individual's private entrepreneurship and their personal activities, but taking up the country's economy by the state considering many unaccomplished things and all the needs of a large country and a big nation. The state of Turkish Republic desired to do many things that were not done by private or personal enterprises in Turkish homeland for centuries as soon as possible and as these can be seen, managed to do them in a short period of time. The road we are following, as it can be seen, is a system other than liberalism.⁴⁷

As Kuruç stated, with the help of the etatism system, the principles of accumulation of capital became clear beginning from 1933: "This accumulation will eventuate first at banks and second, at state industry enterprises in a way that banks will be closely involved with them. The vital point of the accumulation is state industry".⁴⁸

In order to determine the investment program of the state sector pioneering the new industrial strategy, First Five-Year Industry Plan was prepared in 1933. Especially the success of the Soviet Five Year Plan of 1927 in the World Crisis might be caused such planning to be taken as an example.

Afet İnan summarizes the fundamentals of the plan as follows;

1. The industry branches that have their main raw materials in our country or that can be obtained in a short period of time, although not coming up for the present, are the priority of this Plan,
2. The industry enterprises that seem impossible to be realized by private sector will be established by the state,
3. The production capacity of the industry enterprises that were decided to be established is proportional with the country's needs (other than sulphur, attar of roses and sponge).⁴⁹

⁴⁷ İnan, Afet (1973) *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin İkinci Sanayi Planı*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, Ankara; 13-14.

⁴⁸ Kuruç (1987; 66).

⁴⁹ Afetinan (1972; 16).

The task of implementing the Plan was given to Sümerbank, and many state enterprises were established under the management structure of this enterprise. According to the Plan, the industry investments were concentrated on the production of basic consumption goods such as textile and sugar.

The loan that was to be used for the realization of the First Five Year Industrial Plan was seriously granted by Soviets in 1934. It was lent for a period of 20 years in the form of machinery and equipment. Turkey undertook to repay the loan in Turkish liras to be used by Russia for the purchase of Turkish-made goods.⁵⁰ Other loans which Turkey received at this time were one of 3 million\$ and the other of 10 million\$ which were contracted for an iron and steel factory at Karabük constructed by a London firm.

Dealing with solely the industry sector in the First Five-year Industry Plan, ignoring agriculture and services sectors is one of the important deficiencies of this Plan.⁵¹ In those years industry sector's requirement of goods of agriculture origin on a large scale, created serious difficulties about planning the industry sector without planning the agriculture sector. However the difficulty of planning the agriculture sector in those years is also evident. Because, small producers dominate this sector and the serious effects of 1929 economic crisis on agriculture sector were continuing. Still, some measures, although cannot be expressed as planning, were taken to improve the conditions of the agriculture sector. The activities and organizations on education and research in agriculture sector, the developments in agricultural technology and equipment, new organizations in the field of marketing agricultural products should be evaluated in this context.⁵²

⁵⁰ Günçe (1967; 16-17).

⁵¹ Makal (1999; 236).

⁵² See; Tekeli (1988; 41).

The Second Industry Plan whose preparations began in 1935 and which was submitted as a report in 1936 was more extensive and more detailed when compared with the first one. The Second Industry Plan Project was carried into effect in 1938. However, this became impossible to execute with the beginning of Second World War.⁵³

The majority of the industry investments that were suggested in the First Industry Plan were realized by Sümerbank. A new model including private sector contribution to the capital has been formed with Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları A.Ş. that has been established with the participation of Sümerbank.⁵⁴ In the field of mining and energy Etibank was established with the Act dated 1935. Etibank activated many enterprises in various regions of the country. In the same year, Electricity Audit Administration and Institute of Mineral Research and Exploration were established. Between 1932-1939, all the railroad, maritime line, seaport and wharf enterprises were nationalized.⁵⁵ Various State Economic Enterprises were formed in these fields. Denizbank , which was established in 1938, was displaced by the General Directorate of State Maritime Lines Enterprise and the General Directorate of State Seaport Enterprise in 1939. In 1938 The Office of Soil Products, in 1934 the Institution of Agricultural Equipment was founded.

In 1938, the regulations about the economic enterprises, which the state controlled, were integrated by a general Act⁵⁶ that regulates the activities of these institutions and covers them.

The years 1930-1939 should be characterized as the years when first serious steps were taken in the direction of Turkey's industrialization. The annual growth rate of industry in constant prices was on average %11.6.

⁵³ Boratav, K. (1982) *Türkiye'de Devletçilik*, Savaş Yayınları, Ankara; 113.

⁵⁴ Makal (1999; 240-241).

⁵⁵ Boratav (1982; 199).

⁵⁶ Act numbered 3460 related with State Economic Enterprises. Conformation date: 17.06.1938, Official Journal: 04.07.1938.

The industry sector will never reach this average growth rate of 1930-1939 in any period in the history of the Republic.

Although foreign loans were taken, foreign trade deficit as an important indicator of foreign dependence disappeared in the years 1930-1939. Above all, industrialization was realized in the direction of the production of common consumption goods in the country. At the end of the period, Turkey could eventually provide the “three whites” namely flour, sugar and textile by domestic production. The modern industry branches that produced investment goods and intermediate goods were also first founded in this period. The first modern foundations that are in metallurgy, iron and steel, paper and chemical industries were established in these years, big progress was made in the production of construction equipment and cement.⁵⁷

As Makal stated, in this period, three main tools were used in order to achieve the intended targets. As mentioned above, these are “planning”, “the State Economic Enterprises” and “legal arrangements”.⁵⁸ State prepared industry plans in order to plan and systematize the industry efforts, increased its control over economic life by various legal and administrative arrangements and ran by forming various economic enterprises that will have the task of pioneering the economic field. These enterprises contributed to form a modern industry and a modern working class in the country.

The early Republican state factories were designed by foreign firms. This was justified with lack of experience in Turkey. Atatürk stated that, “in works of construction, ...it is required to use foreign experts as necessary in order to provide the benefit and construction of our country, and the happiness and the wealth of our nation, in a short period of time”. Consequently, the knowledge and experience of Europe, Soviets and

⁵⁷ Boratav, K.(1989) “Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-1985”. *75 Yılda Çarklardan Chip'lere*; 71-76.

America in industrial building was used while establishing the initial state factories.

In this context, it is useful to look over this process of experience that we have imported from foreign countries. By examining this process, we might be able to understand how factory planning has changed over years from Industrial Revolution to 1930s.

Every phase of industrialisation, in terms of buildings as well as industrial processes and transportation of materials goes back much earlier than the 18th century in the world. Most of the research on industrial archaeology concentrates on the period from 18th century to 20th century; that is from the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

In the early days of industrialization, the builders of industrial buildings were not specialised designers, they were mostly millwrights who could be thought as forerunners of engineers and they had no much academic training, but much accumulated practical experience. More sophisticated details and standards were achieved gradually with the experiments over centuries. Then, young architects just beginning their careers were employed for the design of industrial buildings. As the demand for great factories grew and the value of a building as a source of status and advertising became apparent, so firms of qualified architects and engineers began to be involved.⁵⁹

The beginning of Industrial Revolution coincided with the Age of Reason that was a time in which men sought rationality to create a consistent and ordered society.⁶⁰ The architectural ideas of the period cannot be thought independently from a society in which it is created. There, the formation of

⁵⁸ Makal (1999; 236).

⁵⁹ Jones, E. (1985) *Industrial Architecture in Britain 1750-1939*; 12.

⁶⁰ Jones (1985; 12).

the early industrial buildings was often determined by the principles of the Age of Reason.

The dominant understanding in shaping the early industrial architecture was functionalism not a stylistic approach but as a natural process that fulfill the needs as logically and economically as possible. Functionalism is derived usually from the close analysis of the mechanical requirements, not from the demands and the necessities of workers.⁶¹

When the Industrial Revolution introduced new functions and contents into industrial buildings at the end of the 18th century, it led to the use of new materials like iron in the construction. These materials were not used directly in buildings but in functional structures like bridges and towers.

As Batur stated; “emergence of new functions and materials is the descriptive notice of the early buildings coming with the revolution”.⁶² First use cast-iron in industry, by Abraham Darby in 1777, in the iron bridge of Coalbrookdale in England, opened up new possibilities in the construction techniques.⁶³ Steel as a material that supersedes the limitations of iron provided a new “factory aesthetic” understanding with the lightness and transparency. Then, the development of the reinforced concrete by Monnier in 1880s would play a crucial role in modern architecture.

The changing scale of industrial buildings, which became more imposing in time has an affect on people who experience these huge spaces during worktime and those who perceive them in their physical environments as men living in industrial town.

⁶¹ Richards, J.M. (1958) The functional Tradition in Early Industrial Buildings; 14.

⁶² Batur, A. and S. (1970) “Sanayi, Sanayi Toplumu ve Sanayi Yapısının Evrimi Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler”, *Mimarlık*, n:80; 33.

⁶³ Jones (1985; 27).

New responses to these radical changes in industrial cities led to the emergence of proposals for these industrial settlements. Tony Garnier's *Cite Industrielle* designed between the years 1901-1904 was the first urban proposal that varied from the place of activities in spatial organisation of the city to structural details of housing units. Concrete was the material used to realise the buildings. New concepts related with the modern architecture and city planning were firstly introduced well detailed as well as very comprehensively.⁶⁴

Another modernist approach to the design of industrial settlements was Le Corbusier's proposal of Linear Industrial City. He placed industrial complexes linearly alongside the transportation ways while placing the workers houses on green areas at the back of the factories. The area of workers' houses were thought with social, cultural and recreational centers. He also organised agricultural production areas in this green place. The researches of Le Corbusier's on industrial settlements were theorised in *Les 3 Etablissements Humains*.⁶⁵ He developed these researches and proposals in 1940s. To see the similarities between the first state factories of Turkey and these proposals is interesting. In Eskişehir Sugar Factory, which is established in 1933 (that is, nearly ten years before the proposals of Le Corbusier's), the residential units were placed separated from the factory by green areas and parks. Cafeterias, health centres and clubs, areas spared for sports and recreation were thought within the factory settlement.

⁶⁴ Soğancı (2001; 83).

⁶⁵ Bilsel, Cana (1999)“*Le Corbusier'in İzmir Nazım Planı ve 'Yeşil Endüstri Sitesi' Önerisi*”, *Ege Mimarlık*, n: :33; 13-17.

CHAPTER 3

WORKERS AND STATE FACTORIES: A DISCURSIVE COLLABORATION

In the 1930s, the state had begun to construct new industrial institutions in order to develop industrial development. However she had also the duty of making workers out of nothing, creating people of expert knowledge and behaviour, who would work in and for these institutions. Within this period, even for the workers who worked for the existing industrial institutions the term “industrial worker” couldn’t be used, because this cast was comprised more often of the ‘skilled’ farmers, who used to work as workers in certain times of the year, as ‘seasonal workers’, in order to earn an additional income. These people were far away from complying with the norms demanded by the industry, either in their training or their work experience: they were being called with titles as “peasant-workers” rather than “workers”.⁶⁶ Lack of a permanent worker stock or pool, had created serious limitations and problems regarding the industry to be developed in this period.⁶⁷

Troubles in providing workers caused the industrial institutions work with low capacity. For instance, in 1942, the Iron and Steel Factories had to run with 3100 workers although they had a 4300-person cadre.⁶⁸ Tekeli states that “although capacities of factories were big, productions realized

⁶⁶ See, Makal (1997)

⁶⁷ Makal (1999; 295)

remained rather low. Difficulties in providing workers and very high rates of job vacating had been effective on this.”⁶⁹ This situation also caused necessary care and repairing works to be delayed⁷⁰ and therefore this raised the costs. In a report of the High Council of Economics dated 1933, it had been declared that technical chiefs, foremen and workers who work for industrial institutions were incompetent even by the activities of the day.⁷¹

As Makal states, in this period, one of the indications of having not a permanent industrial labor was the high rate of ‘worker circulation’.⁷² In the Turkish, the rate of workers circulation was approximately 300% in 1940.⁷³ This meant that for every 100 person who had worked at the factories of Turkish Sugar Factories Corporation in 1940, 300 person quitted employment. One of the problems caused by the high rate of worker circulation was that, workers who would get qualification by working and gaining experience in industrial institutions couldn’t realize this because they vacated their job after a short time. This was the reason why the productivity capacity in factories was rather low than expected during the 1930s and 1940s.

For overcoming the problems and creating a permanent industrial labour, several methods had been developed. In this section, a reading of “social contract between workers and the state” will be tried to be revealed, explored and dwelled upon, which is present mostly as unwritten contracts, and which is given appearance by the very expectations and the very commitments / engagements between the state and her workers, via several codes of conduct.

⁶⁸ Ekin, N. (1960) “Memleketimizde İşçi Devri Mevzuunda Yapılan Araştırmalar ve Ortaya Koydukları Neticeler” Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları, İstanbul; 145.

⁶⁹ Tekeli and İlkin (1982; 199)

⁷⁰ Ekin (1960; 136)

⁷¹ “Memleketimizde mesleğine merbut ve tecrübeli amele pek azdır.” T.C. Âlî İktisat Meclisi (1933, 18-19)

⁷² “İşçi devir oranı; bir ay veya bir yıl içinde işyerine giren ve çıkan işçi miktarının, aynı süre içinde işyerinde çalışan işçi sayısına oranıdır.”

3. 1. The Social Contract(s) between Workers and the State

Besides troubles of providing / creating workers for state factories, shortness of the working period of those who were employed, seems to have compelled the state to think and look for solutions.

In the 1943 year report by the Prime Ministry General Inspection Board (*Başvekalet Umumi Murakebe Heyeti*), which is prepared for Sümerbank, “reasons of secession/ getting away from the factories” and “solutions indicated” have been undertaken very particularly.⁷⁴ Among the solutions pointed out were “to raise the wages”, “to construct houses for workers” and “to distribute dress, bread and hot plate”, to initiate and attract more workers with increased involvement in their work. In a book published on the occasion of the 10th foundation year of Etibank in 1945, which is one of the biggest foundations of the period, it had been mentioned that some social facilities should have been re-founded so that informed and continuous worker cadre would be at least in the environs of 50%, if raising productivity is the issue.⁷⁵

The problem of providing workers for state factories had come to be considered together with their “housing” problem. This problem had been given high priority even in the annual budgets and government programs. In the Cabinet Program which was read in the Parliament in 1937, there was the phrase “Among the elements of capitalization unit, we want to give much importance to the matter of workers’ housing”.⁷⁶

The reasons for high circulation rate of workers in this period needs to be understood along with the main qualifications of workers who work in the

⁷³ Ekin (1960; 136).

⁷⁴ Başvekalet Umumi Murakabe Heyeti, Sümerbank, 1943 yılı Umumi Murakabe Heyeti Raporu, (48-50).

⁷⁵ *Etibank 1935-1945* (1945) prepared by: Aslan Tufan Yazman, İktisadi Yürüyüş Matbaası; 11.

¹¹ Quoted in Makal (1999; 300).

industrial sector of the period. Thus, we would better understand the cautions taken by the state in order to provide workers' continuous presence in the state factories.

As mentioned before, most of the workers consisted of farmers who preferred to turn back to their village and farmlands after saving money after working as a worker at a factory for temporary durations in certain periods of the year. The best indication of this condition was that, giving up jobs showed a great increase at harvesting periods. As an example, in the Report of Prime Ministry General Inspection Board dated 1943, it was stated that "irregular attendance of workers at work showed increase at harvesting periods" in Turkish Iron and Steel Factories Corporation.⁷⁷ The agricultural structure was based on small farming which prevented to arise a large wage earner section in the sector itself. And this further prevented formation of a potential worker block that would tend towards the industrial sector by getting unpropertiated.⁷⁸

There are differences between peasants and industrial workers also for their habits of living and production. Sarc assesses the situation in this way: "Sight of the peasant is far away being from materialized. Our farmer prefers staying close to his land to raising his welfare level."⁷⁹

On the basis of a peasant-worker sector with these properties, the state tried to get workers committed by providing them opportunities that they could not find and have in their villages, which would be more attractive rather than the "high wages".

Possibly the most important one of these opportunities was the clean, healthy, "modern" housing, where the electricity, the tap water and the fuel for heating (coal or wood) were paid by the state. In the book published on

⁷⁷ Başvekalet Umumi Murakebe Heyeti, Sümerbank Demir ve Çelik Fabrikaları Müessesesi 1943 yılı Umumi Murakebe Heyeti Raporu, (23).

⁷⁸ Berkes (1975; 132).

⁷⁹ Sarc, Ö. C. (1949) *Türkiye Ekonomisinin Genel Esasları*, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Bölümü Yayını, İstanbul; 274.

the occasion of 10th foundation year of Sümerbank, along with the evaluation about the benefits to be gained from providing housing for workers at companies, this determination is remarkable: “Factory houses makes it simpler to provide workers (for the state), as they make them committed to the company places.”⁸⁰ Together with this main purpose, a great many complementary purposes has been listed: increase in productivity; better protection of health of the workers; making it affordable and easy for the workers to use social facilities as sports centers, reading saloons, cinemas, canteens; setting better relations among workers, and thus forming positive affection of working harmony and production.⁸¹

In this period, in order to commit workers to the factory, large housing opportunities were provided to people who work as worker within the institutions related to the Public Economical Enterprises (*Kamu İktisâdi Teşekkülleri*). In the report of the Prime Ministry State Personnel Department, dated 1962, it is stated that the number of houses constructed by th Public Economic Enterprises up to that date were about 30.000 units.

Another opportunity provided for the workers were the possibility of eating free at refectories within the factory grounds. As is understood from the reports of Prime Ministry General Inspection Board, generally two meals were given free a day within the factories⁸² and so ‘the cost of meals (to the state) given free to a month wage of a employee was amounted even to 1/3.’⁸³

There were health units, baby nurseries and day-care centers that serve to workers at state factories. In factories “Economa”s had been founded so that workers could get necessary consumer items under the market prices.

⁸⁰ Sümerbank, X.Yıl (1943) Cumhuriyet Matbaası, İstanbul; 239.

⁸¹ *İbid.*; 237.

⁸² Sümerbank, X.Yıl (1943; 252). Başvekalet Umumi Murakebe Heyeti 1943 Yılı Raporları; Eti Bank Ereğli Kömürleri İşletmesi, (82-84); Eti Bank Keçiözümlü Kömürleri T.A.Ş., (10).

⁸³ Makal (1999; 270).

They could make shopping by signing without paying, and at the end of the month it would be cut from their salary.

All these opportunities stated above were commitments of state to the workers when they start working at state factories even if they were unwritten. Workers whom expectations were met by this “social contract” were beginning to work as workers at factory, and state as well were meeting its expectations from the workers owing to the binding, controlling elements of this “social contract”.

3. 2. The Daily Mandate, Routines and Care, and the Physical Environments for Workers

In this thesis, to understand the discourse of the period related to public health, occupational health, industrialization and architecture; documents, reports, opinions and ideas of state executers related to the subject were utilized occasionally and quotations were made from their related correspondence and reports. However, direct experiences of workers who were the subjects of these politics, we were not able to follow the track. This situation has been a conclusion, for neither the workers who were working at these factories nor the factory supervisors or the doctors and health personnel working for the factory, did leave records which could be reached and evaluated by researchers. Until the emergence of new archival resources, we will be content with the two sources that could be reached, and will try to read how “a working day of workers” was achieved and lived in.

The first source is a text supposed to be taken from a worker’s notebook and published in the newspaper *Ulus* in 1938.⁸⁴ This article is very important even though it leaves an impression for some lines to have been written by the people who publish it. The text begins as “Do you know how

⁸⁴ Appendix B: “Bir Sümerbank İşçisinin Defterinden Notlar”.

the 24 hours of a worker passes at factory?” As it is understood from the text, worker resides in a 5-person room at the singles’ pavilion. According to the statement of the worker, the singles’ pavilion is “a full lighted, clean, modern, with a concrete construction”. In the factory workers wake up “early in the morning” and are taken to the showers firstly: “Our baths with inlaid floor and always plentiful water, wait us.” After the showers are taken, the workers go to the sports areas. Workers use the sports area as a group making collective sports: “Sport at the factory is a form of lesson.” We learn from the text of the worker that “the ones who make good sport” are “esteemed popularly” and are supported.

Daily sport at the state factories is one of the aspects of politics used to raise compliance of workers to factory life and industrial production circumstances via social bonds. Physical education and sports were used to get workers, who are basicly used to norms of agricultural production, to gain skills such as punctuality, quickness, team work, and attention. Sport was thought to be useful for increasing the will towards their work and factory life besides for providing maximum efficiency from working hours.

Physical education and sports in 1930s have been carried as a state politics not only at factories but also at schools, People’s Houses, and youth clubs.⁸⁵ (Figure 1)

These politics were not also special to Turkey. In Europe, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A as well, projects, programs and systems had been developed to create a productive generation by the means of physical education and sport. One of these systems was the Swedish gymnastics. It was brought to Turkey by Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) who had taken physical education at the Royal Institute in Sweden. Selim Sırrı wrote a book about Swedish gymnastics, when he returned to Turkey.⁸⁶ He was assigned as

⁸⁵ For detailed information, see, Akın, Yiğit (2004) *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar, Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

⁸⁶ Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) (1910) “İsveç Usulü Jimnastik Terbiye-i Bedeniye”.

the Physical Education Inspector in the same year and ensured the Swedish gymnastics to be a popular gymnastic and body training system.

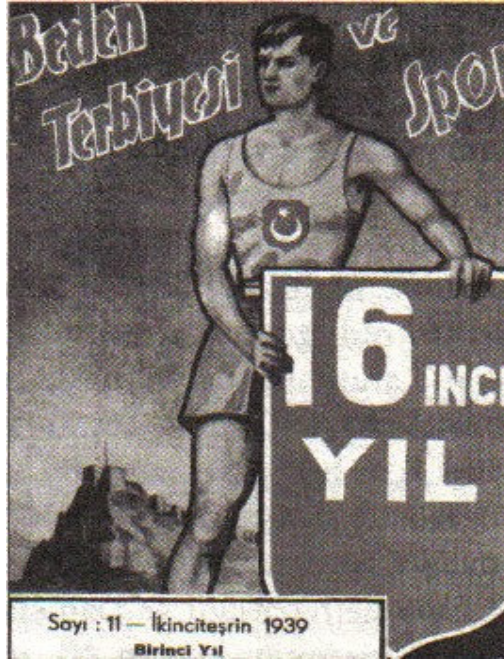


Figure 1. The cover of the magazine of General Directorate of Physical Education named “Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor” dated 1939.

Another source which we could find about the Swedish gymnastics exercised at the state factories, is text of Lilo Linke who tells:

..... Young workers lined in the groups of two thousand persons when each started their morning exercise. Each group were arranged as in eight lines and at the head of each line was a woman worker... On a rather high podium, Mr. Fazıl (director of the *Combine*, Company Town) who was dressed as the others was coaching workers for Swedish gymnastics... Then he turned to me:

- You possibly find it nonsense to make sports in this hot weather. But we don't do it only for making sport. While making sport, they have to dress shorts and stand at a public area with their naked legs. That's

the important point for me. When they become familiar with it, they give up all traditional habits and get free.⁸⁷

Sports which is seen as a disciplinarian mechanism, was increasing the workers' skills and obedience to industrial production as well as getting them used to the norms that politic regime wanted to naturalize. As Foucault stated, disciplinarian mechanisms gradually became complicated and expanded into the whole life.⁸⁸ The more these mechanisms take place in institutions, (and not only certain disciplinarian institutions like mental hospitals, prisons but also in institutions like family, formal education, factory), the more the subjects of that society became obedient. These institutions created the "new" communities by which moral norms and behavioral patterns were easily transferred.

However, it is understood that sports was not seen only as a disciplinarian mechanism, but it was also part of a public health politics. Abidin Daver writes that sport facilities at factories were arranged for workers' health and for getting use of their leisure times.⁸⁹ On the other hand, Falih Rıfki Atay thought that these sport facilities were founded to keep away workers from bad habits.⁹⁰ Physical exercises were thought to be good for treatment of symptoms stated by workers who work continuously at the same position, like overexertion, muscle and joint aches, impostural troubles. Physical education and sport exercises were to be made in order to operate different muscles of the workers so that they would not lose their health.⁹¹

Besides physical exercises and sport exercises, another routine of workers was eating at the refectories. Refectories, which were an element

⁸⁷ The note takes place in the book of the German journalist Lilo Linke, who visited Kayseri Textile Factory in 1936. Source it has been: Akın (2004; 184-185).

⁸⁸ Foucault (1977) *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of Prison*. New York: Penguin Books, (34).

⁸⁹ Abidin Daver (1934) "Kayseri Bez Fabrikası Yüksek bir Medeniyet Abidesidir", *Cumhuriyet*, 20 Eylül 1935.

⁹⁰ Falih Rıfki Atay. "Kombina'da Muhit," *Ulus*, 21 Eylül 1935.

⁹¹ Sadi İrmak. "Çiftçi ve İşçinin Bedeni Terbiye İhtiyacı", *Bedensal Terbiyesi ve Spor*, v: 32; 8.

of physical environment at the factory complex, had been planned close to residential areas in general.

3. 3. Possession and Participation

“Workers’ house and social facilities” within factory settlement as an object may be considered to be a part of the “social contract” between workers and the employer (state) as an element in supporting, and reinforcing the “dependent labour”. Besides, the daily mandate, routines and activities that seem to be related with care, which take place in these social spaces, can be a part of the socio-economic politics of early Republican Turkey. These themes have been undertaken in detail in sections 3.1. and 3.2 in turn. In this section, relations of the “dependent worker” that is the object of dependent labour and the possession-participation link which is formed within factory settlements will be brought forward for consideration.

Factory settlements in the period of industrialization, together with all the spaces it brings together, the physical environments and the social living conditions, can be considered to be an architectural product that is part of an utopia, an ideally designed environment. The anonymous worker who is the object of this ideal as “people” accepted, adopted or tolerated this physical environment and living conditions created by the factory with its open and close spaces.⁹²

At the same time, factory settlements are a product of the mentality of the “national economics” in which the economic development and solidarity thesis were taken together. The sentences below quoted from Atatürk, in his speech at the opening of İzmir Economics Congress, are rather striking:

⁹² In the early years of industrialization, dwelling in worker’s houses within factory settlement which seems charming owing to the conditions provided, turned out to dwelling in houses bought in any area of the city. This situation might be the result of building cooperatives established after 1950 or might be result of savings from their salary in the course of time as workers who work at state factory earn higher wages compared with other employees.

Today at our present factories and at our future factories which we desire that they would be more in number, our own workers must work. They must work with leisure ours and be satisfied, and they must be rich and could taste the real taste of life so that they would find the necessary power and strength to work.⁹³

The construction and architecture of workers' houses has been influenced from ideas like "whatever their income and life-style will be, there is always a house type that everyone deserves"⁹⁴, "'intelligentsia' designs this house type for 'people' and while doing this, they must consider modernizing effect of the space on the man"⁹⁵, "state must worry about improving the conditions of its people"⁹⁶.

The worker who participates in factory life by dwelling within the factory settlement has been appropriated to factory in fact by the mediation of housing. Thus, the worker whose labour was dependent as well as has been put into the possession of the factory in concerns for 24 hours: the factory not only guarantees the worker, but also the continuous supply of his working hours. Thus the state factory settlements with all their spaces and architectural products designed, have brought "this social welfare dimension which has been developed on the basis of a mutuality in the logic of capitalist mode of production"⁹⁷, as a tool of "instrumental exploitation".

Possession by the Mediation of (through) Participation

In his book "Discipline and Punish", Foucault asserts that methods of "controlling" the individual, "disciplines" have created "educated (domesticated) bodies" and the reason of this has been derived from the idea that the "body is useful if only it is productive and tame".⁹⁸ In just this

⁹³ For full text of the speech, see "Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri", v: 2; 99-112.

⁹⁴ Cengizkan, Ali (2004) "Türkiye'de Fabrika ve İşçi Konutları: İstanbul Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali". *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, v: 20 (1-2); 29

⁹⁵ Yeşilkaya (2004; 122)

⁹⁶ Cengizkan (2004; 31)

⁹⁷ Ibid.; 31.

⁹⁸ Foucault (1977; 25).

context, it is interesting to explore the way how the term “*beden terbiyesi*” (‘exercising the body’ or ‘physical education’) is used.

State factories through their character of being both an employer and state, easily realized the implementations which necessitate physical education and sports of laws as *Beden Terbiyesi Kanunu* (the Physical Education Law) in these factories.

“*Beden terbiyesi*” (physical education), which it is defined as “body of systematic actions based on a certain set of principals, ideas or a basic philosophy”⁹⁹, as a discipline, as also Akın states, carries on the goal of getting the individual under control, in the means of political and social subordination meanwhile it increases capacity of individual-body in the mean of economical use.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the physical education and sports are used to set and neutralize the new and modern social-moral norms. The workers in state factories are in the possession of the factory (and the state, as an employer) by participating in daily sports or being members of the sport clubs of the factory.

State factories had established sport clubs for a variety of sports and had given importance to have and wear sport clothes, have membership cards, use flags and emblems that are special to the club. (Figure 2) The aim was to increase the state of belonging to, by these symbolic items. It is clear that if one can increase the state of belonging in this way, one can be the possessor of actions, of activities, of behaviours, and thus, of workers.

⁹⁹ Robert Glassford and Gerald Redmond (1988) “Physical Education and Sport in Modern Times,” *History of Physical Education and Sport*. (ed.) Earle Zeigler, Stipes Publishing Company, Illinois; 104.

¹⁰⁰ Akın (2004, 124)



Figure 2: Football teams of Uşak, Alpallu and Eskişehir Sugar Factories with their sport clothes.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4. 1. Theory of Body Politics

In early Republican Turkey, workers' health and in the largest sense body politics, which were tried to be applied at individual and social dimensions, can be examined as a component of social policies arisen in the process of formation of modern state.

A theoretical framework based on the analysis of body politics can be used to mean some architectural formations in state factories and in the largest sense to mean etatism (often integrated with the other five principals) on the period named.

In this chapter, it has been attempted to outline a theoretical framework based on body politics. Then, this theoretical framework is used for the reading on Eskişehir Sugar Factory in Chapter 5.

In Europe, beginning from 17th century, especially economic use purpose, an interventionist mentality in administration that focused on individual body has become prevalent. This mentality developed new power technologies. These several disciplinary technologies for which Foucault used the term “disciplines”, aimed the practices like classifying individual bodies according to their qualities, keeping them down and under control,

and punishing in case of necessity. Disciplines became more complex and sophisticated in the course of time.¹⁰¹ Foucault names these technologies, which focus on the body but approach it individually, as “anatomo-politics” of human body.¹⁰²

From the beginning of 19th century, a new power technology appears. While disciplines focus on single individual, object of this new technology (ordering controls) is human communities and in the general sense whole of the population. Foucault names this system “bio-politics”. Aim of bio-politics is to remove all the negativities which effect the population (plural-body). To realize this aim, the subjects like removing the reasons of illnesses and disabilities, increasing average life span and providing collective hygiene constitute the base of intervention of bio-politics.

Transition from the territorial state mentality into another state mentality which takes population as the base had required a management policy to be formed, which concentrates on the concerns as ensuring welfare of population, health protection, improving life conditions and lengthening life of population. Appearance of a “social area” in which state could interfere as to manage population rationally and effectively was the basic factor that determined the historical process which is named as modernity.¹⁰³ Both the disciplines and the ordering mechanisms of control, in modernity process, evolved towards the purpose of increasing available abilities and the capacity of individual and population in turn as far as possible. It should be underlined that these two intervention mechanisms are separate but in the same time complementary to each other.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of Prison*.

¹⁰² Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality*. Pantheon Books, New York; 137-138.

¹⁰³ Regarding the appearance of “social space”, see: Jacques Donzelot (1991) “The Mobilization of Society” *The Foucault Effect-Studies in Governmentality*, (eds.) Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller. University of Chicago Press, Chicago; 169-179.

¹⁰⁴ Harvey, J. and Robert Sparks, “The Politics of the Body in the Context of Modernity”, *Quest*, v:43/2; 169.

Intervention of power into social area in modernity process has caused the social control of power to be increased and the controlling methods to be diversified. Criticism of modernity made by Foucault is just in this point. In order to Foucault, modernity has created a lot of disciplinary mechanisms like schools, prisons, factories, army, and reformatories to date by the name of modernity, development and liberation.¹⁰⁵

The activities which turned into operation under the discourse of “modern and healthy life style”, that have been undertaken before in Chapter 3, and routines as part of the body politics had been developed on the platform which individual and general intervention mechanisms (anatomopolitic and bio-politic by Foucault’s conceptualization) crossed. As Akin states, state in early Republican Turkey was conscious that without creating healthy, skilful, industrious, productive but also easy going “new generation” of Republic, it wouldn’t be able to develop any social or economical transformation which was planned programmatically.¹⁰⁶ For this purpose the state directly interfered “social area” and constituted institutions which would form this area in accordance with basic principals of regime or utilized the institutions of which main goals were different also with this purpose. While it can be given the example of Halkevleri (Public Houses) for the first one, perhaps the best example for the second is state factories. It has been considered that architectural programs of state factories established in early Republic period was formed by the mentioned interfering mechanisms. This subject is examined in detail over the example of Eskişehir Sugar Factory in Chapter 5.

¹⁰⁵ Jones, C. and Roy Porter (1994) *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*. Routledge, London & New York; 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ Akin (2004; 43).

4. 2. Theory of Utilitarianism: Care for the Individual, Care for the Society, Care for the Welfare of both Individuals and Society

Today in western culture two different normative theories are spoken. One of them is duty (deontological) ethic of famous philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), the other is eventual(result-focused) ethic. As it is known the most typical sample of eventual ethic, which makes assessments according to the result of action, is utilitarianism. Utilitarianism has been developed by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) in the middle of 19th century.¹⁰⁷

Aydın reveals that utilitarianism as the result-focused method of approach in which utility of others appeared:

The point here is that kind of action from which people in maximum number benefited the most has been accepted the most proper action by ethic. In the theory of utilitarianism, humanitarian values are wanted to be raised. Happiness or well being is tried to be increased through glorifying utility and minimizing detriment. Yields which are accepted values in themselves as happiness, health, knowledge, self realization or welfare of public are the results desired in utilitarianism.¹⁰⁸

The sentences below quoted from Atatürk, in his speech at the opening of İzmir Economics Congress, are rather like defining “utilitarianism”:

Today at our present factories and at our future factories which we desire that they would be more in number, our own workers must work. They must work with leisure ours and be satisfied, and they must be rich and could taste the real taste of life so that they would find the necessary power and strength to work.¹⁰⁹

In the 2nd Chapter titled “What is utilitarianism?” of his book *Utilitarianism*, Mill states the relation between utility and happiness as such:

The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness it is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure. To

¹⁰⁷ Prof. Dr. Erdem Aydın, *Tıp Etiğine Giriş*(Introduction to Medicine Ethics), Lecture notes. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Deontoloji, Tıp Etiği ve Tarihi A.D.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ For full text of the speech, see “Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri”, v: 2; 99-112.

give a clear view of the moral standard set up by the theory, much more requires to be said; in particular, what things it includes in the ideas of pain and pleasure; and to what extent this is left an open question. But these supplementary explanations do not affect the theory of life on which this theory of morality is grounded- namely, that pleasure, and freedom from pain, are the only things desirable as ends; and that all desirable things (which are as numerous in the utilitarian as in any other scheme) are desirable either for the pleasure inherent in themselves, or as means to the promotion of pleasure and the prevention of pain.¹¹⁰

In the following pages, Mill adds: “ ...but it is by no means an indispensable condition to the acceptance of the utilitarian standard; for that standard is not the agent’s own greatest happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether.”¹¹¹

The speech of Atatürk and writings of Mill about individual fruitfulness and public use also seems similar to each other. As Mill states, although “Genuine private affections and a sincere interest in the public good, are possible, though in unequal degrees, to every rightly brought up human being.”, this is possible “if he escape the positive evils of life, the great sources of physical and mental suffering –such as indigence disease, ...”.

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As Lindsay mentions, in the introduction part of the “Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative Government”, Mill was believing too strongly in the improbability of society by educational and political machinery. Yet he was intensely jealous of state interference on other lines.¹¹³ However Lindsay warns us that state interference as such is not incompatible with liberty and besides state interference being approved in one thing does not mean that it must be approved in all.¹¹⁴ Consequently, what is important in this point is it is the public utility which makes the state interference legitimate.

¹¹⁰ Mill J.S. (1957) *Utilitarianism*, ed. Oscar Piest, The Liberal Arts Press, New York; 10-11.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*;15.

¹¹² *Ibid*;19.

¹¹³ Mill J.S. (1951) *Utilitarianism, Liberty, And Representative Government*, ed. E.P. Dutton & Co.,Inc., The Colonial Press, Massachusetts; xx.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*;xx-xxi.

When we consider the state in early Republican Turkey, she interfered social area as well as economic area for the welfare and happiness of individuals (and so the society consisting of individuals) at short and long sight, benefiting the public welfare, and besides performed this with mutual reconciliation and collaboration.

As Mill states, the quality of the government is due to the qualities of the human beings composing the society over which the government is exercised.¹¹⁵ Therefore, role of state has to be increasing the good qualities such as virtue, moral, intelligence, health (in the largest sense of the word; being in a good condition physically, mentally and socially) of her citizens, individually and collectively:

Therefore, the first element of good government, being the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community, the most important point of excellence which any form of government can possess is to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves. ...Then, one criterion of the goodness of a government, the degree in which it tends to increase the sum of good qualities in the governed, collectively and individually; since, besides that their well being is the sole object of government, their good qualities supply the moving force which works the machinery.¹¹⁶

In a book published for the tenth year of Etibank, role of state enterprises was explained as an issue beyond economic interest:

...Social policy and awareness of the issues such as caring the worker, education, clean living conditions, food, culture and health cannot be reduced to economic interest. Here, state has a feeling of paternity.¹¹⁷

Feeling like a parent, state took care of her workers; took care of their education, dwelling, nutrition and health. This state of feeling is so close-related with the theory of utilitarianism.

¹¹⁵ Ibid;257.

¹¹⁶ Ibid;259.

¹¹⁷ *Etibank 1935-1945* (1945) prepared by: Aslan Tufan Yazman, İktisadi Yürüyüş Matbaası, quoted in Makal (1999; 263).

Batur mentions that the political and cultural reforms in the first years of the republic inserted modern notions and concepts into the lives of the citizens:

The Atatürk reforms introduced the life of the nation such concepts and values as innovation, nationalism, functionalism, utilitarianism, objectivism and a belief in science, technology and progress.¹¹⁸

However, she adds that their influence on built environment could only be observed after the etatist period: "...it was the etatist economy which directly influenced the architecture of the period since the public sector was responsible for almost all building activity."¹¹⁹

The influence of utilitarianism (as taking care of workers) on state enterprises (as a built environment) is examined in detail over the example of Eskişehir Sugar Factory in Chapter 5.

¹¹⁸ Batur, Afife (1984) "To be Modern: Search For a Republican Architecture" *Modern Turkish Architecture*. (eds.) Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia; 68-69.

¹¹⁹ Ibid;68-69.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE OF ESKİŞEHİR SUGAR FACTORY



Figure 3: Eskişehir Sugar Factory

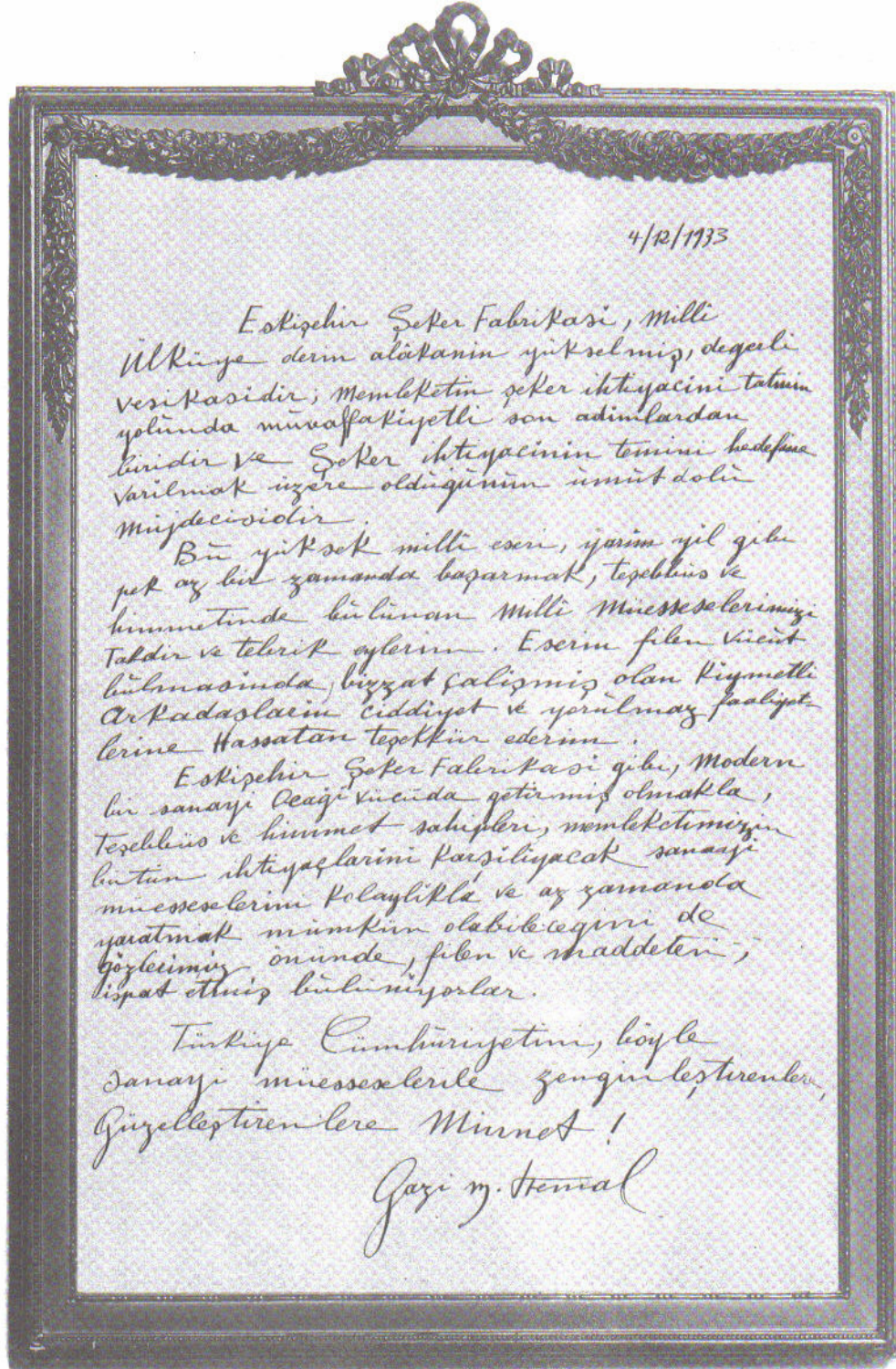


Figure 4: The handwriting of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the diary of Eskişehir Sugar Factory

5. 1. Site Selection

The case of the site selection of the state enterprises constructed in 1930s should be evaluated as part of a general socio-spatial strategy of nation state formation. Location of state factories was a continuation of a national development policy which had started by the choice of Ankara as the new capital.¹²⁰ The reasons behind the Ankara's being the capital city of the new republic were similar to the establishment of state factories in Anatolia. The establishment of the new capital city and the state factories in Anatolia symbolized both the rejection of Ottoman image and a release from the military and economic pressure of the imperialists over the country. Moreover, cosmopolite cultural values of Istanbul, which had been engendered by foreign capital and Ottoman bourgeoisie, would be replaced by national bourgeoisie and its modern life style.¹²¹ Thus, location of state factory sites was the result of this development strategy as well as the geographical and physical conditions like natural resources, human resources, security etc. This strategy also made the spatial rearrangement of the new country's socio-economic structure possible.

The economic independence and the political identity of the nation-state were important notions when the position of Turkey within the world economy and foreign policy were considered. The attempt of the Republic was to establish a national economy with an integrated inner market with the idea of economic independence. The aim was breaking the dependency of the country to the world market. First Five Year Plan has been prepared by this aim and state factories have been founded on the direction of this plan.

¹²⁰ Keskinok, H. Ç. (1997) State and (Re)production of Urban Space. METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara; 113.

¹²¹ Tekeli, İ. (1994) "Ankara'nın Başkentlik Kararının Ülkesel Mekan Organizasyonu ve Toplumsal Yapıya Etkileri Bakımından Genel Bir Değerlendirilmesi" *Ankara Ankara*, (ed.) E. Batur, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul; 143.

It will be useful to examine and reread the First Five Year Industrial Plan related with the strategic preferences about choice of places of early state factories. The industrialization strategy that the Plan had foreseen was a kind of import substitution industrialization.¹²² The main aim of establishing state factories was to supply the need of internal market.¹²³ The spatial arrangement of the state factories became most meaningful by this aim. Moreover, it has been seen that the strategy which was a reflex of newspapers during preparation of plan and was declared off later through the reactions that it brought forth, which gave to Central Anatolia the role of being an industrialization region, was implemented without a declaration in the plan. State factories' taking place in Anatolia has been derived from the concern of setting an interregional balance as well the needs of national defense.¹²⁴

Absolutely, as Tekeli states, Industrial Plan has been realized as a result of the accumulation of many works as "Report about Our Economic Situation" (İktisadi Vaziyetimize Dair Rapor) which was prepared during the Economy Ministership of Şakir (Kesebir) in 1930, works of Soviet Experts Board, and the studies which were done by several experts in this period.¹²⁵ In the early days of 1931 Republican People's Party asked Ahmet Şerif Öney, the Director of the Industry and Work Administration (Sanayi ve Mesai Umum Müdürü), to prepare a report that would analyze the industry.¹²⁶ In the report presented, it was stated that Turkey must have all basic industries which would fulfill the inner demand. Right after this report, İnönü has gone to Russia with a crowded delegation including Ahmet Şerif Öney. In the delegation there were Uşak Sugar Factory

¹²² Tekeli (1982;187).

¹²³ "milli fabrikaların hepsinin daha kurulur kurulmaz ilk hedef olarak ihracata oryante olmaları, itiraf etmek lazımdır ki manamızı anlamamak olacaktır." Afet İnan, 1972, *Devletçilik İlkesi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Birinci Sanayi Planı*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara; 19.

¹²⁴ "Sanayinin dahilde kurulması mülahazası yalnız bu düşünce ile değil, aynı zamanda iktisadi faaliyetlerimizin tedricen memlekete şamil bir muvazene ihdas ve tesis etmek, yani yeni teşebbüslerimizden kazanç ve refah itibariyle geri kalmış muhitlerimiz ve halkımızı müstefit etmek zaviyesinden de doğrudur." Ibid;22.

¹²⁵ Tekeli (1982; 179).

¹²⁶ Ibid.; 140.

Administrator Remzi Bey and Texture Factory Administrator Şevket Turgut.¹²⁷ Delegation has made consultations with Soviet leaders as Stalin, Kalenin, Litvinof, Molotof, Voroşilof and has visited many factories in Odessa, Moscow and Leningrad.¹²⁸ Turkish expert delegation, who stayed and continued their studies in Soviets after İnönü had come back, visited 70 institutions related with the industry and prepared a report. In the report, they proposed that a soviet delegation who would composed of several experts would come to Turkey in order to make researches about the subjects that what kinds of production were needed and at which places the factories would be founded most favorably. In fact, the attempt was to have the First Industrial Plan prepared before the investigation of the Soviet experts in order to prevent the reactions. Nonetheless, the dense reactions to the Ministry of Economy would prevent the preparation of it before the arrival of the Soviet experts in August 1932.¹²⁹ The expert committee consisted of the administrator of the Soviet Project Group (Sovyet Proje Tröstü) Prof. Orloff, Prof. Kovalefski (economist), Mamurin (textile engineer), Gogolin (Chemist- textile paint expert), Prof. Boris Volinski (engineer- energy expert), Serj Troyanski (mine engineer), Prof. Nikolayef (architect), Prof. Andre Samgin (engineer- water and canalization expert) and Emanuel Mark (construction engineer).¹³⁰ After the presentation of the preliminary works about the industrial program that were prepared by the Turkish specialists to the Soviet committee in Ankara, various trips were done with the Turkish and Soviet experts to reconsider the proposals.¹³¹ Soviet experts prepared a report after these trips.

When the reports of Soviet expert delegation are considered, it is seen that researches for the choice of places to build the state factories were handled in detail by taking into consideration road and railroad

¹²⁷ Hâkimiyet-i Milliye, Cumhuriyet, Akşam 13.04.1932–10.05.1932.

¹²⁸ Tekeli (1982; 138).

¹²⁹ Ibid.;147-148.

¹³⁰ Ibid.;158-159.

¹³¹ Ibid.; 159.

connections, climate, geologic and hydro-geologic situation, distance to raw material and coal, water resources, canalization, housing problem, availability of energy and local construction materials, men power. The places where the new factories were thought to be built such as Eskişehir, Konya, Mlatya, Kayseri, Nazilli, Ereğli, Afyonkarahisar, Tire and Ödemiş were examined. Contents of the report which was prepared by Soviet experts for Eskişehir will be discussed in following chapters.

In the First Five Year Industrial Plan, a report informing about the choice of places of the new industry was published. While the choice of the places of the factories was justified by the economic reasons and minimum cost in the largest sense, there were some explanations about the distribution of industry within the country. It is stated that the main idea was developing the underdeveloped parts of Turkey:

The place of a factory is a place where the best place on which the worker, the water, the coal and energy that the factory needs to process can be found easily and cheaply. It must be the place where transportation of raw material with minimum expense, bother, and altruism can be done. The placement of any industrial sector is a vital problem dealing with the advantages and disadvantages. ...to orient the new national factories only to the exportation is misunderstanding of this plan. But as it is stated above to think and take precautions and plan these factories for exporting the goods in future is an obligation if the production of these factories would exceed the demands of nation in future. ...Beside these factors, to construct, to obtain new income and prosperity to the underdeveloped regions of the nation is also another factor without keeping in mind to form a national industry is an economic problem.¹³²

As Ahmad states,

The state distributed the industrial projects throughout Anatolia as to develop other regions and close the gap between the developed northwest and the underdeveloped provinces of Anatolia. The strategy was to locate a factory in a provincial center in Anatolia and hope that its benefits would trickle down and develop the region as a whole.¹³³

Another criteria found in this report concerning the placement of the industries was about the national defense principles.

¹³² Afet İnan (1972; 19-20).

¹³³ Ahmad, F. (1993) "The new Turkey: society and economy (1923-1945)", *The Making of Modern Turke.* ,Routledge; London and New York; 98.

5.1.1. Eskişehir

“I know Eskişehir and the citizens of Eskişehir very well. They had been always on our side in the years of National War with great patriotism and superior bravery; they helped this struggle very much.”¹³⁴

ATATÜRK
January, 1923



Figure 5: Atatürk in front of the train station in Eskişehir in 1923.

Eskişehir was a city satisfying the requirements of an industrial enterprise as being on the railroad and providing water and energy supply. However, establishment of a state factory in Eskişehir had important political reasons beyond the technical requirements of production and construction. Apart from its strategic and geographical importance, Eskişehir was assumed to be a suitable place with the devotion of its

¹³⁴ “Eskişehir'i ve Eskişehirilileri çok iyi tanırım. Milli Mücadele yıllarında büyük vatanseverlik ve üstün bir cesaretle mücadelemizin daima yanında olmuş, bu mücadeleye çok geniş yardımlarda bulunmuşlardır.” İnan, A. (1982) *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün 1923 Eskişehir İzmit Konuşmaları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara.

inhabitants to the idea of national independence and to the ideology of the Republican regime.

The three of five important pitched battles in Independence War have taken place in Eskişehir. Eskişehir has constituted one of the key points of National Dependence War and thus has badly suffered both physically and spiritually. A ruined city has been survived after dependence, but determination of leaders and citizens to revitalize the city has never been lost. It has been attempted to create a modern city in a short time with investments made in the Republic period.

Eskişehir is a city surrounded by Ankara and Bolu at north and east, Bilecik at north-west, Kütahya at south-west, Afyon at south and Konya at south-east. (Figure 6) At the present, the city of Eskişehir with Anatolia University and organized industrial areas, covers an area of 7680.94 hectares and has a population of 484506. It consists of thirteen counties with the county seat. (Figure 7) However, the population was 32341 in 1927 and 47045 in 1935 and Eskişehir had three counties named Seyitgazi, Sivrihisar and Mihalıççık in 1930s.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Albek, S. (1991) *Dorylaion'dan Eskişehir'e*, ESBAV Yayınları; Eskişehir and Ertin, G. (1994) *Eskişehir Kentinde Yerleşmenin Evrimi*, Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları no:773; Eskişehir.

Eskişehir province was a city which was known by the name of Dorylaion in Greek, and Dorylaeum in Latin in antique and Middle Ages. In Arabic resources, the name of city has been given as Darauliya, Adruliya ve Drusilya. Dorylaion appears in antique resources as a Phrygian city which was on the intersection of important roads, rich with trading and famous with its thermal waters. Doryleos of Eretria has been shown as founder of city.

In the city which gained importance especially in Byzantine age, it has been told about presence of summer palace of emperor Justinianos. Many travelers and scientists in the 19th Century have confirmed after the trips which they made to the region and their researches that Şarhöyük in today's name which is a ruined place at the north of Porsuk River, at 3 km. northeast of Eskişehir is the antique Dorylaion city. It is one of the middle size tumuluses of Central Anatolia, which is 450 meters wide and 17 meters high. Beginning from 1989, archeological digs have been started here by a team headed by Prof. A. Muhibbe Darga for the Ministry of Culture and Anadolu University. At the diggings it has been confirmed that there has been a continual settling area in tumulus which is dated for now from Ottoman Period until the Bronze Age.

Dorylaion – Şarhöyük has played an important role in defending of Byzantine towards Seljuk Sultanate, but the city has been dominated by Seljuks after Seljuk Sultan II. Kılıçaslan defeated Byzantine Emperor Manuel Komnenos. Afterwards a new settlement has been set near Dorylaion-Şarhöyük, which stayed as a ruined and deserted city for a long time, at the south of ruins. As W. M. Ramsay noticed, most probably Dorylaion ruins have been named as “Eskişehir” (Old city) and this name has come up to date.

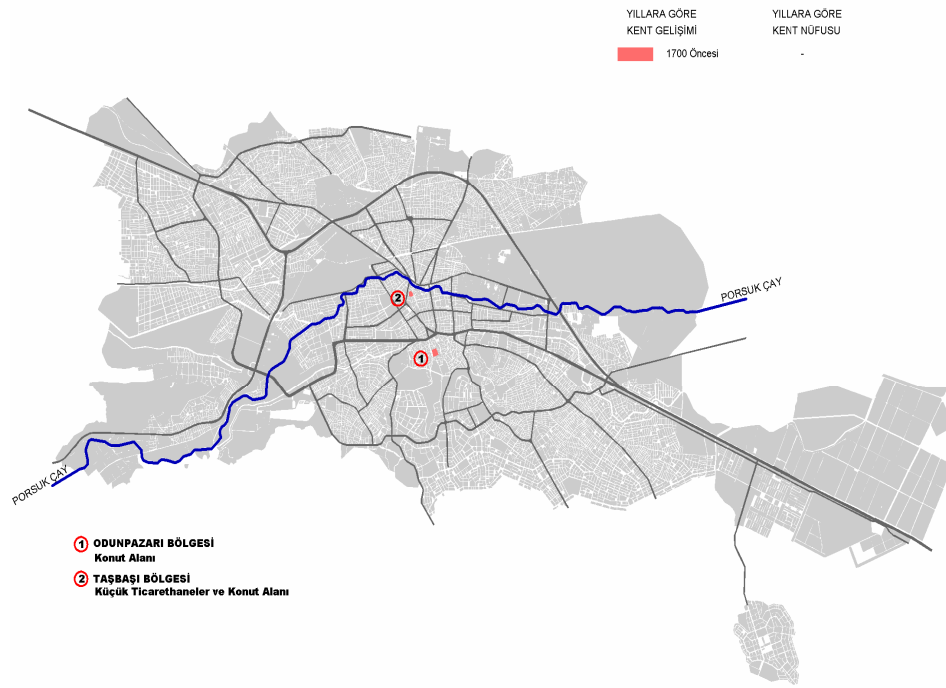


Figure 8: Plan showing the settlements before 1700

In Eskişehir, of which economy was predicated on agriculture before the Republic, a Locomotive and Repair Station has been founded by Germans in 1894 and this station has been transferred to TCDD enterprise in 1924.

While First World War has been going on, “Eskişehir National Trade and Industrial Corporation” (Eskişehir Milli Ticaret ve Sanayi Anonim Şirketi) has been founded in Eskişehir in 30th July of 1332 (12th August of 1916). After the war, corporation has started works in Eskişehir to lighten the city by receiving electricity preference which was belonging to municipality. Yet these works couldn’t be resulted as the Ottoman Empire had fallen into the decline period.



Figure 9: A five lira subscription share of Eskişehir National Trade and Industrial Corporation.

After the Republic, in 1933 Sugar Factory and in 1965 Sümerbank Cotton Industrial Undertaking has been founded.

In 1890s the railway coming to Eskişehir has developed and followed the natural trade roads; Eskişehir has become the intersection point of the railways coming from the west and going to South. Cer Factory Plant, which was founded in 1892, also had the character of being an important institution which gives maintenance service to railway and railway vehicles. The railway has revitalized the trading of Eskişehir, it has brought in here the position of an important strategic point not only on the commercial but also on the military side.

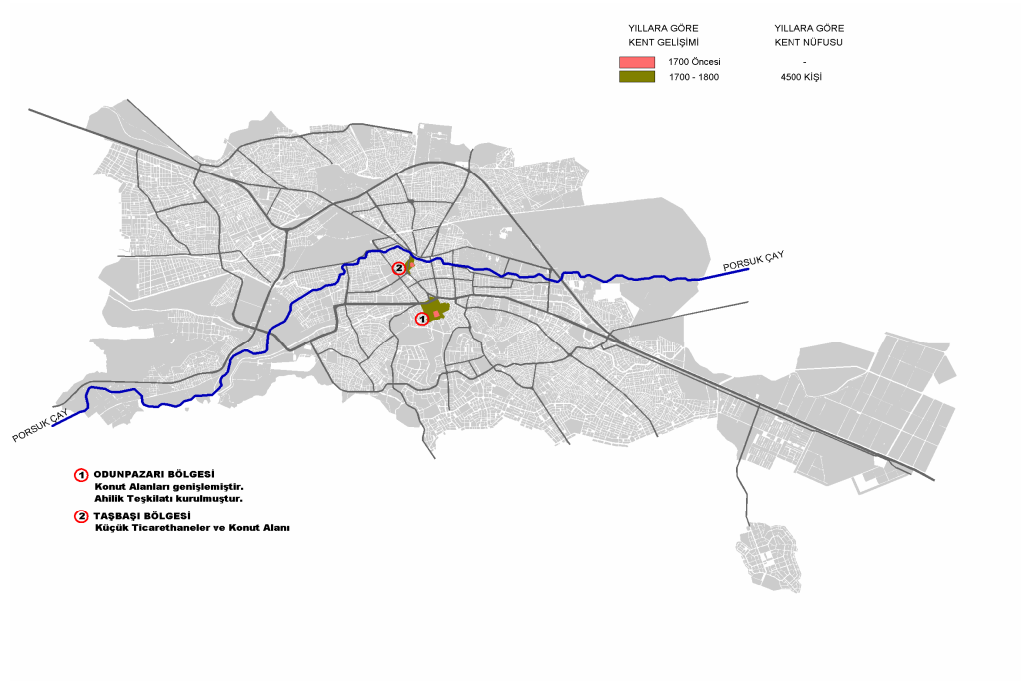


Figure 10: Plan showing the settlements before 1800

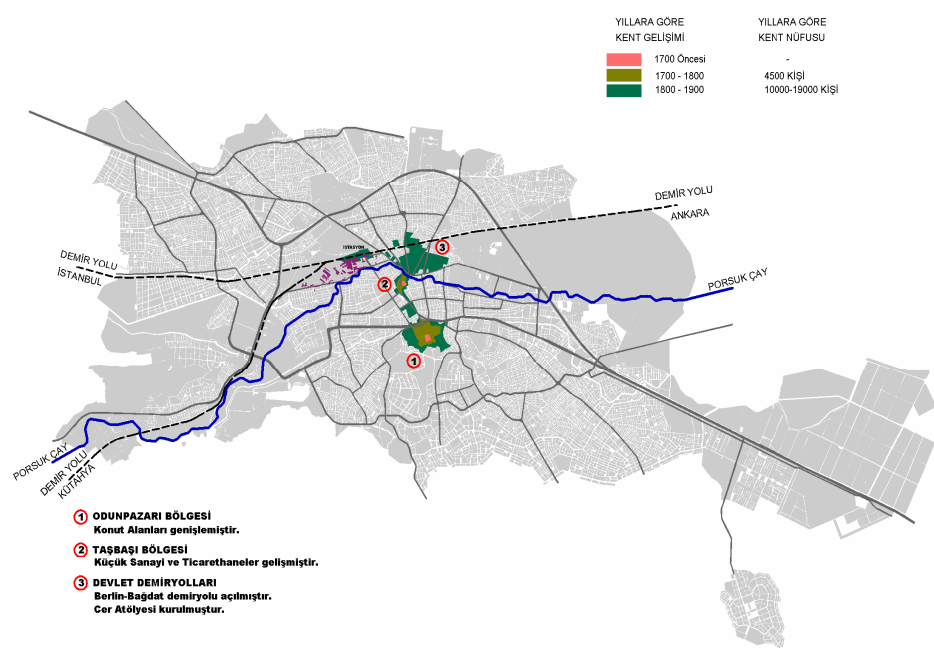


Figure 11: Plan showing the settlements before 1900

The first map which showed present structuring and settlements in Eskişehir has been made in 1896. The map which was made by Fifth Department of “Erkan-ı Umumiye Dairesi” and named as “Taksim-i Arazi (Land Partition)” has not had a plan character, because it doesn’t plan the new developments, but it is important for us to examine the present situation of the date and the development process.

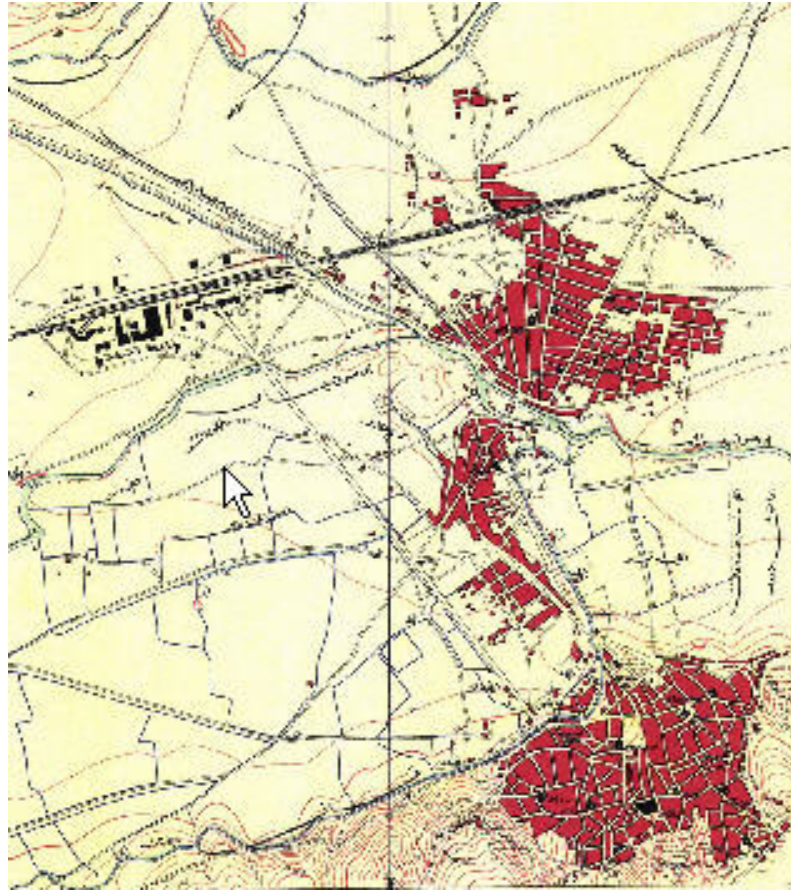


Figure 12: Map of Eskişehir in 1896

Eskişehir which became a province in 1925, consisted of Odunpazarı district or main settlement which took place at the slope of the hill at the south and secondary settlement which took place around Porsuk River at the north in this period. Between these two settlements were light structured settlement areas which became clear as if a greased spot. In the following years these two settlements have been developed, in the mean time housing areas which took place in vegetable and fruit gardens between these two settlements turned into big wards. The empty area between two settlements has been disappeared as the said wards' being formed, two settlements have been closed.

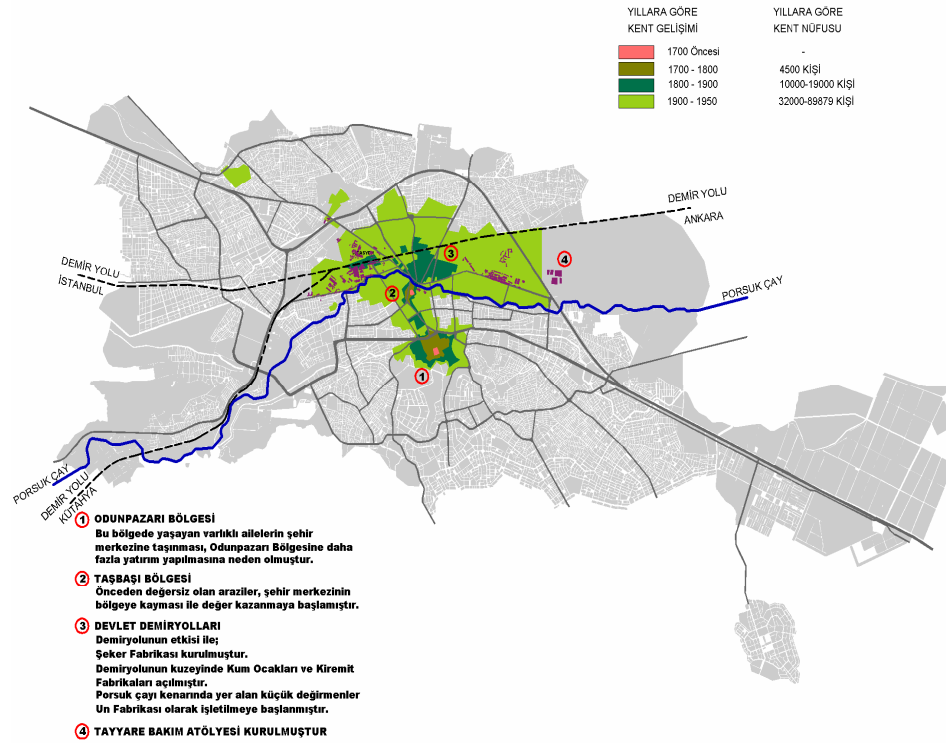


Figure 13: Plan showing the settlements before 1950

Population in the city has increased rapidly between 1923 and 1950. Population growth rate in Eskişehir was higher than the growth rate of total population who live in the cities in Turkey until 1955. Population growth rate has been realized around %30-35 excluding period of 1945-1950. Absolutely the roles of three big state institutions as Sugar Factory, DDY Cer Plant, and Airplane Service Station are important for this increase. In fact such a high increase of urban population has been realized with people who came to work and live here from outside the city beyond national increase of population. %33 of urban population by 1935 Census is the people who were born at other cities. That the years of which population growth rate is the highest are the years between 1927 and 1935 is not incidental. That Cer Plant's being nationalized in 1924, Airplane Service Station's being founded in 1926 and Sugar Factory's being founded in 1933 in turn have been the biggest reasons in this increase.

The house need of industry workers has caused some new wards around the factories to be formed. Wards named Sugar, Yenimahalle, Işıklar and Ömerağa which are at the northeast of the city at which Sugar Factory took place and wards named Kırmızı Toprak and Yenibağlar at the west and northwest of the city at which DDY establishments, flour mill and tile manufactory took place are the wards which was formed as such.

Table 2: Population in Eskişehir and Turkey by years

Years	Population in Eskişehir	City Population in Turkey
1927	32.341	3.305.879
1935	47.045	3.802.602
1940	60.742	4.346.249
1945	80.030	4.687.102
1950	89.879	5.244.337
1955	120.092	6.927.343
1960	153.096	8.859.731
1965	173.882	10.805.817
1970	216.373	13.691.101
1975	259.952	16.869.068
1980	309.431	19.645.007

Table 3: Rate of Increase in Population of Eskişehir and Turkey

Years	Rate of Increase in Population of Eskişehir (%)	Rate of Increase in Population of Turkey (%)
1927-35	45.4	15.0
1935-40	29.1	14.2
1940-45	31.7	7.8
1945-50	12.3	11.8
1950-55	33.6	32.9
1955-60	27.4	27.8
1960-65	13.5	21.9
1965-70	24.4	26.7
1970-75	20.1	23.2
1975-80	19.0	16.4

5.1.2. Factory Site:

The possible land for the construction of the factory seems to be decided when the Soviet experts visited Eskişehir and wrote a report. In fact the report was about the cotton industry and the selection of the places was done for a possible textile factory that was thought to be built. However, Eskişehir Sugar Factory would be constructed at one of the places that Soviet experts suggested. There were two alternatives for the site of construction in Eskişehir. First alternative (N.2 on the map of the Soviet Experts' Report) was taking place on the west side of the city and the second (N.1 on the map) that was recommended more was on the east. (Figure 14) The factory was constructed just on the site that expert group recommended.

The construction site was surrounded by Porsuk River in the south and the road in the north. It was 300-400 meters away from the buildings of the city. The area was a square having dimensions of 400x400 meters and was approximately 2000 meters away from the train station. Soviet expert group recommended also a railway connection to the station. It was mentioned that the site would be advantageous since the water needed for the industry and the fire department of the factory could be supplied from the river. These early observations and decisions in the report also shaped the general layout of the settlement throughout the years although the factory would be built by a German firm.

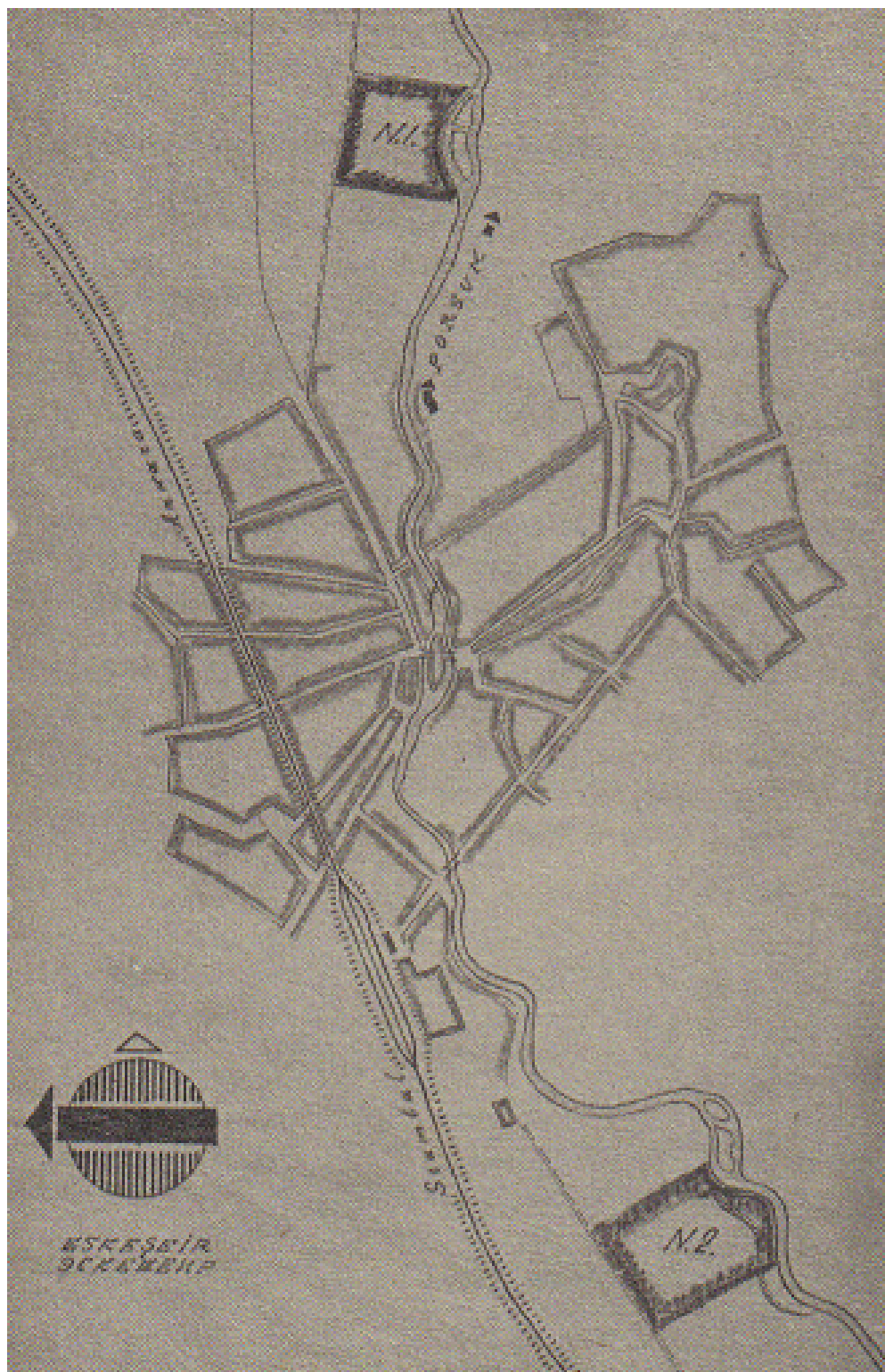


Figure 14: Map from the Report of Soviet Expert Group, 1933

5. 2. Factory Settlement: Properties of a Community/ Communal Environment

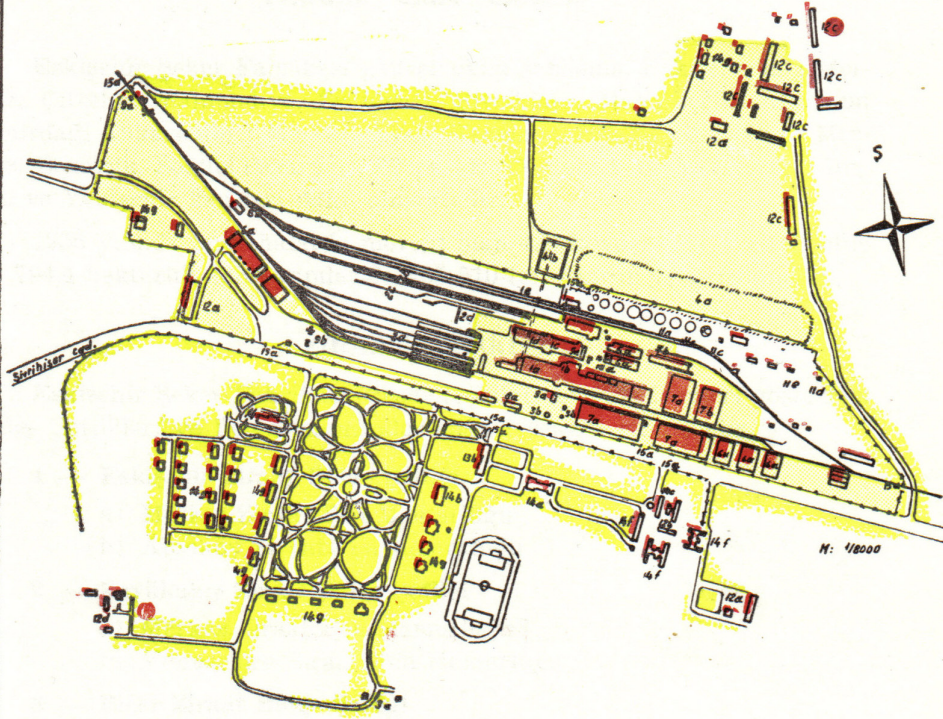
Establishing a factory settlement with an area of social facilities in addition to its industrial facilities would be create not only an enterprise which would be a symbol of the pioneer role of state in formation of the industrialization but also a community/communal environment. Spaces of dwelling like houses and singles' pavillions as well as the spaces of assembly and entertainment like dining halls, cinema and the areas spared for sports and recreation played a crucial role in creating such an environment. (Figure 5, 6)

Dwelling in the boundaries of factory settlement provides to know eachother also out of work in his/her social life, to influence each other more, to act with solidarity; consequently involves collective synergy which consolidates with these facts. However, it also involves potentials of 'intrusion of privacy by gossip', social control and breech of privacy. In this context, it can be stated that attention was paid in planning dwelling spaces not to cause both the governing/governed and the married/single community to inconvenience eachother 'compulsorily'. (Figure 7) In this way, the planning was 'emancipating' or 'comfortable' rather than being 'restrictive'. Spatial discrimination was a result of rational distinction rather than discriminating approach. The acuracy of this treatise can be consolidated by considering that there was no discrimination in other areas of social life except dwelling.

The houses on the east and south side of the park were used by director, director assistants and chiefs whereas the houses on the west side of the park were used by the married employees. (Figure 8) The houses of the married employees were constructed parallel to eachother in four rows so that their gardens look one another. Two identical pavillions were consructed for singles on the east of the social facilities site. (Figure 7)

Pavillions as communal spaces was the spaces in which workers were learning collective life. It was crucial when we think that most of these workers have not been out of their village before they began to work in the factory.

ESKİŞEHİR ŞEKER FABRİKASI UMUMİ VAZİYET PLÂNI



1 FABRİKA TESİSLERİ

- 1a- Esas Fabrika
- 1b- Türbin dairesi
- 1c- Kazan dairesi
- 1d- Kireç dairesi
- 1e- Küşpe transpor-törü

2 SİLOLAR

- 2a- Pancar silosu
- 2b- Kömür silosu
- 2c- Kük silosu
- 2d- Kireç taşı silosu

3 SU TEMİNİ TESİSLERİ

- 3a- Pompa dairesi

4 HAVUZLAR

- 4a- Şişim havuzu
- 4b- Küşpe havuzu

5 YAZ SANTRALI

- 5a- Yardımcı santral ve trafo merkez.

6 ATÖLYELER

- 6a- Fab, Ziraat, oto tamir atölyeleri

7 ANBARLAR

- 7a- Şeker anbarı
- 7b- Malzeme anbarı

8 GARAJLAR

- 8a- Oto garajı
- 8b- Lokomotif garajı

9 KANTARLAR

- 9a- Vagon kantarı
- 9b- Araba kantarı

10 YARDIMCI İSTİHSAL TESİSLERİ

- 10a- Oksijen imali
- 10b- Buz imali

11 TANKLAR, PATLAYICI MAD.V.S.

- 11a- Melâs tankı
- 11b- Fuel-Oil tankı
- 11c- Benzin, mazot tankları
- 11d- Karpit anbarı
- 11e- Yağ anbarı

12 ZİRAAT TESİSLERİ

- 12a- Bölge binası anbar ve hangar
- 12b- Süthane

12c- Ahır

- 12d- Ser ve yazlık bahçe

13 İDARE BİNALARI

- 13a- İşletme binası
- 13b- Ofis binası

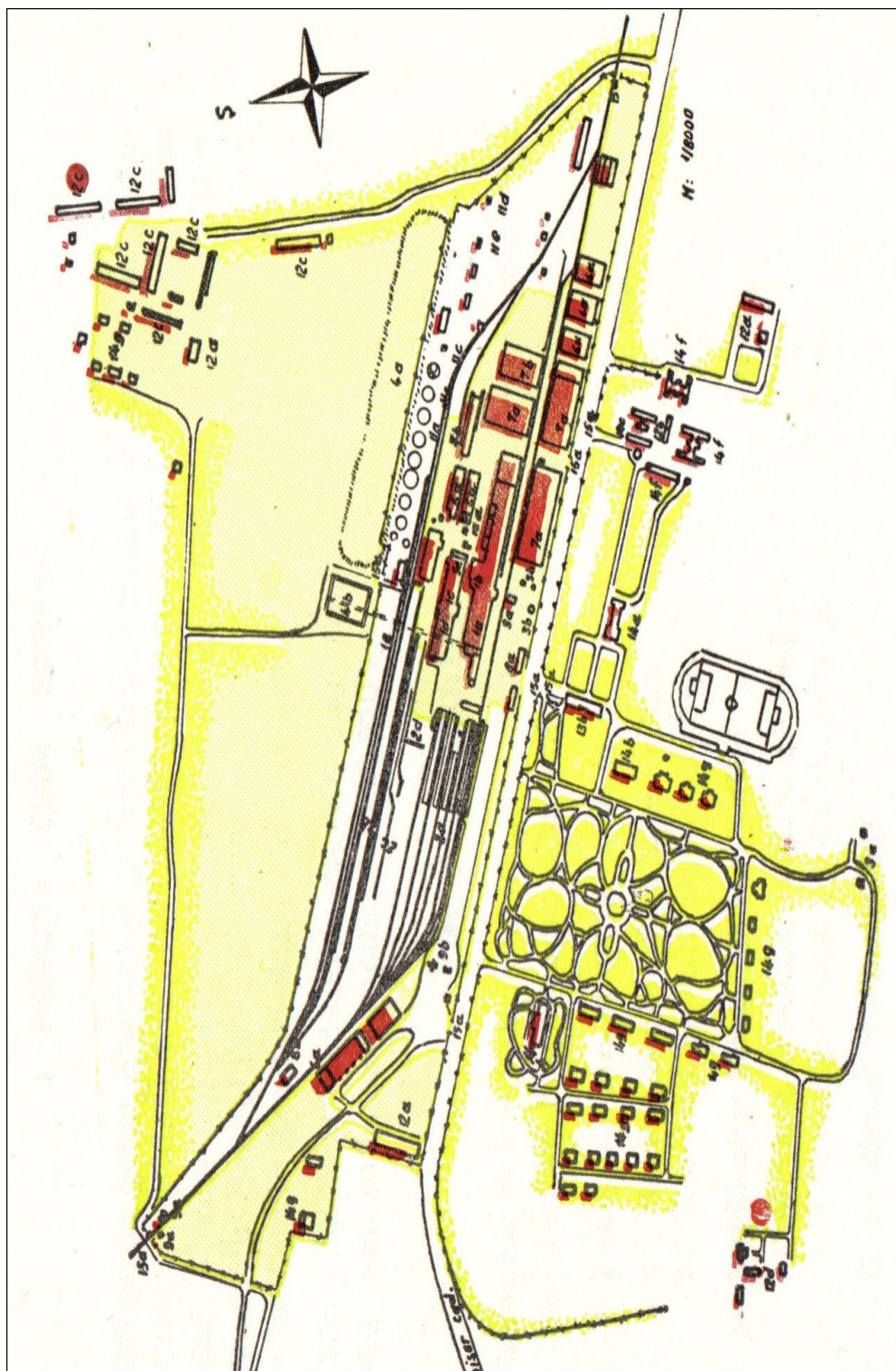
14 SOSYAL TESİSLER

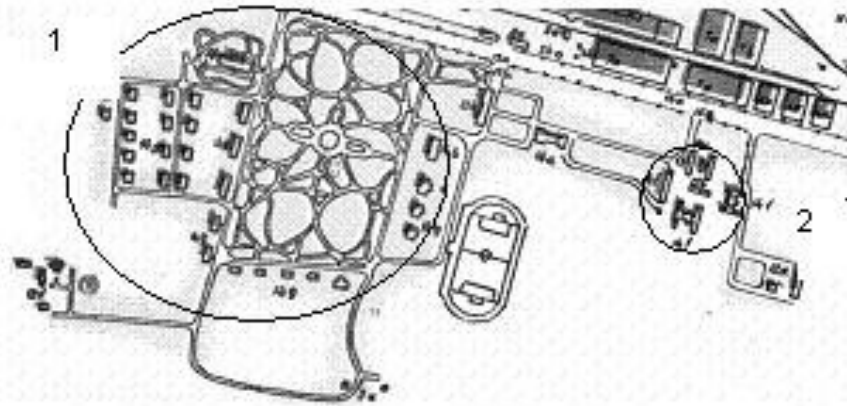
- 14a- Sinema ve lokanta
- 14b- Misafirhane
- 14c- Satış mağazası
- 14f- İsci pavyonları, hamam, Lokanta
- 14g- Evler
- 14h- Hastahane

15 KAPILAR

- 15a- Nizamiye ve diğer kapılar

Figure 15: Factory Site Plan





- 1. Houses for married couples
- 2. Pavillions for singles

Figure 17: The drawing for the location of the places spared for dwelling

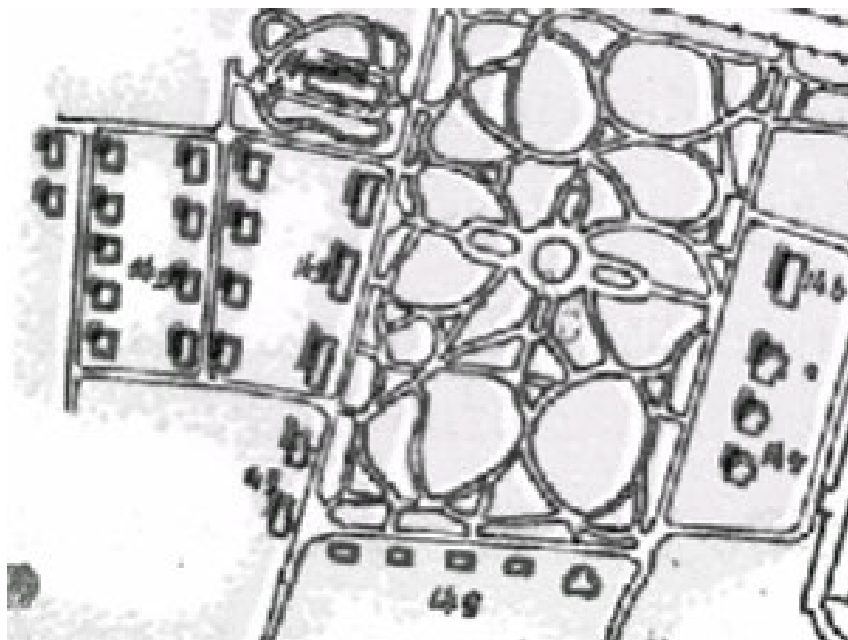


Figure18: Houses for married couples

Sports area (stadium), park, cinema and dining hall building were all spaces of socialization. There were people coming from the center of the city to the cinema or the dining hall and to the stadium in which the sport competitions with other factory teams were taking place. (Figure 9, 10) The company gained a community character through the years but it could not be evaluated as isolated environments housing closed communities especially in their first years.

The presence of such spaces in Eskişehir Sugar Factory Settlement was revolutionary in the spatial organization of contemporary social life in Turkey.



Figure19: The dining hall of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory



Figure 20: People waiting for the sport competition to begin at the grandstand of the stadium of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory in 1950

5. 3. Spatial Analysis of Factory Grounds: Boundaries, Territories, Relations

Eskişehir Sugar Factory Settlement was established on an area that was between the railroad and Porsuk River. The highway named Sivrihisar was dividing the settlement into two. The part between the railroad and the highway was planned for the industrial facilities. Social facilities were collected on the south side of the highway. Therefore, the compulsory boundaries of the settlement were the northerly railroad and the southerly river. Sivrihisar Road was another boundary of the two sections which separated the industrial and social facilities. (Figure 11)

The settlement was enclosed by wire fence and walls. The main entrance of the industrial section named “Nizamiye” contained a security checkpoint

where each worker had his “work card” controlled.¹³⁶ The factory site had also two other entrances facing the highway which were probably opened for vehicles. One of them opened to the repair shops and the other to the scales. (Figure 12)



Figure 21: Eskişehir Sugar Factory Settlement between the railroad and Porsuk River

Another entrance through which railway was connected to the factory was on the northwest side. Most of the workers living in other districts of Eskişehir were probably using the train to come to the factory. Others were riding home on bicycles. (Figure 13)

¹³⁶ Appendix C. (Internal Regulations Book; 5)



Figure 22: The scale for the vehicles

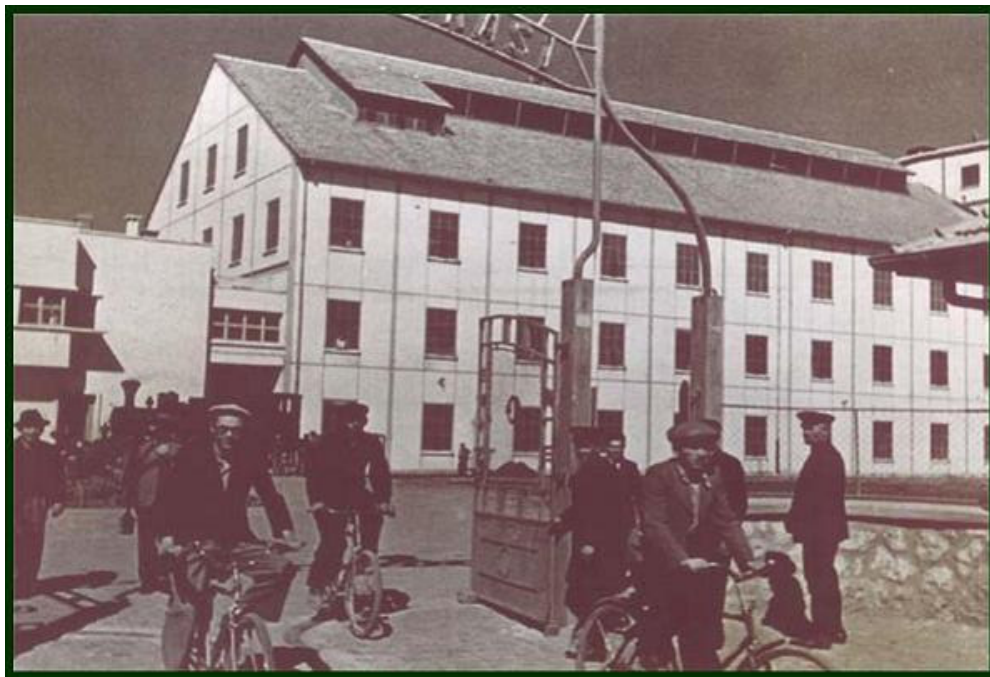


Figure 23: Workers riding home on bicycles

The section in which the social facilities were collected seems to be divided into three territories. The site was not divided into territories by fence or walls, but the territories were formed by the organizations of spaces. The houses and the park were forming the territory that was more for the married employees rather than the singles. It was close to Eskişehir city. However, the territory consisting of singles' pavillions, bath and a dining hall was rather for the singles. (Figure 7) It was designed closer to the factory site. The territory in between was the common area. The dining hall which served also to public, the cinema and the stadium were collected in this territory.

Each territory had its entrance but also each was joined eachother by roads. They were not seperated by barriers, but rather it seems to be thought a seperation of privacy. We can name the entrance of the territory in the middle the main entrance. Not only becouse it was in the middle and facing the main entrance of the factory site but also it was the widest. The dining hall and cinema building which was also used by the people of Eskişehir was the one nearest to the main entrance. The stadium in which sport competitions were taking place was also at the end of the road which the main gate opened to.

5. 4. Factory as the Site of Dissemination of Etatism and Body Politics

Etatism in the largest sense can be defined as state's intervention to the economical life by establishing and managing enterprises herself. However, for whom the goods and services are produced has great significance, becouse even before 1930s state had the function of producing public goods and services among the other functions they created. State was developed gradually from a "gendarme state" to one which had concern for its subjects, which had come to produce many

goods and services which had the character of ‘public goods’.¹³⁷ Therefore when we regard the etatism in Turkey during the 1930s, etatism is the state’s intervention to economy by establishing enterprises which produce “market goods and services”.¹³⁸ State established enterprises which produced textile, iron-steel and sugar which can be named as market goods in addition to telegram, electric and road services which are public goods. One of these enterprises was Eskişehir Sugar Factory. (Figure 14, 15)

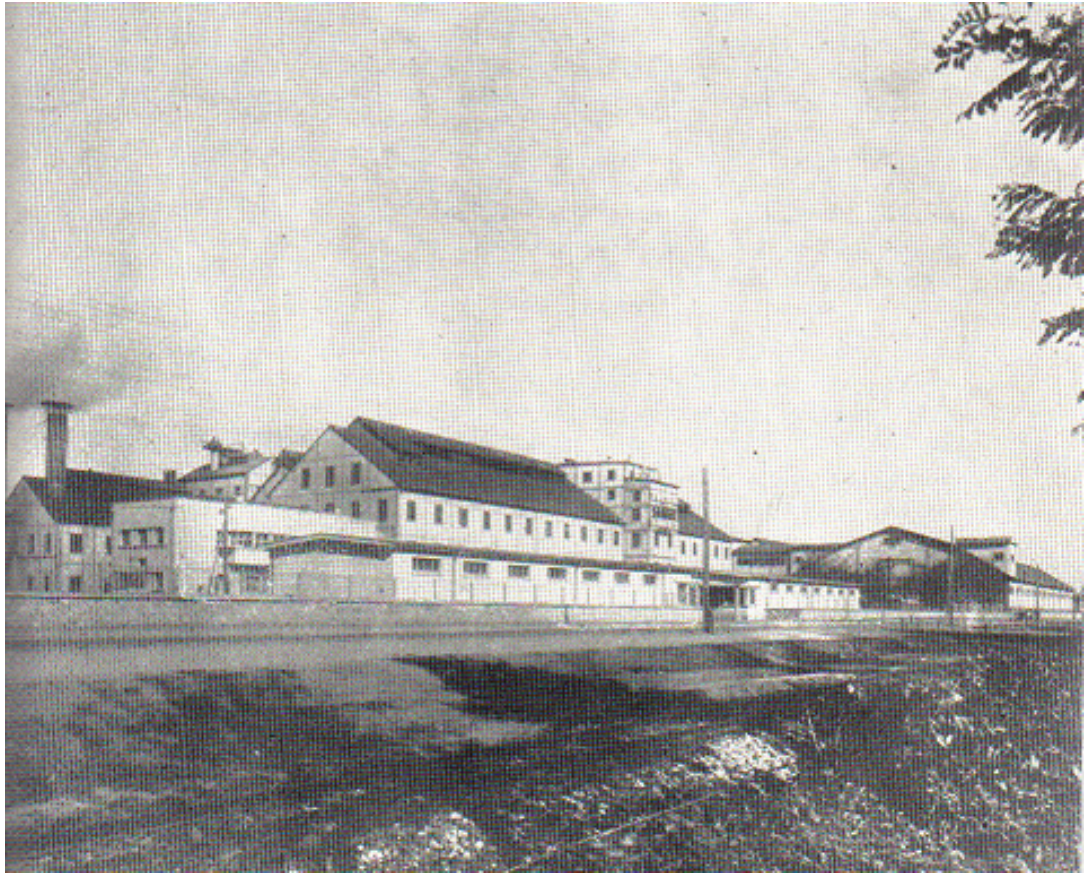


Figure 24: Eskişehir Sugar Factory in 1930s

¹³⁷ Tekeli and İlkin (1982; 319).

¹³⁸ Ibid; 320.

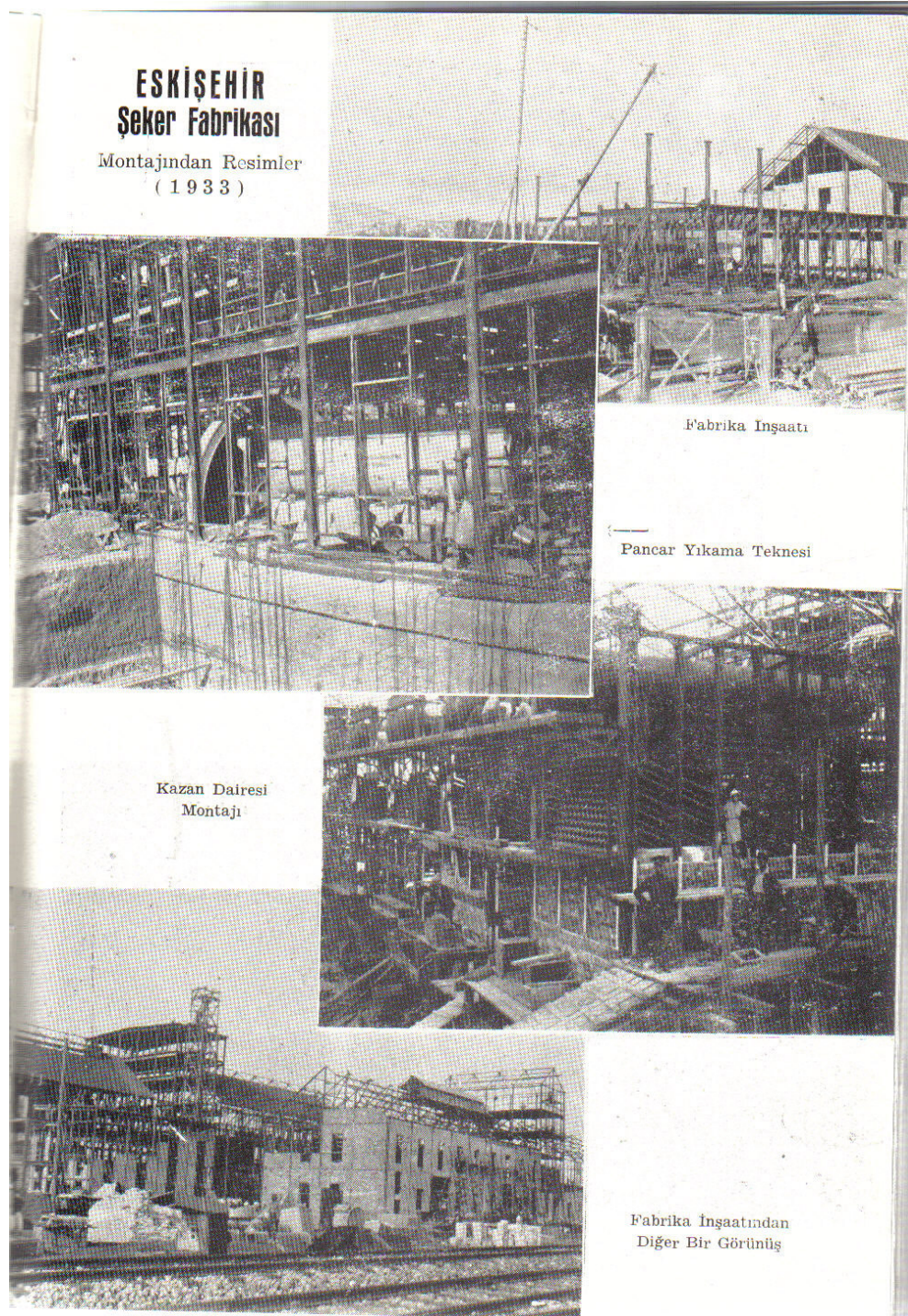


Figure 25: Costruction of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory

When the state industrial establishments in this period are mentioned, it is generally implied that they were the industries which took place at First Five Year Industrial Plan. However there were several productive activities which did not take place in this Plan¹³⁹ but in which state was included even before the Plan. One of these productive activities was sugar production.¹⁴⁰

As we have seen, after Uşak and Alpullu Sugar Factories, İş Bank undertook to found two big sugar factories. First undertaking was the Eskişehir Sugar Factory, construction of which was finished and was started to operate during the few months after being founded by the Anatolia Sugar Factory Turkish Corporation. 51 % of the corporation's shares belonged to the İş Bank, 24.5 % was to the Ziraat Bank and 24.5 % was to the newly founded Sanayi-i Maadin Bank.¹⁴¹

One year after the factory was opened, in December 1934, the Ministry of Economics would form the Sugar Rationalization Committee and a report of this committee was going to cause the project which would be named later on as the “İnönü Project” to come on the scene. According to this project; Turkey Sugar Factories Corporation was founded and it would administrate the four sugar factories¹⁴² which are functioning up to date.¹⁴³ Consequently, the sugar industry had been nationalized.

The Eskişehir Sugar Factory which has been one of the first industrial enterprises with the nationalization of sugar industry is a symbol of the pioneer role of state in formation of the industrialization and the working class in Turkey.

¹³⁹ Planın sunuş yazısında, “özel kesim” ve “devlet kesimi” dışında “milli müesseseler” diye bir kategorinin getirilmesine dikkat çeken Tekeli ve İlkin, bunu “plan kapsamına İş Bankasıncı kurulan kuruluşların alınması için gerekli bir formülasyon” olarak yorumlar. See, ibid.;188.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.;202.

¹⁴¹ 30. Yılında Türkiye Şeker Sanayi. Ankara, 1958 p.407.

¹⁴² Uşak, Alpullu, Eskişehir and Turhal Sugar Factories.

The Eskişehir Sugar Factory has been not only the initiator of formation of working class, but it has also contributed to workers' and their families' health in tune with community health politics as many other state factories did.

Only short after the War of Independence, grand projects in education, health and law were developed as we have examined in Chapter 2. It can be said that each was a part of the whole project which was a project of regenerating of a young, modern and well educated nation which would be adhered to each other regardless of class differences.

Among those, public health was one of the most ambitious efforts of the state, aiming the rapid improvement towards a society more healthy. Improving the public health which was in ill-condition because of the epidemic diseases, poverty, malnutrition and other problems was the main aim of the body politics in the early Republican period. The interest towards workers' health was a crucial part of the public health policies of the Republic as well as the modern conceptions of the ideal to constitute the industrial society.

It is seen that preventing, protecting and improving workers' health was aimed in the design process of Eskişehir Sugar Factory settlement which was established by the state. In this context, a hospital had been constructed in the factory settlement. (Figure 5; 14h) This hospital served the whole settlement including the workers and their families until the Social Insurance Institution was established. It was proper for the work accidents as it was constructed within the factory site, but moreover general health of the workers was being controlled in it. Factory doctors were working to prevent epidemic diseases all the while they were working to improve general health of workers. Muammer Tuksavul , who was one of the founders of Eskişehir Sugar Factory and later on its third general

¹⁴³ 30. Yılında Türkiye Şeker Sanayi;557 and Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Şeker Sanayimiz ; 49.

manager, tells in his written memories that the factory doctor gave many workers food treatment. He also mentions that all workers were given plentiful hot plate with meat, and adds: “Many of the workers confessed that they ate such a satisfying meal for the first time in their life”.¹⁴⁴

In the Internal Regulations Book (*Dahili Talimatname*) of Sugar Factories Corporation which was written and facilitated in 1938, it was stated that workers were passed through medical examination by the factory doctor when they were being employed. Moreover, it was stated that their fitness for employment used to be examined according to the nature of the job-position at which each would work.¹⁴⁵ This point was approved by the report of the General Inspection Committee dated 1940.¹⁴⁶ In the report it was also stated that there were also dentists and nurses in factory hospitals.¹⁴⁷

Not only polyclinic service was given at the factory hospital but also preventive medicine was at practice. In order to improve workers’ health, accident and disease statistics were put on file regularly.¹⁴⁸

Working hours were determined by the Internal Regulations Book. According to this, weekday daily working period was 8 hours 45 minutes and working at Saturday was until noon. In Internal Regulations Book, it is stated that in company periods working hours are determined by Ministry of Economics.¹⁴⁹ However in the Report dated 1940, it is complaint that workers work 11 hours a day in company periods in order to get by on double shift in 24 hours. This was because three shifts would require increasing the number of workers that could not be supplied even in two

¹⁴⁴ Tuksavul, Muammer. “Doğudan Batıya ve Sonrası”; 359-360.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix C. (Internal Regulations Book;4)

¹⁴⁶ “...bütün işçiler alınırken bir tıbbi muayeneden geçiriliyor. Bu muayenenin hastahane doktorun odasında yapıldığını müşahade ettik.” *Başbakanlık Umumi Murakebe Heyeti Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı Raporu* (Ankara, Ulusal Matbaa, 1941); 18.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*;16.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*;18.

¹⁴⁹ Appendix C. (Internal Regulations Book; 4)

shifts.¹⁵⁰ The intensive efforts in the social services yielded the results only after the first half of the 1940s, that only then the number of workers reached a sufficient total to work in three shifts a day. In the report dated 1940, there are also several articles related with social services. Things that were to be done for improving social life of workers, things that were to be done for increasing interests of new workers for their jobs, things that were to be done for determining and compensating for the spiritual and material needs constitute the context of these articles.¹⁵¹ Articles which were related with the qualities and conditions regarding housing had been partly realized at the Eskişehir Sugar Factory. Pavilions were built for singles whereas houses with gardens were designed for married workers.

The social services section – including the dwellings for singles and married couples, health facilities, nutrition, education, recreation- of the settlement was placed at the south side of the highway (Sivrihisar Caddesi), where the industrial facilities were collected at the north side. (Figure 5, 6) In this way houses were kept away from the pollution, noise,

¹⁵⁰ For information about the difficulties of finding man to employ in the factories in 1930s, see “Doğudan Batıya ve Sonrası”; 358-360.

¹⁵¹ “Şirketçe icrası bizce mülhazaya değer noktalar şunlardır:

- 1) ...bilhassa amele için ev eşyası, giyecek gibi şeylerin tedarikine yardım edecek bir kooperatif tesisi
- 2) İçtimai hayatı canlandırmak için yol göstermek ezümle muhit arasında resim, musiki, nefis sanatlar, edebi eser okuma klüpleri, binicilik, atıcılık müsabakaları (mahalli sair halkı da iştirak ettirerek)
- 7) Bütün memurin ve amelenin içtimai hayatlarını tanzim etmek için mütehassısların ya şirketçe yahut da Devlet nezdinde teşebbüsle Maarif teşkilatımız marifetile yetiştirilmesi,
- 9) Fabrikaya yeni alınan elemanların mesleğe olan heveslerinin artırılması ve bu keyfiyetle mütemadi alaka.

Bizce varit olacak mülhazalar şöyle sıralanabilir:

- 1) ...ameleyi işe ısındırma, maddi ve ruhi ihtiyaçlarını imkan dairesinde en fazla netice verecek surette tatmin edecek usullerin tesbiti ve bunların hüsnü suretle ifası için şirket teşkilatına mütehassıslar almasının derpişi,
- 3) Daimi amelenin de memurlar için teklif ettiğimiz gibi ev bahçe sahibi olmalarını teşvikan lazım gelen kısmi ziraatle uğraşıp yiyeceklerinin bir kısmını kendilerinin temin eylemelerine şirketçe yardım ve nezaret edilmesi,
- 4) Muvakkat amelenin uzakta han odalarında veya kırdı yatmalarını önlemek üzere basit koğuşların inşası,
- 7) İleri senelerde daha makul bir iş siyaseti ve usulları takip edilmesine yaramak üzere iş dairesile istatistik servisinin iş birliği yapmasını temin etmeğe ve amelenin sıhhat durumu, maiyeti, para ihtiyacı, hayatında kıymet verdiği şeyler hakkında rakamla ifade edilebilir malumatın tedariki.” *Başbakanlık Umumi Murakebe Heyeti Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı Raporu*; 17-20.

smell coming from the industrial production. However they were still close enough to go to the work on foot. This was important for the workers if we consider that there was no public service vehicle except train until 1946.¹⁵² Beside the hospital and the healthy dwelling conditions, a Turkish bath had been established in order to ensure collective hygiene. (Figure 5; 14f) It seems to be thought for single workers rather than the families that it was constructed on the zone of pavilions.¹⁵³

In the report of the Prime Ministry General Inspection Board dated 1940, it is striking that items which should be done for physical, spiritual and cultural development of workers at their spare times were taken first rather than the items which should be done at working hours. This Report, which was the first inspection¹⁵⁴ of the Prime Ministry General Inspection Board about Turkish Sugar Factories, is the evidence of importance and careful attention that the state gave to the multi-dimensional development of workers. Individual and public utility was the most important aim. Besides, utilities of individual, public, nation and state has not been thought separately.

Body politics have had also the goal of equipping individuals with abilities related to economic ends of the state and the disciplinary orderliness close to militarization as well as healthy life. In this context, as we understand from the report dated 1940, “physical education obligation” (beden terbiyesi mükellefiyeti) was being implemented at the Sugar Factories. However, Inspection Board has offered to abolish physical education obligation at Sugar Factories. It is also stated that Corporation (Sugar Factories Corporation) had been talking over and discussing about the

¹⁵² In 1946, for the first time the municipality began to deal out in the field of bulk transportation with 6 buses. The buses were working in two routes: Odunpazarı–Şeker Fabrikası and Odunpazarı–İstasyon. Ertin (1994; 32).

¹⁵³ The zones and the organization of the buildings and areas spared for sports and recreation or some daily mandate and routines in these zones is examined in detail in Chapter 5.2.

¹⁵⁴ Başbakanlık Umumi Murakebe Heyeti Türkiye Şeker Fabrikaları Anonim Şirketi 1940 Yılı Raporu; introduction and preface.

expressing self wills and wishes, the ability of good coordination of eye and ear movement in harmony, having uncorrupted mental ability about speed, weight and distance. It was also stated that workers needed to be treated to special games and exercises which were determined by specialists for gaining these qualifications.¹⁵⁶

There was a stadium for all these games and exercises and for the competitive sports matches with teams of other factories (inter-factory sports).

There were also dining halls, one cooperative retail shop to supply cheap and reliable food for the workers and a cinema in the social services section of the Eskişehir Sugar Factory Settlement. (Figure 5; 14a)

All these different types of buildings, facilities and areas spared for sports and recreation and some daily mandate and routines were the products of statism by principle. Yet, all seem also to be the result of body politics that have been realized in harmony with utilitarianism within the Turkish modernization.

¹⁵⁶ “Bu itibarla kalifiye amele meselesi diğer fabrikalardaki gibi muharriş bir mesele değildir. [...] ameleden beklenecek başlıca kalifikasyon emir alma ve maksadını ifade etme kabiliyetleri, göz ve kulak intibalarıyla hareketlerini iyi koordine edebilmek, sürat, ağırlık ve mesafe hakkında bozulmamış tabii canlı idraklere sahip olmalarıdır. Bunların yenmiyesi de klasik mektep tedrisinden ziyade, sırf bu noktalara spesyalize edilmiş oyunlar ve idmanlarla olur. Bunun için de yine bunları idare edecek mütehassıs adama ihtiyaç olduğu gibi ...” İbid;19.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this study, Eskişehir Sugar Factory was tried to be analyzed with reference to various aspects which seems to have had their effects on the product, but still in terms of its concern for workers' (and their families) health and welfare within Turkish modernization. For this purpose, the set of points that reveal and define the project and the historical, political, economic and social context of the period in which the factory was constructed, were examined.

The period that we are dealing with is important because of being both the single-party period and the period when the Turkish Republican ideology was determined. Eskişehir Sugar Factory was built within 1930s as a part of the etatist industrialization policy. The etatism principle was adopted as a result of the 1929 World Economic Crisis. The administration had tried to industrialize the country by encouraging the private entrepreneurship until 1929, but after the Crisis, in order to adapt to the new economic conditions, it had to increase state inspection and surveillance over the economy and started to establish state factories. Therefore, with the adoption of Etatism as a principle in 1931, the well known six political principles –Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Secularism, Revolutionism and Etatism- had become into being.

While studying the ideology of the period and how it is reflected in the architecture and planning, it is necessary to detect and define the main ideologic lines in this period. As Tekeli states, there were two main ideologic lines. The first was adopting the positivist way of thinking which actually was a continuation of the westernization process that started in Ottoman Empire and the second was the establishment of the nation state.¹⁵⁷ The positivist way of thinking and the modernist understanding of development brought forth the belief that a better and developed society could be formed by relying on scientific knowledge and furthermore well-educated people of the Republic, intellectuals and administration should lead the society as a social responsibility. Adopting the positivist way of thinking and the modernist development as a state ideology, in order to achieve this, the Republican government has given important roles to spatial strategies. The ideology gained strength with the choice of the location of the new capital city and the important public buildings as well as state economic enterprises and the presence of places such as the Republic squares, the Public Houses and the Village Institutes.

Eskişehir Sugar Factory also represent the positivist way of thinking in the Republican ideology by referring to the language of modern architecture. The project was examined through the plans and photographs that can be reached and through the studies that touched on some aspects of this factory settlement. In this context, the architectural content of the project was made up of new technology and material, functional and rational solutions, plain and geometrical formations as well as the territory decisions.

The project, as one of the first examples of 'regional planning' in Turkey, was also important in the architectural qualities it introduced to the Turkish architectural practice with the integration of social and individual activities of everyday life into the design process. Territory decisions such as the

¹⁵⁷ Tekeli (2001; 59)

differentiation of the areas spared for social activities from the areas in which industrial facilities has taken place, and at smaller scales determination of the zones for residential units, education and socialization, administration, sports and recreation, with the new values they have brought, should be considered to have fairly crucial effects on understanding and meaning of the 'modern' and on the dissemination of the 'modernization discourse'.

Furthermore, the discourse which was disseminated by the new values that would make the building and the environment healthy such as usage of concrete, steel and glass in the construction, usage of material that is easy to clean in the wet spaces, indoor usage of toilet, washbasin and bath, entering of running water into houses, usage of central heating system should also be considered to be instrumental in meaning the 'modern'. All these new values, inevitably, should have to have had their effects on the memories and bodies of their users. The memories of the worker whom his notes about the life in the factory were published in the newspaper Ulus in 1938 were examples and even evidences of these crucial effects. It is seen that the architectural planning and the practices which the concepts and the decisions such as 'healthy settling', 'healthy living', and 'healthy society' brought forth, as being the subjects of the 'modernization discourse', were accepted by both the implementing authority and the user of them.

For the context of the state factories which were established in 1930s, the social and industrial fields of modernist transformation were not two separate issues but were directly related. The industrial tasks necessitated a definite change in the social structure because of both the lack of the worker class and the new occupational roles. Therefore the issue of state factories and workers' health with the social and industrial transformations needed and intended was examined in reference to the general political and economic context of the Republic. When the debates on workers are

considered, the main idea was to form the worker class, the number of which was still not effectual in the non-industrial Turkey. Meanwhile, the social tasks attributed to the designs could also be understood within an industrial rationality, which would approach the workers' life in factory settlements in terms of long-term production efficiency.

For the purposes discussed above, various cautions were taken by the state in order to provide workers' continuous presence in the state factories. The state tried to get workers committed by providing them opportunities. One of these opportunities was the clean, healthy, modern housing where the electricity, the tap water and the heating were provided by the state. Other opportunities provided were the possibility of eating free at the dining halls, the health units and canteens or *economias* in which necessary consumer items were sold under the market prices. All these opportunities were commitments of state to the workers even if they were unwritten. Therefore, both the workers and the state were meeting their expectations by this 'social contract' inbetween. As well as being coherent with the economical politics of the Republic, these implementations were also a part of the 'social responsibility' with the perspective of body politics and utilitarianism.

In addition to the opportunities provided in accordance with the social contract in between, the spaces of social activities were also constructed in order to provide workers' twenty-four hours presence in the factory settlements. Furthermore, a transformation in the social life of workers (and their families which were also living in the settlement) was aimed by these spaces of gathering and assembly like cinema, *economia*, dining hall and areas spared for sports and recreation.

The worker who has been put into the possession of the factory in concerns for 24 hours by dwelling and spending his/her leisure time within the factory settlement, was also encouraged to participate in the collective

activities in order to increase the feelings of solidarity and belonging to the community. Collective activities such as physical education and sport had two other dimensions. Especially the daily sport at the state factories was one of the aspects of politics used to raise compliance of workers to factory life and industrial production circumstances via social bonds. It was used to get workers, who were basically used to norms of agricultural production, to gain skills such as punctuality, quickness, team work and attention. Consequently, it is understood that sports was not seen only as a disciplinary mechanism, but also as a part of public health politics.

When all the points made in these discussions are evaluated together, the factory settlements in the early Republican period, together with all the spaces it brings together, the physical environments and the social living conditions, can be considered to be an architectural product that brought together certain important tasks undertaken by the Republican modernization, which were the aspects of social, political, economic and industrial transformation together with the transformation in the built environment.

All these mutual relations between the architectural, economic-political and social-industrial sides of the Republican modernization seems to be functioned together to produce the architectural result.

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APPENDIX A

I. İZMİR İKTİSAT KONGRESİ

51



İŞÇİ GRUBUNUN İKTİSAT ESASLARI

Madde 1 – Amele namıyla hitab edilmekte olan kadın ve erkek erbab-ı sâ-y ve ameleye bundan böyle işçi denilmesi. (müttefikan kabul)

Madde 2 – Sarf hastalıklar ve bilhassa verem son zamanlarda işçiler ve umum muhtacın ve ailelerinde pek ziyade tahribat yaparak ırkın özünü mahvetmekte olduğundan, hasılatı tesis edilecek verem tecrithaneleri, sanatoryumlar, emzikhaneler ve hastahanelerin masraflarına karşılık tutulmak üzere (Sıhhat vergisi) namıyla bir verginin temettü vergisine bir miktar zammı. (İşçiler, çiftçiler mütefikan kabul, sanayi ekseriyetle kabul, ticaret red).

Madde 3 – Meb'us ve belediye intihâblarında temsil-i meslekî usulünün kabulü. (Üç grup ekseriyetle kabul, ticaret red).

Madde 4 – Dernekler yani sendikalar hakkının tanınması. Tatil-i eşgâl kanununun yeniden işçilerin hakkını tanımak üzere tetkik ve tanzimi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 5 – Ziraatten maada sanayi işçileriyle bilûmum işçiler için (bir saat) istirahat müddeti hariç olmak üzere çalışma müddetinin sekiz saat olarak kabulü. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 6 – Sekiz saat çalışan bir işçinin gece dahi çalıştırılmasına mecburiyet hasıl olduğu takdirde yalnız dört saat çalıştırılacak ve tam gündelik alacak. Yalnız gece çalıştırılan işçiler gündüz işçisi gibi sekiz saat çalışır, fakat iki kat gündelik alır. (birinci fıkra mütefikan kabul, ikinci fıkra üç grup red, işçiler ısrar).

Madde 7 – Maden ocaklarında çalışan işçilerin altı saatlik mesaisinin bir gündelik itibar olunması. Ve maden ocaklarında onsekiz yaştan dîn olanlarla kadınların çalıştırılmaması. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 8 – Alelûmum sanat müesseselerinde ve gümrüklerde on iki yaşını ikmâl etmeyen çocukların çalıştırılmaması için leyfî ve

meccanî müesseseler açılması veya azamî dört saat çalışma ile hafif işlerde çalıştırılmalarına müsaade edilmesi. (üç grup müttefikan, kabul. İşçiler on iki yaşını bitirmemiş çocukların alel'itlak çalıştırılmamasında ısrar).

Madde 9 – Sanat müesseselerinde, matbaalarda ve gümrüklerde üç ay çalışan bir işçiye (sabit işçi) denilmesi. (üç grup müttefikan kabul, ticaret red).

Madde 10 – Bilûmum müesseselerde sabit işçi olarak istihdâm edilen kadınlara doğurmazdan evvel ve sonraya ait olmak üzere sekiz hafta ve her ay üç gün izin verilmesi. Ve bu gündelikleriyle aylıklarının tamam verilmesi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 11 – Bilûmum işçi gündeliklerinin memleket maişetiyle mütenasib olarak hadd-i asgari miktarının her üç ayda bir defa dernekler teşekkül edinceye kadar işçi mümessilleri hazır olduğu halde belediye meclislerince tayiniyle müesseseler tarafından vacib-ül-ittibâ' olmak üzere neşir ve ilânı. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 12 – İşçi gündelik ve aylıklarının umum müesseselerde nakden ve muntazamman verilmesi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 13 – Haftada bir gün işçilere istirahat müddetinin verilmesi, ve hafta tatilinin Cuma günü kabulü. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 14 – (Bir Mayıs) gününün Türkiye İşçileri bayramı olarak kanunen kabulü. (Sanayi ve işçi müttefikan, çiftçi ve tüccar ekalliyetle kabul).

Madde 15 – Sabit işçilerin hafta tatilleriyle resmî günlerde ve işçi bayramı gününde gündeliklerinin tam verilmesi. Umumî tatil günlerinde işçileri çalıştırmak mecburiyeti hasıl olduğu takdirde iki kat gündelik verilmesi. (birinci fıkra üç grup tarafından red, işçiler tarafından ısrar, diğerleri müttefikan kabul).

Madde 16 – Umum sanat müesseselerinde ve gümrüklerde ve matbaalarda ve şirketlerde müstahdem işçilerin hastalandıkları takdirde üç aya kadar gündeliklerinin tam verilmesi. Ve üç ay hastalanan ve hastalığı şifa bulmayan bir illetle malûl olduğu tahakkuk eden işçilerin işten çıkarıldıkları takdirde müesseselerin iktidar-ı malîyesi ile mütenasib ikramiyeler vermeleri (birinci fıkra üç grup, tarafından red, işçiler ısrar. Diğer fıkra müttefikan kabul).

Madde 17 – Evlenecek işçilere gündelikleri verilmek şartıyla bir hafta izin verilmesi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 18 – Bir sene iş başında bulunan işçilere senede bir ay izin verilmesi ve gündeliklerinin tam itâsı. (üç grup red, işçiler ısrar).

Madde 19 – Daimî büyük sanat müesseselerinde, gümrüklerde, şömendöfer, elektrik ve tramvay gibi şirketlerde, maden ocaklarında çalıştırılan işçilerin kaza ve ihtiyarlık dahil olduğu halde hayat sigortasına rabıtları ve sigorta ücretinin müessese sahibleriyle işçiler tarafından yarıyarıya verilmesi. Ve derneklerin koyacağı tekaüdiye hakkının müesseselerce tanınması. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 20 – İş başında sakatlanan umum işçilerin sermayedârlar ve müesseseler tarafından hayatlarının emniyet altına alınması. (üç grup red, işçiler ısrar).

Madde 21 – İkiyüz elli işçi kullanan fabrikalar, şirketler müesseseleri içinde veya yakında bir dispanser, maden ocaklarıyla büyük kıt'ada ormanları işleten ve ormanlarda fabrika yapan sermaye sahiblerinin veya şirketlerin ve tuzlaların civarında birer hastahane ve maden ocaklarında işçiler için behemehâl birer parasız hamam yapmalarına mecbur tutulmaları. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 22 – Sanayi ve mesai müdüriyeti umumîyesinde bir mesai Heyet-i teftişîyesinin ihdası ve bu heyete birlikler ittihaadından müşavir kabulü.

Madde 23 – Sanat müesseseleri ve işçi çalıştıran diğer müesseselerin mevcut sıhhi nizamlara tevfikân daimî surette sıhhiye memurları tarafından teftiş ettirilmesi ve bu hastahanelerin yapılması.

Madde 24 – Büyük sanat müesseseleriyle, şirketler, madenler, tuzlalar ve büyük kıt'ada orman işletenler ve bu ormanlar civarında fabrika yapanların müesseseleri yakınında işçileri için sıhhi evler yapmalarına mecbur tutulması, veya ev kirası zammı vermeleri. (üç grup müttefikan tüccar grubu ekalliyeler kabul)

Madde 25 – İşçi çocuklarının şehit çocuklarından sonra tercihan leylî sanat mekteplerine meccanen kabulü. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 26 – Memlekette açılacak bütün işlerin Türk erbab-ı sâye ve ameline tahsisi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 27 – Memleket dahilinde ticaretin tamamen serbest bulunması ve inhisar şeklinde imtiyaz verilmemesi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 28 – İnhisar suretiyle memleketimizde icra-yi ticaret etmekte olan tütün rejisi inhisarının hemen ilgası. (ve imtiyazlı ecnebî müesseselerinin devletleştirilmesi.) (birinci fıkrası müttefikan kabul sonuncu fıkrası yalnız işçiler tarafından kabul, diğer gruplar red).

Madde 29 – Ham eşya ve memleketimizde mebzulen yetişen, birinci derecede ihracat mevâddı meyanında bulunan tütün, pamuk, palamut, üzüm, incir ve ikinci derecedeki yün, tiftik, deri gibi mevâddın işlenmedikce ihracının kat'iiyen men'i. İhracı halinde de ağır ihracat resmine tâbi tutulması. (Sanayi ve işçi müttefikan kabul, tüccar ve çiftçi grupları: Buna müteallik mukarreratı nakzetmemek üzere tabını müttefikan taleb).

Madde 30 – Temettü kanununun servet ve kazanç itibariyle her terde gelir üzerine tarhını temin eden bir kanunun tanzimi. (ve bu meyanda işçilerin temettü vergisinden kat'iyen afvı ve onbin lirayı mütecaviz sermaye üzerine" müterakki sermaye" ve miras vergisinin ihdası) (birinci fıkra müttefikan kabul, diğer iki fıkra üç grup tarafından red, işçiler ısrar).

Madde 31 – Hiç bir asrî zihniyete uymayan esnaf talimatnâmesi-nin ilgasıyla cemiyet teşkili hakkının her sınıf halka kanun mucibince bahşedilmesi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 32 – Gediklerin, kabzımallığın, sırik hamallığının kat'iyen ilgası. Limanlarda, gümrüklerde kâhya vesair namlarla işçinin hukukunu kaybettiren ve memlekette işçiyi istibdatla kullanan kimselerin faaliyetlerine meydana verilmemesi. (müttefikan kabul).

Madde 33 – Müesseseler tarafından her sene işçilere verilecek ikramiye'nin müsavatla tevzii. (üç grup müttefikan kabul, tüccar ekalliyetle kabul).

Madde 34 – Ziraat işlerinde kullanılan işçiler yukarıki maddelerin ahkâmından müstesnâdır. (müttefikan kabul).

APPENDIX B

BİR SÜMERBANK İŞÇİSİNİN DEFTERİNDEN NOTLAR¹⁵⁸

Mesut bir işçinin fabrikada 24 saati nasıl geçer bilir misiniz?

Bugün üçüncü kursu da bitirdim ve diplomamı aldım.bu fabrikaya işçi olarak gireli bugün tam bir sene oldu. Köyden ...ye geldiğim günü, bu gelişim ikinci yaşına basarken bütün dekoruyla hatırlıyorum: üzerimde eski bir elbise vardı ve yırtık olan pabucumla fabrika müdürünün yanına nasıl çıkacağımı düşünüyordum. Ancak hayalin uçsuz bucaksız çerçevesine sığdırabildiğim bu bütün köyümüz kadar geniş bir toprak parçası üzerinde kurulmuş fabrikaya işçi olmak arzusuyla gelmiştim. Makine olarak nahiye'nin gaz motoruyla işleyen değirmeninden başka bir şey bilmiyordum. Elektriği görmemiştim.

Elimde doktorun sağlık raporu fabrika müdürünün yanına girdiğim zaman, kulaklarım, alışmadığı bir sesle uğulduyordu: makine sesi. Bugün bana bir musiki gibi geliyor. Ondan ayrılırsam medeniyet ve refahtan ayrılacağımı sanıyorum: “Bir senede bu ne kadar değişiklik?” demeyiniz. Çünkü onun kendisi de bir senede kuruldu.

Size hatıra defterimden bazı sayfalar okuyacağım. Bunlar okuma yazma öğrendikten sonra yazılmış notlardır. Çünkü ben buraya geldiğimde okuma yazma bilmiyordum. Yalnız beni yaratan alemin; renkli, ışıklı, hareketli hatıralarını varlığında yaşattım ve onları kağıt üzerine tespit etmeyi öğrenince bu vazifeyi yerine getirdim. Siz bunlara bir hatıra değil de bir var olma tarihi diyebilirsiniz.

Fabrikaya girdiğimin haftasında şefiz beni yanına çağırdı. Elinde üzerinde resmimin olduğu bir dosya vardı. Bu bana ait dosyadır. Bütün hayatım onun içindedir. Beni tanımanıza hacet yok onu tanıyınız.

“Hasan, sen okuma yazma bilmiyorsun. Yaşın gençtir. İyi bir vatandaş olmak için muhakkak okumayı öğrenmek lazım. Bu akşam işten sonra kursa devama başlayacaksın” dedi.

Bizim fabrikada 2000’e yakın işçi içinde okuma yazma bilmeyen yok gibidir. Geldikleri zaman birçokları benim gibi bilmiyorlardı. O akşam işten sonra kursa devama başladım. Alfabeyi bir ayda öğrendim. Üçüncü ayda köyüme mektup

¹⁵⁸ “Bir Sümerbank İşçisinin Defterinden Notlar”. *Ulus*, 31.1.1938

yazdım. Şimdi her gün gazete okuyorum. Fabrikanın bizim için yaptırdığı binalardaki odamda ufakık bir kitap hanem ve içinde yirmiye yakın kitabım var. Burada yalnız bir sanat sahibi olmayı değil bilerek yaşamayı ve niçin yaşadığımı öğrendim.

Burada beş arkadaşla beraber büyük bir odadayız. Bu odayı bize fabrika verdi. Bir köy odasında hayata gözünüzü açıp orada gençlik çağıımıza kadar yetiştikten sonra bol ışık alan, isı ve kokusu olmayan modern bir beton yapıda bir dünya cenneti huzuru duymaz mısınız?

Odamız çiçek gibidir: temiz ve rahat bir hayatın ancak temiz ve rahat bir binada yaşanabileceğini anlamışsınızdır. Eğer bir gün tekrar köyümüze dönersek oradaki hayatı olduğu gibi kabul edecek değiliz. Zaten bizim saadetimiz köyün hayatı da fabrikanın hayatı gibi olduğu gün tamamlanacaktır. Burası memlekete kumaş vermekle kalmıyor. Burası makine devrinin bir eseri olarak o kumaşı kullananı da makine devrinin çocuğu yapmak davasıdır.

Güzel odamızda neşeli bir hayat sürüyoruz. Kazancımız yerindedir. Fabrika bize ucuz ve iyi yemek temin etmiştir. İşimi de vücudumun enerjisini israf edencesine harcamıyorum. Güçlükleri yenen makine ve dev kudretli elektrik büyük yardımcılarımızdır.

Bizim 24 saatimizi bütün vatandaşlar için dileriz. Rahat bir yatakta huzur içinde geçen bir uykudan sabahın erken bir saatinde kalkarız. Doğan günle beraber hayata girmenin nefse verdiği bir itimat vardır. Düşünün bir kere: kudretli güneşle beraber siz de vazife başındasınız.

Makinenin başına gitmeye daha çok vakit vardır. Evvela düşumuzu yapacağız. Parke zeminli ve daima bol su olan hamamlarımız bizi beklemektedir. Buradan gideceğimiz yer spor sahalarımızdır.

Fabrikamızda spor bir ders halindedir ve iyi spor yapan iyi makine kullanan kadar makbuldür. Sağlam kafanın sağlam vücutta bulunduğunu bize tecrübe ile gösterdiler. Bizim elimize renkli kumaş modellerini verirken bu kadar karışık renkleri birleştirerek nefis kumaş şekilleri bulan mühendislerimiz de bizimle beraberdir.

Sonra kuvvetli bir kahvaltı ve ondan sonra iş başı. Üzerimizde hep bir çeşit gömleklerimiz vardır. Öğle tatiline kadar koca fabrikaya yalnız makine ve motor homurtusu hakimdir. Biz yalnız “Söz gümüşse sükut altındır” sözüne inanmakla kalmayız zamanında olduktan sonra sükutun da kahkahanın da sözün de hatta koşmak, sıçramak ve eğlenmenin de altın olduğunu biliriz. Hayatımızda her şey yerli yerinde ayarlanmıştır. Yalnız acı ve bedbinlik nedir bilmeyiz.

Bankada bir tasarruf hesabım vardır. Fabrikaya işçi olarak girdiğimin ikinci ayında birçok arkadaşlarıma uyararak bir kumbara da ben aldım. Haftalığının yüzde yirmisini ona atıyorum.

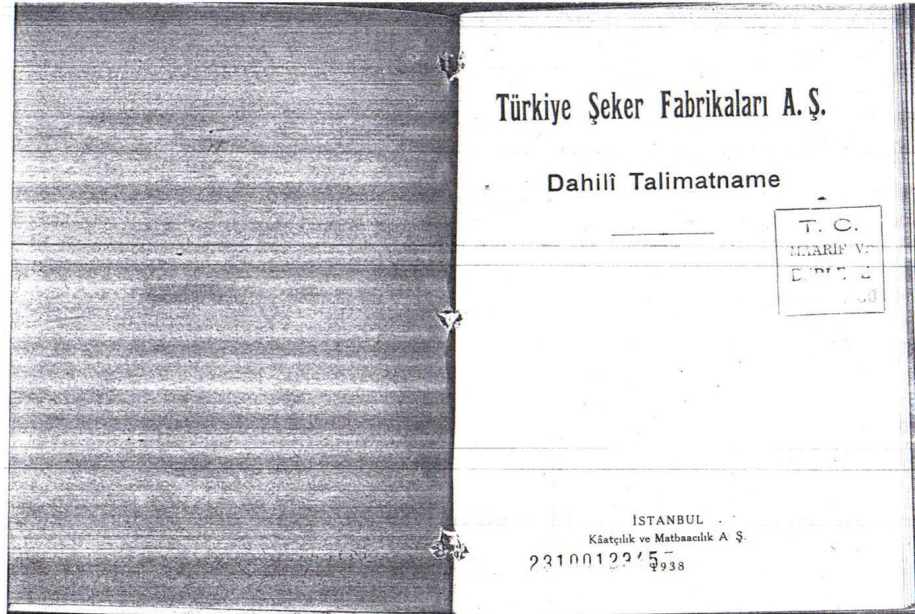
Çünkü burada hayat ucuzdur. Yani fabrikanın içinde o kadar ucuz ve güzel yemek yiyoruz ki şaşarsınız. Berberimiz vardır, sinemamız vardır, kütüphanemiz vardır, ve nihayet bütün ihtiyacımızı temin eden bir kooperatifimiz vardır.

Eğer bir gün tekrar köyüme dönecek olursam, anlatacağım şeyler arasında akıllı bir insan parasının çıkı içinde beklemeyeceği ve onun yerine banka kasası olduğu da vardır.

Fabrikaya girdiğimden beri iki defa zam gördüm. Sanatı öğrendikçe bilgi sahibi oldukça aldığımız para da artıyor. Hiç beklemediğimiz bir günde gündeliğimizin arttırıldığını öğrenmeye alıştık. İçimizde verdiğimiz karşılık eksiksiz almış olmanın ferahlığı var. Burada bir damla alın terinin mukabelesiz kalmasına imkan yoktur. Sanki hassas ve yanılmaz bir terazi bütün gün yanı başımızda emeğimizi ölçüyor.

Güzel, şirin, modern fabrikamızı bütün vatandaşların gezmesi bizim dileğimizdir. Kumaşlarınızı giyerken bizi hatırlayınız. Bizim hiç ıstırabımız yoktur. Onları sizin için seve seve gönlümüzden gele gele hazırlıyoruz. Malların iyi olmasına bir telinin bile çarpık olmamasına dikkat ediyoruz. Çünkü fabrikanın bu memleketin bütün vatandaşları için kurulduğunu onun makinesinin sesinden yurdumuzun saadet ve hürriyet şarkısının bestelendiğini biliyoruz.”

APPENDIX C



3 - İşçilerin işe alınma şartları :

A) Fabrikalarımıza alınacak işçilerin aşağıda yazılı şart ve vasıfları haiz olmaları lazımdır :

- I—Türk olmak,
- II—Medenî hakları haiz olmak,
- III—18 yaşından küçük olmamak,
- IV—Çalışacağı işin mahiyetine göre sıhhi ehliyeti haiz bulunmak.

B) İşçiden aşağıdaki evrakın ibrazı istenir :

- I—Nüfus cüzdanı,
- II—Daha evvel çalıştığı yerlerden aldığı şahadetnameler,
- III—Fabrika doktorundan alacağı sıhhi ehliyet raporu.

C) Fabrikaya ilk defa alınacak işçiler dört haftalık bir tecrübe devresine tabi tutulurlar.

4 - Günlük iş müddeti :

a) Alpullu, Eskişehir, Turhal, Uşak Şeker Fabrikalarında ve İstanbul Fındıklı Çırağan sarayındaki ambalaj fabrikasında

	Başlama	Dinlenme	Bitme
Haftanın ilk 5 günü	7,30-12	12-13	13-17,15
Cumartesi günü...	7,30-11,45		

b) Kampanya zamanlarında şeker fabrikalarında İktisat Vekâletinin genel emirleri mucibince hareket olunur.

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c) İşçilerin çalışma saatlerinin tevsikine dair olan esas vesika her işçiye mahsus olan ve kontrol saatlerine bizzat işçi tarafından basılan iş kartlarıdır.

d) İş başı fabrika düdüğü ile bildirilir. Döğük çaldığı zaman bütün işçilerin iş elbiselerini giymiş olarak işleri başında bulunmaları lazımdır.

e) İşe başlama, dinlenme, işi bırakma zamanları mahallî istasyon saatlerine göre ve ambalaj fabrikasında İstanbul ayar düdüğü ile ayarlı ve fabrika methalinde asılı saate göre tanzim edilir.

f) İş başı düdüğünden evvel iş kartını saate basanlar için iş başı saati muteberdir.

g) Kampanya zamanlarında her 15 günde bir gündüz çalışan bir postanın geceye geçmesi veya gece postasının gündüze geçmesi için ekipler sekizer saatlik ara çalışması yaparlar.

5 - Mecburi dinlenmeler :

Yukarıki maddede yazıldığı veçhile kampanya haricinde saat 12 den 13 e kadar kampanya dahilinde saat 12 ile 14 ve 24 arasında olmak üzere işçiye bir saat mecburi istirahat verilir.

6 - İşçi ücretleri :

a) İşçinin istihkakı ayda bir defa yevmiye veya maaş olarak tahakkuk ettirilerek ödenir. İşçi, ücretlerinin bu suretle ayda bir defada ödenmesine işe alındığı tarihte önceden muvafakat eder.

- 5 -

b) Ücretler, zarf içinde ve işçinin çalıştığı yerde her ayın 5 inde saat 10 dan itibaren ödenmeğe başlanır. İşçinin zarf üzerinde yapışık hesap pusulası münderecatına dikkat etmesi ve zarfı alır almaz derhal Jediye memurunun önünde sayması lazımdır. Bunu yapıyarak sonradan eksik para aldığı iddiasında bulunan işçilerin şikâyetleri dinlenmez. Ancak hesaptan dolayı şikâyetler bu kayda tabi değildir.

c) İşçilerin tazmin edecekleri eşya ve iş zararlarına karşılık olmak üzere istihkaklarından 5 günlükten 10 günlüğe kadarı fabrikaya alakonulabilir. Bu miktar 10 haftada müsavi taksitlerle kesilir.

7 - Hafta tatili, Ulusal bayram ve Genel tatiller :

a) Kampanya haricinde iş yerlerimiz haftada 36 saat 20 dakika ve yalnız Uşak fabrikamız 35 saat tatile tabidir.

b) Kampanya zamanında hafta tatili kanununun 8.ci maddesine istinaden tatil yapılmaz.

c) Gerek kampanya haricinde ve gerek kampanya dahilinde 29 İlkteşrin Cumhuriyet Bayramında çalıştırılmayan işçilere 1 tam yevmiye, çalıştırılan işçilere o güne ait ücretleri 2 misli olarak ödenir. Ulusal bayram ve genel tatiller kanun mucibince

- 6 -

kapatılması mecburi olmayan bayram ve tatil günlerinde çalışılmadığı takdirde o günler için ücret ödenmez.

İş kanununun 15.ci maddesinin III numaralı fıkrasında yazılı olduğu veçhile mücbir sebepler dolayısıyla fabrika mesaisi tatil edilmek lazımgeldiği takdirde yalnız bir haftalık müddet için yarım ücret verilir.

8 - İşçilerin izin alma şartları :

a) Fabrikada azami bir sene çalışmış olan işçilerin iş vaziyeti müsaade ettiği takdirde fabrika Direktörlüğünün tensip edeceği zaman ve müddet için kendisine izin verilebilir.

b) İşçiye verilen izinler âmirleri tarafından izin pusulası tanzimi suretiyle tesbit edilir.

c) İşe devam etmeyen veya izinli bulunan işçilere o günlere ait ücretleri ödenmez.

9 - Sağlık koruma ve iş emniyeti bakımından işçilerin riayete mecbur oldukları hususlar :

a) Hasta olanların 24 saat zarfında hastahaklarını işletme şefliğine bildirmeleri lazımdır.

b) Fabrikada çalışan işçiler hastalandıkları zaman fabrika doktoru tarafından parasız olarak tedavi edilirler.

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<p>c) İş arasında bir kaza neticesinde yaralanan veya işten mütevellit olarak hastalananların tedavi ve ilaç masraflarıyla, vaziyetleri hastahane tedavilerine lüzum gösteriyorsa hastahane masrafları, fabrikaca ödenir. Bu takdirde gerek sadece evlerinde istirahat günlerine, gerekse hastanede tedavi müddetlerine ait ücretleri tam olarak tesviye olunur.</p> <p>d) Fabrika dahilinde vukua gelen kazalar neticesinde yaralananlar veya işten mütevellit olarak hastalananlar, vakit geçirmeksizin derhal fabrika sıhhiyesine gönderilir. Bu gibi ahvali, âmirlerine veya fabrika sıhhi teşkilâtına haber vermiyenlere veya kendi kendilerini tedavi etmeğe çalışanlara karşı fabrika hiç bir mesuliyet kabul etmez.</p> <p>e) Kısım şefleri kendi daireleri dahilinde vukua gelen kazanın mahiyetini derhal bir zabıt varakasıyla tesbit ve tevsiğe ve kazaya uğrayan işçiyi lazımgelen izahatı havi bir hastalık pusulası ile doktora sevk etmeğe mecburdurlar.</p> <p>f) Fabrikanın salâhiyeti dahilinde bulunan herhangi bir sebebe müsteniden işden çıkarılacak işçi, kendi kâsdı olmaksızın iş kazasına uğramış bulunursa, vaki olacak ihbar müddeti, kazanın vukuu gününden itibaren 30 iş gününden sonra başlar.</p> <p>g) Her kısım şefi kendi atelye dairesinin temizliğine azami itinayı göstermekle ve dairenin, günde iki</p>	<p>defadan aşağı olmamak üzere işçilerin sağlığına hâlel gelmeyecek şekilde temizlenmesine nezaretle mükelleftir.</p> <p>h) Fabrika helalarının temizliğine fevkalâde dikkat gösterilecektir. Bunların pisletilmesi kapı veya divarlarına yazı yazılması memnurdur.</p> <p>i) Fabrika içerisinde üzerinde (işilebilir) işaret olmayan musluklardan su almak ve içmek yasaktır. Bunlara riayetsizlikten doğacak kazalardan dolayı fabrika hiç bir mesuliyet kabul etmez.</p> <p>k) Atideki hallerin yapılması memnurdur; bunlara riayetsizlikten doğacak kazalardan dolayı fabrika hiç bir mesuliyet kabul etmez.</p> <p>I—İşçilerin kendi salâhiyetleri dahilinde olmayan valfleri açıp kapamaları veya herhangi bir tezgâhı, makinayı ve motörü işletmeleri veya durdurmaları,</p> <p>II—İşleyen bir tezgâhın mil veya dişli gibi harekette bulunan parçalarını üstüğü veya diğer bir vasıta ile silmeleri,</p> <p>III—Dönen transmisyon milleri üzerine merdiven dayayarak herhangi bir ârızayı bertaraf etmeğe çalışmaları veya bu vaziyette temizlik yapmaları,</p> <p>IV—Tezgâhlar veya kayışlar etrafındaki emniyet tertibatını çıkarmaları,</p>
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<p>V—Ateşe bakmak ve ateşi karıştırmak veya çürütme temizlemek mecburiyetinde olan ateşçilerin bu işleri mavi camlı gözlük takmadan yapmaları,</p> <p>VI—Tozlu işlerle uğraşan işçilerin gözlüksüz ve yerine göre maskesiz çalışmaları,</p> <p>VII—Kazan su müşirleri işçileri değiştirilirken veya kontrol ederken bunların tam karşılarında durmaları,</p> <p>VIII—Ateşçilerin amyan elbiselerini giymeden ve maskelerini takmadan harareti fazla olan yerlere girmeleri,</p> <p>IX—Zımpara taşında çalışan işçilerin gözlüksüz çalışmaları ve taşın tam karşı hizalarına geçerek iş görmeleri,</p> <p>X—Oksijen kaynağını bu işe mahsus gözlüğü takmadan yapmaları, elektrik kaynağını kalkansız ve eldivensiz kullanmaları ve bu işin karşısına geçip seyretmeleri,</p> <p>XI—Torna tezgâhlarının Amerikan aynası anahtarını ve makkap tezgâhları makkap kovani anahtarını bu aynalar üzerine takılı bırakmaları,</p> <p>XII—Salâhiyetli elektrikçilerden maadassın' motor veya dinamolara veya sair elektrik tertibat ve tesisatına her ne suretle olursa olsun karışmaları,</p> <p>XIII—Santrifüj makinalarının frenlerini birdenbire kapamaları,</p>	<p>XIV—Tamiri icabeden bir makine, kazan, dolap, elevator ve sairiyi işleten işçiye veya ustasına haber vermeden tamire başlamaları, (makine hareket etmese bile, bu suretle habersiz işe başlamaktan doğacak kazalardan dolayı fabrika hiç bir mesuliyet kabul etmez.)</p> <p>XV—Islak ve nemli yerlerde, kazan iç ve dışında veya bu gibi madeni yerlerde çalışırken alçak tevettür transformatörüz el lambaları kullanmaları ve elektrik apareylerini toprak hattı bağlamadan kullanmaları,</p> <p>XVI—Yüksek ve tehlikeli yerlerde çalışan işçilerin kendilerine verilen emniyet kemerlerini istimal etmemeleri,</p> <p>XVII—Vazife icabı öğrendiği ahvali gerek harice, gerekse vazifedar olmayan memur ve işçilere ifşa ve verilen emirleri ve alınan tedbirleri tenkit etmeleri,</p> <p>VIII—İşbu talimatname ahkâmından maada zaman zaman fabrika dahiline asılacak emir, tebliğ, ikaz veya yapılacak ilânlara riayet etmemeleri,</p> <p>10—İş inzibatı hakkında işçilerin riayete mecbur oldukları hususlar:</p> <p>a) İşçiler fabrikaca kendilerine tahsis edilen umumî kapıdan girer ve gene oradan çıkarlar. Umumî kapıdan başka bir yerden girilemez ve çıkılmaz.</p>
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<p>b) Her işçi fabrikadan çıkarken üzerini fabrika bekçilerine arattıracaktır. Fabrika lüzum gördüğü takdirde bu araştırmayı girişe de teşmil edebilir.</p> <p>c) Her işçi işe başladığı ve işini bitirdiği saati tesbit için kendisine ait olan iş kartını kontrol saatine bizzat basacaktır. Kartını yanlış basan veya hiç basmayan işçi, sebebini hemen amirine haber vererek kartını imza ettirmedeği takdirde o zamana ait haklarını kaybeder. Kartlarını kaybeden işçiler keyfiyeti derhal amirlerine ihbar etmedikleri takdirde, yevmiyelerini alamazlar.</p> <p>d) İşçilerin iş kontrol kartları fabrikaca tayin edilecek hususi yerlerde muhafaza edilecektir. İşçilerin bu kartları yanlarında taşımaları, kirlilmeleri, öslemeleri yasaktır.</p> <p>e) İşçiler fabrika iş dairelerinde ve ambarlarda fabrikaca lüzum görülen sair yerlerde sigara içemezler. İşçilerin iş ve dinlenme zamanlarında alâkadar amirlerinin müsaadesi olmaksızın ateş yakmaları yasaktır.</p> <p>f) İşçiler salâhiyetler amirlerinin müsaadesi olmaksızın fabrika dahilinde kendi hususi âletleriyle çaışamazlar.</p> <p>g) İşçiler kendilerine verilen işleri hatasızca matlûp veçhile yapmakla mükelleftir. Hata, kusur, dikkatsizlik ve nizamata ve talimata riayetsizlik suretile bozdukları işleri tazmin etmeğe mecburdurlar.</p>	<p>h) İşlemekte olan bir makınayı durdurmadan temizlemek veya her hangi bir surette müdahale etmek yasaktır. Aksi takdirde tevellüt edecek âkibetten fabrika hiç bir suretle mesul olmaz.</p> <p>i) İşçilerin herhangi bir surette ikâ ettikleri zararların, fena bir niyetle yapıldığı kanaati hasıl olduğu takdirde takibatı kanuniye icra edilir ve keyfiyet siciline kaydedilebilir.</p> <p>k) İşçiler Şirketçe lüzum görüldüğü takdirde fabrikanın herhangi bir işinden diğerine veya Şirketin bir fabrikasından diğer fabrikasına nakl olunabilirler.</p> <p>l) İşçinin fabrikada gerek kendi malzeme ve alâtiyle gerekse fabrikaya ait malzeme ve takımlarla hususi işini yapması yasaktır.</p> <p>11— Cezalar :</p> <p>a) 9. cu maddenin (K) fıkrasında yazılı memnuniyetlere riayet etmeyenlere birinci defasında ihtar yapılır, tekrerründe 1-3 yevmiye miktarında kesinti yapılır ve sebebiyet verdikleri zararlar tazmin ettirilir.</p> <p>b) İş başı düdüğü çaldığı halde azami 15 dakika zarfında işleri başında bulunmayanların yarım yevmiyeleri ve tekrerrüti halinde bir yevmiyeleri kesilir.</p>
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<p>c) Paydos düdüğü çalmadan evvel işçi işinden ayrılmaz. Kampanya zamanlarında tatil düdüğü çalmış olsa bile müteakip postada kendisinden sonra çaışacak işçiye işi teslim etmeden yerini terkedenlerin birinci defasında bir ve ikinci defasında üç günlük yevmiyeleri kesilir ve ihtar müteakip tekrerründe işten çıkarılır. (paydos düdüğünden itibaren 10 dakika zarfında müteakip posta işçisi gelmediği takdirde işçi amirine vaziyeti ihbar eder.)</p> <p>d) İş kanununun 30. cu maddesine tevfi kan yapılan bu ceza kesintiler bir ceza pusulası ile tevsi k ve işçiye derhal tebliğ edilir.</p> <p>12 — İş yerinde işçilerin şikâyet ve müracaatlarını nereye ve kime yapacakları:</p> <p>İşçilerin her türlü şikâyet ve müracaatları çalıştıkları fabrikanın işletme şefine yapılacaktır.</p> <p>13— Umumi hükümler :</p> <p>a) Fabrikanın bilumum emir, tamim ve tebliğleri, fabrikadaki umumi ilân yerleriyle iş yerlerindeki kara tahtalara yazılmak veya asılmak suretile yapılır.</p>	<p>b) İşbu talimatname fabrikanın bilumum kısımlarında çalışan bütün işçilerine şamildir. Fabrikaya muvakkaten alınan işçiler de bu talimatname hükümlerine riayete mecburdurlar.</p> <p>c) Bu talimatnamenin tatbikinden sırasıyle usta muavinleri, ustaları, ustabaşları, kısım şefleri ve mafevkleri mesul olacaklar. Her hangi bir fabrika müntesibi de, şahit olacağı talimatnameye muhalif hareketleri derhal alâkadar mevkiine haber vermekle mükelleftir.</p> <p>d) İşçinin işine nihayet verilmesine lüzum görüldüğü veya işçi işini terketmeği arzu ettiği takdirde İş kanununun 13. cu maddesi mucibince müteakibilen ihbarda bulunmak lâzımdır.</p> <p>Bir kampanyaya münhasır olmak üzere işe alınan işçiler için fabrika, kampanyanın hitamında ihbar şartıyla mukayyet değildir.</p> <p>e) İşçinin gelececeği günlerde oğlunu, kardeşini, akrabasını veya arkadaşını göndermek suretiyle yerine diğerini ikamesi caiz değildir.</p>
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T. C.
İKTİSAT VEKÂLETİ
İş Dairesi Reisliği
İş Akidleri Şubesi.

*İşbu yeknesak Dahili Talimatname muh.
teviyatı İş Kanununun hükümlerine uygun
görüldüğünden anılan Kanunun 29 uncu maddesinin 2 numaralı fıkrası mucibince tasdik kılındı.*

İktisat Vekili adına

İş Dairesi Reis V.