WORKERS' HOUSING PROJECTS BY SEYFİ ARKAN IN THE ZONGULDAK COALFIELD: A CASE OF MODERNIZATION IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the two housing complex projects designed by the architect Seyfi Arkan between 1934 and 1937 for the mineworker in the Zonguldak coalfield. The two projects are analyzed with respect to both the modern Turkish architectural scene and the social and political history of the coalfield. Besides being strongly connected to the major issues and concepts of the modernization program of the Republic, the projects that Seyfi Arkan designed for the housing of the Zonguldak mineworker are also cases that exemplify the architectural solution that the Turkish architect of the early Republican period produced for specific spatial problems, also involving distinct social concerns and tasks. The cases were studied regarding the

architect's response as reflected in his work, both to the architectural, social and political discourses that the Republican modernization brought, and the specific problems and tasks included in the design task he undertook. In this frame by thoroughly investigating and analyzing such an exemplary case, this study aims to contribute to the understanding and evaluation of the architectural thought produced by the Turkish architect in his/her relation to the Republican process of modernization. Such a relation is considered in the claim of the architect in being a component in the social transformation brought by modernization.

Keywords: Modernization, Modern Architecture, Early Republican Architecture, Seyfi Arkan, Zonguldak Coalfield, Workers' Housing, Mining Settlement, Company Town.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The task of modernization as undertaken by the Republican revolution in Turkey included the transformation of every field of social life, as well as the radical reformation of political and economic institutions. The proper transformation of the built environment was an important part of this task, which was launched in the first years of the Republic with the construction of Ankara as a new and modern capital. The importance of Ankara in the modernist construction program continued in the 1930s. As a result the city became an outstanding site of important turning points and landmarks through which we can read the dominant approaches and tendencies in the architectural thought of the early Republican history. Nonetheless it was also in this decade when the idea of developing the modern Turkish city all over the country was openly pronounced, as in the opening speech of Atatürk at the assembly in 1935. In this speech Atatürk stated that it was a primary goal that every town and city in the country would become places of development and prosperity and added that "every place that is home to the Turk will become examples of health, cleanness, beauty and modern culture"[1].

Besides certain administrative and public buildings such as *halkevi* (people's house) buildings, two important actions to convey the task of modernization to

[1] *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri 1906-1938 I*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1959, p. 370, cited in Alsaç, Ü. *Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi*, KTÜ Baskı Atelyesi, Trabzon, 1976, p. 199.

various Anatolian towns and cities were the construction of new railroads and the foundation of factories. Large factory complexes built in the 1930s according to the first Five-Year Industrial Development Plan did not only introduce new building types, but as Batur also mentions, also brought "a mode of thinking" with the "objective goal and the technology inherent in [their] design"[2].

The Zonguldak coalfield[3] in the Black Sea coast of Turkey can be considered as one of the cases where the program of industrialization was the main conveyor of the effects of the modernization process to the urban setting and the social life. However it is also quite a special case when compared. Many industrial investments in various Anatolian cities brought ways of occupation, production and social relations which were totally new for the existing population, and what drives Zonguldak special in this sense is the history of mining dating back to the 1850s that had already become an important determinant for the social life and the built environment in the region.

The coalfield occupies a distinctive place in the industrial history of Anatolia. One of the significant components of this place is the effective existence of foreign investment in the region. What also appears as significant is the special occupational structure of the mineworker population which operates as a mediatory form between industrial and agricultural productions based on the rotation of the two. The particular aspect, nevertheless, that especially drove the attention of the Ankara government to the region as early as 1921 was the extraordinarily bad condition that

[2] Batur, A. "To Be Modern: Search for a Republican Architecture" in, Holod, R. and Evin A. (eds.) *Modern Turkish Architecture*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1984, p. 73.

[3] The coalfield consists of the towns of Zonguldak, Ereğli and Kozlu and the surrounding villages, which were all connected to the city of Bolu in the first years of Republic. Today the central city is Zonguldak, and therefore the coalfield is referred to as the Zonguldak coalfield.

the mineworker has lived and worked in, which grounded a special law of labor issued for the coalfield in this year.

The coalfield also became an important place of application for the decision to base the economic development on national industry as determined by the İzmir Economic Congress of 1923. The leading investments in this line were undertaken by *T. İş Bankası* (Turkish Business Bank) with the two coal companies, *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş*. These companies set their goals as the modernization of mining activities supported by the social development of the region, as well as the technical progress. Consequently two housing complexes were designed for the workers of these companies between the years 1934 and 1937 by the architect Seyfi Arkan.

Although they remained largely unrealized, these housing projects as they were designed are important works for the history of modern architecture in Turkey. Besides the very few examples of social housing in the period, the Zonguldak projects by Arkan should be accepted as leading cases of contemporary mass-housing with reference to their scale, program and architectural and urban formation. On the other hand the site and the user that they were planned for had certain unique characteristics, and the institution that invested in the projects had a distinct position in the economic history of the Turkish Republic. For this reason, it will be noteworthy to study these projects with reference to not only the important place that they occupy in the Turkish architecture of the 1930s, but also the special context in which they were meant to function.

This study aims to undertake this type of an examination and analysis of the two housing complex projects for the Zonguldak coalfield by Seyfi Arkan designed and partly constructed during the 1930s. It is mainly divided into two stages. In

Chapter 2, the first and rather short stage, the factual information will be given in detail on the architectural characteristics, the designer and the realization of the projects, the coalfield as the site and the mineworker as the user.

In order to provide detailed information on the projects, the sites were visited and surveys were made in the archives of related institutions in Zonguldak and in Ankara such as TTK (*Türk Taşkömürleri Kurumu*, Turkish Institution of Pit coals), TKİ (*Türk Kömür İşletmeleri*, Turkish Institution of Coal), the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources and *T. İş Bankası*. Unfortunately no contemporary and original documents on the projects could be found, except a number of photographs showing the realized part. This can be related to the fact that during the years when the projects were designed and begun to be constructed, all the facilities in the coalfield including the ones owned by *T. İş Bankası* were being transferred and became state-owned. When the maps showing the later situation of the sites are examined it is seen that the institutions that later owned the mining facilities in these locations developed their own construction programs on housing not depending on the projects prepared by Arkan. For this reason the main subject of study in this work is set as the projects as they were designed by Arkan, disregarding whether they were realized or not.

Chapter 3, 4 and 5 constitute the second stage of the study, in which the projects will be discussed in various respects, by building on the information provided in the first stage in Chapter 2. The discussions that form these three chapters can be considered in relation to each other as they begin from the case projects and extend to the contextual features. However all the three chapters are structured on their own and bring their own approaches to the subject independently.

Chapter 3 will examine the projects and their architectural qualities as examples of workers' housings within the frame of the architect's design formation and the architectural scene of the period in Turkey. The frame of examination in Chapter 4 will be the labor and economy policies of the Republic and their reflection in the Zonguldak coalfield. In Chapter 5 the architectural qualities and the social and political context of the designs will be discussed as compared to various mining settlements and company towns. The discussions aim to understand the mutual relations between the architectural, economic-political and social-industrial sides of the Republican modernization in the way they functioned to produce the architectural projects designed for the mineworker of Zonguldak.

Besides being strongly connected to the major issues and concepts of the modernization program of the Republic, the projects that the architect Seyfi Arkan designed for the housing of the Zonguldak mineworker are also cases that exemplify the architectural solution that the Turkish architect of the early Republican period produced for specific spatial problems, also involving distinct social concerns and tasks. The cases can be studied regarding the architect's response as reflected in his work, both to the architectural, social and political discourses that the Republican modernization brought, and the specific problems and tasks included in the design tasks he undertook. In this frame by thoroughly investigating and analyzing such an exemplary case, this study aims to contribute to the understanding and evaluation of the architectural thought produced by the Turkish architect in his/her relation to the Republican process of modernization.

CHAPTER 2

WORKERS' HOUSING PROJECTS BY SEYFİ ARKAN IN ZONGULDAK

In this chapter the housing projects designed by Seyfi Arkan for the mineworker will be introduced with the related and detailed information. For the purpose of providing the informative ground that various discussions will be built on the subjects in the following chapters, facts related not only to the projects and their investors, architect and realization, but also to the mining industry of the coalfield that shaped the characteristics, issues and problems of the site and the mineworker the projects had been planned for will be given.

2.1. The Projects: The Programs and Architectural Preferences

Between the years 1934 and 1937, two social housing projects were designed for the Zonguldak coalfield by the architect Seyfi Arkan. The first one was designed between the years 1934 and 1936 for M.K.İ. (*Maden ve Kömür İşleri A.Ş.* or *Türk-İş*)[4]. It was for the workers, engineers and civil servants of the anthracite (hard coal) factory in Üzülmez, the construction of which had also begun in 1934[5]. The project included single houses for engineers, civil servants and married workers, dormitory

[4] Arkan, S. *1933-1956 Seyfi Arkan ve Eserleri* (Pamphlet), p.17.
[5] Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938,* ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, p. 397.

blocks for single and temporary workers[6], a nearby service block containing showers, common kitchens, dining halls, and laundries for single and temporary workers, and a primary school building. The project was designed to inhabit 450 families[7] and was planned to be completed in five years[8].

The condition of the site with a carefully designed green structure was the main determinant in the organization of the whole. The settlement was organized like an amphitheatre using the slope of the site, with a grove in the centre extending through the groups of units with radial green strips. (Figure 2.1, Figure 2.7) Two major roads that were shaped following the slope and linked to the units with secondary roads connected the settlement to the town centre.

The single houses for workers were designed as two-storey, small, simple boxes within private gardens, having their entrance alternately from the front in the upper floor or the side in the lower floor according to the degree of the slope. (Figure 2.2) The designs of civil servants' and engineers' houses repeat the same pattern but they were larger. The simplicity in plan organization was also reflected to the elevations with the use of pure geometric forms on clean and bare surfaces, like the round windows for bathrooms. The pavilions and the service block for single and temporary workers and the school building repeated this prismatic purism in a larger scale. (Figure 2.3) The service building that contained a common kitchen, a dining hall, showers and laundries, was placed in the site forming an organic relationship with the topography, as it was also the case in the single units. The entrance to the

[6] As they were built, these dormitory blocks were referred as "*amele pavyonları*" (worker pavilions) and the word "*pavyon*" is still in use in the region to name such worker dormitories. For this reason these buildings will be referred below by the word 'pavilion' in this work.
[7] Arkan, S. *1933-1956*… p.17.
[8] Arkan, S**. "** Amele Evleri, İlkokul, Mutfak ve Çamaşırlık Binası, Kozlu –Zonguldak", *Arkitekt*, September, 1935, pp. 253-258.

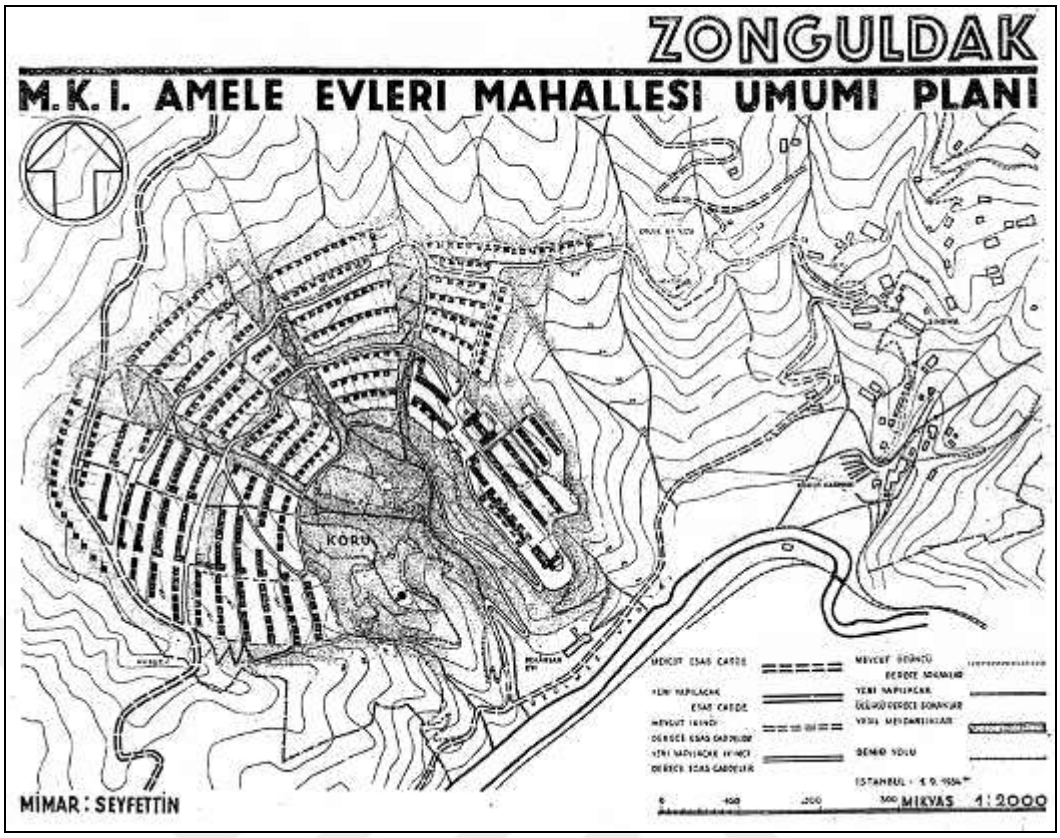


Figure 2.1. ***Türk-İş*** **housing, site plan.**

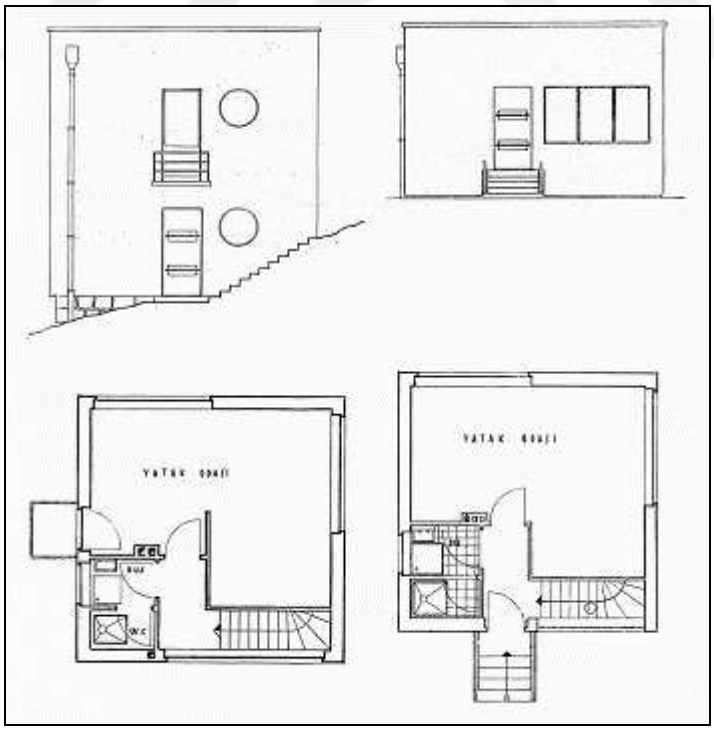


Figure 2.2. ***Türk-İş*** **housing, plans and elevations for the single houses. The type with the entrance from the lower floor on the left hand side and from the upper floor on the right hand side.**

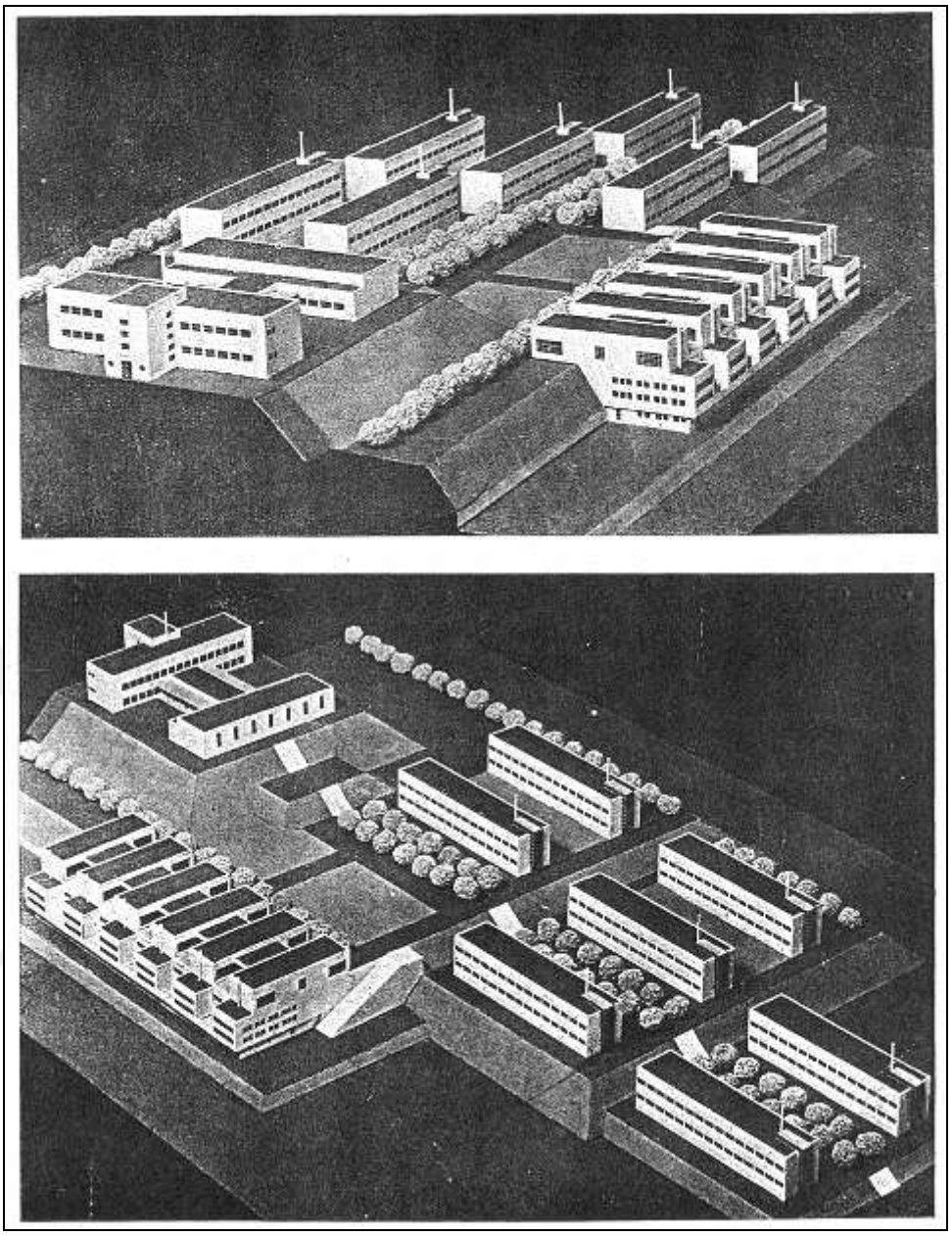
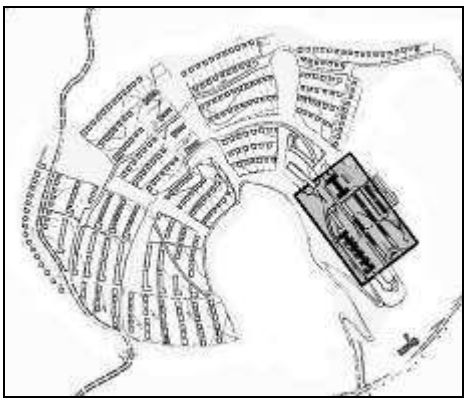


Figure 2.3. *Türk-İş* housing, the model for the pavilions, the service block for single and temporary workers, and the primary school building on the top.



upper floor containing dining halls and resting rooms was from the level of pavilions and the lower floors contained offices, storage, showers, and laundries. (Figure 2.4)

The second project was designed between 1935 and 1936 for K.İ.A.Ş. (*Kömür İşleri Anonim Şirketi or Kömür-İş*) in Kılıç –Kozlu. In a similar sense of communal housing, this second project was also designed as a complex containing worker, engineer and civil servant houses, dormitories (pavilions) for young and temporary workers, a management building, a primary school, and a tennis court as well[9].

Similar to the *Türk-İş* Housing, this settlement was also arranged in terraces using the slope, but instead of a semi-circular shape with a central core, here all the units faced northwest to give a good view of the sea[10]. (Figure 2.6) The main road coming from the town centre that drew curves to keep the slope in a reasonable degree showed a contrast with the grid pattern of the settlement that it cut through. The green structure again had a major importance in the organization of the design as it surrounded the settlement and defined the major parts of the whole by separating them with strips. (Figure 2.7) The primary school building was placed in the beginning of this road in order to give service also to the children of Kozlu, and the house of the director was planned at the end, in a dominating position at the top[11].

The pattern of simple and low-cost dwellings with their private gardens of the *Türk-İş* Housing was also repeated here. The units were designed as simple boxes and the houses for civil servants were shaped by two shifting boxes that formed defined outdoor spaces. The director's house, being two-storey and much larger, was also designed in this manner. (Figure 2.8)

[9] Arkan, S. "Kömür –İş İşçi Uramı, Zonguldak –Kozlu", *Arkitekt* (January, 1936), pp.9-10.
[10] In Arkan's site plan, the conventional north orientation was not used.
[11] Ibid.

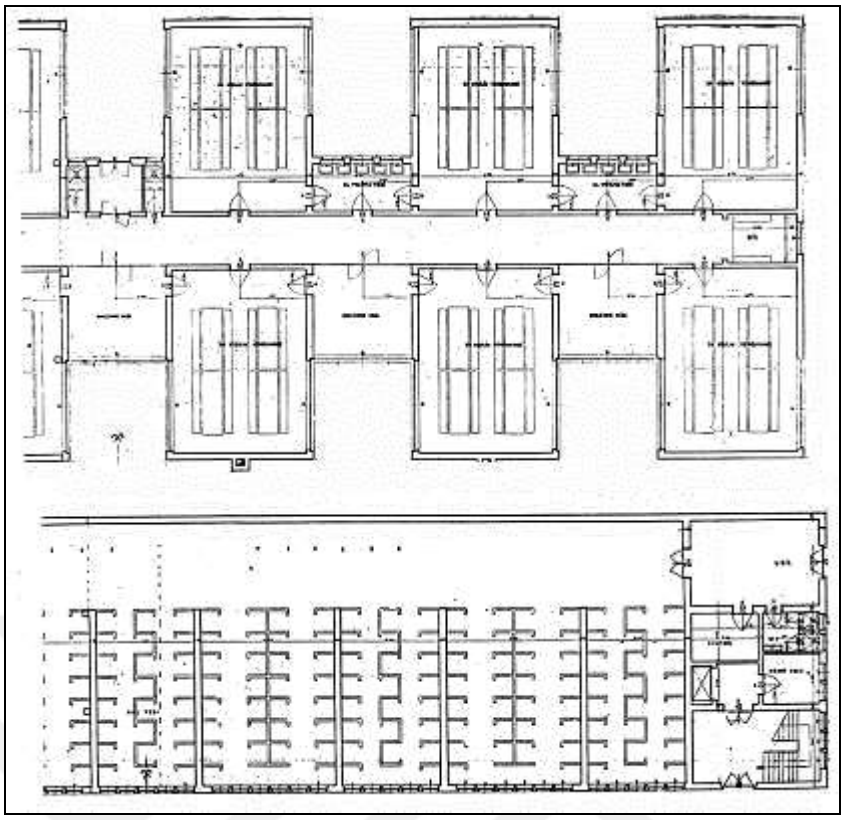


Figure 2.4. *Türk-İş* housing, floor plans for the service block. The first plan shows the upper floor with dining halls and resting rooms and the second plan shows the ground floor with the showers.

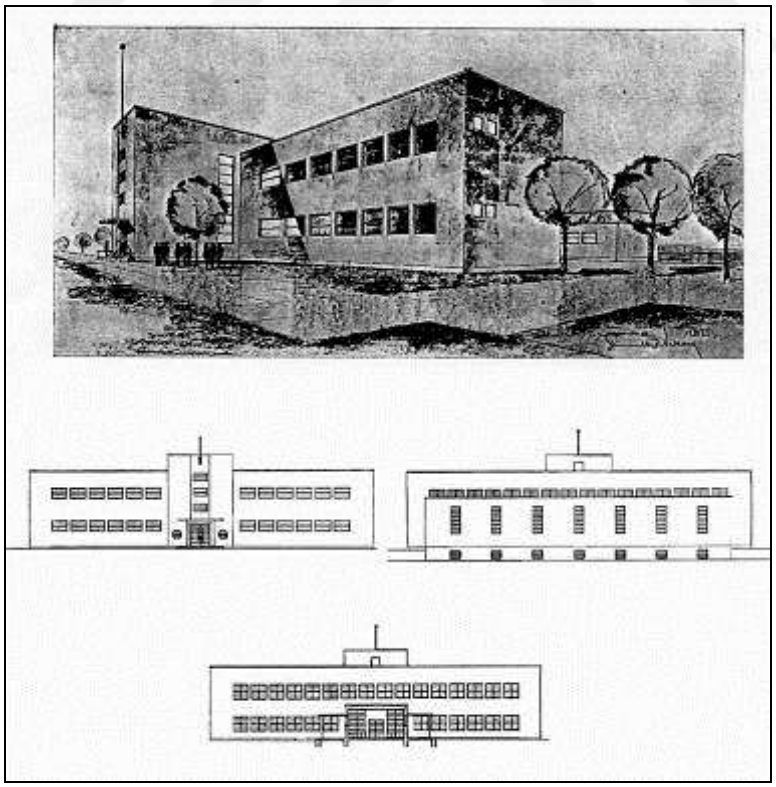


Figure 2.5. *Türk-İş* housing, perspective drawing, elevations and section for the primary school building.

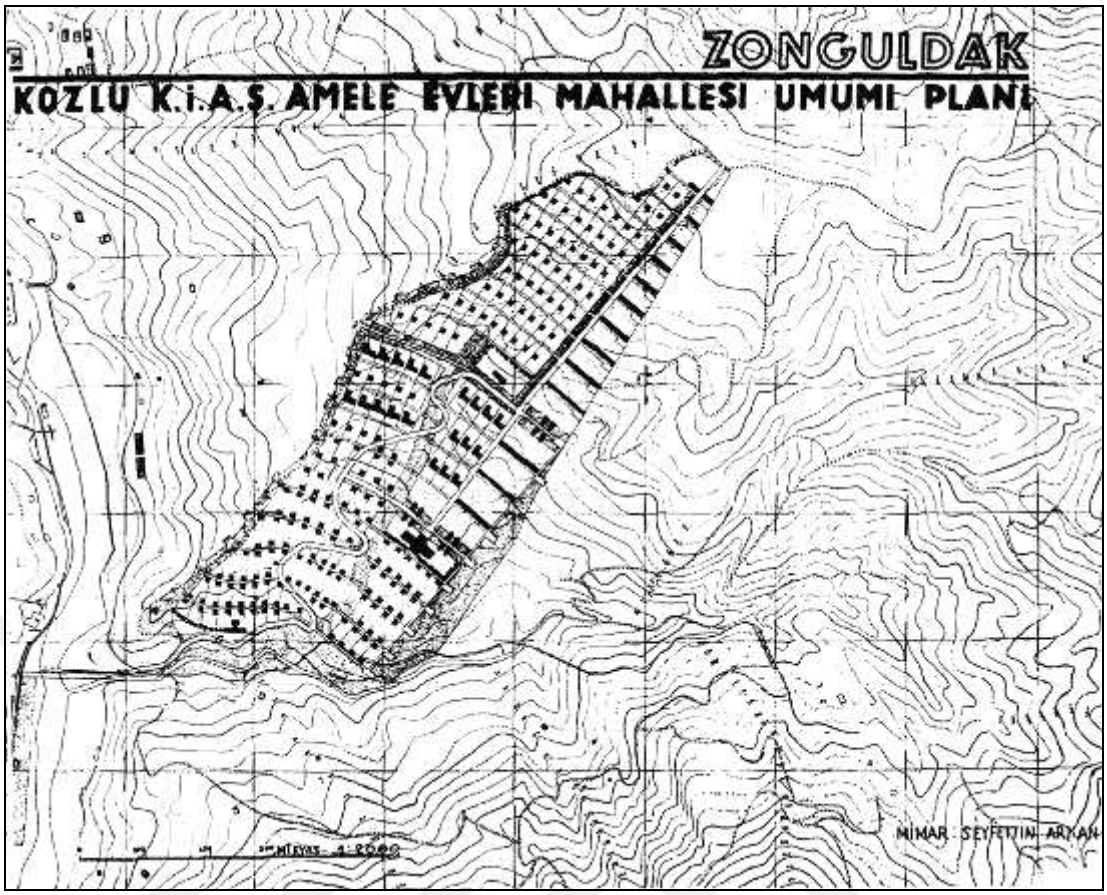


Figure 2.6. *Kömür-İş* housing, site plan.

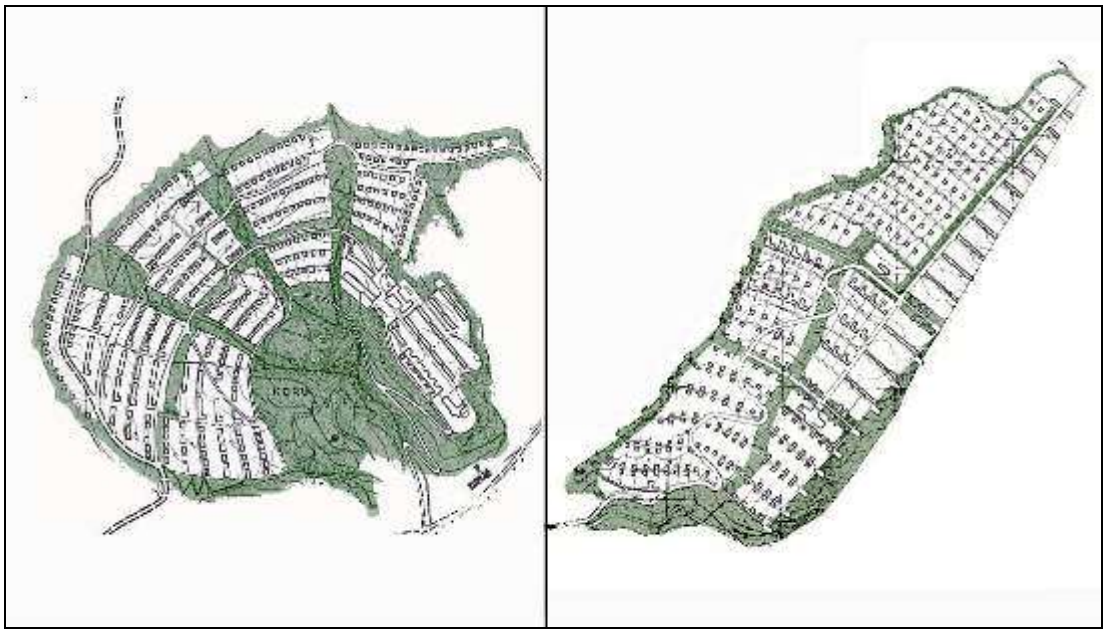


Figure 2.7. Green structures in the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housings.

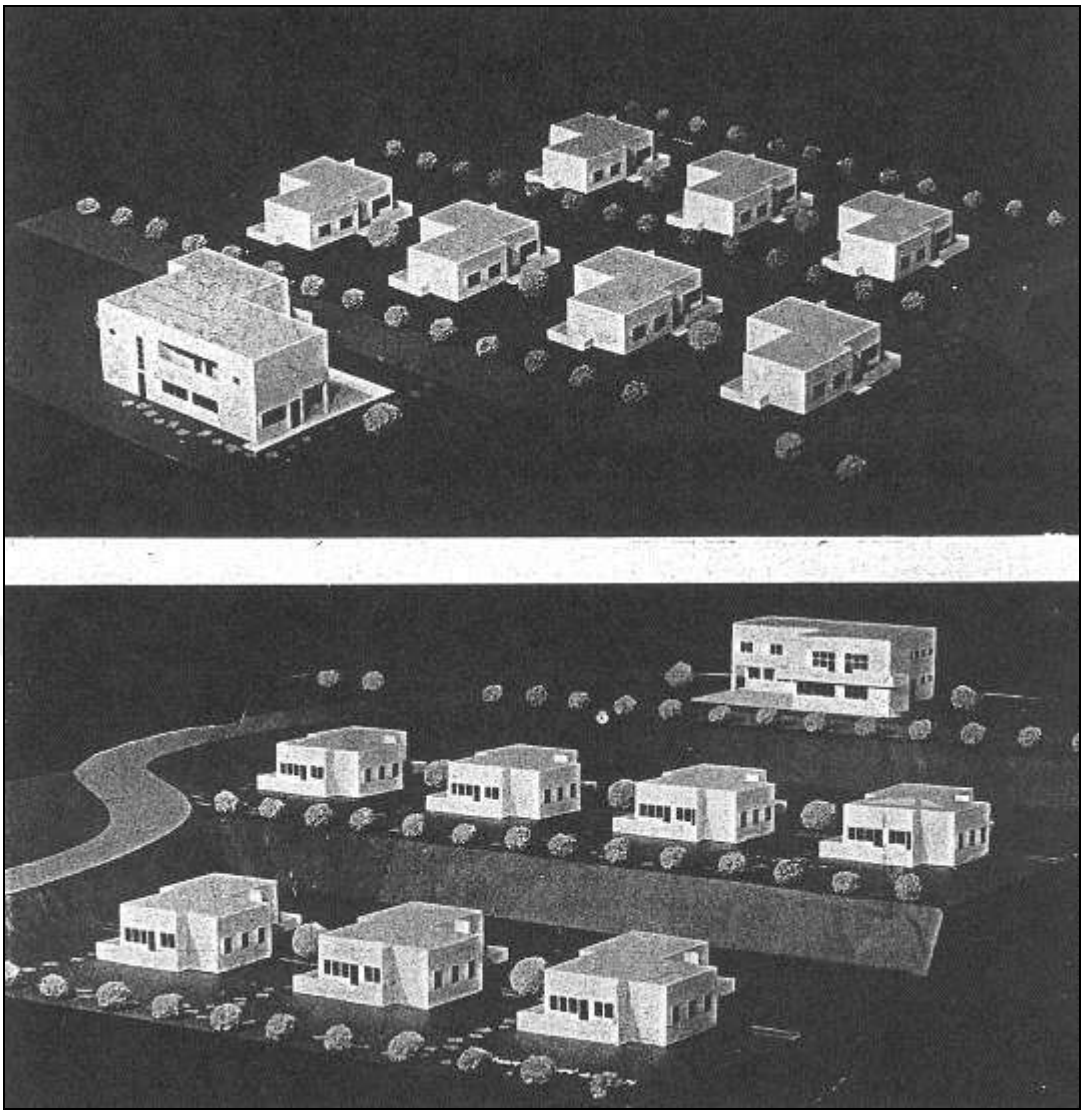
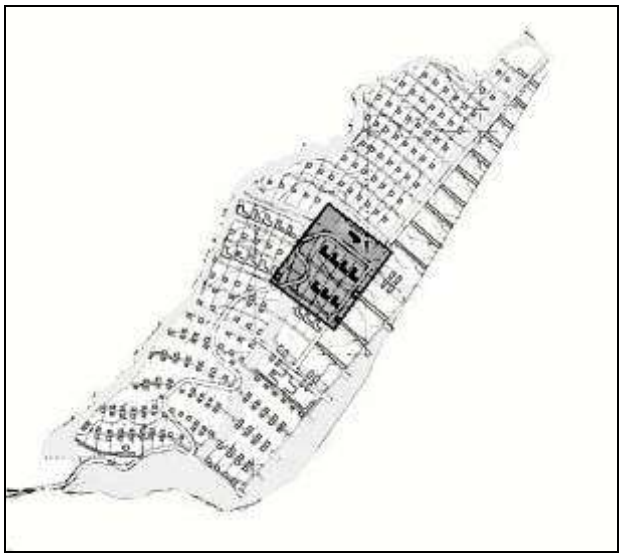
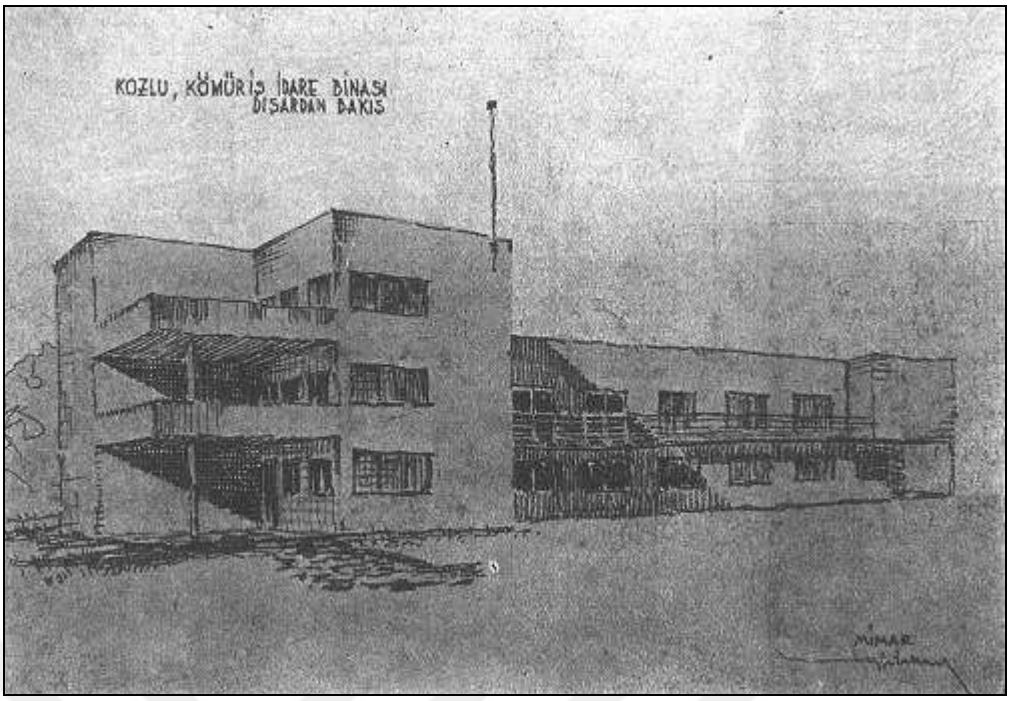


Figure 2.8. ***Kömür-İş*** **housing, the model for the civil servant houses and the director's house.**





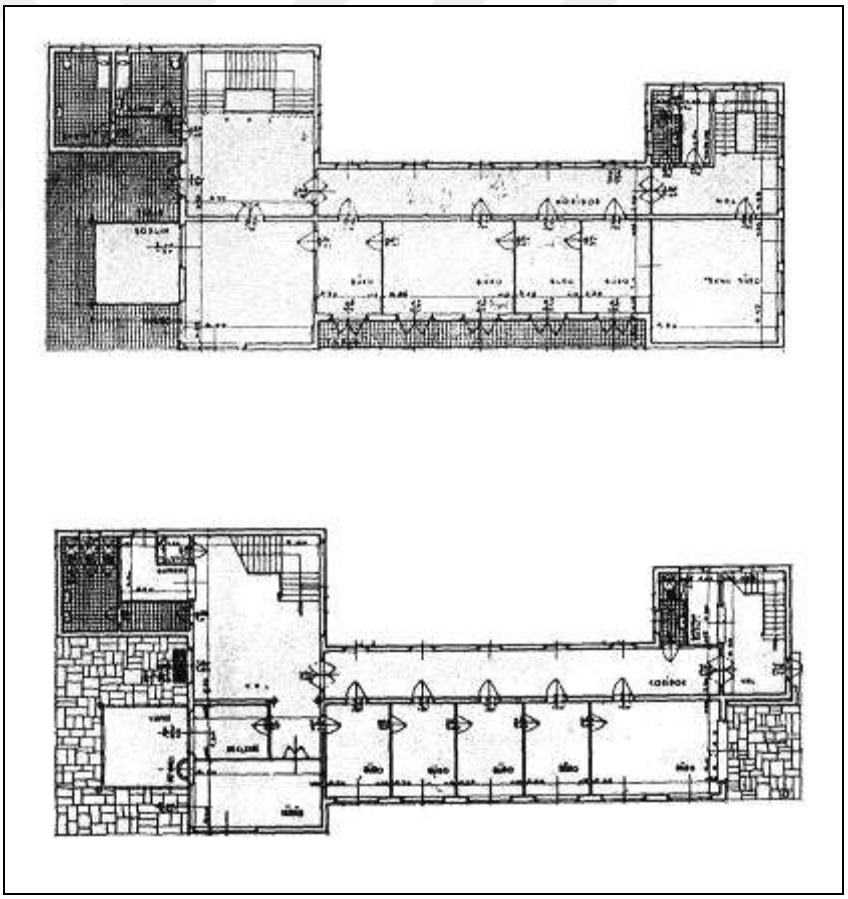


Figure 2.9. *Kömür-İş* housing, perspective drawing and floor plans (upper floor on the top and ground floor below) for the management building.

2.2. The Investors: *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş*, and the History of the Mines

Türk-İş (M.K.İ.) and *Kömür-İş* (K.İ.A.Ş.), for which these two housing projects were prepared, were two companies that were founded by *T. İş Bankası* (Turkish Business Bank) to manage the mining activities in the region. *Türk-İş* was founded in 1926 with a capital of one million Turkish Liras. The anthracite factory that the housing project was designed for was assigned to *T. İş Bankası* in the First Five-Year Development Plan of 1933 and was founded by this company. *Kömür-İş* was also founded in 1926 but after a period of financial and organizational preparation, and mechanization and modernization of the facilities, this company started production in 1930[12]. The bank was especially proud of this company for its most contemporary and advanced technological facilities[13]. In late 1929 the company raised its capital to three million Turkish Liras, which was five hundred thousand in 1926 when it was founded, and it was owned by *T. İş Bankası* with 51% and *Ereğli Şirketi* (Ereğli Company)[14] with 49%[15]. These two companies were the first steps of the process of nationalization of the mining industry in the region in order to deliver the coal mines to the national profits.[16] The nationalization would be completed in

[12] *Kömür Havzasında Türkiye İş Bankası: 1926-1937*, Devlet Basımevi, 1937, p. 8.
[13] Ibid.
[14] *Ereğli Şirketi* was a French company, which would be bought by the state with all its facilities including the harbor of Zonguldak in 1936. *Amelebirliği Biriktirme ve Yardımlaşma Sandığı*, T. C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı Ereğli Kömür Havzası Amelebirliği, Ankara, 1998, p. 20. The company was founded in 1896 and was given the right to extract resources, build a harbor and docks on the coast construct railroads to convey the coal for a period of 50 years. In the beginning of the century the company had a share of approximately 80% in the total production in the region. Quataert, "Zonguldaklı Çiftçi-Madenciler ve Ereğli Kömür Şirketi", pp. 50-51.
[15] Tekeli, İ. *Uygulamaya Geçerken Türkiye'de Devletçiliğin Oluşumu,* ODTÜ İdari Bilimler Fak. Ankara, 1982, p. 202.
[16] In 1930s the four major mining companies in the region were as follows: *Ereğli Şirketi* (French), *Türk-iş*, *Türk Kömür Madenleri Anonim Şirketi* (Turkish-Italian), and *Kömür-iş*. Yeraltı Maden-İş, "Zonguldak Maden Havzesındaki İş Kazalarının Nedenlerine Tarihsel Bir Yaklaşım", reprinted in *Mimarlık* (January, 1977), p.53.

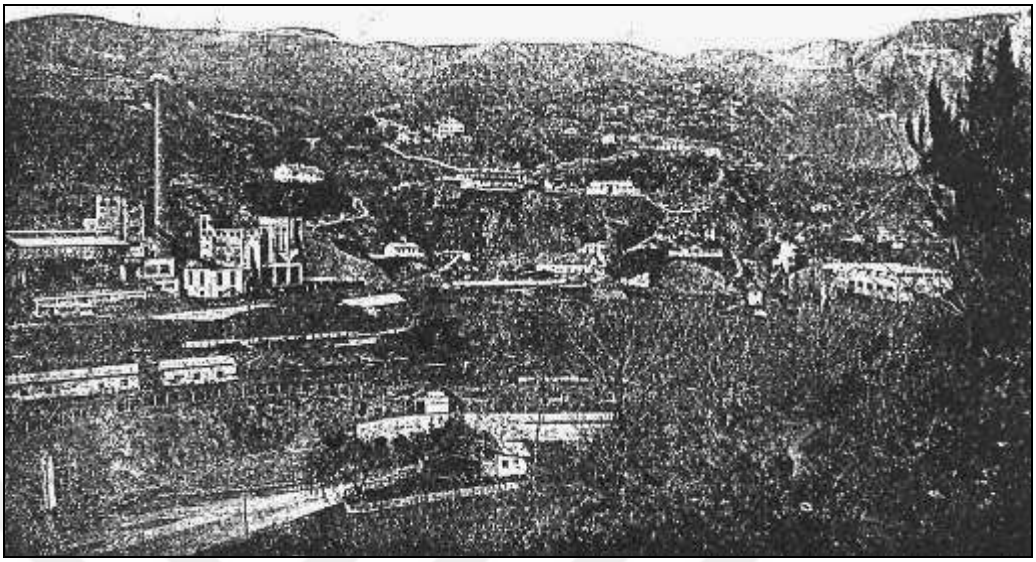


Figure 2.10. A general view of *Türk-İş* facilities including the anthracite factory, 1930s.

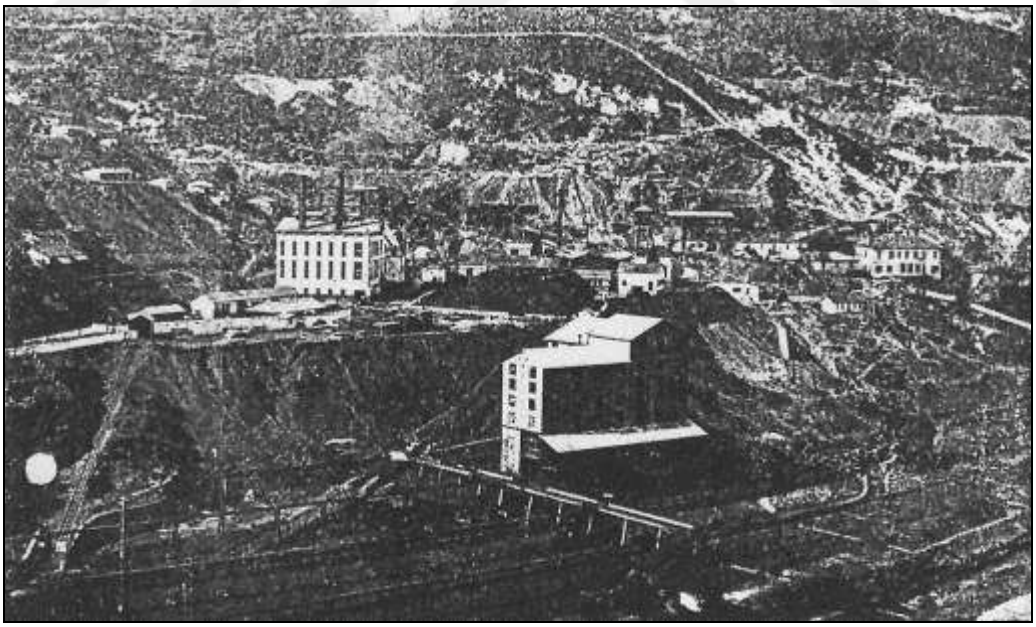


Figure 2.11. A general view of *Kömür-İş* facilities,1930s.

1936, fours years before the entire coalfield became state-owned[17]. Before the Republican era the mines in the region had largely been operated by foreign entrepreneurs.

The first discovery of coal in the area is dated back to 1829. In 1848 a technical commission from İstanbul determined the borders of the field and it was owned by *Hazine-i Hassa* (the Privy Purse)[18]. The money gained from the mines here was largely used for religious purposes, for the expenses of mosques, *tekke*s, *zaviye*s, *türbe*s, and etc.[19]. The right to operate the mines was rented to *Kömür Kumpanyası* (the Coal Company), formed by 'banker's of Galata until 1851 and then to a British firm, during the *Hazine-i Hassa* administration between 1848 and 1865[20].

When the Ottoman Empire began using war ships with steam engines in 1860s, the coal in the region gained much further importance. Until 1865 the Navy bought all the coal that was extracted in the field at a fixed price while also importing coal from England. Due to the inefficient production, the Naval Ministry undertook the responsibility of the mines in 1865. For this purpose Dilaver Paşa, the mine director and the district governor, brought some regulations to the mining operations in 1867. In 1882 the Naval Ministry allowed the mine companies to sell some portion of the coal extracted in the open market[21]. This decision, together with the rich

[17] Kahveci, E. "The Miners of Zonguldak" in *Work & Occupation in Modern Turkey*, Kahveci, E. Sungur, N. And Nichols, T. (eds.) Mansell Publishing Limited, London and N. Y. 1966, p. 173.

[18] http://www.mining-eng.org.tr/www/20Yymadencilik/20YuzyilMadencilikSektoru.htm#top. The Privy Purse was managing the personal belongings of the sultan. The profits from these estates were usually used for the expenses of the palace. Tuna Aratoğlu, who currently works as a civil engineer in *TTK* (*Türk Taşkömürleri Kurumu*, Turkish Institute of Pitcoals) in Zonguldak, keeps the contour maps prepared in 1848 in his private archive and believes that Arkan used these drawings to produce his site plans.

[19] Tuncer, K. *Tarihten Günümüze Zonguldak'ta İşçi Sınıfının Durumu,* Göçebe Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 30.

[20] Ibid. pp.28-29. With the exception that the administration of the field was given to the English government during the Crimean War (1854-56).

[21] Kahveci, pp. 173-179.

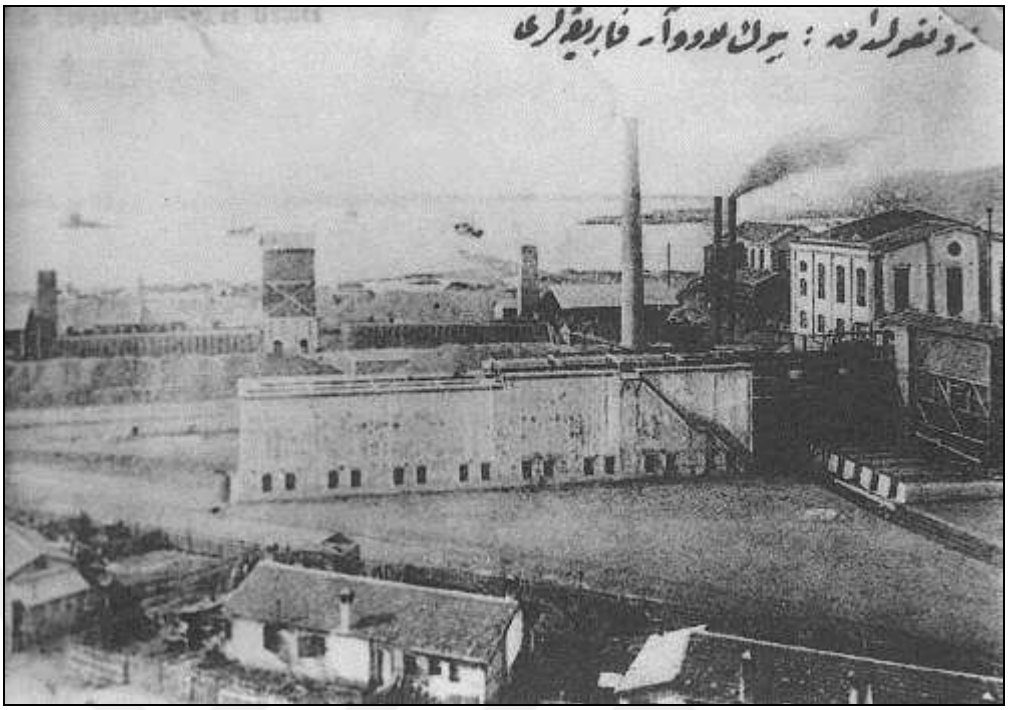


Figure 2.12. The view of the facilities of the French *Ereğli Şirketi* built in 1897 in the town center of Zonguldak. The note in the Ottoman language is: "The big lavoir [a facility to wash the coal extracted] factory of Zonguldak."

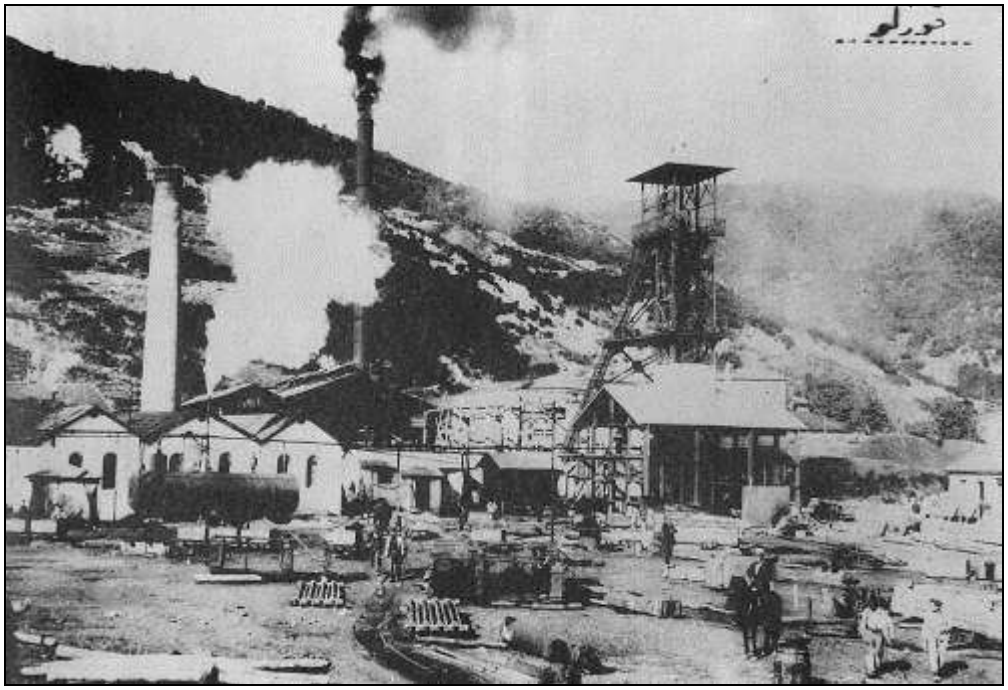


Figure 2.13. Kozlu in the 1900s. The note in the Ottoman language is: "Kozlu".

potential of the coalfield, brought many other investors to the region. When the administration of the mines were given to the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture in 1909, almost all of the mines were operated by foreign capital, mostly English, French, Italian, and German, and some Greek and Russian investors[22].

With this increase, the local labor force became insufficient and it was permitted to bring workers from outside the region, which resulted in a stream of migration. The unorganized settlement caused by the migration brought difficulties to the operation of the mines and necessitated a special law for the region, which is still in use. According to this law of 1910s, *Teskere-i Samiye*, private property in the region was regulated with restrictions, with deeds dating before 1900 being valid[23]. In 1906 also a *Maden Nizamnâmesi* (the Mine Regulation) was introduced which was later replaced by the Mine Law in 1956[24].

During the First World War the mines were operated by the German forces and with the defeat they were invaded by the French forces. The local resistance ended the invasion in 1921[25].

After this date the Zonguldak coalfield appeared among the first issues that the new Republican State got involved in, first as a part of the war economy and then within the main purpose of forming a national heavy industry in the country. In 1921 a special law to improve the conditions of the miners of Zonguldak was introduced. In 1924 *Maadin ve Sanayi Mekteb-i Âlisi* (the School of Mining and Industry) was established in Zonguldak and graduated about 70 mining engineers until it was

[22] Tuncer, p.33.
[23] Erkin, E. "Zonguldak Kömür Havzasında Kentleşme ve Yerlaşme Sorunları", *Mimarlık* (January, 1977), p.20. The article states that %73 of the Zonguldak Metropolitan Area was public-owned without being able to be sold.
[24] www.mining-eng.org.tr
[25] Tuncer, pp.33-34.

closed in 1932[26]. In 1926 *T. İş Bankası* got involved in the mines and conducted a process of modernization in the mining activities with the companies *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş*. These companies took important steps in terms of mechanization. They did not only bring modern mechanical facilities that were used within their own production but also made investments that affected the whole coalfield, such as increasing the capacity of the power plant that served the region, (Figure 2.14) which became the biggest in Turkey at the time, and bringing in modern devices to definitely determine the coal capacity of the basin[27]. Accordingly a considerable rise in the production of coal was experienced in the region[28]. In the publication by *T. İş Bankası* it was stated that the companies of the bank played a leading role in this rise in the total production by encouraging the other companies operating in the region for competition, as well as providing the technical means to increase their own production[29].

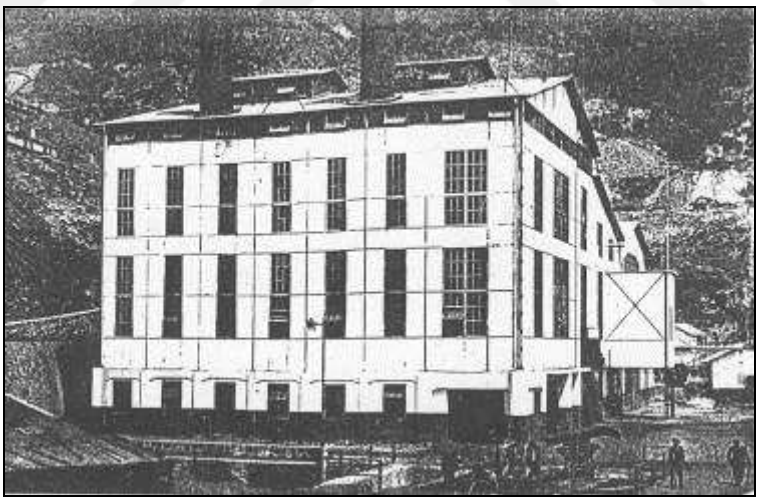


Figure 2.14. The power plant constructed by *T. İş Bankası* in Çatalağzı.

[26] www.mining-eng.org.tr
[27] *Kömür Havzasında...* pp. 5-6.
[28] According to the official records, the total coal production in the region until 1926 was 7.491.000 tons. The production between 1926 and 1936 became 18.888.000 tons. Ibid, p.10. The increase continued in the following years; the total production between 1936 and 1940 was 12.910.391 tons. Çıladır, S. *Taşkömürü Havzasının Devletçilik Dönemi*, Yaman Matbaası, Ereğli, 1999, p. 22.
[29] Ibid, p. 10.

These companies also declared that they aimed at a social progress in the coalfield together with the technical progress. In this frame, one of the first workers' housing settlements of the Republic were designed and partially constructed for *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* between 1934 and 1937, just before all the investments in the region were nationalized and transferred to *Ereğli Kömür İşletmesi* in the beginning of the 1940s[30].

2.3. The User: The Mineworker of Zonguldak

The mineworkers of Zonguldak constituted one of the biggest groups of workers in the country in the beginning of the Republican period, and the coalfield was the major region in Anatolia which housed a serious worker population as long as harbor cities such as İstanbul and İzmir are not considered. In the first half of the 1930s the total population working in the mines in a month's time was about 10.000[31]. But most of these (about two thirds) were not permanent workers but villagers who usually spent half of a month in the mines and other half in their villages. The remaining was mainly consisting of workers coming from the villages of the eastern Black Sea region, from provinces such as Trabzon, Giresun, and Artvin, and staying at the coalfield for at least 10 months of a year. The organization of the labor force circulation in both of these rotational worker groups was run by individuals called "*çavuş*"s (foremen) who recruited the work force from the villages

[30] Enver, S. *Zonguldak Kömür Havzamız*, Etibank Yayınları, Ankara, 1941, p. 80. *Ereğli Kömür İşletmesi was* founded and owned by *Etibank*, which was a state bank founded in 1935 and which also entered the basin in 1937.
[31] *Cumhuriyet'in On Yılında Zonguldak ve Maden Kömürü Havzası*, İstanbul Sanayii Nefise Matbaası, 1933, p. 180.



Figure 2.15. "*Amele*"; the worker. The date is not known.



Figure 2.16. Drawings depicting *çavuş* (foreman), *kazmacı* (hewer), and *küfeci* (basket-man) from 1907.

and acted as an interface between the pit owners who paid them for each worker they brought and the workers in all issues[32].

The miner of the Zonguldak coalfield was subjected to the first regulations and laws concerning workers and worker rights in the history of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the Turkish Republic. Besides the importance of coal production for the total industry and economy of the state, the provision of regulations and laws was also resulted from the outstanding bad conditions that mineworker was in from the very beginning.

In the *Hazine-i Hassa* administration the contracts made with the coal companies included no governmental control on the conditions of the workers and gave the company the right to exploit the mines "in any manner it deemed fit"[33]. The companies had difficulties in providing sufficient labor force for the mines and besides bringing experienced Montenegrain and Croatian workers to the region, they also introduced a specific form of forced labor to solve this problem. When the state was unable to pay for the coal it bought, they gave the companies instead the right to collect taxes from surrounding villages. The companies used this to force the villagers to work in the mines for irregular wages or even for no wages at all[34]. The situation in this era was explained by Naim in 1934:

> During the 'Hazine-i Hassa' administration Zonguldak villagers worked in the mines like slaves in colonial countries. Arbitrary working hours were set in two shifts, namely 'sunrise shift' and 'sunset shift'. The stables for ponies were more hygienic than the workers' barracks. There were no first aid facilities or a doctor even around big coal pits. If a miner got injured or became ill, the company would throw him out. When a miner was seriously injured the coal

[32] If a foreman was effective in gathering large worker groups his status and influence increased and he was called "*başçavuş*" (foreman in chief). Tuncer, p. 74.
[33] Kahveci, p. 173.
[34] Kahveci, pp. 173-176.

company would put him on a pony and send him to his village. This was a common practice.[35]

There was also no restriction on the age of the workers. Children aged between 14 and 18 were employed to carry the coal that was extracted to the pit entrances with baskets on their backs.[36]

Dilaver Paşa Nizamnâmesi of 1867 was the first attempt to improve and regulate these conditions, which is also known to be the first social security act in the Turkish history[37]. Besides organizing the trade of the coal between the companies and the Navy, this regulation also determined the responsibilities of the companies. The employer was made responsible for providing lodging for and giving health service to their workers. It stated that the mine administration should be informed before a worker was dismissed. The regulation also brought a state-controlled forced labor system. Each village in the 14 districts determined was required to provide labor from its male population aged between 13 and 50 to work in the mines on a rotational basis for twelve days at a time.[38] The work hour was limited to twelve hours. The mine companies took advantage of the forced labor system, but whether or not they applied the articles of the regulation concerning their responsibilities and workers' rights is not clear. Tuncer states that, in spite of the regulation, the work hours usually reached 16 hours and worker age could even be 9.[39]

The rotational forced labor system was one of the factors that created a population in the region as semi-miner and semi-peasant[40]. In the beginning of the

[35] Naim, A. *Zonguldak Kömür Havzası,* Hüsnütabiat Matbaası, İstanbul, 1934, pp. 100-101, quoted in Kahveci, p. 176.
[36] Kahveci, p. 175.
[37] Gürhan, F. "Sosyal Güvenliğimizdeki Çatışmaların Tarihsel Kökleri", http://www.tusiad.org.tr/yayin/gorus/33/html/sec11.html
[38] Kahveci, p.177.
[39] Tuncer, p. 31.
[40] Quataert states that the major goal of the regulation that brought the rotational forced labor system was to obtain the continuity of the dominant agricultural system and to prevent the formation of a

20th century, the majority of the local work force was part-time rotational workers who were doing most of the less skilled and more labor-intensive underground work, who came to the mines from the surrounding farming villages to work for two or three weeks at a time. With the immigration beginning in 1882 when mine companies were permitted to sell a restricted portion of the coal on the open marked, skilled workers from Trabzon, Artvin and Rize also started to work in the mines for longer periods from four months to several years.[41] The permanent workers mostly consisting of this group of workers and foreigners were doing more skilled underground work as face workers or surface jobs.

In 1906 a new set of regulations, *Maden Nizamnâmesi*, was introduced. This regulation especially focused on the work security and brought the responsibility for the employer of taking measures against accidents. The mine company had to recompensate the victims for the accidents and also had to make an extra payment if they were found guilty of the accident.[42]

In spite of these regulations trying to bring an order to the working conditions in the basin, there was no satisfactory improvement still in 1920s. This can be figured out when the emergency that the Ankara government felt itself in to deal with the problem during the Independence War is examined. In 1921, before the War of Independence was completed and before the republic was established, the National Assembly issued a special law for the miner of the region; *Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyesi Maden Amelesinin Hukukuna Müteallik Kanun* (the Law Regarding the Statute of the

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mineworker population who would leave their work in the farms to become full-time miners. In this sense the creation of a semi-peasant and semi-miner worker population was intentional. Quataert, p.56.

[41] Kahveci, p.181. Kahveci states that in those years estimated three-quarters of about 10,000 people working in the basin were rotational.

[42] Gürhan, F. "Sosyal Güvenliğimizdeki Çatışmaların Tarihsel Kökleri", http://www.tusiad.org.tr/yayin/gorus/33/html/sec11.html



Figure 2.17. A workers' barrack from the 1880s.



Figure 2.18. A worker's barrack from the 1900s.

Mineworker of Ereğli Coal Basin). The speech done by the Minister of Economy in the session of the assembly on this law clarifies the conditions in the basin in 1920s, as well as the importance given to the issue by the Ankara government[43]:

> Let me present the condition of our fellows once more: they are all naked, all starving. They don't even have a shirt to wear. The Muslim miserable coming from the Black Sea coast who receives labor as his craft does not have a place to sleep there. He does not have anything to eat or wear either. They are paid 80 *kuruş* a day. But 40 *kuruş* of this is deduced for bread. We must establish and order a neat worker life in our mines. Since nothing is done in the past, it should be arranged now. To protect the worker's life there, is a valid and useful act in the name of the future and the economy of the country.[44]

In this assembly session, the government was asked why the law was prepared only for the miner of the region, instead of issuing a general law on labor. The Minister, to answer this, stated that such a law was being prepared but it would be advantageous to apply the law that had been discussed for the coal basin for that moment.[45]

The law of 1921 brought several responsibilities and duties for the mine owner and tried to define these better than the previous regulations. According to the law, the mine owner was obliged to build dormitories and baths near the mines which should be adequate to the samples that would be given by the Ministry of Economy,

[43] The Minister of Economy in that date was Mahmut Celal [Bayar] Bey, who would be assigned by Atatürk personally with the foundation of *T. İş Bankası* and would resign from his position in the assembly with this duty in 1924. In 1926 *T. İş Bankası* under his management would be practically entering the basin with two companies. In 1932, Celal Bayar would return to his position in the government as the Minister of Economy, and between 1937 and 1939 he would be the Prime Minister.

[44] Quoted in: Kop, K. K. "Yakın Tarihimizin İş ve İşçi Meseleleri" in *Çalışma,* November 1945, p. 70. "Bizimkilerin halini tekrar arz edeyim: Hepsi çıplak hepsi açtır. Hatta üzerilerinde bir mintan bile yoktur. Kara deniz sahillerinden gelen ameleliği kendilerine sanat ittihaz eden müslüman biçarelerin orada yatacak yerleri yoktur. Yiyecek giyecek yoktur ve yacak da yoktur. Bunlara 80 kuruş gündelik verilir. Fakat 40 kuruş ekmek parası olarak kesiliyor. Madenlerimizde muntazam bir amele hayatı tesis ve tanzime mecburuz. Madem ki evvelce hiçbir şey yapılmamıştır. Şimdi bunun tanzimine sai ediyoruz. Amelenin hayatını orada korumak ise, memleketin istikbali ve iktisadisi namına nafi meşru ve lazım bir harekettir." Several speeches and debates made in the assembly on Zonguldak mines can be seen in Appendix B.

[45] Tuncer, p. 52. The law of labor would first be brought to the assembly in 1924, but it is as late as 1936 that it was accepted.

provide a *mescid* and a school with the teaching staff to give young workers education in the evenings. Another important item was about the *Amele Birliği* (Workers' Union), which was founded in the same years, and set the mine owners responsible to inform the union for every miner they employed and also to pay an amount to the union determined over a ratio of the wages they paid. The law also repealed the forced labor system which was officially in use since 1867, set the maximum working hours as 8 and limited the minimum worker age to 18. [46]

The law aimed at bringing a control mechanism by stating that the licenses of the companies that did not cope with these provisions would be cancelled, but it is hard to claim that the control was properly done because there is no record of any license cancelled due to unsatisfactory conditions. However it is known that in 1922 and 1923 workers in some mines went on strike demanding fulfillment of the requirements brought by the law and that in the end their demands were met.[47]

After this law, some companies took actions in providing shelter for their employees. The Italian *Türk Kömür Madenleri Anonim Şirketi* which employed around 600 workers in Kozlu and Kandilli built some workers' barracks and the French *Ereğli Şirketi* built a workers' district which was quite small but which seems rather planned[48]. (Figure 2.20)

Later in the 1930s concrete actions aiming to improve the condition of the miner were involved in the investments of *T. İş Bankası* in the region. The booklet published by the bank in 1937 to publicize its activities in the basin proudly explains

[46] See Appendix A.
[47] Tuncer, pp. 63-64.
[48] *Cumhuriyet'in On...* p. 155. *Ereğli Şirketi* had also made attempts of providing accommodation for the worker and by them tried to attract a dependable workforce to their mines before this district. For this purpose they built housings for the European technical personnel and barracks for the local workers. But the barracks were proved to be insufficient for the aim of keeping the semi-peasant workers in the mines in the season of harvest. Quataert, p. 61 and p. 64.



Figure 2.19. Workers celebrating the law for the mineworker in 1921.

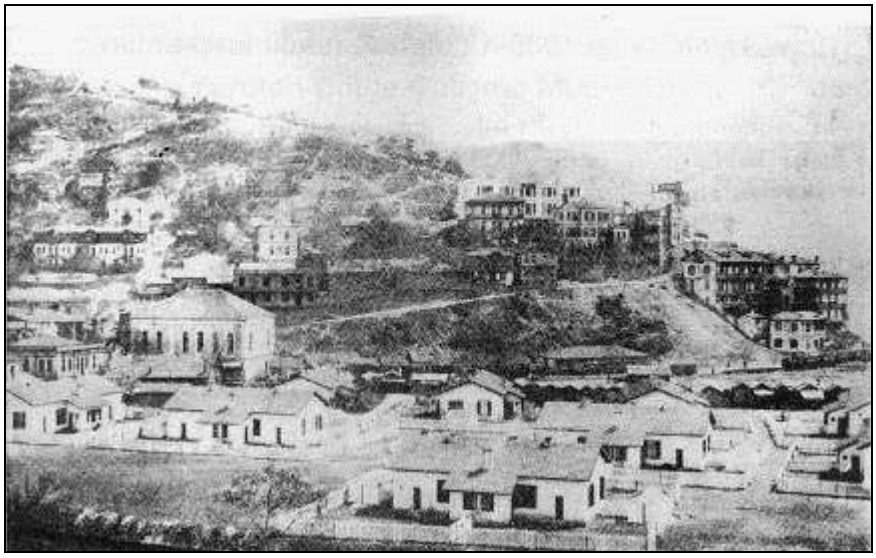


Figure 2.20. The housing built by *Ereğli Şirketi* in the mid 1920s.

that the increase obtained in the production of the coal in ten years is a consequence of the prosperity and order introduced to the worker's life, as well as the contemporary techniques used. Referring to the *Türk-İş* Housing, it is written that a new settlement which is "superior to its European examples, provided with sanitary appliances and comfortable" is established together with a school and a cinema building.[49] (Figure 2.22) The emphasis on the prosperity and the order of the worker is repeated by Celal Bayar in the speech he gave in the assembly meeting on the decision of buying the facilities of *Ereğli Şirketi* of the basin by *Etibank* in 1937:

> We should also be seriously concerned with the workers issue… There have been problems in the issue of workers this year. But the real problem is not that the worker comes to work temporarily and then leaves. It is that skilled worker is lacking. The real problem is that worker can not produce efficiently and pleasingly when compared to the European worker. There is the necessity of keeping the worker, who can not live a well-off living in their surroundings, in a neat order, accommodating them in the basin with a certain comfort convenient for a worker's life, and keeping them in professional training. That is included in our program.[50]

At the end of the 1930s a number of investments had been completed both by *T. İş Bankası* and *Etibank* aiming the prosperity and the order of the mineworker. In the book published by *Etibank* in 1941 the improvement achieved in recent years is

[49] *Kömür Havzasında…*pp. 4-5. The cinema building was not in the housing complex but was in the village and was shown in the site plan of Arkan in the way other existing buildings were shown, so must have been built before the housing complexes were designed.

[50] Quoted in *Ayın Tarihi*, March 1937, p. 47. "Aynı zamanda sayın Meb'us Halil Menteşe'nin buyurdukları gibi amele meselesini de ehemmiyetle ele almak lâzımdır. Amele meselesinde bu sene sıkıntı çekilmiştir. Fakat esas sıkıntı amelenin gelip zaman zaman çalışması ve bırakıp gitmesi değildir. Kalifiye amelenin bulunmamasıdır. Esas amele diğer Avrupa memleketlerindeki ameleye nazaran kâfi derecede ve ihtihsal noktasından memnuniyet bahş derecede randıman vermemektedir. Ameleyi, esasen muhitlerinde müreffeh bir hayat yaşıyamayan bu vatandaşlarımızı sıkı bir nezaret altında bulundurmak ve amele hayatına uygun konforu da ihtiva etmek suretile Havza dahilinde iskân etmek kendilerini meslekî terbiye altında bulundurmak zarureti vardır. Bu bizim programımızda dahildir."



Figure 2.21. Workers in the dining hall in the 1930s.

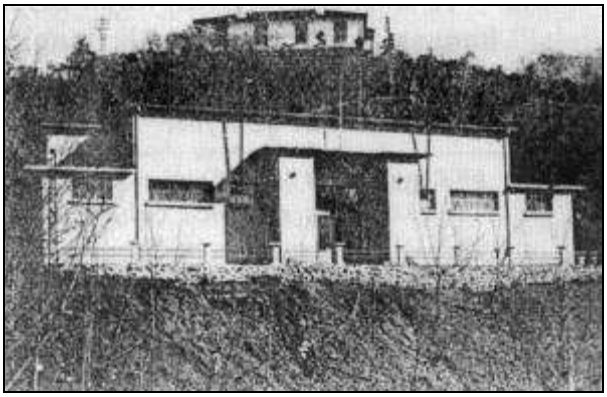


Figure 2.22. The cinema building built by *T. İş Bankası*.

explained by comparing the period with the Ottoman era supported by photographs both from the "sultanate period" and the "Republican period".[51]

2.4. The Site; Urban History of the Zonguldak Coalfield

Türk-İş and *Kömür-İş* housing projects were not situated in an existing urban context, but they were designed as self-sufficient settlements, designed to serve also to nearby villages and towns (as it is seen in the example of the primary school) instead of taking service from them. The location of the mines was the main determinant for the site selections of the projects, as the law of 1921 stated that mine owners should build accommodation for their workers "near the pits".

The settlement formation of the region has been similar, from the beginning of the mining history. In the first years of coal production the coal pits away from each other created a town formation in the region which is universally known as coke-town, composed of separate settlements gathered around these pits which are abandoned when the pit is exhausted.[52] In the Republican period the town of Zonguldak gained an extra importance among the surrounding towns like Kozlu, Kilimli, and Çatalağzı having gathered central administrative functions[53], besides its importance as harbor. The basin, consisting of Zonguldak and surrounding central towns is significant with its urban network when compared to other Anatolian cities. It has not been shaped through an urban evolution which begins with agrarian production, but has been formed directly as a function of coal extraction and

[51] Enver, S. *Zonguldak Kömür Havzamız*, Etibank Yayını, Ankara, 1941.
[52] Gezim, G. "Üretim Eylemleri ve Kent", in *Mimarlık* (January, 1977), p. 19.
[53] Erkin, E. "Zonguldak Kömür Havzasında Kentleşme ve Yerleşme Sorunları", in *Mimarlık* (January, 1977), p. 21.

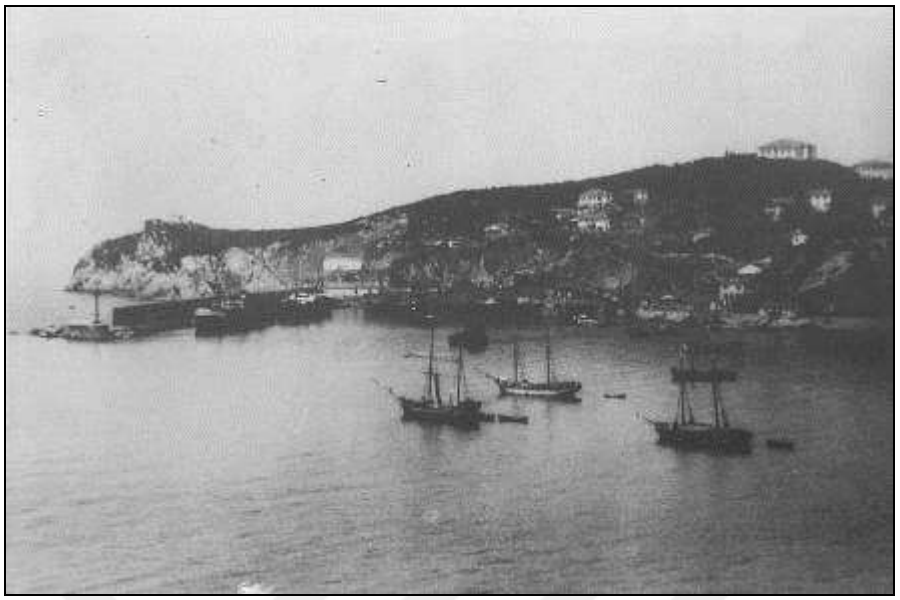


Figure 2.23. Zonguldak in the 1930s. The harbor was built by the French *Ereğli Şirketi*. On the hilltop on the right can be seen the School of Mining and Industry.

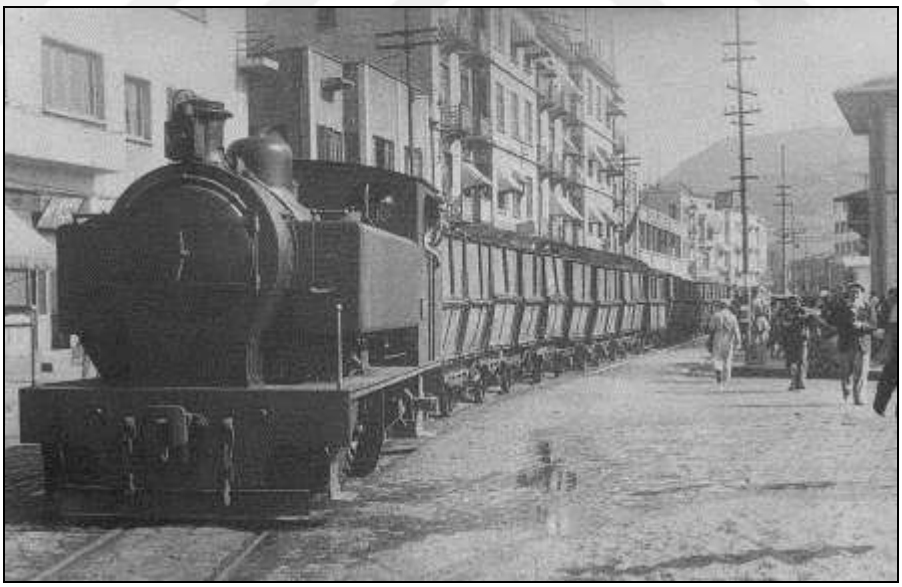


Figure 2.24. The town center of Zonguldak. The mining industry marks every part of the city; the trains carrying coal were still using the main street in the beginning of the 1960s.



Figure 2.25. The town center of Zonguldak in the first years of the Republic. The caption in the Ottoman language is: "and Zonguldak"



Figure 2.26. The town of Kozlu in the 1920s. The caption is: "The dock of Bağlar."

distribution[54]. The basin has never sent migrants but always received migration[55] (until the 1980s), but still the rate of urbanization in the region was below the general mean of Turkey in every census since 1927[56].

Another significance is seen in the form of property, which was shaped by the law of 1910s, *Teskere-i Samiye,* which limited and regulated private property as explained above. With this law, the built environment in the region was tried to be structured according to the preservation and the most effective use of the existing coal reserves.

2.5. The Architect: Seyfi Arkan

Seyfi Arkan was a young architect at the age of 30 when he undertook the design of the housing complexes for *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* in 1934. He was graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in 1928 from the studio of Vedat [Tek] Bey. After graduation, having won a competition held by a program for sending students abroad, he was sent to *Berlin Technische Hochschule* as a guest student. Driving attention with his success here, he also began working in the office of Hans Poelzig, who was teaching in the *Technische Hochschule* in those years. He worked for Poelzig between 1930 and 1933 until he returned to Turkey.[57] It is known that Poelzig evaluated Arkan as an architect with 'an excellent technical knowledge and a very good artistic feeling'.[58]

[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] *Sanayisizleşme Sürecinin Kentsel Yaşama Etkileri: Zonguldak Örneği*, ODTÜ Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Ana Bilim Dalı 2000 Yılı Stüdyo Çalışması, Ankara, 2001, p. 75.
[57] Onay, S. "Seyfi Arkan'ın Hayatı", in *Arredamento Dekorasyon,* March 1992, p. 98.
[58] Cited in "Şehirci Mimar –Hoca Seyfi Arkan'ın Ardından", in *Mimarlık* September 1966, p. 7.

On his return he started teaching planning in the Faculty of Architecture in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul. In the same year of 1933 he found the chance to build his first important design, *Hariciye Köşkü* (Residence for Foreign Affairs), which was commissioned to the architect after a competition with limited attendance. He must have gained the attention of Atatürk with this building, because in 1934 he was one of the three architects requested to prepare a proposal for the Florya Sea Residence, and his project was chosen to be built.[59] These two buildings were the beginnings of his career which would later develop his reputation as a state-architect, or a 'palace-architect' as his colleagues used to call him.[60]

Besides these villas, he dealt with the problem of housing complex as well, also before the projects for Zonguldak. In 1933 he prepared a couple of conceptual designs of low-cost row houses for Ankara which were published in the periodical *Mimar*[61]. Upon such a background, he started the design for *Türk-İş* in 1934 and for *Kömür-İş* one year later.

After the housing projects for Zonguldak he continued his career working both for the government or elite individuals in the government and for civilians. He produced a very large number of works, in various scales, functions and locations, the most significant of which were designed during the 1930s. According to a pamphlet, which is most possibly prepared by Arkan himself, between 1933 and 1956 he designed and built 18 villas in İstanbul, 6 official residences in İstanbul and Ankara, an embassy building in Tehran, 12 apartment blocks in İstanbul, Ankara and Samsun, a housing complex project of 70 attached villas for civil servants in İstanbul

[59] Onay, p. 98.
[60] "The architect of Atatürk was our classmate Seyfi: Seyfi Arkan. We called him the 'palace architect'." Sayar, Z. in "Zeki Sayar'la Söyleşi", interview by Kumral, B. in *Yapı* July 1994, p.47.
[61] Nasıh, S. "Ankara için Ucuz Aile Evi Tipleri" in *Mimar* June 1933, p. 174 and "Ankara'da Sıra Evler Tipi: 2" in *Mimar* December 1933, p. 382.

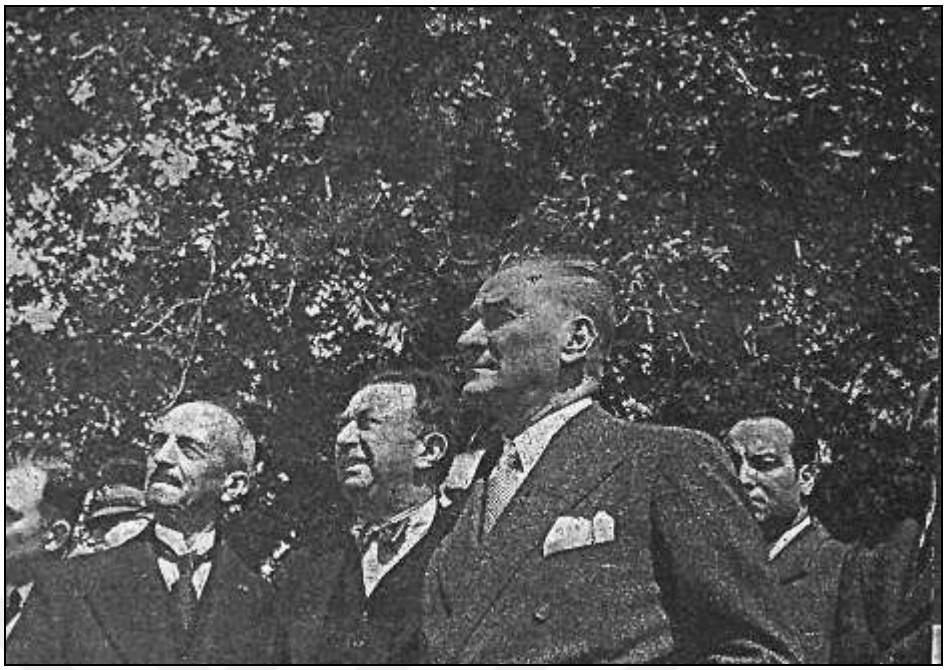


Figure 2.27. Atatürk observing the construction of Florya sea residence, Seyfi Arkan is on the right, behind.



Figure 2.28. Seyfi Arkan with İnönü in an exhibition held in the 65th year of the Academy of Fine Arts.

besides the Zonguldak projects, 15 bank buildings in İstanbul, Ankara, Adapazarı, Adana and Antep, 2 office buildings, one in İstanbul and other being a part of the *Kömür-İş* project in Zonguldak, 3 shopping centers in İstanbul, 4 warehouses in İstanbul, İskenderun and Samsun, 4 electrical powerhouses and transformers, 5 pavilions, 4 for the İzmir fair, and one for an international fair in Bari, 2 garages in İstanbul, 2 People's Houses with their cinema buildings for İzmit and Adana, and a stadium in İzmir. We read in the same pamphlet that he also took part in the preparation of a row house project for 1700 inhabitants and a project of light industry complex. He also prepared plans for 9 cities and towns, and with İstanbul Municipality, 7 urban design projects. In the same years he won or received prizes in 13 design competitions, 4 of which were built.[128]

He also had 6 published works: "*Şehircilik Elemanları*" ("City Planning Components", 1937), "*Şehircilik*" ("City Planning", 1948), "*Bugünkü ve Yarınki Türk Köyleri ve Gelişmeleri*" ("Turkish Villages of Today and Tomorrow and their Developments", 1953), "*Spor Binaları ve Mimarîsi*" ("Sport Buildings and their Architecture", 1950), "*Banka Binaları ve Mimarîsi*" ("Bank Buildings and their Architecture", 1955), "*Şehir Planlarında Ucuz Mesken Siteleri ve Evleri*" ("Low-Cost House Complexes and Units in City Plans", 1955)[129]

2.6. The Realization and the Construction of the Projects

The *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housing projects by Arkan were only partially built and they remained largely unrealized. The reason of this can be related to the fact

[128] Arkan, S. *1933-1956 Seyfi Arkan ve Eserleri* (Pamphlet).
[129] Ibid, p. 6.

that, in 1940 just a couple of years after the construction had begun, the coalfield became state-owned and the mining facilities including the ones owned by these companies were transferred to *Etibank*. The changes in the form of institutionalization and the new industrial policies in the region must have affected many plans and projects dating before the statist period including these housing projects.

The photographs of the early stages of construction show that for the *Türk-İş* complex 4 blocks of pavilions, 11 of the civil servant houses, and the primary school were built in 1937. (Figures 2.29-2.39) In this construction prisoners worked as the first application of an agreement signed by the Ministry of Justice and *Türk-İş* in 1937, which allowed the company to use prisoner labor[130]. In this year a service block was also built in the place indicated by the project but its design was quite changed and simplified. Other buildings also show slight differences when compared to Arkan's drawings and the model. For instance, instead of flat roofs, the buildings constructed have pitched roofs concealed behind paraphets. A significant feature of the design that was realized was certain parts of the green structure, such as the grove in the center, which is referred to as the "forest park" in the publication of *T. İş Bankası*.[131]

The only building in *Kömür-İş* complex that we can attribute to Arkan's design with certainty by referring to photographs is the management building, which was demolished later and does not exist now. (Figure 2. 40) When the site plan prepared by Arkan and the existing map of the field is juxtaposed, it is seen that only

[130] Kahveci, p. 183.
[131] *Kömür Havzasında...* p. 7.

a portion of the main road that extends the settlement is common in both[132]. (Figure 2.42) That is why, it is quite possible that this design was completely abandoned after this road was built.

Yürekli and Yürekli published an article that presents the findings of a survey in Üzülmez and Kozlu on Arkan's works by students of architecture. In the article they state the possibility that the existing houses in this location in Kozlu may be parts of Arkan's project. This possibility depends on a photograph in the *TTK* archive, which shows these buildings under construction as the first to be built in the location. The date of the photograph is not known. These buildings expose architectural formations that resemble the design attitude of the houses shown with the model of *Kömür-İş* housing. However, as it can be seen in the juxtaposition of the map of the existing situation and Arkan's site plan given here, these buildings do not match with any buildings in Arkan's plan. This fact does not totally eliminate the possibility that they are designed by Arkan; for some reason the coal company might have decided to completely change the sitting of the buildings in Arkan's project and the new project might have also been designed by Arkan. Nevertheless, there is no information to prove the possibility that the existing buildings in the *Kömür-İş* site are the ones designed by Arkan. Therefore they will not be included in the examination and analysis undertaken in this study.

[132] Yürekli, H. and Yürekli, F. "Cunhuriyet'in Mimarı: Seyfi Arkan, Unutulmuş Bazı Yapıları, in *Arredamento Mimarlık,* May, 2002, pp. 98-105.

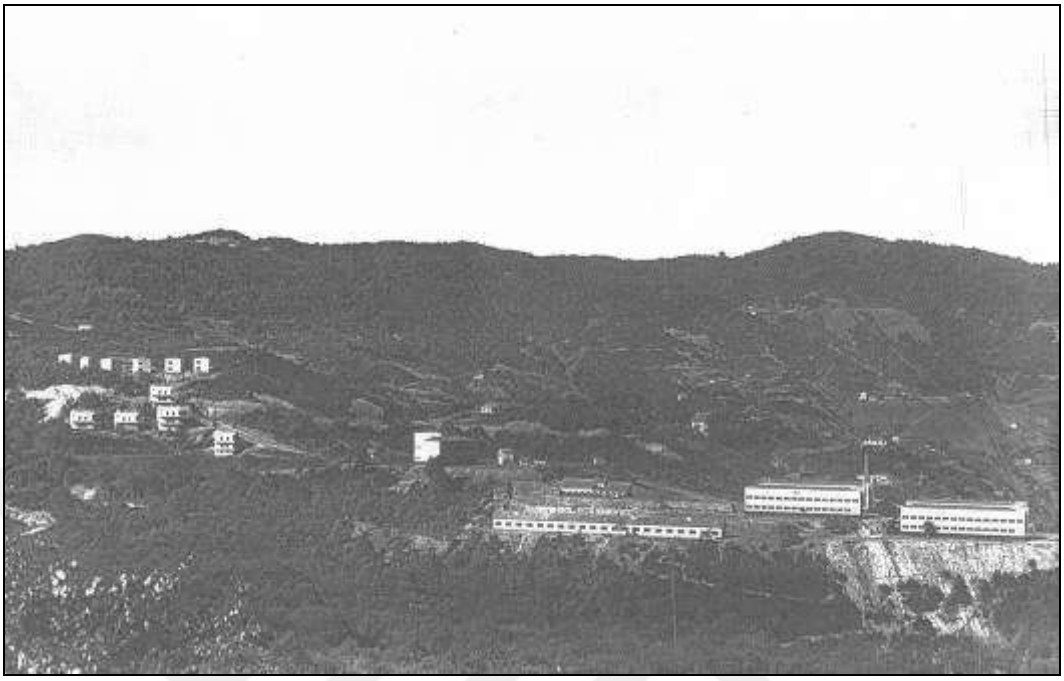


Figure 2.29. *Türk-İş* housing as built in 1937.

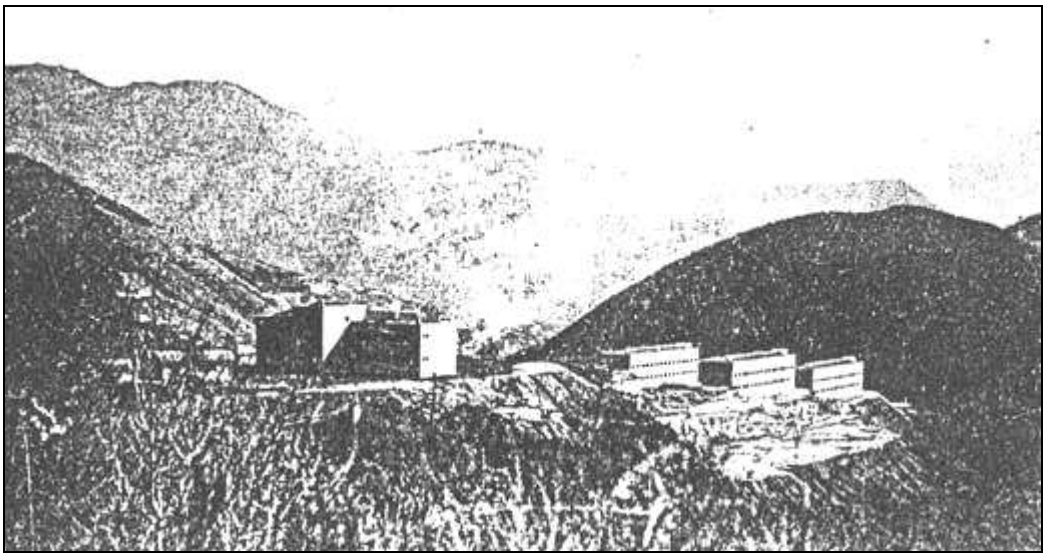


Figure 2.30. *Türk-İş* housing as built in 1937.



Figure 2.31. Civil servants' houses of *Türk-İş* housing as built in 1937.

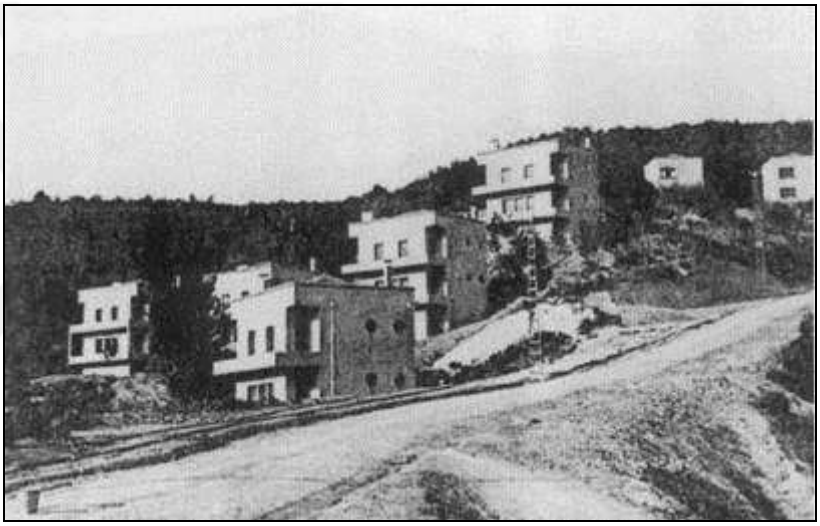


Figure 2.32. Civil servants' houses of *Türk-İş* housing as built in 1937.

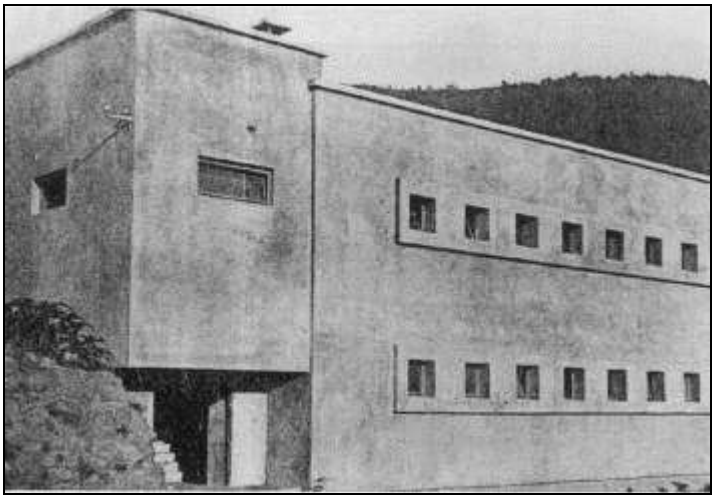


Figure 2.33. A pavilion of the *Türk-İş* housing as built in 1937.

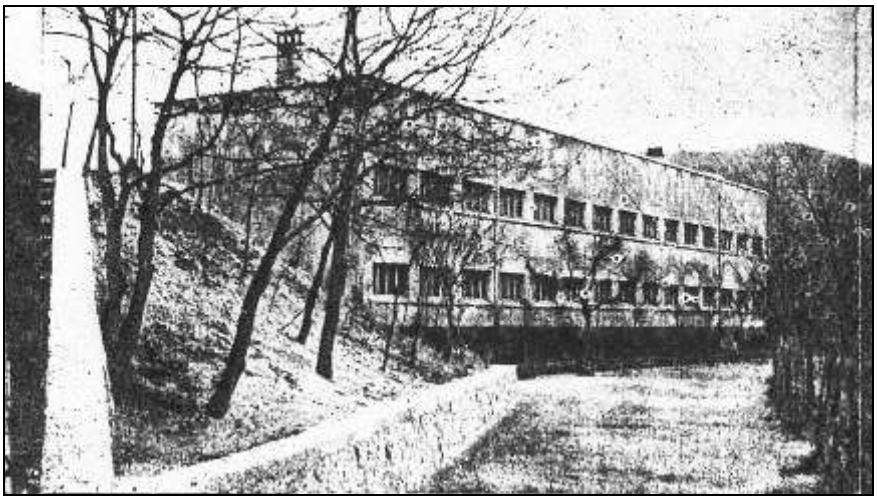


Figure 2.34. Pavilions of the *Türk-İş* housing.

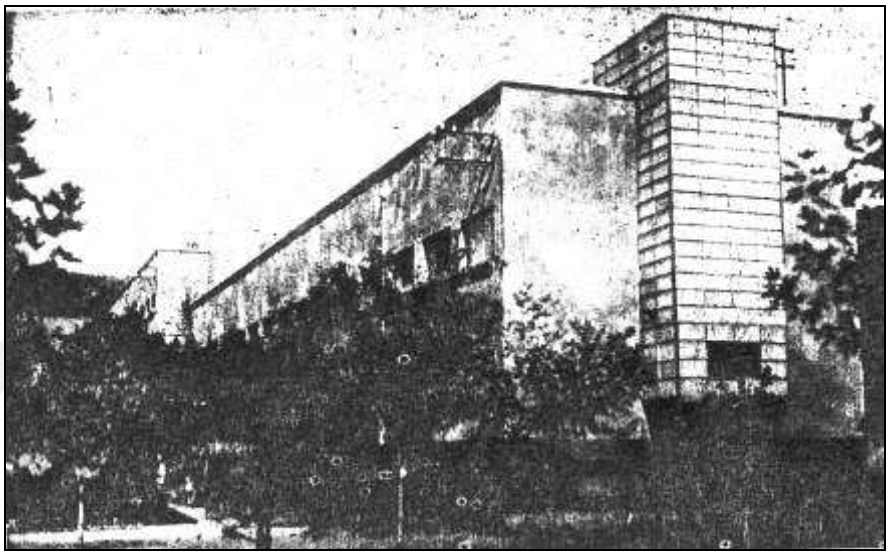


Figure 2.35. Pavilions of the *Türk-İş* housing.

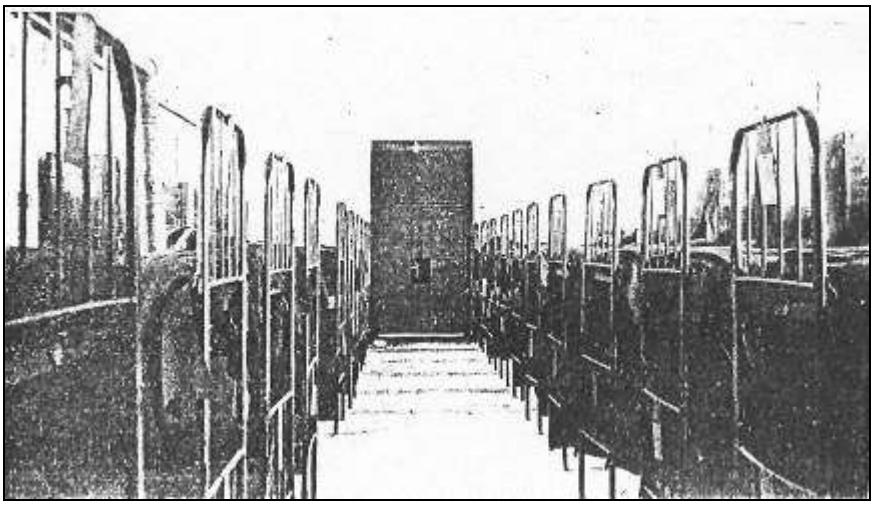


Figure 2.36. Pavilions of the *Türk-İş* housing, inside.

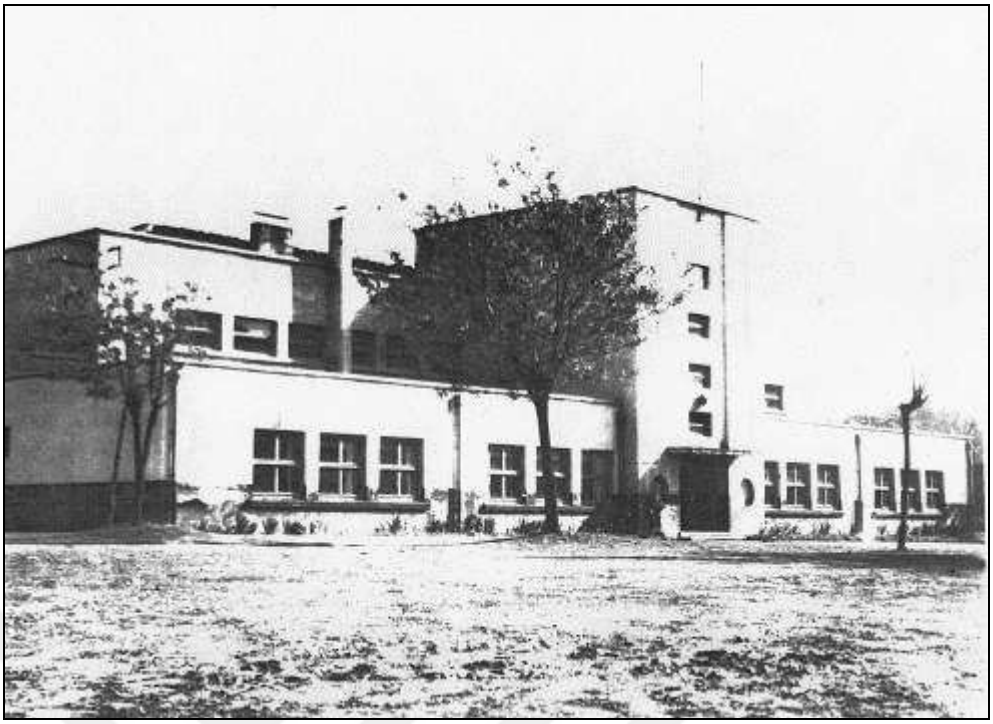


Figure 2.37. The primary school building of the *Türk-İş* housing as built in 1937.

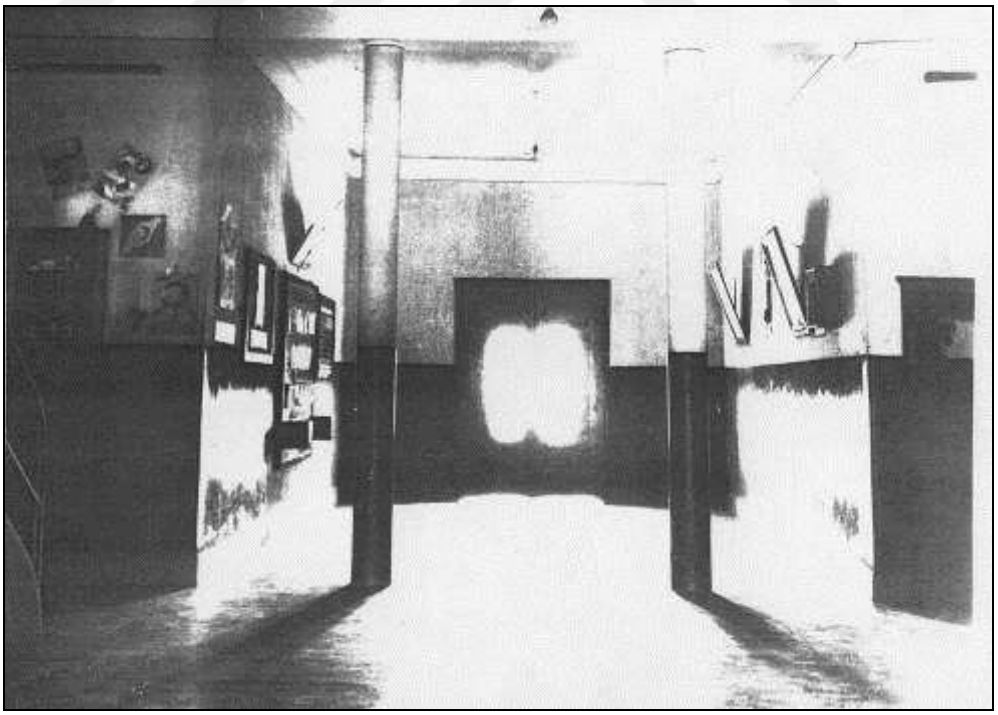


Figure 2.38. The primary school building, inside.

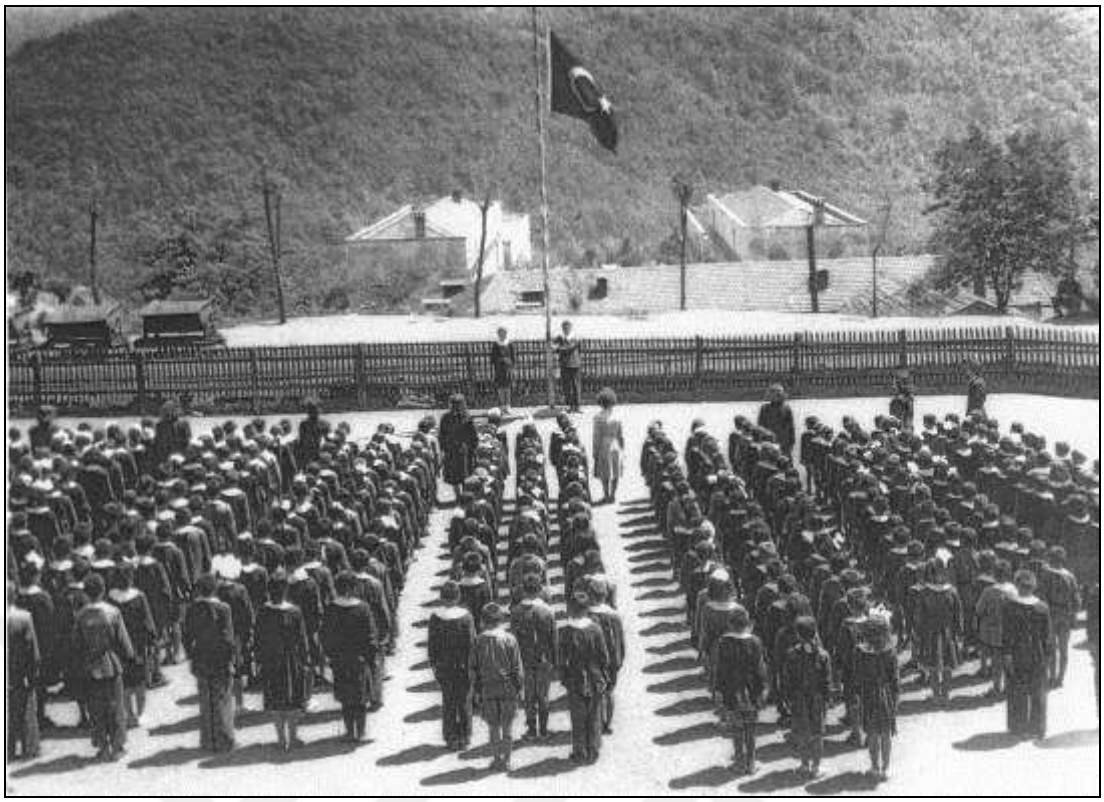


Figure 2.39. Students at the ceremony in the garden of the school building. The rooftops of the pavilions can be seen behind.

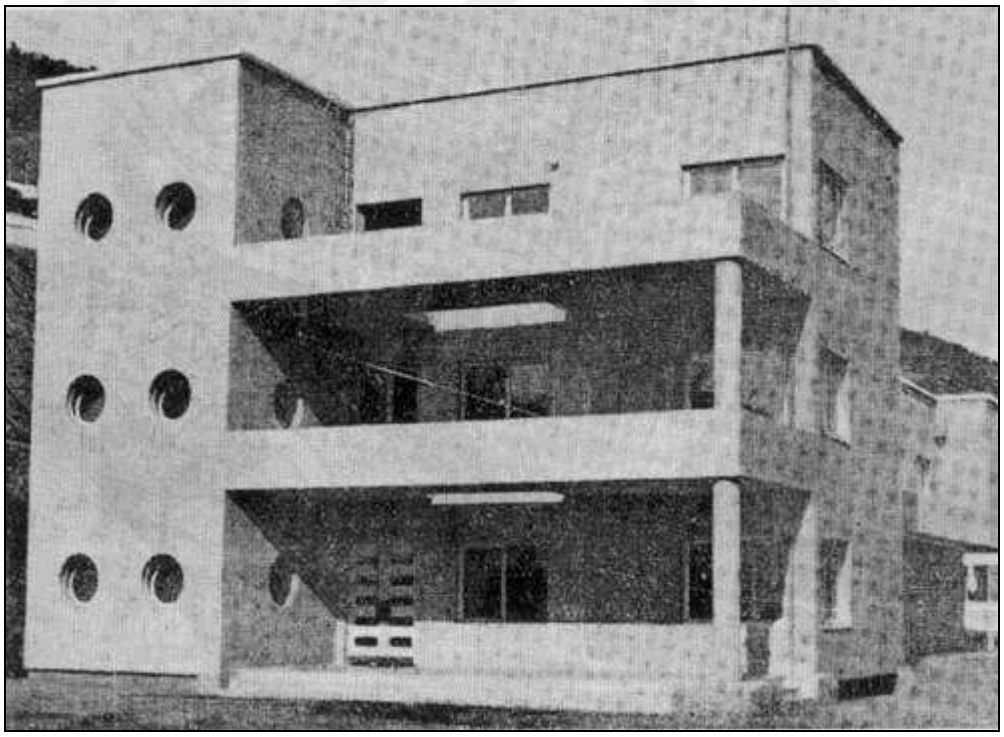


Figure 2. 40. The management building in the *Kömür-İş* housing as built in 1937.

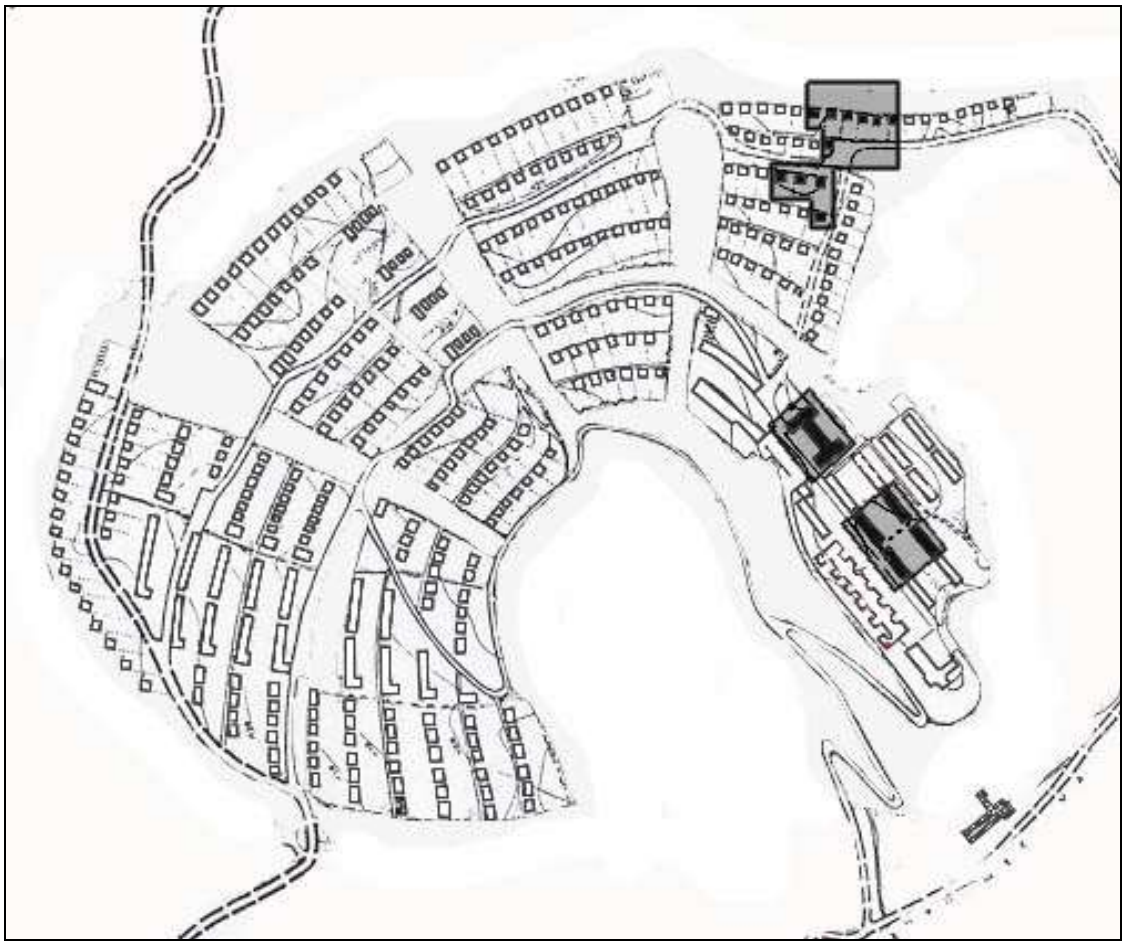


Figure 2.41. The realized part of the *Türk-İş* housing.

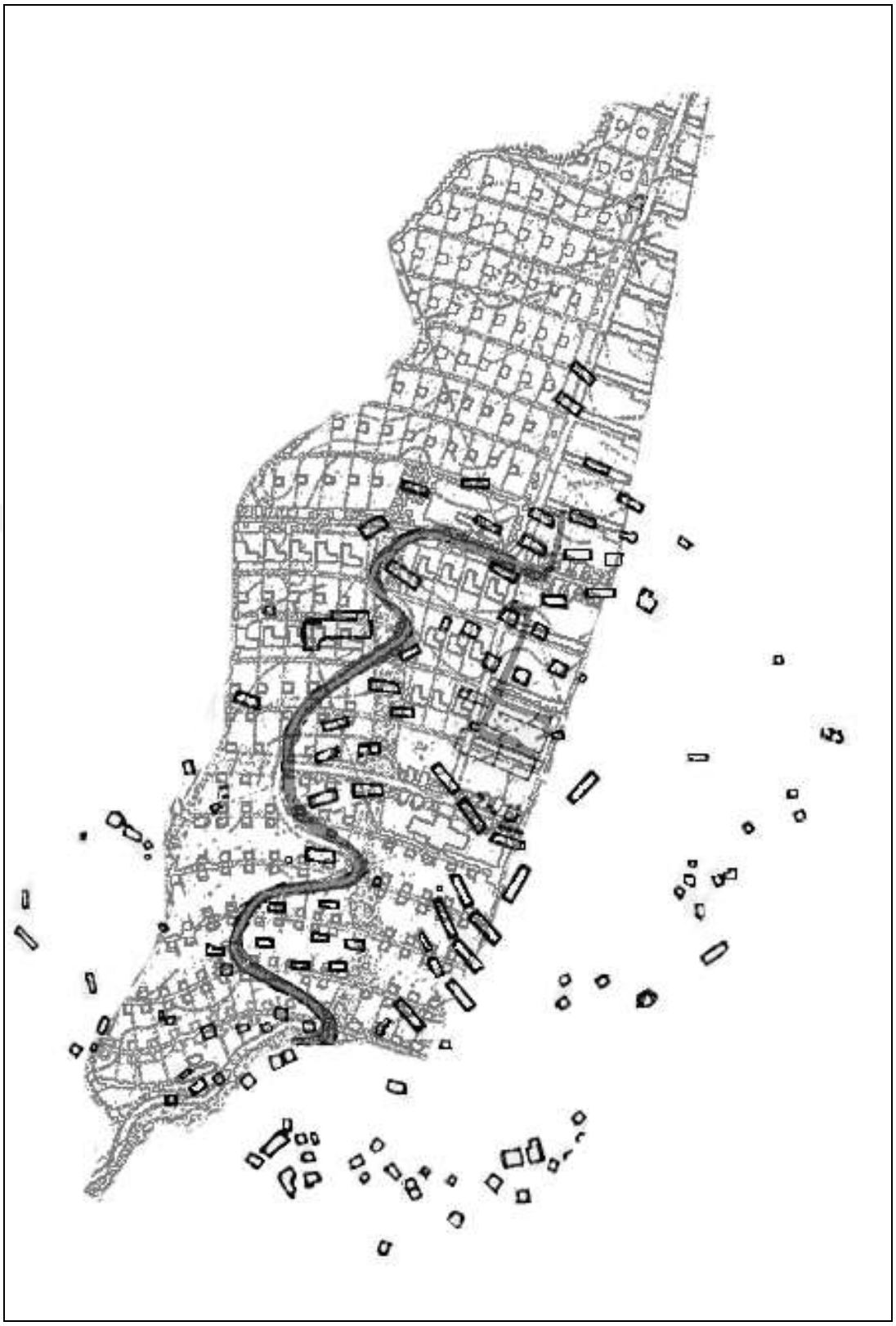


Figure 2.42. The *Kömür-İş* site plan juxtaposed with the existing situation. The shaded part of the road is common in both.

CHAPTER 3

IN SEARCH OF AN ARHITECTURE FOR THE TURKISH WORKERS' HOUSING

Türk-İş and *Kömür-İş* housing projects in Zonguldak were the first instances of large-scale designs of worker complexes in the early Republican period. They were dated in the years that the Turkish Republic was at the very beginning of the industrialization movement, which was seen as a vital component for the modernization of the country, and were produced as a part of the modern reformation of the mining industry in Zonguldak. In this early stage of industrialization the concept of 'workers' housing complex' was unexemplified.

It was also the time when Turkish architects began to receive a response to their demands of taking over their professional function in the modern reconstruction of Turkey, the role which had mostly been given to foreign architects invited to the country. The Turkish architects began to undertake prestigious projects in Ankara, e.g. the international competition for the *Sergievi* was won by Şevki Balmumcu in 1933, the design of the Residence of the Foreign Affairs was commissioned to Seyfi Arkan in the same year after a competition with limited attendance, and the Central Station was designed by Şekip Akalın in 1935.

In this context of the mid 1930s, Seyfi Arkan was commissioned to design two housing projects for the mine-workers of Zonguldak. The task that Arkan

undertook was significant with reference to the points mentioned above, which were tightly connected to each other.

First of all, he was not only expected to provide a design solution coping with the existing needs and problems of the worker of Zonguldak, but also required to consider the future objectives of the investments made in the coalfield regarding the industrial development. The projects produced would need to have a futuristic character in the sense of exceeding the immediate situation with the existing accommodation demand expanding to the social as well as economic expectations of Turkish modernization.

On the other hand, the architect had the opportunity to claim his disciplinary role and professional function in the Turkish revolution processing in the political, cultural, social and economic means. This was the first time in his career that Arkan found the chance to devote his professional skills to the revolution in a large social scale. For a strong manifestation of this devotion, the designs produced should reflect the social transformation required for the industrial development of the region. Moreover, they should also provide the clearest unity of the professional and the political attitudes in the search for the architecture of the Turkish workers' housing.

In this chapter the designs of Zonguldak housing projects by Seyfi Arkan will be examined in the architectural attitude they exhibit. For this purpose, the short articles presenting the projects in *Arkitekt*, the only architectural periodical of the time, will be taken as a departure point, where the devotion of the architect to the Turkish revolution was neatly put into words. The major themes and architectural concepts highlighted in these presentations will be analyzed with regard to the designs themselves as examples of Turkish architectural practice of the 1930s and

with respect to the whole professional career of Arkan. Then the dominant approach in the disciplinary debate of the time on the issue of workers' housings will be studied accordingly.

3.1. The Architect Speaking; the Major Features of the Designs

The architect Seyfi Arkan presented his projects for *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* in *Arkitekt* while their constructions were in progress. The *Türk-İş* Housing was published in the September issue of 1935 and the *Kömür-İş* Housing was published in the January issue of 1936. The short articles presenting the projects in these issues both are developed in similar ways by emphasizing the place of the projects in the Turkish revolution before giving their architectural descriptions.

In this sense, the first article briefly stated that, having served for foreign benefit, the region had been neglected until the Republican regime. Miners lived in wretched huts, and thus the place remained unfit for the 'Turkish culture and character', but now new and modern districts were being built in the proper scientific and technical sense[133]. The second article, which seems to be developed on the first one and which exposes a more direct effort in referring to the Revolution, especially pointed out that Zonguldak was the first mission for the Turkish architect in the grand aim of the proper construction of every village and city of the Turkish land. Such an aim was stated by Atatürk in his speech for the opening of the Assembly that year, which was quoted in this article[134]. In the same paragraph the Turkish architect

[133] Arkan, S. " Amele Evleri, İlkokul, Mutfak ve Çamaşırlık Binası, Kozlu –Zonguldak", *Arkitekt*, September 1935, p. 253. See Appendix C for the full texts.
[134] Arkan, S. "Kömür –İş İşçi Uramı, Zonguldak –Kozlu", *Arkitekt*, January 1936, p. 9.

was defined as 'the builder son of the revolution'[135] and his work supported by the contemporary science and technology was given as the effort of being worthy of the revolution[136]. In a similar manner, the coal basin and the companies that the projects are prepared for were referred to as taking their places in the economic revolution of the Republic.

All these statements reveal that the importance and meaning given to the coal basin and its mineworker by the Republican government was received and shared by the architect. Arkan showed that he observed, or was informed about the existing extraordinarily bad situation that the mineworker lived and worked in. Nonetheless he also set his targets in a broader sense than a mere improvement in the material conditions. The designs were intended to be a manifested part of the construction of a modern country and by them the architect manifested his role in the construction of this idea of modernity. Examining the concepts and statements used in the articles presenting the projects shows that the architectural reflection of the aim of modernity was formulated in two separate means.

The first important issue that shaped the idea of a modern architecture proper for the Turkish revolution is found in the repeated emphasis made on science and technology. It was carefully stated that the Turkish architect was at the same level with foreign architects in using science and technology, and every opportunity was used to state that for this project, the architect had used his knowledge and capacity in these terms. The architectural reflections of these terms of 'science and technology' were not clear in the articles, but it can be detected that they were not

[135] Ibid. '*Devrimin yapıcı çocukları*'.
[136] Ibid. "…Türk mimarı devrime lâyık olmaya çalışıyor".

only taken as ‘new materials’ or ‘construction techniques’, but also as ‘scientific planning’ in the urban scale.

The second issue, being less emphasized, reveals itself in the second article as the evaluation of village life. The villagers and the village culture were highlighted as an important input for the act of planning and it was claimed that a regional sensitivity in terms of tradition, climate, material and site was effective in the settlement organization of this project[137]. The way these aspects were considered by the architect and the design method used to engage them in the product was left untouched. However a certain sense of a ‘local attitude’ appears as a secondary issue for the architect besides the issue of modern building and planning.

When compared to the regional aspects stated, the importance given to the up-to-date science and technology is much easier to trace in the architectural qualities of the designs. The projects were designed by using contemporary materials and construction techniques such as reinforced concrete, minimized window and door framings and proper sanitary appliances. It is not only the technical terms in the sense of ‘building science’ that had its strong references to the contemporary developments in the West, but also the way the architectural design was approached. The rational, functional and economical design applied and the formal language achieved expose a clear line connected to the modern architectural discourse of the time, particularly to similar examples of the Bauhaus.

It is especially the formal character of the designs that shows itself as the most significant aspect when one examines the drawings and the models. Architectural historians also highlight this aspect mostly and build their criticism of

[137] Ibid. pp. 9-10.

the projects accordingly. Aslanoğlu defines the style of the projects for Zonguldak as cubist-purist and states that they remind the prefabricated standard houses designed by the students of Bauhaus under Gropius in the 1920s, but adds that this similarity is only in the formal sense.[138] Sey also relates the projects to the dominant contemporary architectural trends in Europe and she points out that the claim of traditional sensitivity of the architect was not met in the designs.[139] Bozdoğan also refers to German modern architecture while describing the projects, but rather than the formal aspects, she sets the comparison on the rationality of the planning scheme and states that concepts like 'minimum dimensions' and 'the incorporation of facilities such as a school, a laundry, and a communal kitchen' is reflected in Arkan's design. However she also draws attention to the fact that the individual units within private gardens in these projects could not be related to the rationality of housing blocks or rows of the German examples. She criticizes Arkan for "retaining the primacy of the architectural object –the individual house" in his design, which is the "sublimated aesthetic of the villa, albeit a miniaturized one"[140].

Having examined the projects themselves and the way architectural historians evaluate them, the reevaluation of the articles in the *Arkitekt* written to present the projects reveals one interesting point: one aspect of the designs that seems to be the most significant, namely their strong and coherent architectural language which can easily be described in formal and stylistic terms, is completely lacking in the articles. On the other hand, the second of the two issues mentioned in the short articles, i.e.

[138] Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1938,* ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, p. 90.
[139] Sey, Y. "To House the New Citizens: Housing Policies and Mass Housing" in Holod, R. and Evin, A. (eds.) *Modern Turkish Architecture*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1984, p. 161.
[140] Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, University of Washington Press, 2001, p. 220.

the reference to the local and traditional aspects, seems to be almost invisible in the designs produced. It would be questionable to explain the lack of any expressions putting forth the architectural preferences in formal terms by stating that these are short informative texts avoiding professional discussions, when it is considered that *Arkitekt* is a disciplinary periodical prepared by and for architects. Rather, this fact may be giving clues on the architect's idea of modern architecture in which he placed the issues of 'science and technology' at the top. In this sense it may be proposed that Arkan did not consider (or was not willing to represent) the formal language he reached in his designs as architectural preferences or stylistic tendencies, but as a rational outcome of the 'scientific' process of architectural design applied.

The second part of the problem on the local or Turkish character is much more complex. As Sey also mentions, it is hard to find visible clues to show that the architect made any effort to materialize his aim of reaching a local sensitivity in the design, taking aspects like tradition and climate into consideration. The difficulty begins from the fact that he did not either clarify in the articles what architectural methods had been used to achieve a local character. Moreover, the emphasis in the articles made on the modern, scientific and technological virtues of the designs, which made them equal examples to "foreign" architecture, is so strong that this remark on the local character seems weakly attached.

On the other hand, Bozdoğan builds her interpretation of the projects on that the projects exhibit some references to western modern architectural ideas, but do not exploit them in the fullest sense. According to Bozdoğan, it was the idea of the individual house in a garden, a miniaturized villa for the worker, where Arkan's 'modernity' became 'blurred'.

When the arguments of Sey and Bozdoğan are examined comparatively a new perspective proposes itself: We can see in the article in *Arkitekt* that Arkan did not mention any local architectural forms or refer to any architectural qualities that the villages posses, but emphasized 'villager life' instead. This expression orients the search for the architectural reflection of this 'local attitude' to the concept of 'program' rather than form. So the question becomes whether it is possible to evaluate individual houses with gardens not as a failure or ignorance in the application of some kind of modern architecture, but as an intended result with an idea behind it, the intention exposing itself in the words of the architect on the 'village culture'.

This approach does not aim to discuss and disprove the other two arguments by Sey and Bozdoğan one by one, by trying to prove that Arkan's designs as products were completely successful in meeting the claims of the architect in being both perfectly 'modern' and also locally sensitive. Rather the aim is to search for the theoretical and practical manners through which the architect conceptualized these terms and conveyed them in his design and to evaluate the Zonguldak projects in this sense as architectural solutions produced at an early stage of the problem of Turkish worker's housing.

In the following sections of this part, in order to progress in this search, the western idea and examples of workers' housing, to which the projects by Arkan exhibit certain references as discussed above, will initially be studied very briefly. Then the Turkish architectural scene of the 1930s and Arkan's career and personality as an architect in this context, will be examined in respect of the question above. Finally the architectural terms in which the case of housing complex was discussed at

the time in Turkey, will be studied in order to better evaluate Arkan's projects in their context.

3.2. Workers' Housing in the West

In the beginning of the 19th century the problem of accommodation of the worker population in Europe showed itself as a great problem. The masses of people was then detached from the former rural production modes and began living as workers in the cities, which were not capable of providing the newly urbanized masses moderate living conditions[141]. Due to the low standards of living the first appearance of the problem was observed in the field of hygiene and the first professionals to search for an answer were from this field. First housing complex complexes designed specifically for the working class were mostly for the industries located away from the cities, like mines, to attract labor force here. In some of these 'employer housings' the houses were rented to the workers with over average rents making use of the lack of alternative accommodation. Most of the others which brought the employer no financial profit were philanthropic attempts derived from individual intentions. Later such attempts became organized in cities by official or unofficial foundations like 'Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes' or 'The Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes' in England which produced several 'model housings' during the 19th century.

While such efforts of reforming the workers' districts in the overcrowding cities were continuing, certain individuals focused their searches on designing the

[141] Burnett, J. *A Social History of Housing, 1815-1970*, Newton Abbot, London, 1978, pp. 70-93.

ideal city instead of re-establishing order and harmony in the existing ones, and some also attempted to put their utopias into practice[142]. Among them, Robert Owen and Charles Fourier can be mentioned as the most influential.

Owen was an industrialist and a politician who was a former worker and who had developed an unorthodox idea of industrial undertaking. His idea of an ideal settlement tried to bring an integration between the agricultural and the industrial production which would be performed by the same workers in "a village for a limited community to work collectively on the land and in the factory and to be self-sufficient, possessing all necessary basic amenities"[143]. (Figure 3.1) He also made several attempts to put the idea into practice which could not survive long. Fourier's ideal settlement was based on collective living and the abandonment of private property. His ideal town, '*phalanges*', would be formed with the commercial and administrative part in the middle surrounded by first industrial and then agricultural areas. It was to be built for 1620 individuals living a completely communal life in special buildings called '*phalanstères*' in which old people would occupy the ground floor, children the mezzanine and the adults the upper floors. There also had been several attempts to realize this idea, and one enterprise at Guise by Godin which altered the idea in ways like giving the occupants private apartments at buildings called "*familistère*", and was successful at lasting a long time. (Figure 3. 22) As Benevolo mentions, despite the political naivety of such attempts, it is important to acknowledge their contribution to the modern movement in architecture by

[142] Benevolo, L. "Attempts of Reforming the Industrial Town, from Owen to Morris" in, *History of Modern Architecture, vol.1 The Tradition of Modern Architecture*, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, pp. 148-187.
[143] Benevolo, p. 149.

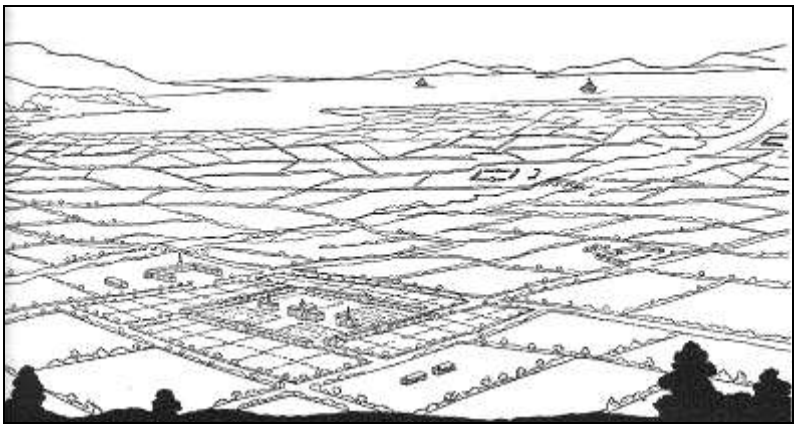


Figure 3.1. A drawing for Owen's ideal industrial village.

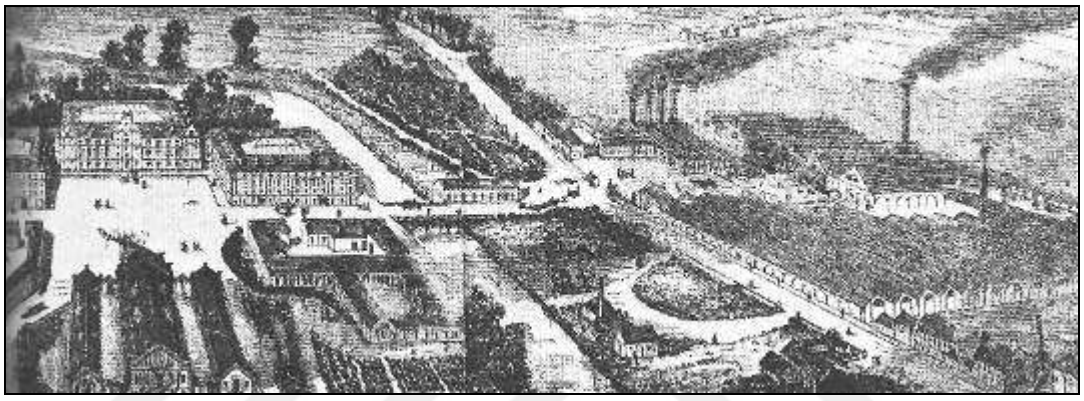


Figure 3. 2. General view of the *familistère* at Guise.

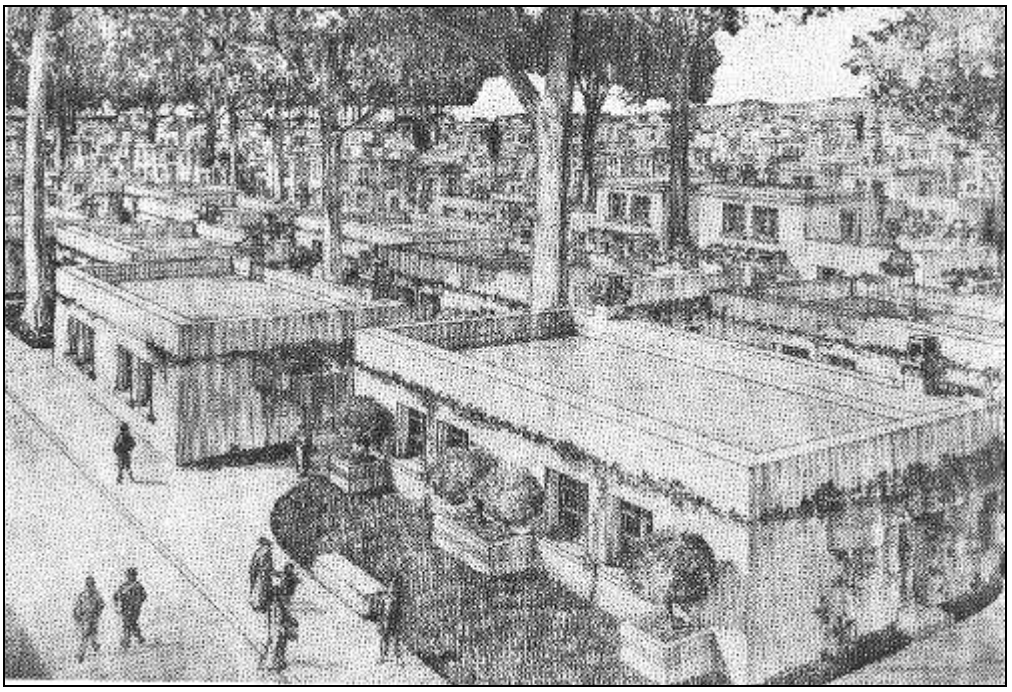


Figure 3. 3. The residential district of the Industrial City by Garnier.

introducing ideas such as centralized amenities, units with limited number of inhabitants and the relation between the urban scene and the countryside[143].

In the 20th century the architectural search for the ideal industrial town continued. An important example was the work "*Une Cité Industrielle*", the Industrial City by Tony Garnier, presented in a personal exhibition in 1904 and published in 1917. Here the town and the factory were isolated from each other in order to allow possible growth. The residential part was composed of small detached houses placed in their gardens which were open to public use of pedestrian traffic. (Figure 3. 3) Two important features highlighted with such placing of units were the importance of sun, air and vegetation as hygienic factors and the composition of pedestrian circulation free from the remaining traffic.[144]

The effects of such studies on the industrial city can be seen within the garden city movement of the city planning discourse of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which was mainly formulated by Ebenezer Howard. The theory continued the idea of self-sufficient communities with limited size and growth that brought the integration of town and country and of industry and agriculture. Many garden suburbs were built in Europe following the idea. (Figure 3.4) Later in the 20th century, especially after the First World War, the issue of workers' housing became an important topic in the agenda of modernist architecture. Between 1920 and 1935 exemplary solutions were produced which were designed with a rational and economical attitude, making use of technological developments[145]. These were usually placed in vast green areas outside city centers and brought in the incorporation of common activity centers.

[143] Benevolo, pp. 156-157.
[144] Benevolo, L. "France's Contribution: Auguste Perret and Tony Garnier" in *History of Modern Architecture*... pp. 320-342.
[145] Aslanoğlu, pp. 44-45.

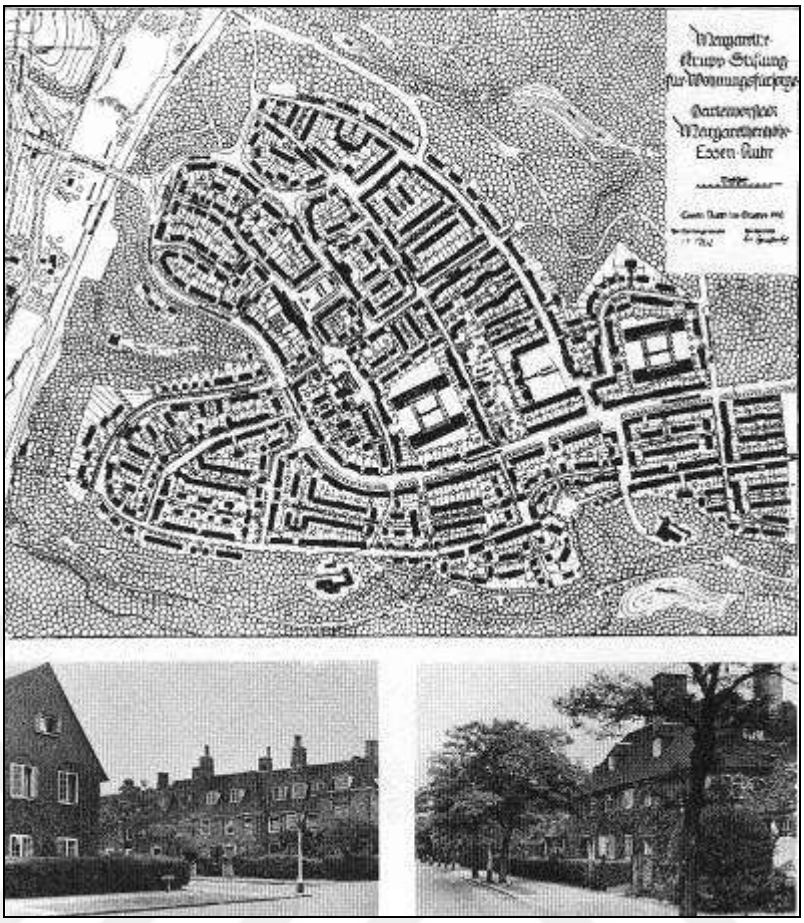


Figure 3.4. Plan of the Margarethenhöhe district near Essen (1906) and two views of Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907).



Figure 3.5. Hook of Holland *Siedlung* by J. J. P. Oud (1924).

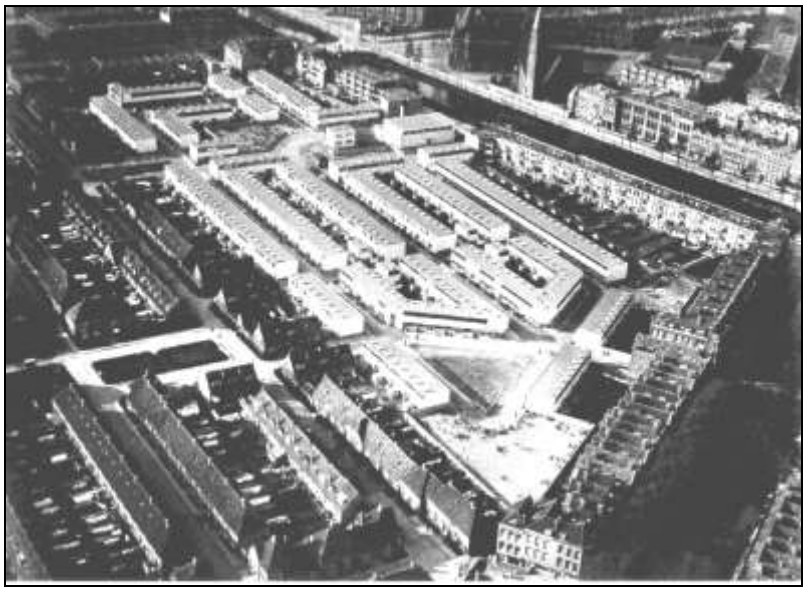


Figure 3.6. Kiefhoek *Siedlung* by J. J. P. Oud (1925-1930).



Figure 3.7. Siedlung "Am Hohenblick" in Frankfurt by E. May (1926).



Figure 3.8. *Siedlung* in Berlin by B. Taut (1925-1931).

Important examples from this period can be given as housings in Frankfurt by Ernst May and in Berlin by Bruno Taut, Siemensstadt in Berlin by an architects group conducted by Walter Gropius, Kiefhoek in Rotterdam and Hook of Holland by J. J. P. Oud. These buildings clearly exhibit the ways the architectural idea of row housings were interpreted within the urban form. (Figures 3.5-3.8)

A very important work in this period to detect the key points of the idea of modern housing complex was the Weissenhof Siedlung produced as an experimental model for housing as a component of the exhibition "*Die* Wohnung" (The Dwelling) by the *Deutsche Werkbund* in 1927. (Figure 3.9, 3.10) Many important contemporary architects, most of whom were pioneering names in western modern architecture[146], participated in this project. The housing included single houses, rows and apartment blocks designed for low and middle income groups. Intentions of the exhibition were explained in one of the first memoranda dated June 24, 1925 and signed by the Mayor Karl Lautenschlager and Peter Bruckmann as follows:

> The rationalisation of all areas of our lives does not exclude the issue of housing. The current economic conditions do not permit any wastefulness and demand maximum effect with the least possible means. As far as housing construction and the upkeep of buildings are concerned, this means using materials and technical methods that lead to lower building and operating costs, as well as simpler households and improved living environments.[147]

[146] The settlement's houses were planned and realized by the following architects: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud, Victor Bourgeois, Adolf Gustav Schneck, Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, Walter Gropius, Ludwig Hilberseimer, Bruno and Max Taut, Hans Poelzig, Richard Döcker, Adolf Rading, Josef Frank, Mart Stam, Peter Behrens and Hans Scharoun. Lilly Reich, together with Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, prepared the planning and design of the hall exhibition, while Ludwig Hilberseimer received the Exhibition Management post for the International Plan and Model Exhibition. The interior furnishing of the houses was undertaken by numerous architects besides those mentioned above. Some of them are Marcel Breuer, Camille Graeser, Heinz and Bodo Rasch and Richard Herre. See, Kirsch, K. *The Weissenhofsiedlung*; *Experimental Housing for the Deutscher Werkbund, Sttutgart, 1927*, Rizzoli, New York, 1989.

[147] Quoted in, http://www.weissenhof.de/english/weissenhof.html.

The exhibition assumed a forward looking and educative role. The posters prepared were showing “old” types of houses with heavy ornamentation on the



Figure 3. 9. The Weissenhof *Siedlung*.



Figure 3. 10. The block by L. Mies van der Rohe in Weissenhof.

facade and in the interior decoration and "new" types exhibited and asking the question "*Wie wohnen?*" ("How to dwell?")[148]

Important aspects of modernist housing design that were exemplified in the designs of Weissenhof exhibition in economic, social and architectural terms can briefly be listed as typification, rationalisation, utilization of industrial building methods, adherence to high technical and hygienic standards, optimization of floor plans, functionality during the planning stage, building for mixed population groups (and reflecting social diversity within a housing development), elimination of

[148] The criticism directed to the designs was mainly gathered around this 'forward looking' attitude. Certain architectural groups criticized the Weissenhof group for acting utopianist as "salon Marxists" and for showing no interest in the "housing crisis" which required more direct and immediate solutions. Kirsch, p. 33.

ornamentation, use of simple geometric cubes as formal identity, undecorated facades which are derived from interior functions, asymmetry, openness toward the outside, and flowing spaces and transitions.[149]

3.3. Architectural Scene of the 1930s in Turkey

Examining the projects by various Turkish architects presented in the issues of *Arkitekt* in the 1930s[150] clearly demonstrates that the two housing complex designs for Zonguldak by Arkan were not unique or unusual architectural works for the Turkish architectural design practice of the time, except for being the first examples of large scale social complex designs. The incorporation of public, semi-public and private spaces to the design unity formed a special case for the time. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that the majority of the Turkish architects were uninformed of this idea, but rather that they could not find similar opportunities to design such complexes.

Two articles from *Mimar* dated in 1931 and 1932 show that the concept of low-cost housing complex was in the agenda of Turkish architects in their study of modern architecture. In the article titled "The Development of New Cities and the 'Siedlung's", the idea was explained within the architectural and city planning qualities, and housing complexes built in various European cities including the design of J. J. Oud in Rotterdam and of Ernst May in Frankfurt were presented. Also in this article a drawing showing the site plan by the author Burhan Arif was published with the caption "a siedlung project considered for a site near Versailles"

[149] http://www.weissenhof.de/english/weissenhof.html.
[150] Actually the periodical was named *Mimar* until 1935.

with no further explanation. (Figure 3.11) In the article titled "Standardization in Construction" the importance of standardization and mass production was discussed illustrated with the photograph of the Pennsylvania Hotel by Mead and White and with a conceptual drawing by Ludwig Hilberseimer with the caption "row houses, architect Ludwig Hilberseimer"[151].

The majority of the projects published in the only contemporary architectural periodical *Arkitekt,* were private dwellings. Still it can be observed that the architectural attitude, the qualities that the designs exhibited and the way Seyfi Arkan presented them in Zonguldak projects were in the line with the dominant architectural approach of the time. The careful analysis and application of contemporary western architectural design theory and building science can be observed in most of the works presented in the periodical. The study of western modern architecture had an important part in the content of the periodical. Articles discussing the architecture in Turkey and in the contemporary world were frequently published. Besides the single examples by various foreign architects, theoretical works from the western architectural scene were also introduced.

[151] Arif, B. "Yeni Şehirlerin İnkişafı ve 'Siedlung'lar", in *Mimar,* July-August 1932, vol. 7-8, pp. 213-216, and Salah, Z. "İnşaatta Standart", in *Mimar*, January 1931, vol. l., p. 11. The concept of *siedlung* also appeared in the Academy. Bruno Taut, as studio instructor, assigned a housing project for Ankara to the graduating class as a 6-week exercise in 1937. The students were required to produce a site plan, plans of different house types, detailed specifications for all materials and calculation of cost of construction, workmanship and infrastructure. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and...* pp. 165-166.

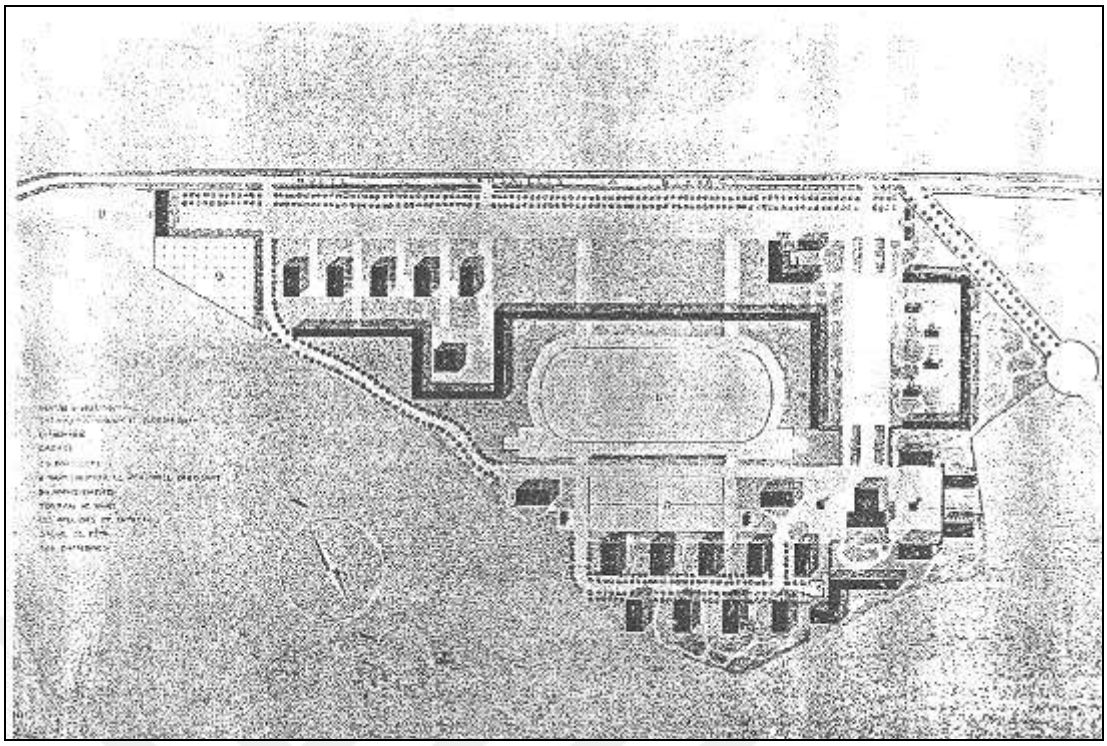


Figure 3.11. A *siedlung* design near Versailles by B. Arif.

The periodical started its publication in 1931 and from the very beginning became the major medium to gather the group of Turkish architects who had their education in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul and most of whom spent some time in Europe observing and studying modern architecture as it was in the case of Seyfi Arkan. Although still few in number during the 1930s, these architects were effectively practicing architecture especially with the villas and apartment buildings they designed in big cities like İstanbul and Ankara, and some of them were also teaching in the Academy.

The basic common architectural qualities of the works designed by these individuals are defined in the frame of "the international functional-rational approach" by Aslanoğlu, also reminding that a few examples of designs for governmental buildings showed the "monumental western neo-classical" attitude and

a few architects experimented in the recreation of the "Turkish national style" in this period until the late 1930s [152]. Aslanoğlu defines the characteristics of this international functional-rational approach as "the search for pure geometric forms and asymmetry in masses, an organic relation between form and function, complete abandonment of decoration, simplicity, employment of reinforced concrete frame, flat roof, large panes of glass, ribbon and corner windows, coarse gray stucco for facades, etc."[153]

An important issue that shaped the architectural scene of the time was the process of professionalization. The professionalization of Turkish architecture was still in progress in terms of the provision of institutional and legal structures when a grand construction program was undertaken with the foundation of the Republic. As Nalbantoğlu shows, the institutional part of this process was suffering from a negligence of the profession, and architects were struggling for professional recognition both in societal and governmental levels throughout the 1930s and 1940s[154]. The building practice in the country was dominated by non-professional builders, the practical function of the architect was not clearly distinguished from the engineer's and providing the legal body to guard the professional domain became one of the main concerns for the architects of the time. The legal struggle was also accompanied by the effort of introducing the profession to the people through published media and radio talks, since the ordinary people, and even many bureaucrats, did not recognize architects as necessary operators in the building

[152] Aslanoğlu, İ. "Evaluation of Architectural Developments in Turkey within the Socio-Economic and Cultural Framework of the 1923-38 Period", in *O.D.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, Spring 1986, vol. 2, p. 19.
[153] Ibid, pp. 19-20.
[154] Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*, unpublished thesis, 1989, pp. 120-137.

practice[155]. The other part of this struggle was formed on the problem of foreign architects. The architects of the period were practicing a competition against the foreign professional dominance for governmental commissions most of which were taking place in Ankara, the major site of the construction program.

Starting with the 1920s and continuing until the end of 1940s foreign architects and city planners were intensely influential in the dense construction program that the new Republic went in[156]. They were officially invited to Turkey to provide professional service both in the field of architectural practice and education. This attitude was not specific to architecture and employing foreign professional assistance in the technical and educational means was a general policy in the period. Among such architects, Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut, Clemens Holzmeister, Martin Elsaesser and Paul Bonatz had teaching and/or administrative positions in the universities and governmental offices while also designing important public buildings in Ankara. Hans Poelzig would also be one of these names if he had not died and Taut was the architect invited in his stead. Other architects such as Robert Örley, Theodor Jost and Paolo Vietti-Violi also designed buildings in Ankara.

The decision of appointing western professionals for public building projects that had strong meanings for the image of the new Republic is usually regarded as the reflection in architecture of the official idea of facing the western world as a unified reference for modernization. Westerns professionally significantly contributed to the reformation of the architectural education along modernist lines. The works of these foreign architects varied in their individual design conceptualizations from the functionalism of Egli to the monumentalism of

[155] Yeşilkaya, N. G. *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*, İletişim Yayınları, p. 112.
[156] Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi...* pp. 55-63.

Holzmeister or to the regionalism of Taut. Nonetheless, united in their major emphasis on the international contemporary architecture, their works are considered as an impelling force for the Turkish architect to abandon the historicist attitude of the previous generation of Turkish architects and to orient towards the modern international architecture[157].

The practical dominance of foreign architects in the profession created a reaction in the Turkish architectural scene which was most commonly expressed as the Turkish architect's not being able to find the opportunity to prove his professional capability. The insufficient number of technical personnel[158] when compared to the requirement of the grand construction program of the new Republic was also an important reason in the commissioning of foreign professionals by the state besides the decision of westernization mentioned above. However one can also sense that it was a certain lack of confidence that the Turkish architect was struggling with, as it can also be detected in Arkan's article for the housing project in Zonguldak in *Arkitekt*. In the article for the *Kömür-İş* housing it was mentioned that the Turkish architect who had been "working in the same level with the foreign urban studies" and who had been comfortable with the "foreign science" was giving his service to the Turkish revolution[159]. The Turkish architect felt the need to put into words that he was capable of producing the architectural expression of the modernity that the Republic was striving to achieve. In the same years this proposition was

[157] Ibid. p. 63.
[158] Zeki Sayar mentions that the total number of architects nationwide was 160 in the early 1930s, half of them being in İstanbul and 30 or 40 being in Ankara. Quoted in Ünalın, Ç. *Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti'nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927'ye*, Mimarlar Derneği 1927, Ankara, 2002, p. 30.
[159] "Yabancıların ürbanik çalışmaları kadar çalışmaya başlıyan ve yabancı ilim ve fenden faydalanarak yürümeye alışan Türk mimarı devrime lâyık olmaya çalışıyor." Arkan, S. "Kömür-İş İşçi Uramı...", p.9.

practically validated with important public buildings in Ankara designed by Turkish architects like Seyfi Arkan, Şevki Balmumcu and Şekip Akalın[160].

The professionalization of architecture was not a process limited with the formation of the institutional and legal structures. The media where ideas on producing architecture would be circulated were also being created, the first example of which was the periodical *Arkitekt.* As architects formulated in such media their relation to the idea of modernity that the Republic produced, they were reproducing it through the field of architectural knowledge and thus producing an architectural discourse of Turkish modernization. As long as the period of 1930s is concerned, the contemporary architects did not see themselves as the innovators of a new architectural theory but as students of modern architecture as originated in the West. In their study, they did not see the western modern architecture as a style to be imitated but as a set of universally valid principles[161]. In this sense there were also signs of a struggle being given against the term '*kübik'* as it reduced modern architecture to a popular style. Behçet Ünsal wrote in *Arkitekt* that "the goal of the new architecture was not 'cubisme' but was 'rationalisme'"[162].

[160] Tekeli relates the rise of the share of Turkish architects in the professional market to the effects of the economic crisis of 1929, which caused new orientations in the economic policy, and the rise of nationalist ideas after the Third Congress of *CHP* in 1931. He states that the preference of domestic commodities in the period created the movement that brings the choice of native architects instead of foreign ones in the application of modern architecture, which is observed in the competition for the *Sergievi* won by Şevki Balmumcu and for the Atatürk statue in Bursa by Nejat Bey. Tekeli, İ. "Türkiye'de 1923-1950 Dönemi Mimarlığının Toplumsal ve Siyasal Bağlamı" in, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2000, pp. 65-66.

[161] It would also be wrong to think that these 'studies' resulted in a singular and uniform idea of modern architecture. Various readings of these 'universal set of design principles' shaped the debates in the architectural discourse of Turkey. Aslanoğlu states that, especially in the 1930s the state had no choice of architectural styles as long as the general idea of a contemporary modern was preserved and the architects of the period could refer to any western forms in their designs. Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı, 1923-1938*, ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yay. Ankara, 2001, p. 406.

[162] Ünsal, B. "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik" in *Arkitekt*, April, 1934, p. 116. Also see E. Asım's answer titled "Fashion or Modern?" to the questionnaire of the newspaper *Ulus* on housing in p. 86 in this chapter.

Although it is the 1940s that were marked by the debates on the search for a "national" architecture, it was in the 1930s that such discussions had been launched and certain examples were provided by architects in this effort, as Aslanoğlu also mentions. An important act in this line was the "Seminar on National Architecture" conducted in the Academy of Fine Arts from 1934 onwards by Sedat Hakkı Eldem[163]. In this seminar students produced survey drawings of existing old Turkish houses in İstanbul. Eldem was also the leading architect who produced since the early 1930s the major examples of experiments on national architectural style by referring to the traditional domestic architecture.

What may especially be important for the discussion in the Zonguldak housing projects by Arkan that was generated by the mentioning of the "villager life", are certain expressions from the period on the interpretation of the "modern" or "international" through the concepts of "local" and "national". As Ergut shows, contemporary architects tried to reformulate the relation between the "modern-international" and "local-national" not as opposing identities but as inseparable couples[164]. As an example, *Mimar* translated and published an article by Adolf Behne in 1931, in which the presumed international character of the modern architecture was questioned and the importance of "locality" as a "dynamic, not a formal, character" was mentioned.[165] The article stated that "a modern architect should take the conditions of the country into consideration" not because "love of the country and nationality [were] included in the program but because it [was]

[163] Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi...* p. 71.
[164] Ergut, T. E. "Searching for a National Architecture: The Architectural Discourse in Early Republican Turkey" in, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements. Working Paper Series*. vol.130, University of California at Berkeley, 2000-2001, p. 111.
[165] Adnan, A. "Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar" in, *Mimar*,vol. 10, 1931, pp. 331-334, quoted in Ergut, pp. 110-111.

functional and based on strong principles". Similarly Behçet and Bedrettin stated in 1934 that "thoughts and principles are essential for architecture, we should not deal with forms. The twentieth century does not have a style, the architect of the time is the one who creates original forms that are reasonable and local, by getting rid of the authority of fashion and forms"[166].

The attitude of taking 'modern architecture' as a set of "principles and thoughts" and 'locality' "as a dynamic, not formal, character" is enlightening in examining the ways the "village culture" was reflected in Arkan's design. These expressions from the same period are in line with the attitude in the text on Zonguldak projects in *Arkitekt* which placed the features of village culture and tradition besides the issues of climate and site, and defined them as important "inputs" for the design process. In this way it can be suggested that the two issues of "modern urban science" and "local character" detected in the text by Arkan were not given as two completely separate issues, but local character was rather treated as a condition to be subjected to the design principles determined by modern science of planning. For the study of these designs in this sense, the architecture of Arkan in general should also be examined.

3.4. Seyfi Arkan; the Modern Architect

The major examples of Arkan's works both before and after the two housing projects in Zonguldak were among the most profound examples of Turkish modern

[166] Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda" in, *Mimar*, vol.7, 1934, pp. 213-215, quoted in, Ergut, p. 111.

architecture. It is not only because from the very beginning of his career Arkan produced many significant architectural 'icons' of the 'international' period of the Turkish architectural history such as the Residence for Foreign Affairs, Florya Sea Residence or similar villas in Çankaya. (Figure 3.12) He was also among few of those who extended their study and experiments of modern architecture to include the concept of modern architectural space, not only dwelling at the formal language and/or technology of modernity [167]. We can detect these spatial experiments especially in the villas that he designed in Çankaya where different functions were defined with level differences and inside and outside spaces were united with colonnades, terraces and pools[168]. (Figure 3.13, 3.14)

Besides the modern concept of space, certain qualities such as good detailing, careful use of materials and the application of the idea of 'total design' are also observed in his designs and show that Arkan was pretty aware of the key concepts of modern architecture and had his skills to apply them. In *İller Bankası* building of1937 he achieved a richness in an overall simplicity provided by materials used with good detailing[169] (Figure 3.15), which was repeated in the Tahran Embassy building of the same year. (Figure 3.16) For the villas he built he also designed furniture and installations like lighting whenever he found the opportunity.

[167] Tanyeli, U. "Seyfi Arkan: Bir Direnme Öyküsü", in *Arredamento Dekorasyon*, March 1992, p. 90.
[168] Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi...* pp.81-82.
[169] Aslanoğlu, İ. "The International Style in Turkey: A Sign of Contemporaneity for a New Republic", unpublished paper.

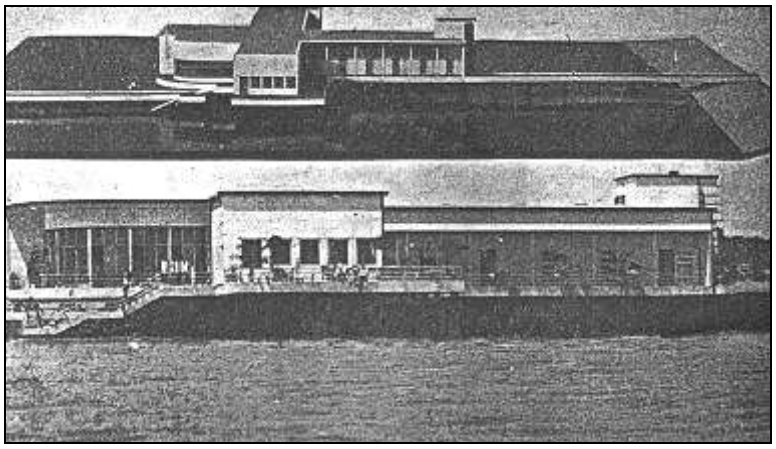


Figure 3.12. Florya sea residence, model (above) and the building.

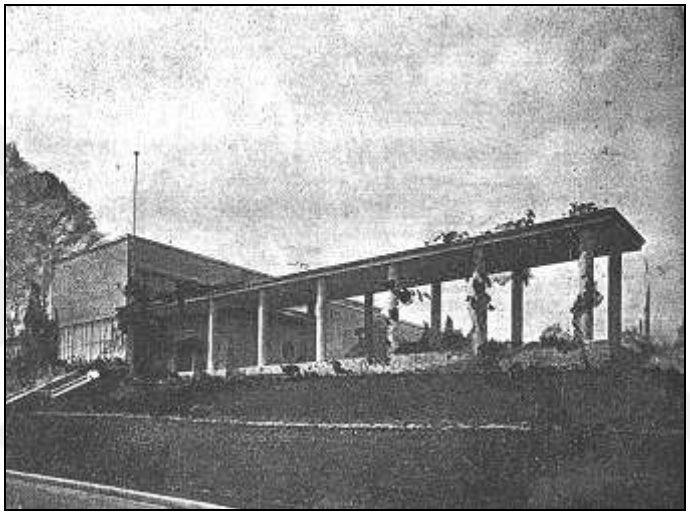


Figure 3.13. Villa in Çankaya.

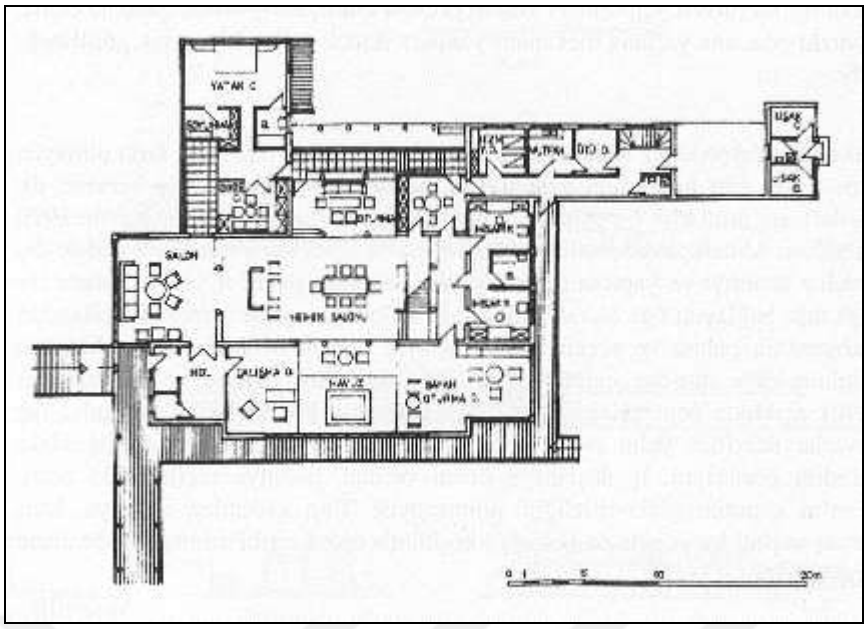


Figure 3.14. The plan of the villa in Çankaya.

This attitude of total design was not limited with the villas where the clients could usually afford such a detailed project; it can also be seen in other works by Arkan in a more modest way. In Florya, for example, he did not only design the sea residence for Atatürk, he also designed the dressing rooms for the public beach[170].

Seyfi Arkan was one of the most productive architects of the time[171]. Besides the large number of his works, the wide range of their scale and function varying from electrical transformer buildings to city plans shows that, as a hard-working architect as well as a successful "businessman"[172], he approached every design problem with equal seriousness. Actually the pamphlet itself that Arkan prepared and published, which is no more than a short history of his career and a list of his works, provides a good observation in this sense. Carrying the name, address and telephone of Arkan's office on its front cover, the pamphlet seems to be bearing a commercial goal as well as being a modest record.

[170] Arkan, S. *1933-1956 Seyfi Arkan ve Eserleri* (Pamphlet), p.25.
[171] See the list given in the Chapter 2, pp. 35-37.
[172] It is known that he was a good businessman and very successful in creating job opportunities. See, Tanyeli, U. "Seyfi Arkan: Bir Direnme Öyküsü" in *Arredamento Dekorasyon*, March 1992, p. 90.

Nonetheless, the content and composition of the pamphlet denies any 'advertisement' logic. The works were grouped according to their functions as "apartment blocks", "banks", "office buildings, shopping centers and warehouses", "electrical powerhouses and transformer buildings", "fair works, garages and *halkevi* buildings", "city plans", "worker complexes", "prizes", "beaches", "official and semi-official buildings" (official residences and the embassy building in Tehran are presented under this category), "sport complexes and cinema buildings" and finally "villas", given in this turn[173]. The interesting point is that each category was

[173] Arkan, S. *1933-1956 Seyfi Arkan ve Eserleri* (Pamphlet).

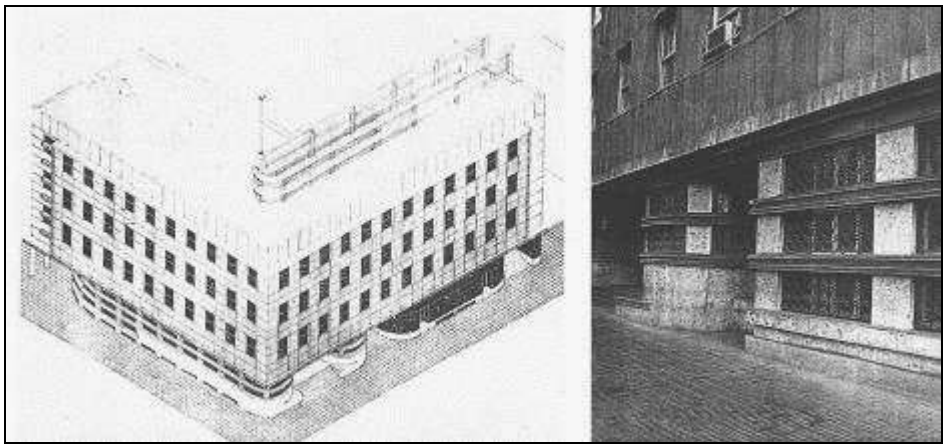


Figure 3.15. ***İller Bankası*** **building.**

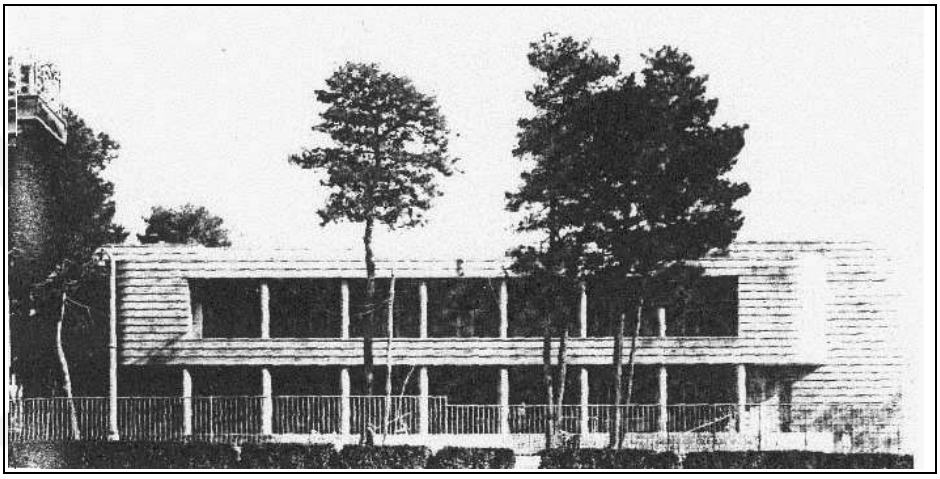


Figure 3.16. Tahran Embassy building.



Figure 3.17. The cover of the pamphlet.

presented in the same manner without the domination of any. For example, “villas” were presented in exactly the same way as “beaches”; “powerhouses and transformers” were presented as equal to quite prestigious projects like residences for Atatürk and important bureaucrats or soldiers, and the photograph of a transformer building was also included. The building also reflects the care shown in its design.(Figure 3.18) Each building was presented with equal importance, garages and warehouses together with grand projects like housing complexes, sport complexes, more ‘presentable’ buildings like fair pavilions or *halkevi* buildings. This pamphlet gives important clues on how the architect saw himself as a design professional and the result leads us to quite a ‘modern’ idea of the discipline in terms of approaching a design problem.

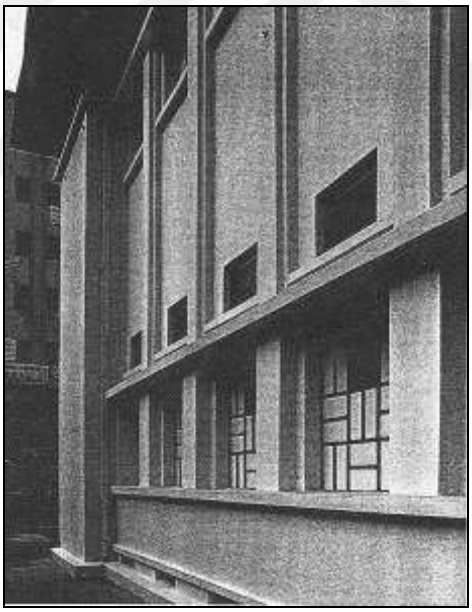


Figure 3.18. The Transformer building in Kadıköy.

Arkan is considered as one of the most consistent architects in Turkish architectural history in the line of international modern architecture and he is also famous as the professional ‘rival’ of Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Although Eldem is

foremost known for his research of a 'national' modern architecture, we can also find examples of Arkan's works in which he had his own way of approaching to traditional architecture especially in the first years of his career, although he never manifested this as a major part of his design idea. These examples demonstrate a clearer way both verbally in the texts published and architecturally in the works when compared to the mysterious mentioning of the 'village culture' for Zonguldak. One example is the residence of foreign affairs. In *Arkitekt* this building was described with a reference to the old Ankara residences with regard to its large eave[174]. But the eave was interpreted in a totally new manner and the result is much richer than a mere use of a traditional element. (Figure 3.19) Another example design used not a formal element but a traditional plan element. This project was introduced as "a project of seaside residence" in *Mimar* and published in 1933. The corridor of the upper floor of the house is used as a semi-open balcony and this use reminds the '*hayat*' of the traditional Anatolian houses. (Figure 3.20) In the text it was stated that this idea of traditional Turkish architecture was a strong benefit inspired from the architectural richness gained by an adjustment in the levels and floors[175]. What can be observed in these two examples is that the use of traditional elements was taken in the sense of richness in design and not as a recreation of a national style.

These examples also show that Arkan did not hesitate to put it down in words when he used or adapted a traditional architectural element in his designs. As he did not openly mention the use of a traditional element in the Zonguldak projects,

[174] Arkan, S. "Hariciye Köşkü" in *Arkitekt*, October- November 1935, pp. 311-315.
[175] Nasıh, S. "Deniz Kenarında bir Malikhâne Projesi" in *Mimar* April 1933, pp.111-112. Nasıh was the former surname of Arkan before Atatürk gave the surname Arkan to him.

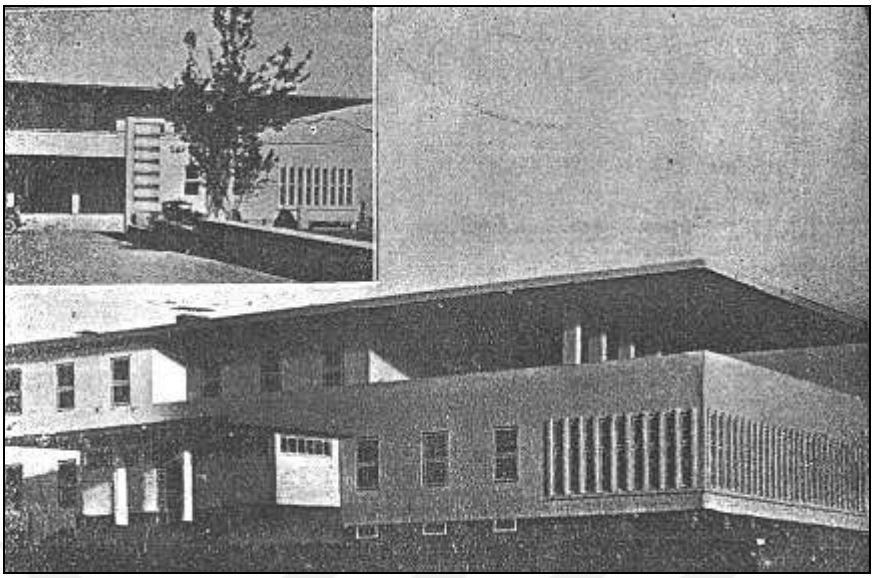


Figure 3.19. The residence of foreign affairs.

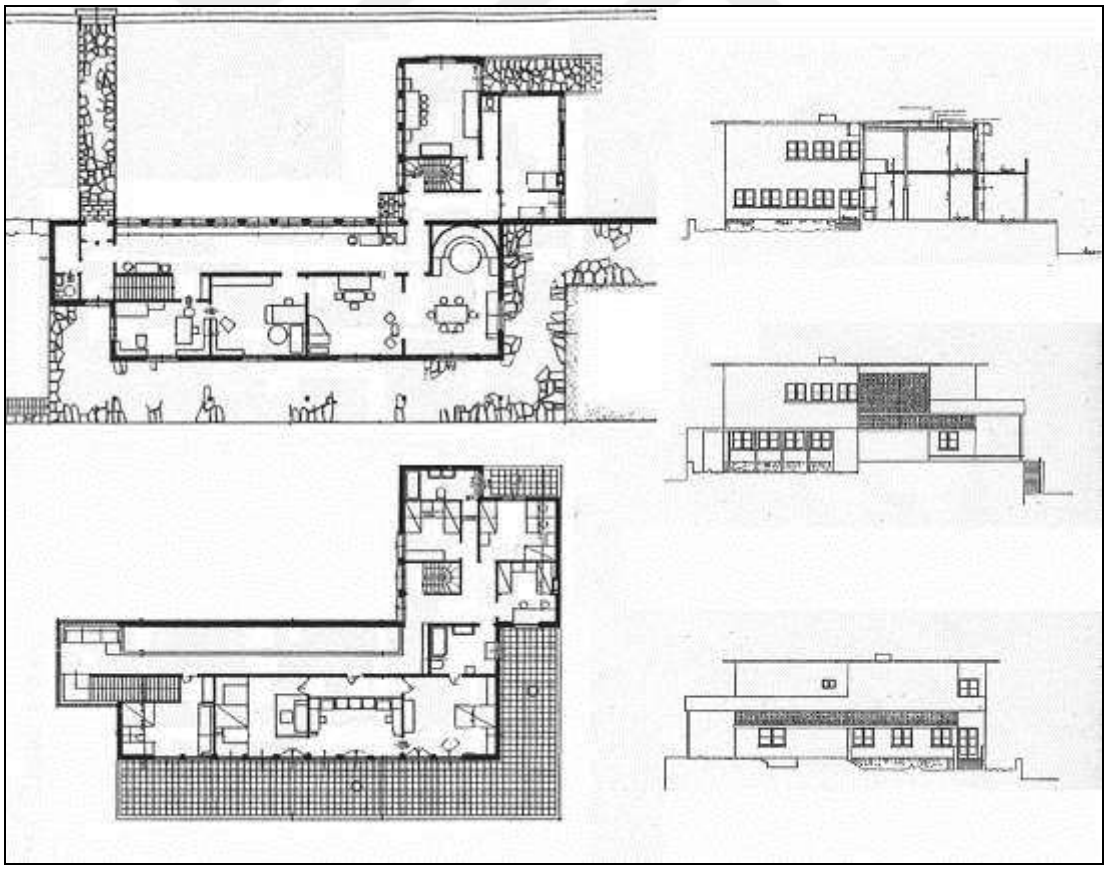


Figure 3.20. A seaside residence; plans, section and elevations.

reference to ‘village culture’ in these designs should point out at a different architectural approach than formal.

Later in the mid 1940s the idea of ‘local culture’ would reappear in Arkan’s theoretical works, somewhat elaborating on the approach in the articles on the Zonguldak housings. In the report he sent to the First Turkish Construction Congress of 1946, he stated that the local character and a construction system specific to each country had occurred in the development of cities and towns and that each nation had built its cities and towns according to its own ways of life[176]. He suggested a research program to define this local character which would also determine natural construction materials and local house types and to produce city plans accordingly. The use of local construction materials or house types was not something he had applied in the design of Zonguldak housings, but the emphasis made on the “ways of life” in the formation of the “local character” is important. It shows that the practical use of this concept of local character in the design process was reaching beyond an idea of local architectural style or form, for Arkan.

The titles of Arkan’s publications also provide important points for the discussion here[177]. In the pamphlet of his works mentioned above we read that, besides his works on city planning, he also studied Turkish villages in a work titled “*Bugünkü ve Yarınki Türk Köyleri ve Gelişmeleri*” (Turkish Villages Today and Tomorrow and their Development) between the years 1940 and 1953. Another title among Arkan’s publications concerning the discussion here is the one on low-cost houses, “*Şehir Planlarında Ucuz Mesken Siteleri ve Evleri*” (Low-Cost Housing

[176] Quoted in Tekeli, İ. *Türkiye’de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, T. C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, Ankara, 1996, pp. 51-52.
[177] See the full list in Chapter 2, p. 37. Unfortunately the full texts of these publications could not be reached.

Complexes and Houses in the City Plans), which was written between 1953 and 1955. These later dates show that his interest in these topics was not limited to the period of his designs for Zonguldak housings, but remained as important issues all along his career.

Moreover, Zonguldak housing projects were not the only cases of low-cost housing that Arkan designed. In 1939 he designed a low-cost housing district in Adana as a part of the plan prepared for the city. This project was also published in *Arkitekt*[178]. The units were designed with minimum dimensions as attached blocks varying from two to six units of two and three room types. It is possible to observe that local characteristics, especially climatic factors were much more carefully considered here. Taking the hot climate into consideration, the blocks had outdoor terraces covered with the roof, and strong ventilation was provided with a short corridor with doors opening to outside at two ends. In the short text describing the project it was mentioned that the climate was taken into consideration and the units were oriented according to the wind directions[179]. (Figure 3.21) But again, as it was in the articles on Zonguldak projects, the consideration of local condition was only a side issue in the text. The emphasis was on the fact that the district was constructed as a detailed part of the total city plan and on the importance of this attitude in the sense of being a proper example for the modern construction of the country, which again presented the place of the project in the total modernization of the country as the main issue.

According to the pamphlet mentioned above, Arkan also designed a housing complex for the civil servants of *İstanbul İşçi Sigortaları* (İstanbul Workers

[178] Arkan, S. "Adana'da Ucuz Evler Mahallesi" in *Arkitekt* February 1939, p. 33.
[179] Ibid.

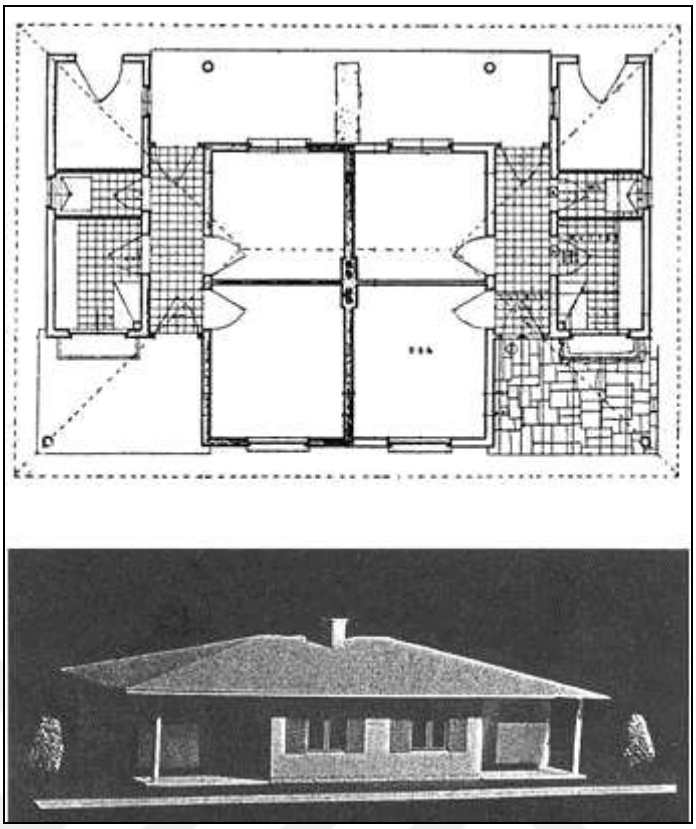


Figure 3.21. Plan and model of attached units in Adana low-cost housing district.

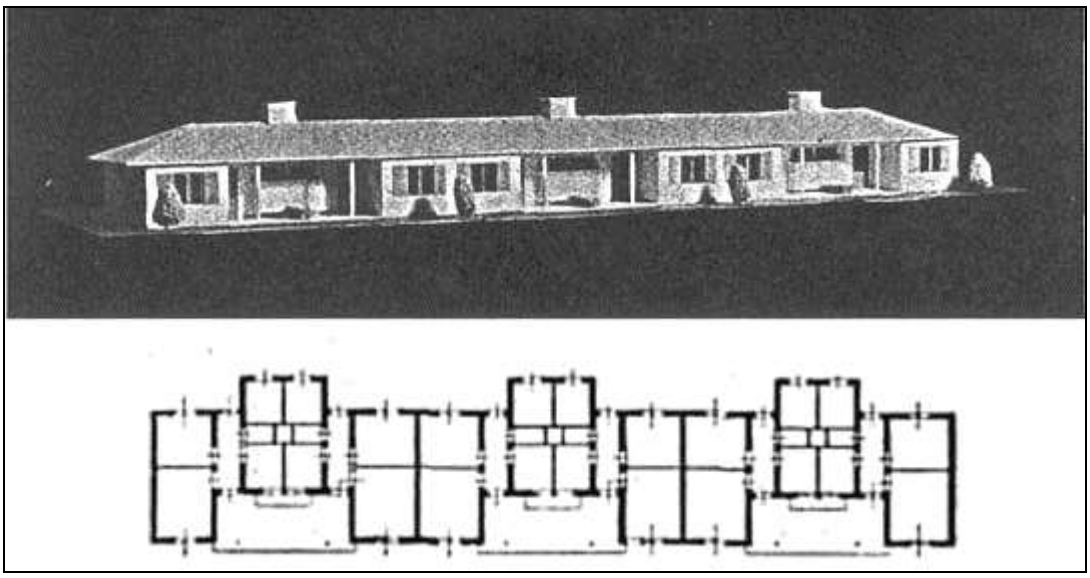


Figure 3.22. Model and plan of a row of six units in Adana low-cost housing district.

Insurance) between 1955 and 1956. This complex was designed as 70 units of attached villas. The interesting point is that in the pamphlet this was not presented together with Zonguldak projects and other "worker complexes" but in the category of "villas" with single housing projects. It is true that these are not for workers but for civil servants, but still they could all have been gathered together under a heading of "housing complexes", remembering also that the dwellings in Zonguldak were also designed as individual units ("miniaturized villas" as Bozdoğan labels) instead of being placed in big blocks. One explanation about why Arkan differentiated these two projects may be the fact that one is a "low-cost" housing project, and the other is composed of "attached villas" for a higher class. But a better explanation brings into consideration the incorporation of facilities of collective housework, sports, education and entertainment in the Zonguldak projects. The title of the category that the Zonguldak project was included, which was "worker complexes" and not "worker housings", stands for the second suggestion and also shows that this incorporation was taken by the architect as a determining factor in the design, rather than as a mere requirement.

Another housing complex project by Arkan dated before the ones in Zonguldak was the conceptual project of low-cost row houses for Ankara published in *Mimar* in two parts in 1933[180]. Typical aspects for a low-cost housing design like minimum dimensions and standardization existed here but what especially draws attention is the way the architect approached the concept of "row house". (Figure 3.23) The design attitude was far from the typical idea of a "row" as it was seen in

[180] Nasıh, S. "Ankara için Ucuz Aile Evi Tipleri" in *Mimar* June 1933, p. 174 and "Ankara'da Sıra Evler Tipi: 2" in *Mimar* December 1933, p. 382.

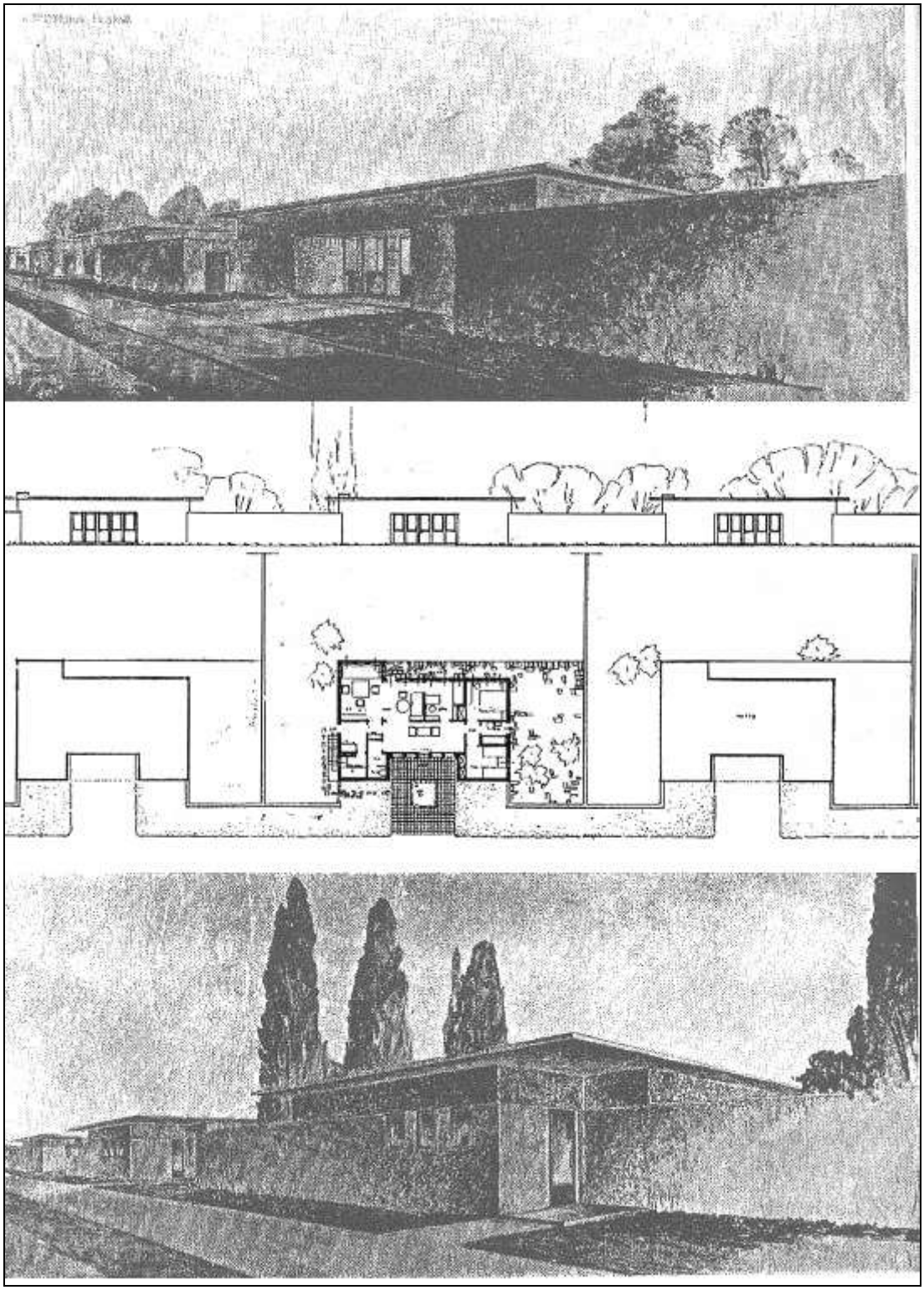


Figure 3.23. Low-cost row houses for Ankara, perspective drawing, elevation and plan for the first type and perspective drawing for the second type.

the common examples in the west, to the extend that draws it hard to call this a "row house project" since the units here were not even attached as it was in the much later Adana low-cost housing project. In the plan the units were designed as totally separated units placed in the middle of private gardens. But it is in the elevation that the idea of a row was reflected, with a dominant use of continuing high garden walls. The individual units were kept detached, surrounded with private gardens as it would be repeated in Zonguldak designs a couple years later, but in the eye level from the street the unified image was preserved and emphasized.

These housing projects will be related to another project which was not designed by Arkan, but which most possibly he had seen or even had participated in the preparation of. The project is an unbuilt housing estate in Dahlem, Berlin, designed by Hans Poelzig in 1932. Remembering that Arkan was sent to Berlin after his graduation and worked in the office of Poelzig between 1930 and 1933, it would make sense to examine this project as a source of inspiration for the two designs Arkan produced, the conceptual designs for Ankara and the projects for Zonguldak.

The estate in Dahlem was designed as a middle-class housing composed of detached flat-roofed units with modest-sized gardens. (Figure 3.24) The scheme of the units composed of shifted rectangles with outdoor terraces covered with the roof reminds especially the units in *Kömür-İş* project. How Posener describes this project clarifies the influence of this design and Poelzig on Arkan:

> In a housing estate like this one the street seems to have been of particular interest to Poelzig, and in this respect his projects are progressive. The greatest problem in the estates of detached houses is the street, which is why Camillo Sitte, the urban designer who had the greatest influence on projects in Austria and Germany at the

> beginning of the century, was of the opinion that a suburb made up of detached houses is not a subject for urban design. Poelzig tried to make it into a subject for urban design by using walls to link the individual houses to each other. In this way he created streets, or rather lanes, which give a sense of space.[116]

It can be seen that in his low-cost housing design for Ankara, Arkan was carrying this issue of urban design to further limits with much higher walls strengthening the spatial effect. The comparison of Arkan's designs with Poelzig's shows that experiments with detached units within an urban settlement scheme was in the agenda of Arkan as a design concept and this can be traced back to the three years he spent in Germany and can be seen as an effect of his observation of Poelzig's related work.

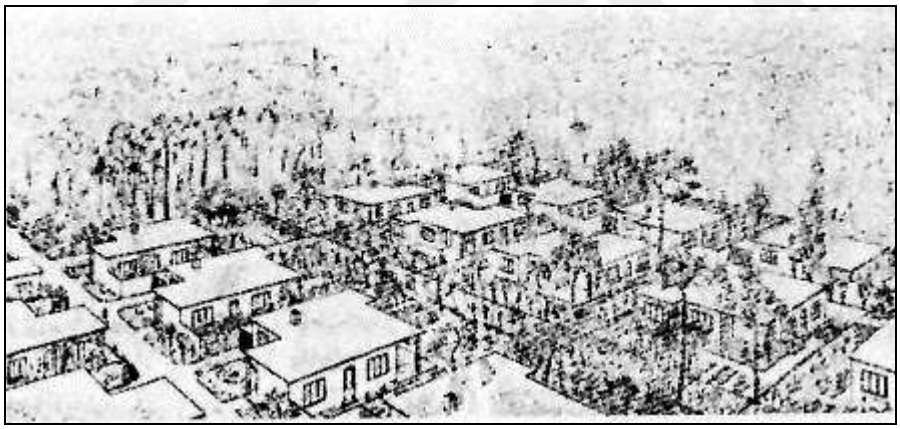


Figure 3.24. Housing in Dahlem by Poelzig.

It should be emphasized here that individual units with gardens in Zonguldak projects might be the architectural references for the words of the architect implying a local attitude –as suggested above-, and the design in Germany by Poelzig, a major western architect, might also have an influence on such a design. The point is that this

[116] Posener, J. *Hans Poelzig, Reflections on his Life and Work*, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 1992, pp. 256-257.

design attitude is thought to be *used* or *adapted* in Arkan's search of a local modern architecture; it is not claimed that it was *reached* or *invented* as the solution to this search. In this sense it can be said that it was the end product that was meant to be fulfilling the architectural requirements that the local characteristics brought in, not the means to achieve this. Thus, the method to use in this aim could refer to the whole resource of modern architectural "science".

Arkan was not alone in his experiments with detached units and row houses; in fact he was a part of a debate going on in these terms. The problem of the choice between detached units and rows or blocks appears to be quite highlighted when the discussions on the question of housing shaping the contemporary Turkish architectural scene is examined.

3.5. The Question of Housing Design in the Early Republic

In November 1935, the year Zonguldak projects were in progress, the newspaper *Ulus* published a short questionnaire of three questions on "how the housing problem of Ankara can be solved" and published the answers as they were received. The questions were:

1. How should the housing for civil servants be?
    a. Should they be houses in gardens or apartment blocks?
    b. If houses in gardens are preferred, should they be attached houses and gardens or separate houses in separate gardens?

c. Should the houses belong to the official position or the individual person in that position?

2. What is your opinion on the cooperatives?

3. What is your opinion on the housing of married workers settled in the city, seasonal workers and single workers?[117]

The issues raised in these questions show that it is not an overemphasis that the aspect of individual houses within gardens was a significant topic discussed during the period. The answers also show that this part of the question was taken seriously by the respondents as well.

There were 17 answers sent to the newspaper, including those by western professionals working for the Turkish Republic like Jansen and Violi, Turkish architects, city planners, cooperative investors, intellectuals and one member of the National Assembly. The majority stated that civil servants should own their houses which should be single dwellings within gardens and the same solution with a little more modest approach was suggested for the married and permanent workers. No answer suggested apartment blocks for Ankara, but the main discussion seems to have taken place in the choice between rows or detached units. For the temporary and single workers dormitory-like solutions in large blocks were suggested. Examining the answers will help determining the nature of this consensus.

Jansen appeared as one of those who did not stand for detached units[118]. His answer was published with a perspective drawing showing the row house district with

[117] "Ulus'un Anketi, Ankara'da Mesken Meselesini Nasıl Halledebiliriz?", *Ulus*, 01 November 1935, p.1.
[118] Jansen, H. "Yapı Kooperatifleri", *Ulus,* 09 November 1935, p.1 and p.4. Jansen's contribution to the question of housing in Ankara was much further than his response to this questionnaire, since he did not only produce the master plan for Ankara but also planned an important co-operative housing, *Bahçelievler*,

their gardens that Jansen considered for Ankara. He illustrated his answer with simple, schematic and explanatory sketches and explained that rows were much better in terms of site use, cost and heat preservation. Another answer opposing the idea of detached houses came from a mining engineer, Ergene, who was also against the idea that workers should own their houses, approaching the problem in the financial way and suggesting apartment blocks with six to eight units to be rented to the workers. He stated that gardens for each unit were unnecessary and common use areas like parks and playing grounds near to all would be enough[119]. A similar answer stating that detached units with gardens would be expensive, came from Laprade[120], the architect of the French National Palaces Institution, who was in Ankara for a conference. He presented a different approach and claimed that a standardized system for all was meaningless and what was important was to "manage a good documentation to dose the necessary types". He wrote that today many houses with gardens might be built but in the near future it might turn out that gardens bore the residents and radio, television and sports would take most of their time instead[121]. Turkish architects like Burhan Arif were mostly for rows and sent examples of row houses designed and built in western cities like Frankfurt and Amsterdam[122].

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in 1935. The design of *Bahçelievler* was in line with the general tendency exhibited in the questionnaire with the use of low-rise units within gardens in the form of a "garden suburb". This design attitude is usually connected to the ideas of Garden City Movement originated in Europe at the turn of the century. (See, Tekeli, İ. and İlkin, S. *Bahçelievlerin Öyküsü*, Kent-Koop yay. Ankara, 1984.) What may particularly be important for the discussion here is that the original plan for *Bahçelievler* by Jansen included row-houses as well as single units with their private gardens but these were excluded with the request of the co-operative members and were not built. Jansen's answer that explains the advantages of rows in a simple form with schematic sketches can be reconsidered in this sense in their didactic character.

[119] Ergene, V. "Altıncı Cevap, Ulus'un Anketi, Ankara'da Mesken Meselesini Nasıl Halledebiliriz?" *Ulus,* 11 November 1935, p.4.

[120] Laprade was also the architect of the French Embassy in Ankara and worked on the design of Gençlik Parkı (the Youth Park).

[121] Laprad, B. "Sistemden Önce Sağduyu, Ulus'un Mesken Anketi", *Ulus,* 23 November 1935, p.4.

[122] Arif, B. "Ulus'un Anketi, Ankara'da Mesken Meselesini Nasıl Halledebiliriz?", *Ulus,* 29 November 1935, p.4.

E. Asım, who wrote from Berlin, carefully explained his choice of row houses which is worth mentioning briefly. He launched his argument from a short description of the 'modern' distinguishing it from the '*kübik*', which shows that he was following the general debates taking place in the Turkish architectural scene and felt the necessity to settle this issue on firm ground. He stated that '*kübizm*' was just a fashion but 'modern' was "…a quality which involves the science, technology and taste of the time and which exhibits the most progressive and the most excellent. The architecture that has been settling is the modern."[123] After this definition he grounded his choice of row houses on the science of 'modern city planning': "In modern planning the basis is the mass, the whole block, the whole district and the whole city, not the single house."[124] Then he went on explaining this idea by referring to theories on perception and with drawings.

This quotation reminds so much the way Posener evaluates the housing project of Poelzig mentioned above, bringing the question into the field of urban design. In his design of row houses for Ankara, Arkan tried to apply such a modern urban design idea by using detached houses with high garden walls to give a unified perception, possibly following what he might have learned from Poelzig. His answer to the *Ulus* questionnaire places Asım on the opposite camps with Arkan on this debate on the architectural problem of rows or detached units. Nevertheless, it can also be seen that at least certain individuals in the Turkish architectural scene like Asım and Arkan had their tools to perform this type of a discussion with sound theoretical means, approving that their emphasis on 'modern science' was not just an expression. In a couple of other answers

[123] Asım, E. "Moda mı Modern mi? Ulus'un Mesken Anketi", *Ulus*, 28 November 1935, p.4. "Modern, zamanın ilmini, tekniğini ve zevkini içine alan, zamanın en ilerisini ve fevkalâdesini gösteren bir vasıftır. Yerleşmekte olan mimarî moderndir."
[124] Ibid. "Modern şehircilikte tek bir ev değil kütle, tekmil bir blok, baştan başa bir semt ve bütün bir şehir esastır."

sent by non-architects we can also observe a certain sense of recognition of this 'science' of modern building and city planning. After expressing and explaining their choice of single units to apartment blocks, some defined the problem of rows or detached units as a 'technical' issue which required disciplinary approach and left the answer to professionals.[125]

On the other camp of the discussion respondents who defended detached units mostly brought in the aspects of hygiene, greenery, habits of Turkish lifestyle and especially the fact that Ankara had no problem of being short of proper land for all like İstanbul, but they also referred to various European examples. One answer, for instance, gave examples of housing complexes with detached units from Germany, stating that even England who had been very fond of rows for a century was now turning to detached houses and referred to the magazines of *Ideal Home* from England, *Architecture d'Aujourdui* from France and *Modern Bauform* from Germany[126].

Besides these, the most explanatory answer for the discussion here on Zonguldak housings defending the approach that Arkan also used in his design for Zonguldak, came from the Italian architect Paolo Vietti-Violi. For the civil servants' housing he stated that it would be advantageous to build single houses with gardens for the enlargement and beautification of the city but added that when the cost was considered unifying them under a single roof was more preferable. However, on workers' housing, Violi put the aspects of sunlight and openness ahead of economy. He wrote:

[125] F. M. "Üçüncü Cevap, Ulus'un Anketi, Ankara'da Mesken Meselesini Nasıl Halledebiliriz?", *Ulus*, 07 November 1935, p.4 and T. V. "Dokuzuncu Cevap, Ulus'un Anketi, Ankara'da Mesken Meselesini Nasıl Halledebilirz?", *Ulus*, 20 November 1935, p.4. F. M. even saw the whole issue of workers' housing as a professional problem and refused answering, after stating his ideas on civil servants' houses.
[126] Çobanoğlu, E. F. "Onbirinci Cevap, Ulus'un Mesken Anketi", *Ulus*, 22 November 1935, p.4.

> Naturally, workers of the newly founded factories will be chosen among those who are formerly farmers. Since these will be people who have got used to working, wandering and sleeping outdoors, it is necessary to provide them houses which profit from sunlight and open air in a maximum way, to compensate their work in the closed factories.[127]

As discussed in the previous chapter, for the case of the mineworker of Zonguldak, there existed a more significant tension between the farmer way of life and the worker way of life than this quotation implies. The character of the region was dominantly rural and although the most crowded worker population of the country inhabited in Zonguldak in comparison to the other parts of Anatolia, an important portion of these workers were villagers working in the mines temporarily[128]. As expressed in Bayar's speech in the National Assembly[129], the complete *lack* of qualified workers settled in the location where his skilled, efficient and continuous labor was required, was taken as a serious problem to deal with.

That is why, while preparing the housing projects for Zonguldak, the architect also had to consider the role of the buildings in answering such a demand and transforming a portion of the semi-farmer and semi-worker population to inhabitants of a settled worker residence, as well as providing quick solutions to the existing problem of accommodation for the worker there with his peculiar problems and needs. The investor company started constructing the 'pavilions' for the seasonal workers and some of the engineers' and foremen's housings in the first place, as the records in the first chapter show. However, the large number of individual units with gardens designed for workers

[127] Violi, P. V. "Anketimize Aldığımız İlk Cevap, Ulus'un Anketi, Ankara'da Mesken Meselesini Nasıl Halledebiliriz?" Ulus, 02 November 1935, p.4. "Yeni açılan fabrikaların işçileri tabiatıyla eskiden çiftçi olan kimseler arasından seçilecektir. Bunlar ise açıkta çalışmaya açıkta gezip uyumaya alışmış oldukları için, kapalı yerler olan fabrikalarda çalışan işçilerin bu kapanıklığı telafi etmek üzere, güneş ve açık havadan azamî derecede istifade edecek şekilde evlerde oturmaları lüzumludur."
[128] See Chapter 1, p. 21.
[129] See Chapter 1, p. 29.

were treated as a kind of ‘investment’ for the future and the company displayed no hurry to build them. This shows that the investors of the projects also had this two-staged projection in their minds of first providing the immediate needs of existing workers and then shaping the creation of the worker population that the investments required. This function of the project must have taken an important place in the shaping of the program and other architectural preferences.

In the light of all these discussions the statement in *Arkitekt* by Arkan on ‘villager life’ and ‘village culture’ starts to appear in a much clearer way. Now we can suggest that this statement does not point to a conservative approach in applying certain qualities of the village life or vernacular architecture to the designs produced or to arrive at a modern architecture which preserves a certain local character understood and expressed in formal architectural terms. The relation between the local character and the architectural design applied was meant to be a mutual one. The analysis of the village life and the design produced according to this analysis did not merely aim to find the best architectural solution proper to the local character but also intended to serve in the transformation of that village life itself in a projected development. In this sense, the individual houses within gardens, which seem to be the most significant part of this design, do not only provide comfort for their inhabitants’ habits of farmer way of life but also softens the passage to a worker way of life, the transformation which was uttered by the political authority regarding the industrial development of the region. So individual houses appear not only an architectural but also a political preference, regarding the labor policy of the Turkish state in the coalfield which should also be discussed in political terms.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICS AND POLICIES CONCERNING HOUSING AND LABOR IN TURKEY

As discussed in the previous part, the Zonguldak housing projects and their architectural formation also bear strong effects of the social context they are designed for and of the political goal regarding this context, as well as the reflections of the discussions and discourses in the contemporary Turkish architectural scene. In this part the political context that grounds the design process will be discussed. For this discussion first the housing policy of the Republican state will be briefly examined and then the way the labor and worker policy of the state affected and shaped the housing problem for the worker will be analyzed with reference to the economic developments and the industrialization process, of which the Zonguldak coalfield existed as an important part during the early Republican period.

4.1. Housing Policy and the Issue of Workers' Housing

Housing complex projects provided or supported by the state during the 1930s were rare and exceptional cases and they were not realized within a grand housing program, mostly due to economical limitations[130]. On the other hand, the government did not formulate a standard method for the realized cases. The most common method was providing low interest loans to those in need of a dwelling. One interesting example

[130] Tekeli, İ. *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, Ankara, 1996, p. 13.

where the political authority did not actually construct the housing but did more than providing credit was the workers' housing realized by the municipality of İzmir in 1935 in Kahramanlar district. The housing was placed in a site destroyed by fire and the municipality sold the land to workers for a very low prize, provided a typical plan for free, built a sample unit and also let the land owners use the building materials in the field that survived the fire. In 1937 a housing district was designed and built for *DDY* (National Railroads) in Sivas. This district was planned by the Ministry of Public Works. The design of another district for *DDY* in Erzurum was supplied by a competition. Later in 1940s financial enterprises of the state like *Etibank* and *Sümerbank* built housings for their employees in several cities which repeated the program of the housing projects in Zonguldak designed for *T. İş Bankası*, including houses with gardens, 'pavilions' for single workers and facilities of education, sports, entertainment and shopping.

Housing was also not very influential as an official topic on its own in the 1930s. Expressions that point to a determined housing policy formulated by the Republican government, either regarding the workers' housing or in general, are not easy to found in political texts. Tekeli explains this fact by stating that in the beginning of the Republican period the housing problem was not differentiated from the general issue of a modernist construction and providing housing was not seen as a basic duty of the state[131]. The major focus of interest in this period was the construction of Ankara as a modern capital and the housing problem was mostly discussed in this frame, as it was also seen in the questionnaire of *Ulus* in the previous part. However later political documents until the 1950s also offer important points for the discussions in this work. It is not because a

[131] Ibid. pp. 13-17. Tekeli indicates that housing would become a separate topic in the 1950s as a result of the sudden increase in the rate of urbanization and the problems due to a serious housing shortage.

specialized and unified housing policy was formulated in those years but because statements, though still rare and brief, began to appear pointing to a specific attitude regarding the issue of workers' houses. The attitude towards housing during the following decade was parallel to the ideas discussed in the previous part on Zonguldak housing projects with minor changes because the issues and the problems that had determined the social goals and political aspects of the Zonguldak projects were still valid and unresolved for all those years, also for the Zonguldak coalfield.

It should be remembered that most of the decisions and projects, including the Zonguldak housing projects, were not completed mostly due to economic limitations and the restrictive conditions. When the political approach in this period is examined, it will be possible to propose that the lack of a settled worker population and the need to create one coping with the Republican ideals continued to be the determining factor for all the decisions and policies regarding workers, including the housing problem.

This fact may be detected in the periodical *Çalışma* published by the Ministry of Labor. In 1946 an article on the coal workers and coal works of the country written by Dincer stated that all the measures taken in the past to make the coal worker in Zonguldak 'permanent and qualified' should be concluded[132]. Listing these measures and further things to do Dincer placed the housing problem in the first item and wrote that "worker houses near the pits with gardens and even with a piece of farming land if possible" should be built. A very similar approach expanded to a national scale can also be observed in governmental documents and was clearly put down in words in the party program of *CHP* (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, Republican People's Party) accepted in the 7th assembly in 1947:

[132] Dincer, C. "Kömür İşçilerimiz ve Kömür İşlerimiz", in *Çalışma*, May 1946, vol. 6, pp. 25-28.

> We will reserve land in future industrial regions where small houses with gardens can be built in order to bind the worker to his family and to his work and we will help the villager who is a worker go to his work without departing from his land.[133]

Dincer's suggestion for the provision of farming lands shows that the transformation from a farmer way of life to a 'permanent and qualified' way of worker life had not yet been achieved in 1946 and this aspect was still a major factor for the housing problem. As witnessed in Violi's words and observed in Arkan's designs mentioned in the previous part, the architectural approach that was suggested for the workers' housings in 1930s developed the use of detached houses with gardens in order to provide a soft passage to a settled working class by forming a way of life which did not sharply contradict old villager habits. In the late 1940s, since the so longed settled worker population did still not appear, this architectural approach itself seems to be settled down and turned into an official housing policy for the worker.

When the statement in the *CHP* program is considered, the transformation of the semi-worker and semi-villager population into permanent workers did not appear as an urgent goal and the ruling force in the country did not seem unpleased with a worker population which retained their agrarian skills and ways of life. Moreover supplying a part of the food demand in his own garden was also promoted as a way of producing extra economic value and of "maintaining the health of the worker"[134]. Here the main goal seems to have shifted to providing the commitment of the worker 'to his family and his work' and workers' housing was seen as a tool to achieve this, as well as providing

[133] "Türkiye'de Siyasî Dernekler", Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ankara, 1950, p. 56 "İşçiyi işine ve yuvasına bağlamak için endüstrti kurulacak yerlerde küçük bahçeli evlerin yapılabileceği alanlar ayırmaya ve köylülerdan işçi olanları mümkün olduğu kadar toprağından ayırmadan işine gelip gitmesini sağlamaya çalışacağız."
[134] Tekeli, p. 41.

demands of accommodation. At this point the issue of workers' housing and the shift in the emphasis is incorporated into the labor policy of the Republican government, as well as the economic and industrial imperatives.

A very explanatory example in bringing the architectural and political sides of the issue of workers' housing together was an article titled "On Worker Houses" written by Orhan Alsaç in *Çalışma* in 1945[135]. As an architect expressing his ideas on the problem in a political medium (in the periodical published by the Ministry of Labor), Alsaç started by mentioning the importance and the social benefits of providing housing for the workers. He wrote:

> We must admit that every worker family must own a house and this house must have a garden. To see that he is found worthy of this by another class and that he can satisfy his human needs within his own level will put the social morality of the worker in order and so many social conflicts will automatically be resolved. There is the idea in the big industrialized countries, which are far ahead than where we are in this field and so had their experiences by facing many difficulties, that class conflict can be prevented by making the worker owner of a house and land.[136]

After all the themes and points observed so far, it is not surprising to see that gardens were given as a must for the worker houses without discussing the reasons. Later as the article developed necessary architectural qualities like providing functional essentials within minimum dimensions were given with examples from Rotterdam and Vienna illustrated with plan types. Then single units within gardens were judged as inefficient in terms of economy and climate and rows were suggested. In this frame Alsaç

[135] Alsaç, O. "İşçi Evlerine Dair", in *Çalışma*, November 1945, vol. 2, pp. 50-56.
[136] Ibid. p. 51. "Her işçi ailesinin bir evi ve bu evin bir bahçesi olması gerektiğini kabul etmeliyiz. Başka bir zümre tarafından buna lâyık görüldüğünü anlamak ve insanlık ihtiyaçlarını kendi seviyesi dahilinde tatmin edebildiğini görmek işçinin insan cemiyeti içindeki ahlâkını düzeltecek ve bir çok sosyal problemler böylece kendiliğinden çözülüverecektir. Bu sahada bizden çok ileride bulunan ve bundan dolayı pek çok zorluklarla karşılaşarak tecrübeler edinmiş bulunan büyük endüstri memleketlerinde sınıf mücadelelerinin önüne işçiyi toprak ve ev sahibi yapmakla geçilebileceği kanaatı vardır."

brought in the idea of 'siedlung' and explained it by referring to the issue of self-sufficiency with the existence of schools, playgrounds and cinemas in the settlement. After describing all the elements of a siedlung including the proper infrastructure, circulation and landscaping, Alsaç concluded with the importance of planned and programmed application and how the Ministry of Labor could contribute in this sense.

The architectural approach in this article is exactly the same with similar articles published in *Arkitekt* or the major approach exhibited in the questionnaire of *Ulus*. But the way the writer approached the political meaning of the subject and placed it in the basis of class conflict is significant. Alsaç was aware and stated that in Turkey a definite working class in the full sense of the word did not exist yet. He accepted this as an opportunity to prevent certain difficulties which had been experienced in the west, by taking the precautions that would be based on making the worker the owner of his house and land[137]. As it will be seen below, the idea that the class structure that would be

[137] The appearance of the housing problem in the discussions on the workers issue in the western world was a century old when Alsaç referred to them in his article. Tracing these discussions to understand in what sense Alsaç may be mentioning them will be useful. A useful source to pick up the major points of this discussion may be the book "Housing Question" by Engels published in 1873. Engels, F. *Konut Sorunu*, *Marx-Engels: Seçme Yapılar, Cilt II,* Sol Yayınları, 1977, pp. 364-447. This book is mainly a critique of the approach of the anarchist Proudhon and several bourgeois approaches to the housing problem. The solution Proudhon proposed was a sort of credit system functioning with the rents the tenants paid which would make the worker the owner of his house after a period of time. The second part of the book on the philanthropic bourgeois solutions was written mainly as a critique of the work of Dr. Emile Sax on the housing condition of the labor classes and their reform. This work also saw making the worker owner of his house as the main point of the solution with different reasons than Proudhon in a similar way with Alsaç. Sax grounded his theory on the idea that every person intrinsically had the basic desire to own a piece of land. The possession of the land, according to him, gave people the periphery of their personal dominance, besides a certain economical freedom. When this desire is satisfied also for the part of the worker, the class conflict and the problems it brought would be resolved by making the worker a part of the proprietorship system and turning him into a capitalist. The point Alsaç made in the quotation given

formed through the attempted industrialization process might be oriented within the Republican frame of ideals was one of the various themes outspoken on the labor issue in the political debates of the period. To examine the political arena that had its effect on the housing issue, the governmental labor policy and political debates on the workers' issue should be examined.

4.2. Labor Policy and the Working Class

The first time that the Republican government showed interest in the workers issue was with the law of 1921 for the Zonguldak coalfield. The speeches made in the assembly for the law and the content of the law clearly puts that its main goal was the improvement in the condition of workers' life. But the political context and later developments in Zonguldak suggest that the law should also be considered as a part of the independence war going on and the struggle against imperialism, besides the extraordinary bad situation in the region in terms of worker life. In this period the mines mostly belonged to foreign companies and strikes were organized against these companies to make them give the workers their rights that were ensured with the law, in

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above has many common points with this theory. For instance, Sax also mentioned an increase in the 'moral level' of the worker as one of the consequences of this application. Engel's critiques were briefly built on that whether coming from the left or the right the idea of giving the worker the possession of his house and a piece of land was an act that would keep the working class totally powerless against the capital. He stated that "mobility" became a much more important quality for the worker with the industrialization and destroying the worker's mobility was rendering him completely dependent to the price that the employer gave for his labor. So, he pointed out, what seemed to be providing the worker some relative economical comfort was in fact aiming to take away his political power and his revolutionary potential which was tied to his being propertyless.

which the local political and military officials acted as mediators in favor of the workers[138]. It should be remembered that the law was not seen in the general frame of labor issue as a beginning for a wider labor policy. During the assembly session on the law when he was asked why the law did not include all the workers of the nation the minister answered that it would be "advantageous" to consider Zonguldak initially[139]. But soon after as the independence was won working class movements lost this type of a governmental support. The law of *Takrirî Sükûn* of 1925 which followed the Şeyh Sait revolt in the east of the country strictly limited social opposition of any kind including worker organizations and only aid organizations like *Amele Birliği* of Zonguldak could survive[140]. Later the Labor Law of 1936 neatly banned strikes. It can be said that the government of 1921 treated workers of the coalfield as warriors of the war of Independence going on, who were fighting with different weapons than the soldiers in the

[138] Çıladır in this sense argues that the policies of the national government in Ankara and the leftist group of intellectuals beginning to take actions in the region against the French company (Ereğli Şirketi) in the coalfield overlapped in the purpose of driving this company away. *Çıladır*, S. *Zonguldak Havzasında Emperyalizm, 1848-1940*, Aydınlık Yayınları, Ankara, 1970, p. 69. This leftist group was mainly represented by the periodical *Aydınlık*, which was published by *TKP* (*Türkiye Komünist Partisi,* Turkish Communist Party), founded in Baku in 1920. Çıladır, S. *Zonguldak Havzasında İşçi Hareketleri ve İşçi Örgütleri, 1908-1993*, İlke Yay. Ereğli, 1997, pp. 23-24. Çıladır reminds that the *Aydınlık* group, similar to the government, was not completely against the foreign capital and produced a development theory that made use of the foreign capital in the economic, social and political context of the time. However the history and the actions of *Ereğli Şirketi* were not in line with the anti-imperialist frame of this theory and the company appeared as a rival in the struggle for the rights of the mineworker in the region. Actually after the law of 1921 and the foundation of the *Amele Birliği*, this company began to take its own actions to prevent its situation against the worker. The company formed an alternative workers' union and organized a number of foremen in the mines in acting against *Amele Birliği*. This organization included names from the intelligence office of the invading countries and the general secretary was, according to Naim, "a man called Suat who had served for the French invasion forces and spied against his country for England." The major policy of this organization was to promote an ethnical discrimination between the local workers and *Laz*s coming from the eastern Black Sea region. Naim A. "Zonguldak Havzası, Uzun Mehmet'ten Bugüne Kadar", Hüsnütabiat Matbaası, İstanbul, 1934, p. 141, quoted in Çıladır, *Zonguldak Havzasında...* p. 70.

[139] See Chapter 1, p. 27.

[140] Baydar, O. "Türkiye'de İşçi Örgütlenmesine Bir Kuşbakışı", in *75 Yılda Çarkları Döndürenler*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 306.

battle lines, considering that one of the first things that the government in Ankara did was to set the mine workers free from the military service[141].

The hot debates in the National Assembly in the 1920s on several laws and regulations issued for Zonguldak and the mineworker of the region, exhibit that the political body of the Republic in this period included various groups and individuals whose approach to the subject could be quite different. Tunalı Hilmi, who was the deputy of Bolu (Zonguldak was a town of Bolu in the period), was approaching the subject on the part of worker life and worker rights and gave a struggle against the conservative group who opposed the laws[142]. Celal Bayar as the Minister of Economy also defended the laws by explaining the extra-ordinary bad situation that the mineworker lived and worked in, but he also mentioned the long-term political advantages of regarding the worker as well as the employer:

> If only the employer is considered and the other side is pressured, then be sure that in the worker who is oppressed will be seen burst and impetuosity sooner or later, and the whole country will be harmed. [143]

However, no matter how distinctly different were these discussions and the attitudes and policies they suggested, certain limits of the labor issue for the Republican government were never exceeded. These limits were formed according to the principle

[141] Kop, K. K. "Yakın Tarihimizde İş ve İşçi Meseleleri", in *Çalışma*, November 1945, vol. 2, p. 72.

[142] Two example speeches especially show how distant the approaches could be. On the one hand, for the item of the law on the deduction of 1% of each worker's salary from the employer for *Amele Birliği*, Hakkari deputy Mashar Müfhit Kansu stated that the law would not be needed if the employer was Muslim and Turkish for helping the worker would be by the nature of his religion, but now he would vote for the law since the employers in Zonguldak are "Mösyö Rombaki, Mösyö Karikadis, Mösyö Papadakis". On the other hand Besim Atalay suggested that, instead of giving the right to form organizations to the workers "upside down" by *Amele Birliği*, a legal ground to give them the opportunity to get organized by themselves should be provided. See Appendix B for extracts from such discussions and speeches.

[143] "Efendiler, yalnız işverenler düşünülür, karşı taraf sıkıştırılırsa, emin olunuz ki o zaman gadre uğrayanlar mutlaka ve her ne zaman olursa olsun amelede patlama, taşkınlık olur ve yurdun tamamı bundan zarar görür." See Appendix B.

that "we are a unified mass without privileges and without classes"[144]. The government strongly felt the need of a settled and qualified worker population as it is seen in the economically vital cases like Zonguldak coal mines. However it was also careful in denying any class based approach and in preventing the debate from becoming issue of class conflict separated from the main ideological frame of the Republican revolution. A speech made in the assembly in 1936 as the Labor Law was accepted, is a clear statement of this care:

> The Turkish worker is not a person who rents his body or intellect just for profit. The general working ability of the Turkish nation, whether it is physical or intellectual, foremost and only belongs to the revolution.[145]

This denial of a class-based definition of the "Turkish worker" was not arbitrary but was essential for the objectives of the Turkish revolution. It was also not specific to the case of workers, but the social definition of 'Turkish people' was redone in this manner. Ahmad explains the way that the Republican state conceptualized the social structure of the country accordingly[146]. He states that the new definition of the concept of the 'people' in the early Republic is a "collectivity" including all socio-economic groups taking part in the revolution and excluding only the members of the replaced order. He shows the reason in the fact that the problems the revolution faced with and the solutions produced were not rooted in a class struggle but in a struggle against imperialism and the cosmopolitan institutions of the Ottoman-Islamic structure. The denial of a class conflict and the emphasis on the unity was necessary in this struggle.

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[144] Baydar, O. "Türkiye'de İşçi Örgütlenmesine Bir Kuşbakışı", in *75 Yılda Çarkları Döndürenler*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 306.
[145] Quoted in, Timur, T. *Türk Devrimi ve Sonrası*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2001, p. 160. "Türk işçisi bedenini veya fikrini, sırf menfaat mukabili olarak başkasına kiralayan kimse değildir. Türk milletinin umumi çalışma kabiliyeti ister bedenen, ister fikren olsun her şeyden evvel ve sadece inkılabın malıdır."
[146] Ahmad, F. *İttikatçılıktan Kemalizme*, Kaynak Yayınları, 1996, p. 193.

The absence of an effective working class on the other hand was not only considered in industrial terms, but also shaped the social policies of the Republic that was in the search of a generating force for her goals. Later the government would turn to villagers in this sense, as the attempted industrialization could not be fully achieved. The absence of an effective working class was also expressed by Atatürk in his meeting with the Soviet ambassador. He said to the ambassador:

> You have a striver, veteran working class in Russia. It is possible to rely on them and one should do so. We have no working class, when compared to villagers, their influence is very small.[147]

The class structure in Turkey and the dominant classes and groups after the Independence War competing for political power were given by Timur as follows: the trade bourgeoisie, Anatolian little bourgeoisie, large land owners and soldier and civilian revolutionist intellectuals, who held the political dominance[148]. The workers being few in number and situated in a few cities like İstanbul, İzmir and Zonguldak, and the poor villagers under complete dominance of land owners, were outside the political arena. The labor policy of the Republic and the way the workers issue was approached was mostly formed as a consequence of the struggle between these dominant groups[149], strongly connected to the economic policy defined and applied.

4.3. Economy Policy and Industrialization

[147] Aralov, S. I. *Bir Sovyet Diplomatın Türkiye Hatıraları*, İstanbul, 1967, p.92. Quoted in Ahmad, p. 192. "Sizin Rusya'da mücadeleci, emektar bir işçi sınıfı var. Ona dayanmak mümkündür ve dayanmalıdır. Bizde işçi sınıfı yoktur, köylüye göre ağırlığı çok azdır."
[148] Timur, p. 66.
[149] The debates in the National Assembly on Zonguldak can again be referred to as an exemplary case for this. See Appendix B.

The İzmir Economic Congress of 1923 was the first manifestation of the economy policy of the Republic. In his opening speech Atatürk expressed the main principle of this policy as economic sovereignty:

> There is this principle for full independence: the national sovereignty should be accompanied by economic sovereignty… However the political and military triumphs are big, the resulting gains will not be permanent if they are not reinforced with economic victories.[150]

The main frame of this policy was the formation of an independent economy free from the former imperialist connections with the West. This was declared as an inseparable aspect of an independent nation and as the economic extension of the War of Independence that had just been won in the battlefield. The means to achieve this was seen in the leading role of the state in the creation of a class structure proper to a modern capitalist society[151]. For this the state was going to undertake the foundation of factories, the extraction of underground resources and provide the enrichment of the Anatolian merchant. The national industry being in the focus of interest, the government also declared in the same congress that it was not completely against foreign capital that respects Turkish laws[152]. In those years there had been incidents of foreign capital entering the country, Italian enterprises in Zonguldak coalfield being one of them[153]. Ahmad clarifies this seemingly contradictory situation by qualifying the economy policy

[150] Cited in, Kocabaşoğlu, U. *Türkiye İş Bankası Tarihi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, p. 22. "İstiklal-i tam için şu düstur var: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, hakimiyet-i iktisadiye ile tarsin edilmelidir... Siyasi ve askeri muzafferiyetler ne kadar büyük olursa olsun, iktisadi zaferle tetvic edilmezlerse semere-i netice payidar olmaz."
[151] Ahmad, p.184.
[152] Timur, pp. 54-56.
[153] In fact this was the result of the personal attitude of the Minister of Exterior Affairs of the time. The Minister, Bekir Sami, who represented Turkey in the London Conference in 1921, believed that the Republic needed to make concessions to survive and promised economic privileges to France and Italy in London to obtain their support. However he could not find support for this semi-colonial situation in the assembly when he returned and he was forced to resign. Ahmad, p. 184 and Timur, pp. 50-51.

of the Republic as "capitalist but in the same time anti-imperialist" and by reminding the lack of a national capital capable of managing the industrialization movement[154].

T. İş Bankası, the founder of the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* companies in Zonguldak, was founded in this frame of economic objectives in 1924. The traders and industrialists who took part in the İzmir Congress expressed their demands of a "main trade bank" and *T. İş Bankası* can be seen as fulfilling this demand. The objectives of the bank was stated in its main regulation as "(i) making all banking operations, (ii) activating in agriculture, industry, mining and public works, (iii) founding companies for providing and producing various tools and implements and participating in companies acting in these fields, (iv) undertaking and operating various industrial and trade activities whether in its own name and account, as partners with national or foreign establishments, or in the name and account of them."[155] The second item was extended soon with the addition of the activities of insurance, transportation, exportation, tourism and energy production. The bank was provided with a large field of activities and enterprises.

The bank exhibits an explanatory case in the idea of the 'leading role of the state' in the economic field. It was not a state-owned bank but always had close relations with the government. It was founded by Celal Bayar, the former Minister of Economy, with the personal order of Atatürk and included many important politicians in its body[156]. Ahmad also states that the aim of the bank was to compete with foreign banks and the non-Muslim capital in İstanbul which was still effective, and to perform an intermediate

[154] Ahmad, p. 186.
[155] *Nizamname-i Esasi*, Hâkimiyet-i Milliye Matbaası, 1924, p. 3, quoted in Kocabaşoğlu, *Türkiye İş Bankası...* p. 30.
[156] American experts who had prepared a report on the general economic situation in Turkey in the 1930s classified *T. İş Bankası* as "semi-official". Similarly American economist Max W. Thornburg defined the bank in 1949 as "seemingly private but in fact a state institution." Kocabaşoğlu, *Türkiye İş Bankası...* p. 30.

role between the business groups and the government[157]. The bank made important industrial investments, in textile, sugar and glass production, as well as the coal companies *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* in Zonguldak, in the goal of providing the ground for a strong liberal, national and industrial economy.

Another bank that was founded within the economic frame drawn in the İzmir Congress was *T. Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası,* founded in 1925 with the purpose of providing loans for industrial investments. This bank did not make investments by itself, but could be partners in private enterprises. Its main task was to support the private sector financially[158]. Another act in the line of industrialization by the private sector was the *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu* (the Law of Encouragement of Industry) issued in 1927 that brought privileges for the private enterprise investing in industry. However, in spite of all these actions, the aimed industrialization could not have still been achieved when the 1920s ended.

The liberal economic policy was interrupted with the effects of the world crisis of 1929. Besides the direct effects felt in the practical economic activities, the faith in the liberal system was also weakened while on the other hand the success of the planned economy in the Soviets was attracting attention. In the 1930s the 'leading economic role of the state' gradually shifted to direct interference in the process of industrialization, i.e. economic statism.

Tekeli explains the decision of the Republican government on the statist industrialization in this context of the 1929 crisis within the composition of the political

[157] Ahmad, F. *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 118.
[158] Kocabaşoğlu, *Türkiye İş Bankası...* p. 30.

arena of the Republic[159]. He mentions that the two sectors that were seriously affected by the crisis were agriculture and international trade. But the interference of the state to these sectors was going to create a contradiction in the profits of the two groups that dominated these sectors, the trade bourgeoisie and large land owners. To compensate the loss of the agricultural sector the state needed a subvention in the buying of agricultural products which would bring a governmental organization in the exportation and which would inevitably discomfort the trade bourgeoisie. So the state decided to take action in the industrial sector instead, in which the bourgeoisie was ineffective. It was an interesting decision as Tekeli points out, since industry was not a main sector that required emergent action due to the crisis. However the point is that it was not contradicting with the profits of any of the important groups that had their roles in the political power. Industrialization developed by the state would help the agricultural sector by raising the price of raw material produced and the trade bourgeoisie was comfortable as long as the state did not interfere the exportation organization. In this sense Tekeli shows that the impact of the 1929 crisis, when joined with the composition of the political arena, created the ground and gave the opportunity for the decision of a statist industrialization which would be the major economic policy for the following decades.

As the state became the entrepreneur of industry its relation to the worker took a new form. This form could not be defined only in a protectionist frame of ensuring the worker's rights against the employers as it was in the case of the 1921 law for Zonguldak since the state became the employer itself. On the one hand the worker became the "possession of the revolution" as it was stated in the quotation of the assembly speech

[159] Tekeli, İ. and İlkin, S. *Uygulamaya Geçerken Türkiye'de Devletçiliğin Oluşumu*, ODTÜ İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Ankara, 1982, pp. 79-80.

given above. On the other hand this situation was seen as the guaranty for preventing the class conflict and exploitation of the working class as it was seen in western industrial countries. This idea was most clearly exposed by the *Kadro* group, the group of intellectuals gathered in the periodical *Kadro*, who defended a radical sense of statism.

Şevket Süreyya Aydemir formulated this type of statism by defining two separate conflicts: One was the conflict between the classes in the countries where technology and capitalism had been advanced and the other, which was more important than the first one in terms of the future of the capitalist world, was the conflict between the developed world ("*metropoller*") and the colonies and the semi-colonies[160]. The developed world, he stated, gave a share to their working classes from the wealth they gained from the colonies and hence decreased the intensity of the class conflict inside. So the resolution of the problem would not come from this 'inner conflict' but would come with the liberation of the non-industrial world from the industrial. Industrialization performed by the state would be the main point in these "national independence wars" and such a development would not give way to an inner class conflict in these countries since it would be performed in a much different way then it had happened in the 19th century Europe. The state's possession of production tools would prevent the class conflict in the first place.

This idea was not totally new; a very similar approach can be read in earlier texts from the late Ottoman period. Göle cites the Russian Marxist Parvus (Alexander Helphand), for example, who stayed in Turkey from 1910 to 1914 and published articles, most of them being in *Türk Yurdu* published by the nationalist wing of the Union and

[160] Tekeli and İlkin p. 82 and Timur, p. 183.

Progress Party (*İttihat ve Terakki Partisi*)[161]. According to Parvus the relation between Europe and Turkey was a relation of exploitation but the main point of a social revolution here should not be a socialist revolution, since that had a meaning only in capitalist countries. The main point in the Turkish revolution, he argued, should be the national and economic independence.

The importance of the national independence movements for the global proletarian revolution was also expressed in the second general meeting of the Third International. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, as a member of the *Kadro* movement, states that the thesis proposed here accepted the national independence movements as a "satellite" and an assisting movement of the proletarian revolution, a role which was rejected by the *Kadro* movement[162]. The *Kadro* movement, according to Aydemir, was formulated as totally independent and national against imperialism and colonialism in order to bring a change in the whole word.

In reality the official economy policy of the government had never been exactly parallel to the statism of the *Kadro* movement[163]. During the peak period of the idea of industrial development performed by the state, the authority allowed the *Kadro* to expose its ideas but soon it was stopped. Tekeli states that a statist-populist synthesis as explained above to prevent the class conflict with the governmental possession of production means, had never been in the program of *CHP*, the ruling party. In the party a rather moderate interpretation of statism was dominant. In an article he wrote in *Kadro*, İnönü defined the statism of *CHP* as a means of defending and developing the national

[161] Göle, N. *Mühendisler ve İdeoloji, Öncü Devrimcilerden Yenilikçi Seçkinlere*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 81.
[162] Aydemir, Ş. S. "Bir Fikir Hareketi Vardı", in Ertop, K. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Düşünce Yazıları Seçkisi*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara, 1998, pp. 47-48.
[163] Tekeli and İlkin, pp. 323-324.

economy[164]. This type of a definition was not completely against capitalist development but also rejected the idea that the state should only undertake what individuals could not. İnönü stated that the decision to leave a field to the private profit or not, should be made after a consideration of the field's relation to the whole country. He also did not accept statism as a temporary situation as did the 'liberal statist' group that opposed and competed the *Kadro* group in this subject.

T. İş Bankası and individuals or groups related to it were among those that defended this type of a 'liberal statist' idea in the favor of a temporary statist economy that would only allow state intervention in areas where individuals could not afford to invest[165]. It was stated above that *T. İş Bankası* had strong relations with the government. The political influence of the bank was strong enough to make the Minister of Economy changed[166]. With this change Celal Bayar, who had been the head of *T. İş Bankası* since 1924, was appointed the minister of economy again in 1932. From then on the model of statist economy was reshaped in order to bring reconciliation with the demands of the private sector[167]. The place of *T. İş Bankası* in the industrial policy was also preserved.

4.4. Zonguldak Coalfield in the Early Republic

When the activities of the bank in the Zonguldak coalfield in the years that the two housing complex projects were designed is considered in the economic and political

[164] İnönü, İ. "Partimizin Devletçilik Niteliği", in Ertop, p. 51.
[165] Besides the *T. İş Bankası* group, the 'liberal side' in the debate of statism included *Âli İktisad Meclisi* and individuals such as Celal Bayar and Ahmet Ağaoğlu, etc. On the other side were the politicians like İsmet İnönü, Recep Peker, Mustafa Şeref Özkan, etc. Kocabaşoğlu, p. 241.
[166] Aydemir states that the bank also had an important role in the end of the *Kadro* periodical. He says, "the *İş Bankası* group which had a strange cooperation with Levantines and the minorities in İstanbul, with the exporters, namely with the business world of the time provided the closing of *Kadro* periodical". Aydemir, Ş. S. "Kadro Haereketi" in *Milliyet*, 19 November 1970, quoted in, Timur, pp. 184-185.
[167] Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 249-251.

context of the 1930s, the first Five Year Development Plan exposes clues on the special position of *T. İş Bankası*. The plan did not include the coal mines in a detailed manner but had statements to reveal the fact that the region was part of an exception in the decision of industrialization performed by the state. It was seen that the anthracite factory in Üzülmez was assigned to *T. İş Bankası.* This exception was resulted from the introduction of the plan where it was stated that, in the program, the foundation of the industries that could not be established by private enterprise were decided to be undertaken by the state enterprises or by "national institutions". Tekeli mentions that this category of "national institutions" is interesting since it exceeds the concept of statism and explains it as a formulation brought in to include the actions of *T. İş Bankası* in the plan[168]. Kocabaşoğlu, in a similar sense, points out that the two sectors or activities that provided the bank the largest profit except the banking activities, i.e. insurance and mining, were excluded from the content of statism[169].

It can be seen that the Zonguldak coalfield became a special case in the economic and industrial field throughout the 1920s and 1930s, until the period of 1937-1940 when *Etibank* gradually took the mines over. Besides the strong existence of *T. İş Bankası* that brought the exceptional situation to the region in terms of the debate on statist or liberal development, one other feature that shaped the discussions and actions here was the history of the coalfield with the dominance of foreign companies that determined the social and political, as well as economic, life in the region. As a result, the issue of "nationalization" became as important as the industrialization model, and in many cases it was politically more emphasized. The language used in a book published by *Etibank* in

[168] Tekeli and İlkin, p. 188.
[169] Kocabaşoğlu, p. 295.

1941 giving a small history of the mines, exhibits the nationalist extreme that this attitude could reach:

> Until that date [the Republic] a variety of languages from Croatian to a total sum of many others was disturbing the ear from the docks to the deepest part of the mines. Turkish was a language only for the civil servant and the worker.[170]

In the same book all the investments undertaken by both *T. İş Bankası* and *Etibank* for the improvement in the conditions of the workers' life are given in a similar manner as a consequence of the nationalization of the mines. The Ottoman period, when the worker's fate had been left to the foreign companies, was compared with the Republican period here by stating that the Republic felt the responsibility of raising the life quality of its workers.

The statist intervention in the coalfield was applied by way of *Etibank* beginning with 1940 with the purpose of a unified and more rationalized organization of the attempts of modernizing the mining activity, which had begun in the 1920s. However, an important act in this period brought a break to the efforts of improving the workers' prosperity. This act was the return of the forced labor system stemming from the National Protection Law of 1940, with the harsh economic conditions that the Second World War brought about. With many semi-miner villagers forced to work in the mines for longer periods, most of the time by force used by military units, not only the living conditions of workers but also their 'commitment' was seriously damaged[171]. The management of the mines appointed in this period, which was expected to provide a considerable rise in the

[170] Enver, *S. Zonguldak Kömür Havzamız*, Etibank Yayını, Güzel Sanatlar Matbaası, Ankara, 1941, p.41. "O tarihe kadar Zonguldak liman ağzından maden ocaklarının en ücra köşelerine kadar yayılan Hırvatçadan başlayan envaını toplayan bir lisan kolleksiyonu bolluğu kulakları tırmalıyordu. Türkçe ancak memur ve ameleye hitap eden bir lisandı."

[171] Çıladır, S. *Taşkömürü Havzasının Devletçilik Dönemi*, Yaman Matbaası, Ereğli, 1999, pp. 22-26. Çıladır states that in the election of 1950 the elector of the region exposed an emotional reaction to *CHP*, accusing the party for the period of 1940s in the mines.

coal production, was invested with extraordinary authority in order to reach the goals. This authority was used in forms of special armed forces to obtain public peace or special money valid in the '*ekonomo'*s (shopping centers of the coal institution).

In this period a considerable rise in the living conditions of the bureaucrats was seen with an equal fall in the worker prosperity. Long-term technical investments and social investments like building civil servant houses and worker complexes continued in this period, but worker complexes built did not bear the character that Arkan's design exposed, mostly answering immediate needs like worker dormitories (pavilions), baths and mess halls. What was done was also insufficient[172]. The dense use of forced labor system including the system of prisoner-workers and soldiers rendered the goal of creating a skilled and settled worker population almost impossible and the rise in the production of coal obtained by the massive rise in the number of workers shows that efficiency per each individual worker was not achieved[173]. This second period of forced labor system (first being in the Ottoman period) continued until the 1950s.

CHAPTER 5

[172] Kahveci cites a report prepared in 1944, in which it was stated that "almost every district appeared to be without adequate facilities for workers, such as beds and showers. In some dormitories workers slept in the same bed rotationally, according to their shift hours." Kahveci, p. 186.
[173] Çıladır, p. 25.

THE MINING SETTLEMENT AND THE COMPANY TOWN

"You load sixteen tons and what do you get?
'Nother day older and deeper in debt.
St. Peter don't you call me 'cause I can't go,
I owe my soul to the company store."*

Türk-İş and *Kömür-İş* housings in Zonguldak were complexes designed in the mid 1930s for the mineworker of the Zonguldak coalfield, the importance of which was obvious for the young Turkish Republic and its goals of industrialization in the program of modernization and development. So far in this study these projects have been evaluated in this context, within the direct or indirect effects of the professional character of the architect, the architectural scene of the time and the contemporary professional or political debates on the issue of workers' housing. The specific characteristics and burdens of the time, the period of the early Republic, were at the core of this type of analysis. In this approach it was concluded that the housing projects were also important with the social tasks they involved and with the manner these tasks were conveyed to the design practice, as well as the modern concept of housing complex they introduced to the Turkish architectural practice. The Zonguldak coalfield and its mineworker, which were the very subjects of these social tasks, were also defined and discussed regarding the early Republican context. Although some of the note-worthy characteristics of the context that the Zonguldak housings were designed for and effects of these to the designs were the consequences of the specific history of the region and features specific to the

* The chorus of the famous folk song *Sixteen Tons* by Merle Travis written in 1946. Travis's father was a mineworker in Muhlenborg County, Kentucky's coal mines. The verse was inspired by a remark of him as he answered a neighbor who asked how he was doing by saying that "I can't afford to die, I owe my soul to the company store." The money advanced by the coal company called "script" was the practice at that time. http: //www.ernieford.com/SixteenTons.htm

context of the early Republic, the subject should still be reconsidered as exemplary of a universal concept; that of workers' housings in a mining region.

Bulmer, in his article "Social Models of the Mining Community"[174] reminds the fact that "similarities between mining settlements of different types in different societies at different stages of economic development have often been commented upon by sociologists and anthropologists"[175]. Such a study of comparing the Zonguldak case with the world-wide cases of mining communities will bring in further points for the discussion on Arkan's designs. Moreover, it will also test the points made in the previous parts by providing a better understanding of the social context that these designs were inserted in, and by distinguishing the points that can be related to a universal idea of mining community from points specific to the Turkish case.

The *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housing complexes on the other hand can be seen as resemblances of the universal concept of the "company town" designed for the region. A company town is simply defined as "a settlement built and operated by a single business enterprise"[176] by Gardner. He states that such towns appeared between 1830 and 1930 in the countries that embraced capitalism and open-market trading and were built by industrialists whose early business contributed to the "takeoff" phase of industrial revolution.

The origin of the term 'company town' is in the mining camps and smelters in America in the late 19th century. In a company town everything that was built, including the houses, the store, the school, the religious buildings and other public meeting places,

[174] Bulmer, M. I. A. "Social Models of the Mining Community", in *Sociological Review*, vol. 23, 1975, pp. 61-92.
[175] Ibid, p. 61.
[176] Gardner, J. S. "Introduction" in, Gardner, J. S. (ed.), *The Company Town, Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1992, p. 3.

were subordinate to the business enterprise and the social order was derived from labor routine, isolation and company-imposed rules or policies. In many cases the sub-culture created in the company town was a function of the direct interference of the business owner in the social, moral and educational features of the community in a "paternalistic" manner, as well as the isolated nature of such towns. The physical formation could be developed haphazard with camps or villages occupying the leftover spaces adjacent to the works or planning could occur in stages, but there were also more than few cases of towns totally planned by architects or landscape architects.[177]

The later workers' housing complexes of the early Republic designed for the industrial investments of *Etibank* or *Sümerbank* in the 1940s in various parts of the country also reflected many characteristics of the company towns as described above with the important difference that they did not belong to a private entrepreneur but to the state. However, the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housings establish a rather interesting case in these terms with the assigned mediating role of their investor *T. İş Bankası* between the state's economic role and the development of a capitalist industry, and with the political character of the housing complexes. The companies *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* were in fact private enterprises but their activities in the coalfield were also related to the Republican ideals and policies of modernization. So the housing projects designed for these companies should be discussed both within the social and political frame of Turkish modernization, as it was in the previous part, and as examples of 'company towns'.

The universal idea of a mining community is discussed and explained by Bulmer. Discussing various models suggested on the studies of mining communities, Bulmer

[177] Ibid. pp. 3-12.

concludes with the following eight characteristics that a traditional mining community may exhibit[178]:

1. physical isolation
2. economic predominance of mining
3. the exacting, dangerous and uncertain nature of work
4. social consequences of occupational homogeneity and isolation
5. leisure activities remaining connected to the work
6. the family with segregated gender roles
7. economic and political conflict
8. the complex formed by the multiple relations of above all

Bulmer carefully explains that these characteristics are not given in a sense of 'explanation' or 'description' of the traditional mining community, but the aim is setting up an "ideal type" in the Weberian sense as a theoretical construction, which is "…a means of instituting comparative studies and making historical and sociological generalizations in the course of research"[179]. He states that the strategy that this ideal type will bring in the discussions on mining communities does not prove the validity of the ideal type, but on the contrary it is interested "…in identifying and explaining *departures from* the ideal type…"[180]

In this part the Zonguldak coalfield and its mineworker will be studied according to the theoretical construction suggested by Bulmer with additional discussions brought about by various works on mining communities and exemplary cases of mining settlements and company towns in the aim of providing a rereading of the designs of the

[178] Bulmer, pp. 85-88.
[179] Ibid, p. 85.
[180] Ibid, p. 88.

Zonguldak housing complexes by Arkan and the sociological features of the context they were designed for.

5.1. Physical Isolation and the Economic Predominance of Mining

As Bulmer explains, the characteristic "physical isolation" stems from the nature of the mining activity that limits the choice of the location for the settlement with the point of the extraction of the mineral. The location of many types of industries can be determined according to the features like transportation or economical construction but for the mining, pits and associated buildings such as worker housings or dormitories should be where the extraction is possible and rational. The result of this fact is a "dispersed settlement pattern, in which any one settlement is geographically isolated from other similar settlements, and in which all settlements are removed from existing urban centers of population"[181].

The dispersed settlement pattern was also the case for the Zonguldak coalfield from the very beginning. With the additional effect of the dominant character of the landscape in the region with steep lands and sparely placed cultivable fields, the nature of mining had its effect on this. Gezim explains the development of the settlement pattern in the region in this sense within the universal concept of "coke-town", in which spare settlements were gathered around pits in large areas that were abandoned as the pits were exhausted[182]. Before the entrance of *T. İş Bankası* and *Etibank* into the region during the 1930s, such 'settlements', which inhabited temporary or rotational workers staying no

[181] Ibid, p. 85.
[182] Gezim, G. "Üretim Eylemleri ve Kent", in *Mimarlık*, vol. 150, January 1977, p. 19.

longer than three to five months, were usually composed of tents, simple barracks or caves. Bell, in his work on Australian mining settlements in the late 19th and early 20th century, shows that most usually tents and sometimes caves were universal figures in ephemeral mining settlements[183]. However in Australia it was the ephemeral nature of the mining activity itself, as for the alluvial gold mining that created temporary settlements. Underground mining on the other hand developed rather stable settlements when compared.

The nature of the mining industry forcing dispersed settlements can also be observed in the Zonguldak coalfield with further developments. It should be remembered that the law of 1921 stated that the companies should build accommodation for their workers "near the pits" and the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housings were situated in this manner. The idea continued in the following decades creating a dispersed urban settlement surrounding the central town of Zonguldak though it contradicted with the law of *Teskere-i Samiye* that brought a strict governmental control in construction activities aiming the preservation of unexploited resources[184].

When the history of company towns in the industrial world are considered within this nature of the mining industry, it can be said that the isolated character of mining settlements provided the sufficient physical setting for such towns to become fields of experimentation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Unlike lumber and textile mills, company towns designed for mining enterprises and industries were free from the urban context and its growing problems, As such, they could make use of the opportunity to

[183] Bell, P. "Fabric and Structure of Australian Mining Settlements" in Knapp, A. B. Pigott, V. C. And Herbert, E. W. (eds.) *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past, The Archeology and Anthropology of Mining*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, pp. 27-38.
[184] Erkin, E. "Zonguldak Kömür Havzasında Kentleşme ve Yerleşme Sorunları", in *Mimarlık*, vol. 150, January 1977, p. 20- 23.

develop an introvert and self-dependent establishment for goals varying from industrial discipline to architectural searches for an alternative industrial urbanization. Many investors were interested in providing a physically as well as socially idealized settlement for their employees in order to increase work efficiency and attract skilled labor. The aim to preserve the financial investments by protecting the surrounding environment could also be the case. Exemplary cases of company towns developed within such attempts in the 19th century England are evaluated as "Garden City prototypes" by Gardner[185]. These settlements were not only meant to provide proper accommodation for the worker but were also designed as urban alternatives to overcrowded and unhealthy cities.

The designs of the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housings in Zonguldak can also be considered in this sense as they took advantage of developing on their own, without being inserted into an existing urban context. Not only the buildings but the whole infrastructure including the circulation pattern and the carefully designed green structure were designed within a unified totality proper for the design goals.

The second characteristic Bulmer detects is the "economic predominance of mining". As the settlements are established in the nature of a "physical isolation", no alternative employment to mining will occur except for a few minor service jobs, also for further generations. This forms a "social isolation" as well as the physical one. Bulmer adds that the dominance expands to the associated service sectors in a capitalist society as the company also owns a general store and rents houses to the workers. "The pure

[185] Gardner, J. S. "Introduction" in, Gardner, J. S. (ed.), *The Company Town, Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1992, p. 5.

capitalist mining community is therefore," he states, "a company town in which the company is a party to all the principal economic transactions carried on within it."[186]

As it was seen before, Zonguldak was not a perfect example for a "pure capitalist mining community" because of the fact that for a long period the mineworker population was not consisting of typical miner proletariat but of largely semi-peasant rotational mineworkers, and also that the economy policy in the country was statist and applied the forced labor system beginning with the 1940s. Still the economic dominance of mining is a valid topic for the region. In the beginning mining was especially attractive for the inhabitants of the villages with poor or no agricultural production[187], but as the industry developed the population got involved in the work and seasonal work in the mine became a major occupation for many villages surrounding Zonguldak with sons following their fathers to the mines.

Kahveci states that the semi-peasant character of the mineworkers in Zonguldak provided a certain independence for them as "they were not completely at the mercy of the firm for their livelihood"[188]. The way of earning a life for the villager of Zonguldak was not totally depending on the mining activity, but it would also be questionable to evaluate them economically independent. The agricultural production was largely under the control of local landlords, some of who also invested in mining beginning with the end of the 19th century and supplied their labor needs among the villagers economically dependent on them[189]. Rotational work of agricultural production and mining thus became a double exploitation for these cases instead of creating economical alternatives

[186] Bulmer, p. 85.
[187] Çıladır, S. *Zonguldak Havzasında Emperyalizm*, Aydınlık Yayınları, Ankara, 1970, p. 11.
[188] Kahveci, E. "The Miners of Zonguldak" in *Work & Occupation in Modern Turkey*, Kahveci E. Sugur N. and Nichols T. (eds.), Mansell Publishing Limited, London and N. Y. 1966, p. 182.
[189] Çıladır, p. 39.

for villagers depending on their free choices. Also for the cases where landlords were not directly involved in mining, they strictly controlled the villagers' work in the mines with regard to their changeable positions against the mining companies or native small investors concerning their local profits[190]. In the beginning of the Republican period these landlords had largely lost their feudal status as landowners. Nevertheless, by continuing their activities in mining or mining related trade such as the transportation of the coal or in supplying the lumber posts required for the pits, the landlords effectively dominated the commercial life in the towns and retained their control on the economic life as moneylenders.

In the relation of the worker and the mining company, a universal figure of mining communities related to the economic dependence of the worker was the 'company store,' which had become a common feature in Zonguldak long before the idea of the 'company town' was introduced to the region. The investor of the mines, whether it was an organized company or a local investor, usually owned a store near the pits which was the only source of food and basic material needs of workers for the period they spent at the mines[191]. Paying the workers' wages by deducing their debts to these stores, was the common practice. For some cases of local investors the method resulted in mine owner's controlling the whole commercial activity in the village or the town. In the statist period after 1940 the practice of the 'company store' became more organized as the official management advanced a special money valid in the company stores called as the "*ekonomo*". In this sense it is interesting to see that the architectural program of Arkan's designs included no such shopping centers.

[190] Tuncer, K. *Tarihten Günümüze Zonguldak'ta İşçi Sınıfının Durumu*, Göçebe Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, p. 42.
[191] Çıladır, p. 39.

On the economic predominance of mining, Bulmer also mentions the economic dependence of the settlement upon regional, national and world markets due to the single economic activity taking place with only one kind of product[192]. When the Zonguldak coalfield in the early Republican period is considered in these terms it can be stated that the efforts to increase the demand for the coal and to increase the quantity and the quality of the production was simultaneous. The fluctuations in the world market did not harm the region and the pattern of rise and decline common in mining settlements was absent in Zonguldak, but only the shape of development transformed in time. As it can be seen in Enver's words, the global economic crisis of 1929 did not effect the production in the basin much. He states that in the period all that was extracted was whether consumed in the country or was exported[193]. That was mostly provided by keeping the price of the coal low and by compensating the loss in other ways like freeing the taxes[194] or relying heavily on the cheap manual labor[195].

5.2. The Social Structure as the Outcome of Mining

For the third characteristic of mining settlements, Bulmer deals with the nature of the work. The life of mineworker presents serious risks in terms of work accidents and health problems related to the job done. For this reason the worker's own skills and physical capacity have great importance for the efficiency of the work and for his own status.

[192] Bulmer, p. 61.
[193] Enver, S. *Zonguldak Kömür Havzamız*, Etibank Yayınları, Ankara, 1941, p. 41.
[194] Çıladır, p. 16.
[195] Kahveci, p. 184.

The status of a mineworker depends on the skills required for the job and accordingly the highest status among the laborers belongs to the skilled face-workers. The unskilled underground workers are the next in rank, followed by the surface workers having the lowest status. In the first chapter it was seen that these groups of skilled face-workers and unskilled underground or ground workers in Zonguldak consisted of different social groups with different working habits besides their differing status, especially in the last decades of the 19th century[196]. Besides the permanent foreign workers that the coal companies brought from countries such as Croatia and Montenegro, the skilled face-workers were usually the villagers of various eastern Black Sea cities coming from long distances and staying for longer periods, at the least for three months. These workers were rather highly regarded by the companies and received better pay and had better living conditions than the rotational workers[197]. After several generations Zonguldak villages also began to provide face-workers, but for the period concerned, most of the unskilled work was undertaken by the local villagers who only stayed in the mines for periods of several weeks. Çıladır mentions that it was especially the workers from the eastern Black Sea that developed a certain sense of class consciousness and organized the first strikes in the region, since they had relatively weakened ties to the villager way of life and had a more proletarian identity when compared to the local mineworkers[198].

Bulmer states that the high danger and physical toughness of the work also create high degrees of solidarity among worker groups displayed against the outside world as well as the employers. Moreover, this provides workers' better involvement in the work,

[196] Chapter 2, p. 21.
[197] Kahveci, p. 181.
[198] Çıladır, p. 42.

as well as high degrees of responsibility of and dependence to workmates, together with the feelings of pride in the job done. The high degree of solidarity displayed by the mineworker, when attached to the features of geographical and social isolation, is usually connected to the relatively high rate of strikes seen in the mining industry. But Bulmer also points out that the same social structure may result in different manners, especially when relied on as a strategy by the investors. He cites Rimlinger's work on Saar mines as he writes that it is quite possible

> …for a socially distinct group like miners to be well-integrated into society and to be rather sensitive to society's opinion of them. And where this is the case, their cohesion and their strong inclination to conform to group values, which is directly related to their separatism, may actually become a support of disciplined industrial conduct.[199]

It is possible to consider this discussion on the solidarity and group consciousness with regard to the role that the Zonguldak coalfield played in the National Independence War. Zonguldak was one of the regions in Anatolia where the local resistance to the invasion was organized almost on its own and individuals from the mining community had key roles in this[200].

The pride stemming from the toughness of work[201] and the group consciousness developed by the high risk[202], were also valid topics for the Zonguldak coalfield. The

[199] Rimlinger, G. V. "Industrial Differences in the Strike-Propensity of Coal Miners: Experience in Four Countries", in *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, 1959, p. 395, quoted in Bulmer, p. 73.

[200] See, Can, S. *Emin Dayı, Zonguldak'ta İlk Grev ve Toplu Sözleşme*, Demokrat Ofset, Karadeniz Ereğli, 1995. The book contains interviews with the witnesses of the period who present a lively picture. It shows that the French forces invading Zonguldak were forced to withdraw without any direct assistance of the army of the Ankara government. Laz Emin, the major hero of the strike in 1923 against the French coal company, was also a guerilla leader (a *Kuva-i Milliye* leader) who had provided military service to the Ankara government. He had assisted to suppress the local fundamentalist Islamic revolt against the Ankara government in Bolu in 1920.

[201] A short interview with a mineworker published in the newspaper *Zonguldak* in 17 May 1923 exhibits this pride. As the journalists asked if the salary of 60 kuruş was not too few, the young rotational mineworker said that they were not working for the cost of 'kuruş' but for the cost of life. ("Biz kuruş

political authority in the Republican period, beginning during the 1920s and continuing during the 1930s, tried to utilize these characteristics by declaring the labor of the mineworker a grand service to the nation and the country, as it was discussed before. However the interviews made with the workers of the period show that it was again the government that hurt this pride with the application of the forced-labor system and created a reaction, in the statist period after 1940[203].

The fourth characteristic in Bulmer's article appears as the social consequence of the first and the second one, i.e. occupational homogeneity and isolation in mining settlements. The inhabitants of a mining settlement, living in a geographically and socially isolated community, seldom get into contact with other social groups outside. There is also little opportunity for upward social mobility, as well as geographical mobility away from the locality.

When company towns are considered, educational facilities provided for the company took an important role in producing a similar result. Crawford states that in the mill towns in America in the 1900s and 1910s, the school worked in offering education for the children of illiterate workers, but being operated by the mill outside the existing school systems, it also worked as an extension of the factory in preparing the children for mill work by teaching "emphasized traits such as punctuality, regularity of attendance, reliability and respect for authority"[204].

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bahasına çalışmıyoruz ki." "Ya ne bahasına çalışıyorsunuz?" "Can bahasına çalışıyoruz, ilahiri...") Quoted in Çıladır, *Zonguldak Havzasında...* p. 60-61.

[202] Tuncer, p. 48. Tuncer mentions the incidents of pit accidents in Zonguldak when this group consciousness was the most strong and visible.

[203] Tuncer, pp.71-84.

[204] Crawford, M. "Earle S. Draper and the Company Town in the American South" in Gardner (ed.) *The Company Town*... p. 144.

The schools of the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housing complexes can be considered in this sense, as they were also formed outside the general education system[205]. However they also constitute a difference to the typical company town schools. The primary schools in the complexes also served the children of the villages and the architect expressed that this was taken into consideration in locating the school buildings. It was discussed and proposed in the previous chapters that the social tasks of the complexes were not limited with the educational support but included a transformation in the existing social context. The social contact aimed here does not form a total dissimilarity to the concept of "occupational homogeneity" as Bulmer describes, since the inhabitants of these villages were also most probably involved in the mining activity. However, as it was discussed, the transformation of the shape of this involvement was the main goal. The housing complexes were meant to inhabit a different type of mineworker with a different life-style that would create a model for the adjacent settlements.

The goal of creating 'model's with housing complexes would be expressed a decade after these designs, in the governmental program of 1946, but this time regarding the civil servant housings. It was then stated that, besides providing accommodation for the civil servants, such housings would serve in "displaying good examples" to the local population[206]. But in practice, such complexes with various sports and entertainment facilities remained closed to the outside and were received by the local population as

[205] Today, the teachers who work in the *Türk-İş* school are not still civil servants subordinate to the Ministry of Education but are employees of *TKK*.
[206] Tekeli, İ. *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi*, T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, Ankara, 1996, p. 17.

privileges given to the bureaucrats[207]. Such later examples in Zonguldak in the statist period shared the same fate[208].

The fifth characteristic of mining settlements is explained by Bulmer within the patterns of communal sociability of formal or informal kinds. Although leisure activities are defined in reference to the goal of making the workers forget the constraints of the mining work, it becomes the chief interest and the major topic of conversation in the leisure companions formed by workmates.

There is not much information on the everyday life of the villages of the Zonguldak coalfield except the knowledge that a rural way of life existed there together with the mining activity. Still the leisure companions formed by workmates are valid to be mentioned here, since usually workers from the same village were working in the same pit[209]. The period that rotational workers spent in mines seems to involve very little in terms of "leisure activities" especially before the nationalization of the mines, as a result of the poor material quality of life and the long and exhausting work hours.

On the other hand the Republic brought a change to the towns such as Ereğli in the region. Social and cultural activities such as theater plays, balls, and football and water sports entered everyday life during the early Republican period[210].

It can be said that in the designs of these settlements a definite change in the everyday life of the worker was aimed to be introduced, and not only with certain features like the tennis courts of the *Kömür-İş* housing, similar applied examples of which never effectively entered the workers' life. Following the discussions in the

[207] Tekeli, p.41.
[208] Çıladır, *Taşkömürü Havzasının...* p. 22.
[209] Kahveci, p. 193.
[210] Çıladır, S. *Karadeniz Ereğli'nin Tarihi*, Demokrat Yayınları, 1994, p. 67.

previous chapter, the design of houses for permanent workers with gardens of their own, gives clearer clues on the nature of this change. This design was meant to allow the workers to retain their ties to the soil by gardening or garden-scale farming activities. Nevertheless it also could transform their daily lives by introducing such activities as free-time activities instead of the former practice of longer periods of mining and farming rotation. Thus, the type of houses with gardens provided a soft passage to a full-time mineworker's life.

The grove designed as the focus of the *Türk-İş* complex (and which was realized) and the large strip of green crossing the *Kömür-İş* complex can also be read in this sense as more socialized orientations for the everyday life of the worker, who already had strong relations with the nature[211]. The emphasis made on the role of the public green areas in social life has its references both in the Ottoman past and the recreational urban models brought by the Republican modernization. The '*mesire*'s had been important public places where a festive sociability was taking place in the Ottoman cities, since the beginning of the 19th century, and were the only places where this sociability was not gender-based being open for the use of both male and female population[212]. In the Republican period this motive was reoriented in the hygienic, healthy and 'modern' model parks and recreational areas to enhance the everyday life in the city, as initially

[211] The cinema building which was not a part of the housing complex but which was also built by *T. İş Bankası* in the village near the *Türk-İş* complex can also be considered as part of the change brought to the everyday life of the mining settlement. It would be very interesting to discuss this building on its own, as a facility that was provided even before proper housing, built in the village neighboring the industrial investments of the bank. A related fact may be that the bank also had investments in entertainment in the 1930s with the companies *Ankara Sinema İşleri Türk Limited Şirketi* which owned cinema buildings and *Filmcilik Türk Anonim Şirketi* which provided films for these theaters and was the distributor of big American film companies in Turkey. Kocabaşoğlu, U. *Türkiye İş Bankası Tarihi*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, pp. 234-235.

[212] *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt 5, Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı Ortak Yayını, İstanbul, 1994, p. 407.

exemplified in the outskirts of Ankara with the *Çubuk* Dam and the *Gazi* Farm and then in the city center with the *Gençlik* Park[213].

Although most of the company towns designed and built in the western world intentionally suggest a social life organized around the focus of the industrial activity as Bulmer describes, there are also a number of cases that can be compared to the projects by Arkan in terms of reconciling the rural and the industrial ways of life. Among them, the textile mill settlements designed by the architect Earle S. Draper in the United States in the 1910s and 1920s can be mentioned, which, very similar to the Zonguldak housings, were built for a group of workers who had originally been farmers[214]. Being familiar with the Garden City ideas and rural industrial villages built in England, Draper tried "to blend modern forms with the long-existing living habits and social customs of the locality."[215] His designs largely used rural images and settings, with industrial facilities concealed and carried away from the focus with the use of the green structure. (Figures 5.1, 5.2) Such a use of the green structure can be compared to the ones in the settlement plans designed by Arkan.

[213] See, Uludağ, Z. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Rekreasyon ve Gençlik Parkı Örneği", in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı Yay. İstanbul, 1998, pp. 65-74.
[214] Crawford, M. "Earle S. Draper and the Company Town in the American South" in Gardner (ed.) *The Company Town*... pp. 139-172.
[215] Draper, E. S. "Applied Home Economics in TVA Houses", *Journal of Home and Economics*, no. 10, December 1935, p. 632, quoted in Crawford, p. 163.

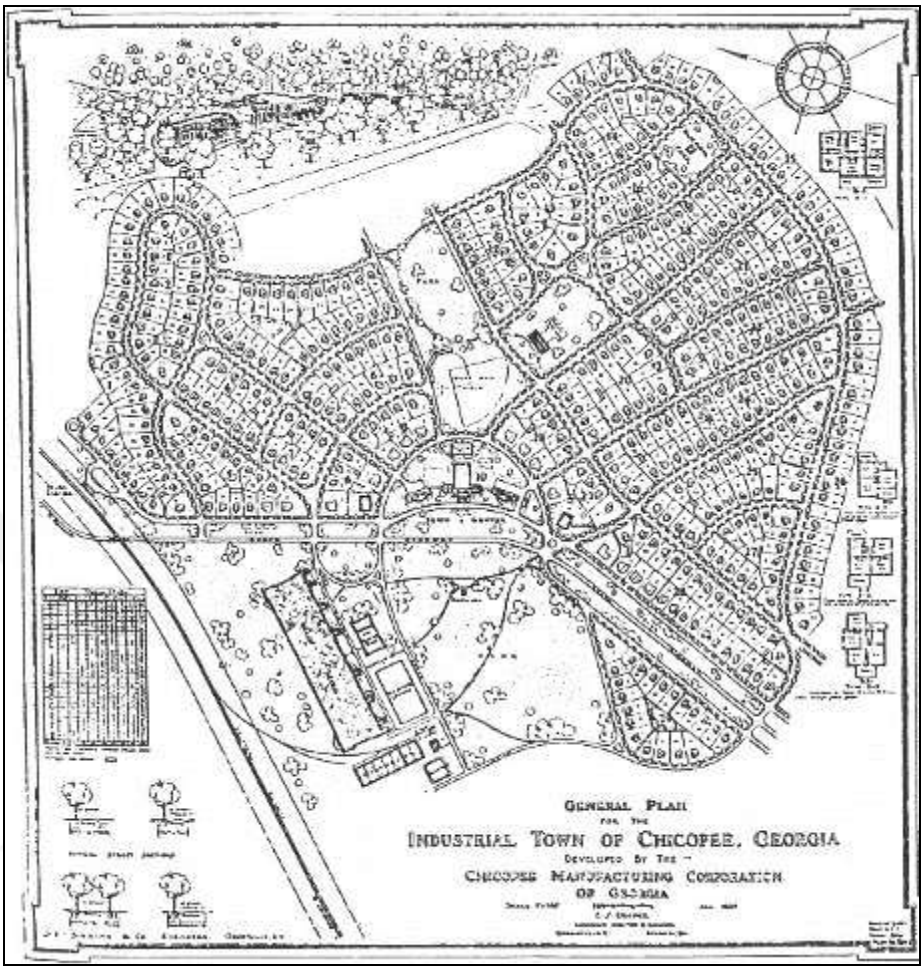


Figure 5.1. The company town designed by E. S. Draper in Georgia, United States.

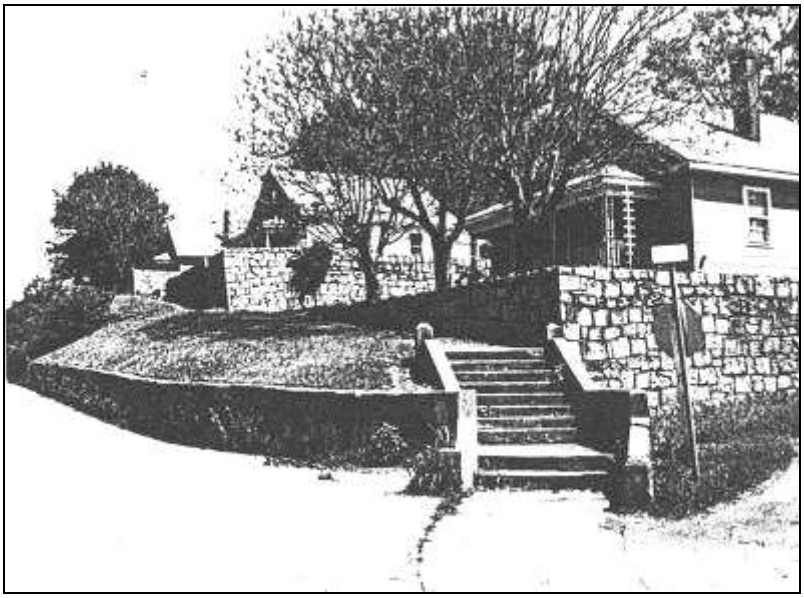


Figure 5.2. Houses in t he company town designed by E. S. Draper in Georgia, United States.

The main aim in Draper's design approach was to redefine the social life in the settlement by negating the emphasis made on the industrial roles of the inhabitants and reconnecting them to the natural setting and their villager origins. This attitude was also accepted by the investors since their chief aim was to recruit and retain a reliable labor force. The designs by Arkan and Draper involve similar social tasks brought for different social contexts; and it is significant that they presented parallel attitudes both in the designs that fostered the idea of everyday life preserving a strong connection to the nature, and in the words of the architects that expressed the idea behind the designs as blending the 'modern' with the 'local'.

The traditional features of the mining community also shape the miner family with sharply segregated gender roles. Bulmer indicates that men's activities take place outside the home whether at work or in leisure activities as they are both focused on the mining activity. The home, on the other hand, is the center of women's activities as their social contacts remain limited with the neighborhood. Bulmer adds that family continuity is the norm with sons following their fathers into the mine and the daughters becoming wives of miners.

The issue of segregated gender roles was even sharper in the Zonguldak coalfield context within the rotational mining routine as men left their villages for weeks or in some cases for months. The distinctive effect of this on the social structure of villages and on women's life in this frame, is something hard to comment on because of the lack of material evidence but the change the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housings brought about in this sense is obvious. With these designs women was to be included in the mining community for the first time in the region's history of mining. It can be suggested that the

vast green spaces provided in the designs were areas for public use common to both men and women, and hence had the potential to prevent women's integration into the community to be limited within the private spaces of houses.

5.3. Economic and Political Conflict

The class conflict as experienced in the other fields of industrial capitalism has always had its effects on the shaping of mining communities. The distinctive feature of the conflict between the proletariat and the capital for the mining community, as Bulmer points out, lies in the entire dependency of the mineworker on the employer who dominates not only the industrial sphere but also the entire economic life of the community.

The shape of the economic conflict taking place in the Zonguldak region during the 1930s was quite complicated as this was a period of transition from the pre-Republican imperialist exploitation of both the underground resources and the local labor force - which can easily be compared to any colonial context - to the national possession and extraction of coal in the context of statist industrialization of the early Republican decades. Bulmer states that when foreign capital extracted underground resources in underdeveloped countries the conflict was usual to appear. He quotes Carter in this sense who states that

> The desire for development on the part of the source country will in most cases necessitate measures that conflict with the desires of the private investor for an appropriate investment climate…[R]apid development will have to be sacrificed

or the investor must forego some of his prerogatives, as these are presently conceived.[216]

In the former discussions it was stated that for the activities of the Republican government in the coalfield in the 1920s, the desire for development was not the only motivator but it was engaged with the idea of struggle against imperialism. In the region this struggle was practically experienced within the activities of the *Amele Birliği* (Workers' Union) and the reactions of the foreign coal companies. The two housing complexes by *T. İş Bankası* can also be evaluated within this experience since they were designed and partially built in the period when the nationalization of the coalfield had not been completed yet and the foreign companies were still active in the region. It should be remembered in this sense that the architect and the investor similarly defined the projects as superior in terms of the worker life in comparison to the former period of foreign dominance.

Besides this issue of international economic and political conflict in the theme of 'nationalization', these two complexes as 'company towns' can also be discussed according to the politics produced by their inner power networks when considered on their own and can be compared to the similar examples worldwide.

Most of the company towns in the industrial world were strongly attached to the idea of the political control brought upon the workers. They imposed company policies on the social and physical setting of the community by bringing an organization depending on race, class and status differences. This hierarchical structure was enveloped in a fiction of unity within the physically and socially isolated nature of the settlement as a part of the struggle against trade unions. In this sense Gardner states that

[216] Rollins, C. F. "Mineral Development and Economic Growth", in *Social Research*, vol. 23, 1956, p.280, quoted in Bulmer, p. 65.

> Despite its architectural and economic success, the company town failed in a political sense. Most had no form of government, no elected officials, and no municipally owned services, and many remained unincorporated. Residents had no say in local affairs, no investment in real estate, and ultimately no long term affection for the place in which they lived and worked.[217]

Studying various examples of company towns shows that, whatever the contexts or the intentions of the architect were, the settlements could not avoid reproducing the structure of the power network that the company imposed. One example where the professional attitude of the designer perfectly fit the intentions of the company can be found in New Mexico, the mining town designed by the architect Bertram Goodhue in 1915[218]. Goodhue's architectural background was marked with his admiration of the pre-industrial cultures and he had studied Spanish colonial architecture. His design united a formal Beaux-Arts center with informal garden city housing areas and used features of colonial vernacular architecture such as arcades.(Figure 5.3) With its strong references to the Mexican colonial town, the design also reproduced the pre-industrial hierarchical social order as it "suggested an almost feudal relationship between Mexican miners and their American superiors, in which the miners played the role of peasants Goodhue idealized."[219]

On the other hand, for the cases when the architect developed his own sense of a social structure within the design attitude, the results again could not get much away from the company's practice. Draper's designs of textile mills which tried to orient the social life free from the industrial occupation were mentioned above. These designs also had clear social limitations. Crawford points that here "blacks were assigned smaller and

[217] Gardner, p. 5.
[218] Crawford, M. *Building the Workingman's Paradise, The Design of American Company Towns*, Verso, London and New York, 1995, pp. 129-231.
[219] Ibid, p. 139.

cruder dwellings than the rest of the workers and remained segregated on the outskirts of the village"[220]. Strict social control was also

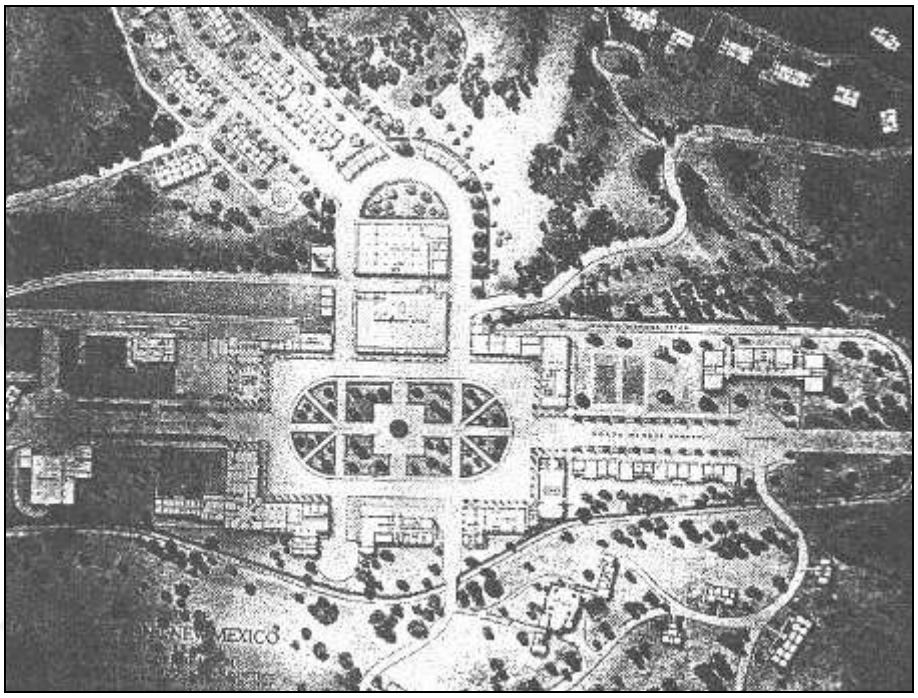


Figure 5.3. The mining town designed by B. Goodhue in New Mexico.

[220] Crawford, "Earle S. Draper and..." p. 164.



Figure 5.4. The company town designed by A. Aalto in Sunila, Finland.

the case in the community. Another example in this sense is found in the designs of Alvar Aalto in Finland in the 1930s for the lumber industry. (Figure 5.4) Evaluating these designs Ahnlund writes that

> [Aalto] implemented many of the rational and socialistic ideas regarding housing that prevailed in Europe during the 1930s. However, there is no difference between the way in which Aalto masked the class hierarchy of the company town with houses laid out in a sliding scale, as in the example of Sunila, and the model company towns of the late nineteenth century… For example, skilled workers were recruited to the sawmill of Norrbyskär, and the stability, continuity, and loyalty of that work force were maintained by means of well-trimmed parks and gardens and an architectural awareness that even extended to the workers' outhouses.[221]

Examined in these terms, Arkan's projects in Zonguldak also give clues of a certain sense of hierarchical organization. The 'pavilions', houses for workers and houses

[221] Ahnlund, M. "The Company Town in Scandinavia", in Gardner (ed.) *The Company Town*... p. 91.

for technicians and engineers were grouped separately, and the green strips between these clusters can be read as a means of isolation. (Figure 2.7) This idea of isolation is quite visible in the manager's house in the *Kömür-İş* complex as it was located dominating the site and surrounded with a green band separating it from the rest.

In discussing the power networks in mining communities we can also refer to a study by Hardesty in which he compares hierarchical organizations of company towns in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the American west with the "flexible, situational and changing" power networks of informal mining settlements which he calls as "heterarchies"[222]. For the definition of "informal mining", one component is given here as the mining activity of "smallholder farmers who engaged in mining as a part-time activity during the farming off-season" and who were "locally oriented and cash-poor and had few ties to the outside world"[223]. The other component was the highly mobile "industrial cowboys" who were "riding" from one mining town to another and who were "the most radical, militant and class conscious of working people"[224]. In this comparison of model company towns and informal mining settlements, the company towns are highlighted in the way they reflect rigid class structures organized around ethnicity, race, class, wealth and occupation and the way company-imposed rules and policies control the acts and beliefs within. In contrast Hardesty examines Reipetown in Nevada which was founded as a small stone quarry with a few workers' settlements in 1907 and then boomed as a wide-open mining camp or a "satellite town". Reipetown grew a repetition for cheap housing and "less than respectable entertainment not permitted in the tightly

[222] Hardesty, D. L. "Power and Industrial Mining Community in the American West", in Knapp, A. B. Pigott, V. C. And Herbert, E. W. (eds.) *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past, The Archeology and Anthropology of Mining*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, pp. 81-94.
[223] Ibid, pp.82-83.
[224] Ibid, p. 84.

regulated new company towns"[225]. The town's fame on the other hand was not only depending on the dense existence of illegal gambling, prostitution and alcohol but it also emerged as a center for union radicalism. The town inhabited a highly cosmopolitan population with Greeks, Slavs, Italians, Mexicans and Japanese, but the role of ethnicity was minimized in the organization of the community. The segregation regarding class, wealth and occupation was also absent in the social and physical structure of the town, mostly depending on the homogeneity of the population in these terms with mineworkers of low income. Hardesty evaluates the organization of the power network here as an example case of "heterarchy" reflecting negotiations of individuals and groups and remaining situational and changing. On the other hand company towns exposed hierarchical structures with neat strategies of domination and resistance.

Considering the case of Zonguldak and housing projects by Arkan with correspondence to this study of company towns and informal mining settlements, bears its own risks and limitations within the obvious differences in the two contexts. Still it provides a new frame in evaluating the designed complexes as company towns and their contact with the existing social context. Not only the designs included a hierarchical setting, the practical life of the mineworker in the realized part of the designs (i.e. the 'pavilions' for the seasonal workers) also exposed hierarchical characteristics that could bring in interesting discussions on the issues of discipline, dominance and resistance.

Despite the effective existence of foreign mining companies, the idea of a company town had not existed in the region before the entrance of *T. İş Bankası* and *Etibank*. The earlier type of mining activity was rather comparable with the "informal mining" with both of the components defined by Hardesty: the villagers of Zonguldak as

[225] Ibid, p. 91.

"smallholder farmers … engage[d] in mining as a part-time activity during the farming off-season" and the villagers coming from the eastern Black Sea region, who were not exactly "industrial cowboys" but were more mobile, skilled and class-conscious when compared to any group of workers in the region. The pavilions on the other hand introduced the qualities of a company town as they brought about a total control on the everyday life of these workers, and created a clash of these qualities and the existing habits that stood closer to a 'heterarchical' structure when compared. Those existing habits did not produce comparable results of union radicalism or illegal and infamous economic life as it was in the case Hardesty studies, but the way the power structure was formed with changing and situational relations of mining companies, local investors and traders, foremen and workers, may allow such a correspondence. An interesting example to the situational power relations in Zonguldak before nationalization is the role of the foremen. They usually functioned as an interface between the firm and the workers, mostly using harsh methods that included physical vilonce to obtain work discipline and to protect investors' profits. But they could also turn against the firm and organize the workers against the pit owner. Following are the words of a worker who began working in the mines in 1905 when he was 9 years old:

> One morning when I came to work, workers were gathered at the pit entrance. I saw that no one was entering. I did not know anything since I was just a kid. So I walked through the entrance to get to working. I was strongly slapped by my father as I came close. Then I learned that the chief [foreman] demanded a rise in the payment for the workers from the pit owner. In fact he was demanding a rise in his own pay since he received a share for each of the workers he brought from the village. Anyway, we were not getting the money from the pit owner. The owner was giving the money to the chief and the chief distributed it on his own will. That [the incident above] happened a few times. When the chief had a problem with the pit owner, he left his cane at the pit entrance and workers,

> knowing what it meant, did not enter the pit. He never verbally told the workers 'do not enter the pit today'.[226]

A resistance was created as a result of the clash of the existing habits and the power networks with the ways that later developments in the Republican period brought about, such as the new life pattern at the pavilions of *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş*. The interviews made with the mineworkers who had worked in the region during the 1930s and the following decades make it clear that these buildings and the change they brought in terms of comfort and hygiene was not received by the workers in an equal excitement as displayed in the texts published by the investors or written by the architect[227]. The witnesses of the time state that there was a chief responsible for each pavilion, who usually applied harsh discipline to which the workers reacted and left the pavilions to return to their former tents, caves or jerry-built barracks. Following are samples of answers to the question why the workers refused to use the pavilions.Hüseyin Aydın was 71 years old in the year the interview was made:

> The reason is this, I also did not sleep there, they built the pavilion and put a pavilion-man in charge. We entered the pavilion, nothing is allowed but a shirt and a sleeve. The company gives clothing. Nothing else is allowed to wear. As you exit the baths, it is cold. And you are wearing that cloth of hard fabric; a jacket and the pants. You shouldn't dirty the bed. You should go to the ironing over 3-4 days. You are not allowed to sleep if you don't have the papers from ironing. Under this torture we went to the mountain and built shelters. We slept under those shelters. The watchmen caught us, they brought us back to the

[226] Cited in Tuncer, pp. 46-47. "Bir sabah çalışmaya geldiğimde ocak ağzında işçiler birikmişti. Kimsenin ocağa girmediğini gördüm. Ben daha çocuk olduğumdan zaten bir şey bilmiyordum. O yüzden 'işime gidem' diye ocak ağzına doğru yürüdüm. Tam yaklaştım ki babamdan okkalı bir şamar yedim. Sonradan öğrendim meğer şef ocak sahibinden işçilerin parasını arttırmasını istemiş. Tabi köyden getirdiği her işçi başına kendisi de para aldığından aslında kendi parasına zam istiyordu. Zaten biz parayı ocak sahibinden almazdık. Ocak sahibi parayı şefe verir, şef de insafına göre dağıtırdı. Bu böyle bir kaç defa oldu. Şefin ocak sahibiyle bir derdi oldu muydu, şef bastonunu ocak ağzına bırakır, işçiler de bunun ne demek olduğunu anlar ocağa girmezlerdi. Yoksa şef işçilere 'sakın ha, bugün ocağa girmeyin' diye tembihte bulunmazdı."

[227] Can, S. "Okyanus Çiçekleri" in *Uyanış*, 17 January-9 May 1994.

> pavilions. Then in time we got used to. But those damned men had no tolerance. They behaved us bad in cleaning times.[228]

Cemil Akyüz was 66 years old. He stated that he began the work in 1945, after the date pavilions were first built but he remembered those days, too:

> [The reason is that,] does [the worker] have anything else to wear? Does he have a soap to clean himself? They don't let you in the pavilion in that shape. There are white sheets. Why should he let you sleep there? He says "go get cleaned and then return". Look at that torture! That is why they did not go to the pavilions. But then they got used to.[229]

The same kind of problems are in the words of an individual from the "other side" of the process going on, the words of a mining engineer, Kadri Yersel, who worked in the region in the same period. Yersel defines the situation as an "extreme conditionedness to the old":

> To increase efficiency in the coalfield, it was necessary to provide the workforce with health and skill, as well as increasing the level of science and technology. The enterprises of *İş Bankası* pioneered such efforts. Baths, mess halls, clean dining halls and dormitories were established and given to the service of the worker for free. However it was not easy to make those, who had been conditioned to dirt and vagrancy, get accustomed to these places. Those who did not take a bath were forced to get cleaned by washing with hoses before they would eat and sleep! …With the help of patient efforts, time, education and proper manners established, the extreme conditionedness to the old was overcome, but insufficiently. It was also a fact that these compulsions caused discontent.[230]

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[228] Ibid, (17 January 1994). It should be remembered that showers and sleeping places were located in different nearby buildings in the *Türk-İş* complex. "Onun sebebi şu. Ben de yatmadım. Pavyonu yaptılar. Başına da koydular bir pavyoncu. Girdik pavyona, ana mintanla ana gömlekten başka bir şey olmayacak. İşletme elbise veriyor. Başka bir şey giymeyeceksin. Hamamdan çıkacaksın. Soğuk. Bir de o katı bezlerden bir elbise var üstünde. Bir ceket, bir de pantolon. Yatağı kirletmeyeceksin. 3-4 günde bir ütüye gideceksin. Ütüden kağıdın yoksa yatağa girip yatamayacaksın. Bu işkence altındayken gittik dağlara, sayvan yaptık. Sayvanlarda yattık. Bizi oralarda bekçiler yakaladılar. Tekrar pavyonlara soktular. Sonra alıştık. Alıştık ama, o nalet adamlarda hiç idare yoktu. Temizlemesi olacak diye bize kötü davranırlardı."

[229] Ibid, (24 January). "Neden olacak, başka giyecek elbisesi mi var? Yıkanacak sabun mu var? Adam seni o halinle pavyona koymuyor ki..Beyaz çarşaflar var. Yatırır mı seni orada? Yıkan da gel diyor. Eziyeti görüyor musun? Bunun için gitmediler pavyonlara. Ama daha sonra alıştılar."

[230] Cited in, Hacımirzaoğlu, A. B. "Madencilikte Bir Ömür, Kadri Yersel" in, *75 Yılda Çarkları Döndürenler*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, p. 52. "Kömür havzasında verimi arttırabilmek için, bilim ve teknoloji düzeyinin yükseltilmesi kadar emek gücünün de sağlığa ve beceriye kavuşturulması zorunluydu. Bu doğrultudaki çalışmalara İş Bankası işletmeleri öncülük ettiler. Hamamlar, aşhaneler, temiz yemekhane ve yatakhaneler kuruldu, işçi bunlardan ücretsiz olarak yararlandırıldı. Ancak, pislik ve derbederliğe koşullanmış olanları buralara alıştırmak kolay olmadı. Yıkanmamış olanlar hortumlarla

The application of a new way of life at the pavilions, the way it was introduced into the workers' life and the reaction it received from the workers, represent the reflection of the modernization process of the Republic on the everyday life in the existing context. One argument may emphasize the sense of "dominance" that ignored the existing material processes and that was ineffective in introducing itself in mental and intellectual levels, and a certain sense of "resistance" displayed on the part of the individual who was subjected to this process. On the other hand one can not eliminate the feeling that such a reading of the case would be an over-interpretation, since the field that was "disciplined" here, i.e. hygiene, is a much more down-to-earth issue than the field of moral and political values in which the strategies of dominance and resistance were active as in the cases given by Hardesty[231]. Whatever the conclusion derived from the case in these terms is, it can be suggested that when the pavilions, as parts of the initial steps of modern restructuring of the mining community, were inserted into the existing ways of life, they necessarily formulated a power structure of their own, which did not resemble either the former order or the intended transformation.

ıslatılarak yemeden ve yatmadan önce temizlenmeye zorlandılar! Yağ yüzü görmeyen bağırsaklar diyaretik reaksiyonlar verdi. Sabırla harcanan çabalar, zaman, eğitim ve oluşturulan görgü yardımı ile eskiye aşırı koşullanma yetersiz olarak aşılabildi. Bu zorlamaların hoşnutsuzluk yarattığı da bir gerçekti."

[231] Two points may also be worth mentioning here: First of all this care on cleanness was not the only act regarding health but was a part of a program; in the same years of 1930s four hospitals belonging to *Amele Birliği* were built in Zonguldak and surrounding towns Kozlu, Kilimli and Ereğli and a certain rise in the health condition was provided until the 1940s. *Amelebirliği Biriktirme ve Yardımlaşma Sandığı*, T. C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı Ereğli Kömür Havzası Amelebirliği, Ankara, 1998, p. 84. And the second point is, the case of showing resistance to the effort of disciplinizing the field of hygiene was not specific to the history of Zonguldak, but similar narratives can be found in the mining history of the industrialized world. When a number of baths were built in the mining town of Durham, England in 1927, the management had some time trying to persuade some of the workers to use them, because older workers believed that washing their backs would weaken them. This can be related to the nature of the mining activity that creates its own cultural world. Emery, N. *The Coalminers of Durham*, Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., Phoneix Mill, Far Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1992, p. 151.

5.4. The *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* Housings Beyond Company Towns

The discussions in this part should not be taken as an attempt of equalizing the cases of the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* housings with seemingly similar cases of company towns in western countries taken as features of a uniform industrialization. Instead, the cases of company town are discussed here in order to determine the differences and significances of the housings in Zonguldak in the early Republican context. In fact it is again Bulmer who draws attention to the fact that the concept of industrialization and the characteristics attributed to it are not sufficient alone to figure out the social aspects of mining in a mainly non-industrial society. To clarify this he cites Blumer who discusses the transformation of the traditional order brought about by industrialization, and who points to the importance of distinguishing the trends associated with industrialization and the industrialization process itself.[232]

Blumer explains that 'modernization' is one of the processes that industrialization is confused with in the studies of social transformation[233]. Defining modernization as "the introduction of norms, standards, and models from the outside, "advanced" world" he writes:

> Such norms, standards and models carry the prestige of being modern, as representing what is seemingly sanctioned by the moving world as proper to follow, to use or to possess. These forms of "modernity" are very diverse, covering such matters as public education, social legislation, new consumer tastes and wishes, new recreational interests, new kinds of formal associations, new political doctrines, and new ideas of how to live. Such modern forms, in different combinations and in different degrees, are almost certain to flow into a region

[232] Bulmer, p. 77.
[233] Blumer, H. *Industrialization as an Agent of Social Change, A Critical Analysis*, Aldine de Gruyter, New York, 1990. Other processes mentioned in these senses are economic growth, technological development, industrial development and urbanization.

> undergoing industrialization… Since these new forms coincide with the industrialization of the region, students are easily misled to attribute them and their play to the process of industrialization.[234]

The objective of Blumer's study is to provide a critical frame for industrialization as a sociological concept in the studies of social transformation. The analysis of the Zonguldak coalfield and the housing projects prepared for the Zonguldak mineworkers within such a distinct sociological frame of industrialization, is beyond the objectives of this study. In fact this study has analyzed the projects by Arkan in Zonguldak in the context of 'modernization'. Beginning with the presentation by the architect of his projects, and throughout the discussions developed on them, Arkan's designs have been related to the social and political, as well as the industrial, issues and tasks of the Republican revolution. In this respect, however, the warning of Blumer may be valuable for this work in a reversed manner: the discussions and comparisons made in this part can be used to bring a better understanding of the designs of Arkan within their contribution to the Turkish modernization and related social and political tasks by defining them as basically concerning an industrial rationality. It can be argued that many aspects of the designs, which were discussed in the previous parts in their relation to the political and ideological features in the Republican context, will not lose their meanings if they are detached from this specific context. For example, the issue of single houses within gardens would bear the same meaning, and the same discussion on their function of transforming semi-peasants into settled workers would still be valid, if the designs were prepared for one of the foreign companies that had operated in the region. It would

[234] Ibid. p. 22.

similarly be reasonable for a foreign as well as a national company to provide a settled and loyal group of employees in terms of long-term production efficiency.

Keeping in the line of the discussions on company towns in this part and asking what would be different in the demographic, social and occupational structure in the region of the time if the projects had been designed for a foreign company, it may be proposed that any part of the projects including their programs, the formation of their parts , the use of green, the incorporation of social and educational facilities, etc., would not loose their function and meaning if they were designed for the benefits and industrial policies of any company in the region including the foreign ones.

In this sense the words of the architect that emphasized the role of his projects in the total Turkish modernization and devoted his professional labor to the Republican revolution, can be reconsidered. It can be stated that the designs were a part of the Republican revolution and its modernization process, not because they produced certain architectural qualities specific to the revolution and bore the meaning and function valid *only* for the revolution, but because they followed the industrial rationality that was found to be proper for the social, political and industrial tasks that the revolution aimed to undertake in the Zonguldak coalfield.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION:
MODERNITY, MODERNIZATION, AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE

In this study the projects designed for the *Türk-İş* and *Kömür-İş* workers' housing complexes by the architect Seyfi Arkan were tried to be discussed with reference to various aspects which must have had their effects on the design process and the product in a direct or indirect way. For this purpose, initially the set of factual points that define and describe the projects and the historical, social, political and economic context in which the designs were meant to be inserted, were examined in a detailed form. The following discussions that were built on these points and that approached the subject in different frames were organized in three parts.

The main frame that formed the first part of the discussions was the architectural content of the designs. This was examined through the ways that the projects were presented in the contemporary architectural media and through the various studies on the early Republican architecture that evaluated these projects. Two issues were found to be determining in this examination. The first one was the way the designs referred to and reflected the modern western developments and studies of the time on housing complex. This can be traced in the articles presenting the projects in the strong emphasis made on proper and up-to-date science and technology. In this sense the projects, as the first

examples of large scale housing complexes in Turkey, were important in the architectural qualities they introduced to the Turkish architectural practice with the integration of social and individual activities of everyday life into the design process, the proper technical, functional and compositional consideration of landscape, site and circulation, and the aspects of mass production, low cost and economy of space.

The second issue was a certain sense of 'local character.' In the presentation of the projects in *Arkitekt* it was stated that the 'village culture' was taken into consideration in their designs. It has been argued in this study that the use of detached houses within private gardens, despite the contemporary critical approach against this type of planning in western studies and experiments of housing complex, could be accepted as the reflection of this issue on the designs.

It was seen that, though quite limited, a certain debate on workers' housing was going on in the disciplinary and non-disciplinary media of the period. *Arkitekt* was trying to introduce the concepts of '*siedlung*' and low-cost housings by presenting western examples and studies. *Ulus* questionnaire on the other hand presented certain selected issues of the question to the public. Arkan and his design formation, including the possible effects of the three years he spent in Germany, was also taken into consideration in this sense, as the architect had already studied on low-cost housing before he undertook the Zonguldak designs, which brought the experiments with detached units within a unified urban form.

When the social, demographical and occupational characteristics of the worker, the very subject of the housing question, were considered, it was seen that the architectural preferences were also strongly related to these characteristics and their

intended transformation regarding the social and industrial tasks that the Republic brought about. For the context of the Zonguldak coalfield, the social and industrial fields of modernist transformation were not two separate issues but were directly related. The industrial tasks assigned for the coalfield necessitated a definite change in the social structure with reoriented occupational roles towards a full integration in the industrial life. It was proposed that the use of detached units within gardens could also be evaluated with reference to this reorientation. In this sense the "village culture" appeared as an input to produce the proper architectural solution to perform this task.

In the second part of the discussions the issue of workers' housing and the social and industrial transformations intended was investigated in reference to the general political and economic context of the Republic. This context presented various and changing sides, positions and groups, acting with or against each other in their approaches to the working class or to the issues of economic and industrial development, while they still remained within the same frame of the Republican ideology. 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, according to the Republican ideals. On the other hand Zonguldak presented a special case in the industrial history of Anatolia having a significant worker population. The workers of the region had not been totally detached from the rural modes of production and social structures, but they had also become acquainted with industrial class relations and power networks as a result of the more than half a century of mining in the coalfield. In this respect the coalfield can be considered as an important field of experimentation in terms of the labor

policies of the Republic from the very beginning, since the special labor law issued for the region in 1921, besides its economic importance with the rich coal reserves.

The same argument is also valid for the debates on the economic policy and the models of industrialization. The Zonguldak coalfield was an important field where the idea of national economy and industry could be practiced and the region experienced various models in this practice. These experiences had not always been parallel to the dominant economic approaches and the region remained as an exception in the statist economic until 1940, which can be explained with reference to the existence of *T. İş Bankası* in the region since 1926. When the Zonguldak housing projects by Arkan are placed in this context, they appear as special cases for the time, as projects produced for a special group of workers in a specific period, and the social and political features that constituted the social and political meanings inherit in the designs should be considered within their dynamic formations and relations, as well as being coherent with the main ideological frame of the Republic.

The third part of the discussions brought a shift in the point of approach and took the housings as examples of mining settlements and of 'company towns' and compared them with various other examples world wide. The points discussed and the conclusions reached in this part were mainly not differing from the ones in the previous parts; however the perspective provided here allowed the evaluation of both the designs and their context within the frame of industrial sociology. It was argued in this part that the social tasks attributed to the designs as discussed in the former parts could also be understood within an industrial rationality, which would approach the workers' life in terms of long-term production efficiency, being free from the ideological context of the

Republic. It was stated that the projects could have been prepared for a foreign company in the region as well, without any part or any quality of the designs loosing validity or meaning. This can be considered as a validation of the claim that points to an 'objective' science of architectural design and urban planning as the main reference for the design process of these projects.

When all the points made in these discussions are evaluated together, the projects can be seen as cases where the design formation of the architect, the architectural scene of the time, social and industrial tasks regarding the coalfield and the general labor and economy policies of the Republic functioned together to produce the result. In this sense the cases appear as important examples in the history of the modern architecture in Turkey in evaluating architecture's contribution to the Turkish modernization. This is the case not only because they were manifested to have succeeded in such a contribution both by the architect and the investors, but also because they 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. For this reason, a frame structured on the concepts of "modernity" and "modernization" can be formed to employ the results of the discussions so far.

Modernity, as a form of social life and organization dating back to the 17th century in Europe, is discussed by Tekeli in four dimensions and the stresses among them[235]. One of these dimensions is economic, pointing to an industrialized society in capitalist relations with merchandized goods, paid labor and institutionalized liberalist

[235] Tekeli, İ. "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması" in, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2001, pp. 11-12.

proprietorship. The second dimension is the approach to the knowledge and the belief in an objective social science which is capable of an exact representation of social facts and therefore can lead to a universal field of ethics and law. The third dimension in modernity is seen in the birth of the individual as a free citizen capable of his/her rights and responsibilities through rational facilities. The fourth dimension is the institutional structure, which is reorganized regarding the three dimensions above, and which can briefly be defined in the nation-state and democracy.

With the extensive range of its discourse and its concrete and inseparable relation to social praxis together with its economic and administrative structures and institutions, architecture has always been on the axis of social relations and their organization. The role of architecture in the modernity therefore constitutes a long history of modern architecture rich in variations of theoretical motives. However a main frame for this role may be derived from the theory of cultural modernity of the Enlightenment as defined by Habermas via Weber[236]. Very briefly, the main task of cultural modernity in the project of the Enlightenment was the separation of the substantive reason expressed in religion and metaphysics into three autonomous spheres: science, morality, and art. By this separation it became possible that questions of knowledge, of justice and morality, and of taste could be handled according to their intrinsic structures of rationality (structures of cognitive-instrumental, moral-practical, and aesthetic-expressive rationalities respectively). This would set these spheres free from their esoteric forms in order to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art, which would altogether function for the rational organization of everyday social life. Architecture

[236] Habermas, J. 'Modernity: An Incomplete Project' in *Postmodernism*, Zeka, N. (ed.) Kıyı Yay. İstanbul, 1990, p. 37.

found its role in the modern world in this sense, claiming an aim in accordance with this grand project of generating a transformation and reorganization of social life and still organizing its methods in its inner logic by using the concepts and terms of its disciplinary theory (such as space), and its specialized rationality (of processes of design and construction).

The four dimensions of modernity, as given by Tekeli, do not define a closed and balanced structure together, but involve constraints and contradictions. Tekeli states that one of these is the contradiction between the unequal development dynamics that capitalism brings and the idea of democracy that emphasizes the equality of individuals. The second one is observed in the nature of modernity that extends the borders of the nation-state, not only by capitalist expansion but also by the claim of universality in its intellectual reflections.

In either one of these two ways or in a combination of the two, the idea of modernity was carried to the non-western world. As a model defined universally, modernity does not propose any specific quality for other parts of the world different from the European context. However it is the 'application' of the model, the ways modernity as a project was put into operation as a process of 'modernization', that created divergences. Pointing at the difference between the two, Çiğdem defines modernity as "a project or a reflection" and modernization as "the institutional-structural evolution that renders such a reflection possible"[237]. As Çiğdem explains, the main problem with modernization in non-western societies is that "the modern practices that these societies experienced or were subjected to were never historically contemporary

[237] Çiğdem, A. "Batılılaşma, Modernite ve Modernizasyon, "Türk Batılılaşmasını Açıklayıcı bir Kavram: Türk Başkalığı" in, *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık, Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 3,* İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2002, p. 68.

with the West", because "the process of westernization included the unequal development of the historical evolution in the advantage of the West, since it involved the growth of the capitalist market through colonization and capitulation". Consequently, modernization in the non-western world defined itself as a "compensating ideology" in order to eliminate the effects of the historical delay.

The experience of Turkish modernization can be examined in this dual definition of modernity and modernization, and its self definition and manifestation can be analyzed in its references highlighting either a universally defined 'modernity project' or a 'modernization ideology' as a consequence of the specific context in the historical evolution.

While studying the Republican ideology and/of modernization, one important point, as Tekeli warns, is about the problems that may arise when the ideological formation is detached from its historical context and taken as a frozen and closed structure[238]. In this respect Tekeli separately detects and defines the main line in the political ideology of the period that was not effected from the contextual developments, and later features attached to this line due to the developments in the political and economic conjuncture. The main line, as Tekeli states, was composing of two components. The first one of these was related to the positivist motive in the Turkish modernization which was a continuation of the Ottoman modernization and was defined referring to the Enlightenment as studied and interpreted by the Ottoman and Republican intellectuals. This motive in the idea of the Enlightenment accepted that the society could be comprehended with scientific knowledge in the guidance of reason and a better and

[238] Tekeli, İ. "Türkiye'de 1923-1950 Dönemi Mimarlığının Toplumsal ve Siyasal Bağlamı", in *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2001, pp. 57-63.

developed society could be formed by relying on this scientific knowledge. This idea accepted a line of development in modernization which could be presumed rationally and therefore suggested a mission in this development for those who were intellectually developed to grasp this process.

Stemming from the Enlightenment, this component mainly referred to modernity as a universally valid reflection and dealt with the political setting of the ground that would form the institutional structure which was believed to be proper. The second component on the other hand can be considered in the way it highlighted the specific condition of the Turkish context.

According to Tekeli, the second component of the main ideological line of the Republic is observed in the formation of the nation-state and the problem of nation building. This component differs from the first one especially in bringing the negation of and the break from the Ottoman past. The emergence of the nation-state in Europe, as Tekeli explains, was in an evolutionary development. Within the process of industrial development, newly urbanized masses of people needed to acquire a new identity within the collective identity of the nation as the feudal relations dissolved. Nationalist ideology emerged in this process of nation-state formation and nation-building. Nationalism was introduced into the Ottoman context in the period following the Balkan Wars (1911-1913) but the idea of the nation-state still remained distant to the imperial ideology. The Republic needed to reconsider the intellectual basis of the idea of nationalism founded by the Ottoman intellectuals within the problem of nation building in a social context that lacked the necessary features of industrialization and urbanization which created the nation-state in the West.

The study of the early Republican history of modern Turkish architecture in this context can vary regarding the interpretation of architecture's participation in the process of modernization. One type of interpretation reads architectural works and the architectural discourse on which these works are grounded through the ways they reflect and represent the ideological orientations regarding the modernization process. The early Republican period can be evaluated accordingly by concerning the dominant architectural approach which presents a wavering between the periods of international and national styles. In these terms the designs of housing complexes by Arkan can be seen as typical examples of the international period of the Turkish architecture in the 1930s, as they represent the positivist motive in the Republican ideology by strongly referring to the architectural language of western modern architecture which was defined on a rational basis bringing forth the aspects of technology, function, materials and the formal language derived from geometrical rationality.

On the other hand, these projects by Arkan have been evaluated in this study as cases, through the analysis of which the spatial problems and architectural solutions could be examined according to various aspects of the modernization process as experienced in the coalfield. The social, political and industrial aspects of the Republican modernization and the specific characteristics of the existing ways of life in the coalfield were strongly connected as inputs for the design process. In this sense, the housing design for the mineworker becomes important with reference to the ways of life that the spatial organization generated, besides the formal language used. For this reason, these projects exemplify the fact that the relation between architecture and the Republican

modernization should also be considered beyond the representative function of architecture mentioned above.

The communication between the form that the designs introduced into the ways of life and the anticipated social transformation projected through industrial goals, defines the relation of the projects with the positivist motive in the Republican modernization. The architect's attempt here can be seen as integrating his design formation on architectural and urban spatial organization, which he claimed to have been gained through objectively and universally derived knowledge, into the modernization project of the Republic. In this attempt the architect was not only following the 'modernization' ideology, but also defining himself as one of the actors to produce the idea of 'modernity' as a specialist capable of the intrinsic rationality of the discipline to take part in the organization of social life, which brings the cases closer to the frame of cultural modernity of the Enlightenment as defined above. It is in this context that the architect utilized his knowledge of contemporary architectural developments for his social concerns, which he fostered and expressed in the line of the Republican revolution. Such a devotion renders the cases as examples worthy of investigation that has been undertaken in this study for a better understanding of the role that the early Republican architect proclaimed as his own in the relation between the production of architecture and the process of modernization in Turkey.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EREĞLİ HAVZAİ FAHMİYESİ MADEN AMELESİNİN HUKUKUNA MÜTEALLİK KANUN'UN TAM METNİ

(*Amelebirliği Biriktirme ve Yardımlaşma Sandığı*, T. C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı Ereğli Kömür Havzası Amelebirliği, Ankara, 1998, pp. 39-41.)

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Madde 1. Maden ocaklarında müstahdem amelenin beytutetleri ve temin-i istirahatleri için her ocak civarında İktisat Vekaletince tanzim edilen nümunelere tevkifan amele koğuşları ile hamam inşaasına ocak amilleri mecburdur.

Madde 2. Maden işlerinde amelenin cebren istihdamı ve angariye sureti ile herhangi bir işe sevki ve maden ocakları dahilinde onsekiz yaşından dûn olanların istihdamı memnudur.

Madde 3. Her madenci, istihdam ettiği amelenin miktar ücreti ile künyesini mübeyyin nümunesine tevkifan muntazam defter tutmağa ve bu defteri Amele Birliği müfettişine ve İktisat Vekaleti memurlarına bera-i tetkik ibraza mecburdur.

Madde 4. Alelumum madenciler, nizamname-i mahsusuna tevkifan amele tarafından teşkil olunacak İhtiyat ve Tevaün Sandıkları'na beher mah zarfında istihdam edecekleri amele ücurat-ı umumiyesinin yüzde birinden dûn olmamak üzere muavenet-i nakdiyede bulunmağa mecburdurlar.

Madde 5. Amelenin zatına ait olup esnayi ameliyatta kırılan alat ve edavat ile nakliyat esnasında telef olan hayvanatı madenci tarafından tanzim olunur.

Madde 6. Bilumum madenciler, hasta ve kazazede olan ameleyi meccanen tedavi ettirmeğe ve bunu teminen maden civarında hastahane, eczahane ve şehadetnameli etibba bulundurmağa mecburdurlar. Bunların tayini, mahal ve adedi ile muhtelif madencilerin arasında mesarifin veçh tevzi ve itasına dair ayrıca bir nizamname tanzim olunacaktır.

Madde 7. Havza-i Fahmiyyede sây ve ameleden dolayı kazazede olanlar ile vefat edenlerin varisleri veya amele müfettişliği veyahut İktisat Vekaleti tarafından tazminat davası ikame olunur.

İşbu tazminat davası miktarı kaç kuruştan ibaret olursa olsun Sulh Hakimleri hakkındaki kanuna tevkifan Sulh Mahkemelerince kabili temyiz olmak üzere rüyet olunur. Tazminat miktarı tarafeynden alelusûl müntehap erbab-i vukuftan teşekkül edecek heyetin vereceği rapora istinad eder. Kaza vukuu amil veya mültezimlerin sui idaresinden veya fennen ifası lâzım gelen hususatın adem-i ifasından neşet etmiş ise, tazminattan maada işbu amil veya mültezimlerden beş yüz liradan beş bin liraya kadar nakt-i ceza alınır.

Madde 8. Mesai âlelıtlak sekiz saattir. Bu müddetten fazla çalışmağa hiçbir işçi icbar edilemez. Tahtezzemin nüzûl ve suut için geçen müddet sekiz saate dahildir.

Madde 9. Amelenin ahval-i sıhhiye ve şerait-i hayatiyetler ile hukuk-i umumiyelerine müteâllik işbu mevadı ifa etmeyen madenci ve mültezimlerin ruhsatname ve imtiyazları fesh olunur.

Madde 10. İşbu kanun ahkâm-ı elyevm mer'i olan bilumum ruhsatname ve şartname ve itilafname ve imtiyazları fesh olunur.

Madde 11. Maden ocaklarında çalışan amelenin haddi asgari ücreti ocak âmil veya mültezimler ile Amele Birliği ve İktisat Vekaleti tarafından müntehap üç zat marifetile tayin olunur.

Madde 12. Maden Nizamnamesinin 77. ve 78. Maddeleri ile işbu kanun ahkamına taaruz eden alelumun mevadı nizamiye mülgadır.

Madde 13. Maden ocağı amillri bir mescid ve genç ameleye gece dersleri vermek üzere bir mektep yapmağa ve muallim tutmağa mecburdurlar.

Madde 14. İşbu kanuntarih-i neşrinden muteberdir.

Madde 15. İşbu kanunun icrasına adliye ve iktisat vekilleri memurdur.

APPENDIX B

ZONGULDAK MADEN İŞÇİLERİ İÇİN ÇIKARILAN İLK YASALAR VE AMELEBİRLİĞİ HAKKINDA İLK T.B.M.M'NDEKİ DİKKAT ÇEKİCİ KONUŞMALAR (EXTRACTS)

(*Amelebirliği Biriktirme ve Yardımlaşma Sandığı*, T. C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı Ereğli Kömür Havzası Amelebirliği, Ankara, 1998, pp. 46-55. Summarized from the series of articles "Zonguldak Maden İşçileri İçin Çıkarılan İlk Yasalar, ve bir Emekçi Dostu: Tunalı Hilmi, Amelebirliği Hangi Koşullarda Kuruldu" by Sina Çıladır in the newspaper *Uyanış* in March, April, May 1990.)

...Meclisin 15 Ağustos 1920 tarihli oturumunda hükümetin "Maden kömürlerinden alınacak ihracat resmi hakkında kanun" tasarısı ele alınmış, bu münasebetle de Zonguldak kömür ocaklarında çalışan işçilerin sosyal güvenceye kavuşturulması konusunda konuşmalar olmuştur. Örneğin Kastamonu Mebusu Suat Bey (Soyer) Maden işçisinin alın terinin yabancıların cebine döküldüğünü söylemiş ve şöyle devam etmiştir. "...Avrupa'da haklarına sahip olan ameleler, birbirinin hakkını koruma yolunda bir takım sendikalar teşkil ederek ve sermayedarların baskısından kurtularak kendi yaşam koşullarını zorla kabul ettirdikleri için orada amele hayatı, bir kısım halk için refah ve mutluluk getirir. Halbuki bizde amele hayatı, sermaye sahiplerinin adamı olan bir takım kişilerin oyuncağı olmaktan başka bir şey elde edemezler."

Suat bey Konuşması sırasında Zonguldak kömür ocaklarında çalışan işçilere kaza tazminatı verilmesinin de yasallaştırılmasını istemiştir.

Trabzon Mebusu Ali Şükrü Bey buna karşı çıkmış; kömür ocaklarının İngilizler tarafından işletilmesinin daha uygun olacağını söylemiştir.

T.B.M.M.'nin 1 Kasım 1920 tarihli oturumunda ise, Bolu Mebusu Tunalı Hilmi Bey'in Fransız sermayeli Ereğli Şirketinin denetimi altındaki Zonguldak kömür madenlerine el konulmasını öngören kanun teklifi gündeme alınmıştır.

O oturumda Meclise Başkanlık eden Vehbi Bey kanun teklifi hakkında Tunalı Hilmi'ye söz verip, açıklamalarda bulunmasını istemiştir.

Tunalı Hilmi Bey: "Efendim, Ereğli Kömür Havzası Sultan Mahmut zamanında keşfolunmuştu. Oradaki madenler gittikçe dikkati çekiyor, Sultan Abdülmecit zamanında evkaf idaresine alınıyor. Otuzbin kuruş mukataa (Hazineye ait herhangi bir kira geliri) bedeli ile tersaneye bağlanıyor. Tersane, yıllık otuzbinkuruş bedelle (Kömür Kumpanyası) adıyla bir kumpanya teşkil ederek işe girişiyor. Bir zaman böyle devam etmekte iken

yerli ve yabancı müteahhitler çıkıyor. Evkaf, bu müteahhitler elinde işlenile işlenile bir zaman geliyor ki büsbütün hükümetin dikkatini çekiyor. Yaver Paşa (Dilaver Paşa) adında bir zat buraya gönderiliyor. 1281 (1864) oldukça esaslı olan bir teşebbüs. Her ne kadar güzel neticeler veriyorsa da ne yazık ki 1283 (1886) yılından sonra hükümetin irtikap ettiği bir cinayet vukua geliyor ki o da "Kardif" kömürlerine bile eş olan bu Ereğli Havzası'nın ürünlerinden istifade edileceği yerde, hükümetimizce İngiliz kömürlerinin satın alınmasına başlanıyor."

Tunalı Hilmi, daha sonraki gelişmeleri de özetledikten sonra sözlerini şöyle bağlıyor: "Efendim, otuzbinkuruş mukataa bedeli ile Tersane-i Amire'nin ve dolayısıyla beytül malın (Devlet Hazinesi) malı olan bu Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyyesi neden yabancı ve ehliyetsiz ellerde kalsın, teklifim budur. Önergem, lütfen evvela şeriye encümenine havale edilsin, şer'i tetkikat icra edilsin, mademki hazinenindir, evkafça, beytülmalca bu kömür havzasına el konulsun. Bu hususta önce bir kanun düzenlensin. (Muvafık sesleri).

29 cilt tutan birinci dönem meclis tutanaklarında, Tunalı Hilmi'nin önergesinin şer'iye encümeninden döndüğüne ve gündeme alındığına ilişkin bir kayda rastlanmamıştır.

...114 sayılı yasa, Zonguldak havzasında üretilen kömürlerin %10 oranındaki toz kısmının (ki bu toz kömür şirketlerince meccanen (parasız) olarak Devlete bırakılıyordu.) satılarak işçilerin yararına harcanmasını öngörüyordu.

Yasalaşan 114 sayılı tasarının meclis görüşmelerinde dikkat çekici konuşmalar olmuştur.

...Vehbi Efendi (Konya): "Efendim, Zongudak'ta çalışan ameleyi askerlikten istisna ederiz, ona aklım erer. Sonra, amelenin sağlığını korumak için, hastane yapmak için tahsisat verdik ona da aklım erer. Ayrıca, bu kömür tozlarını onların menfaatine tahsis olunmasının sebebi nedir?"

Feyzi Efendi (Malatya): "Benim kanundan anladığım, amele, kömürleri çıkarırken parçalasın, toz yapsın, sonra o satılsın, parasını cebine koysun demektir. Şimdi amele çalışıyor, yevmiyesini alıyor, askerlikten kurtuluyor. Bir de toz vermeyi bendeniz fazla görüyorum."

...Tunalı Hilmi (Bolu): "Efendim, hatır ve hayalimden geçmiyordu ki yıllardan beri feci, nasıl diyeyim, tabii cinayetlerin kurbanı olan amele aleyhinde bir söz söylensin. (Hayır, öyle değil sesleri) Kimin malını kime vereceksiniz? Hoca Efendinin konuşma biçimi tamamıyla bu hisleri uyandırmıştır. Amele için böyle yapıldı, şöyle edildi, şimdi de kömür tozlarının üzerine konuldu. Ben bunu böyle anladım. Arkadaşlar, oradaki tozlar ocak sahiplerinin değil hükümetindir. Hükümet bunları onlara bahşetmek istiyor. Hakkını onlara iade etmek istiyor. (Ne hakkı sesleri) Efendim, emekçinin alın teri bir haktır."

Mustafa Efendi (Karahisar-Şerki): "Bolşeviklik yok."

Emin Sazak (Eskişehir): "Kominist mi oluyoruz?"

Daha sonra söz alan İktisat Vekili Celal Bey (Bayar): "Bizimkilerin halini tekrar arz edeyim: Hepsi çıplak, hepsi açtır. Hatta üzerlerinde bir mintan bie yoktur. Karadeniz sahillerinden gelen ameleliği kendilerine sanat ittihaz eden müslüman biçarelerin orada yatacak yerleri yoktur. Yiyecek giyecek yoktur ve yacak da yoktur. Bunlara 80 kuruş gündelik verilir. Fakat 40 kuruş ekmek parası olarak kesiliyor. Madenlerimizde muntazam bir amele hayatı tesis ve tanzime mecburuz. Madem ki evvelce hiçbir şey yapılmamıştır. Şimdi bunun tanzimine sai ediyoruz. Amelenin hayatını orada korumak ise, memleketin istikbali ve iktisadi namına nafi meşru ve lazım bir harekettir.

...Efendiler, yalnız işverenler düşünülür, karşı taraf sıkıştırılırsa, emin olunuz ki, o zaman gadre uğrayanlar mutlaka ve her ne zaman olursa olsun amelede patlama, taşkınlık olur ve yurdun bütünü bundan zarar görür."

...Ali Şükrü Bey (Trabzon): "...tozdan anlaşılan nedir? Anlamıyorum... Amele ocağından çıktıktan sonra üstünde kalan ve üstünü silkelediği zaman çıkan toz ise onu alsın. (Hayır sesleri) Kanuna taraftar değilim."

İlk Meclisin Zonguldak maden işçileri çıkarttığı ikinci yasa 151 sayılı yasadır. Yasa tasarısının hazırlıklarına meclisin açılmasından üç ay sonra Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün direktifleriyle başlanmıştır. Umur-u İktisadiye Vekili Mahmut Celal Bey (Bayar), 16 Ağustos 1336 (1920) tarihinde Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyye Müdürlüğüne "Dakika tehiri gayri caizdir" kaydıyla bir telgraf çekerek TBMM'nin maden işçileri için bir yasa hazırlamakta olduğunu, işçi-işveren ilişkileri hakkında bir bilgi verilmesini istemiştir.

Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyye Müdürü Hüseyin Fehmi Bey (İmer) bunun üzerine gerekli bilgiyi derleyerek göndermiş ve 14 Eylül 1336 (1920) tarihinde "Gayet müstaceldir" kaydıyla çektiği telgrafında, malumatın postada olduğunu belirtmiştir.

Buna rağmen, "Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyyesindeki maden ocaklarında çalışan amelenin hukuk-i mütekabilelerinin temini hakkında kanun"un meclisteki görüşmelerine çok sonraları başlanabilmiştir. Çünkü, tasarının hazırlanması sırasında birçok pürüz doğmuştur. 1940'larda Milli Korunma Mahkemesi Savcı Yardımcılığı görevinde bulunan tanınmış hikayecilerimizden Ümran Nazi Yiğitler'in verdiği bilgiye göre, yasanın çıkışını geciktiren ilk pürüz, yasa teklifinin "Esbab-ı mucibesi"nin (gerekçesinin) "serlevhasının (başlığının) saptanmasında kendisini göstermiştir. "İkitisat Encümeni" 22 Aralık 1336(1920) tarihli kanun teklifini esas itibariyle uygun bulmuş, ancak "Heyet-i Vekile'nin esbab-ı mucibe mazbatası" gereğince yanlış anlamaları peşinen önlemek için "Esbab-ı mucibe'nin başlığına "Zonguldak Havza-i Fahmiyye" sözlerini eklemiştir. Ancak, bu başlık, kömür havzası, " Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyyesi denilmekle maruf bulunduğundan" daha sonra yukarıda belirtilen şekilde tashih edilmiştir.

151 sayılı yasa tasarısı meclisin gündemine 2 Mayıs 1921 günü gelmiştir. Yasa tasarısı hakkındaki ilk konuşmayı Hasan Saka yapmıştır. Saka, tasarıyı olumlu bulduğunu belirtmiş, dahası, bir madde eklenerek bu yasanın tüm madenlerdeki işçileri kapsamasını önermiştir.

Saka'nın bu önerisine Refik Şevket (İnce) karşı çıkmıştır.

İzmit milletvekili Hamdi Namık (Göl) daha sonra söz alarak tasarının lehinde konuşmuştur.

Hamdi Namık Bey: "Efendim. Amelenin hukukunu ve menfaatlerini bu kadar insancıl gözle tetkik eden Bakanlar kuruluna teşekkkür ederim. Fakat, bu Kanunun yalnız Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyyesinde bulunan bilumum ameleyi değil, Osmanlı Ülkesi içinde bulunan maden amelesinin tümünü kapsaması lazımdır. (Kabul edilmiştir sesleri).

Birinci maddenin bilumum deyimi, Osmanlı Ülkesi içinde bulunan bilumum amele demek değildir. Birinci maddenin bilumum deyimiyle Osmanlı Ülkesinde bulunan ameleyi kapsamasını teklif ediyorum."

...Ali Şükrü (Trabzon) söz alarak Hamdi Namık'ın önerisine karşı çıkmıştır.

...Tunalı Hilmi (Bolu): "Amelenin hukukunu temin için bir söz söylendiği zaman, belki sadece mecliste değil, bütün Türkiye'de öyle bir fikir öyle bir ruh haleti uyanıyor ki, güya ortaya bir kominstlik çıkıyor. Katiyen Efendiler, memlekette esnafı düşünürken,

memlekette köylüyü düşünürken bu his meydana gelmiyor da amele sözü ortaya atılır atılmaz bu his meydana geliyor. Sebebini arz edeyim. (Zatı alinizce öyle sadaları...öyle bir şey yok sadaları...)

Arkadaşlar, Sosyalist Avrupa'da amele membağından çıktığı zannoluyor ki, amele kelimesi söylenir söylenmez Sosyalistlikten ve Kominist likten dem vuracağız. Katiyen değildir. Köylü Memiş Çavuşumla amele Memiş Çavuşun arasında katiyen fark yoktur. (Konuya gel sesleri)

151 sayılı tasarı daha sonra birkaç konuşmadan sonra yasalaşmıştır. Şu var ki, ta 1929 yılına kadar doğru dürüst uygulama alanı bulamamışır. Çünkü, ilkten bazı hukuki boşluklar doğmuştur. Öreneğin, bir itiraz üzerine, Temyiz 3. Hukuk Dairesi, 151 sayılı yasanın diğer madenlerde çalışan işçileri de kapsaması gerektiği şeklinde bir karar almıştır. Ancak, bu karara Temyiz 1. Ceza Dairesi karşı çıkmış ve aksi yönde karar almıştır. Böylece bir "İçtihat İhtilafı" doğmuştur. Bunun üzerine Yüksek Temyiz Mahkemesinin tevhit-i içtihat heyetinin, 4.12.1922 tarih ve 15/1 kararı ile yasanın sadece Zonguldak maden işçilerini kapsadığı kesin hükme bağlanmıştır.

151 sayılı yasa TBMM'nin gündemine 2 Mayıs 1921 tarihinde Hükümet Teklifi biçiminde gelmişti.

Yasa tasarısının ilk üç maddesine ilişkin önergelerin okunup tartışılmasından ve kabülünden sonra, Amelebirliği'nin kuruluşunu öngören 4. madde ele elınmıştır. 4. maddenin içeriği şöyledir:

"Umum madenciler, nizamnameye uyularak amele tarafından teşkil olunacak yardım sandıklarına her ay içinde, çalıştıracakları amelenin ücretinin %1'inden düşük olmamak üzere para yardımında bulunmaya mecburdurlar."

Ali Şükrü Bey (Trabzon): "Efendim temcit pilavı gibi aynı şey için buraya geldiğimden dolayı affınızı rica ederim. Tekrar ederim, maden sahiplerini birçok kayıtlar ve şartlar altına sokmayalım. Ben, kapitalistlik yanlısı ve savunucusu değilim. Yanlış anlamayınız. Bunları böyle kayıt altına sokmayınız rica ederim. Yardım için verilen şey teberrudur. Kanun bu hususta zorlamaz. Sen zorla nasıl alırsın? Hangi kanunda var bu?"

...Tunalı Hilmi Bey (Bolu): "Efendim, Ali Şükrü Bey arkadaşımız iki defadır arızi bir halden söz ediyorlar. Şu kanunun kabülü 40 yıl sonra kabul edilip de yine böyle arızi (geçici, eğreti) bir vaziyette bulunulacak olursa kalkıp da bağıracak mıdır ki "Niye bu kanunu yapıyorsunuz?" Bu, nasıl 40 yıl sonra mantık dışı olacaksa bugün de bu arızi halden söz etmek mantık dışıdır.

Efendim, bir de amelenin sırtından ücreti kesilmesi... bu %1'in kesesinden çıkarılması ihtimalinden söz ediliyor. Katiyen efendiler, Amelebirliği sayesinde ve Amele Derneği sayesinde, yarın gerçek olacak olan amele uyanıklığı sayesinde amele kendi ücretini yükseltecektir. Bunun için hiçbir tehlikeye maruz kalmayan amele ücretinden dolayı asla endişe edilmemelidir. Binaen aleyh o suretle kanunun kabul edilmesini teklif ediyorum.

...Mazhar Müfit Bey (Hakkari). "Efendim, kurulacak bu yardım sandıkları için parayı amelenin ücretinden kesmeyecekler, aksine, maden sahiplerinden amele ücretinin %1'i oranında birşey kesilecek. Bu kesilsin mi, kesilmesin mi? Müsade buyurun. Eğer oradaki maden sahipleri benim dindaşlarım, benim ırkdaşlarım olsaydı buna lüzum görmezdim. Çünkü islamiyette merhamet vardır. Bir ameleyi hasta görürse "Onun dini şiarıdır" ona yardım eder. Fakat efendiler, emin olunuz, madenciler Mösyö Rombaki,

Mösyö Karikadis, Mösyö Papadakis gibi adamlardır. Bu heriflerden merhamet mi umacaksınız.

Ne olur efendim, bir takım Mösyö Papakadisler zavallı ırkdaşlarımızın, dindaşlarımızın alın teriyle ceplerini doldursunlar, onlar zevk ve sefa ile yaşasınlar. Yani usta onlar, çamurcu bizler, kalfa onlar taşçı biz, yağma yok arkadaşlar, buna yağma yok.

Mesela size canlı bir örnek vereyim. 1919 yılı martının 5. gününde Serdar oğlu Haşim ve Mustafa oğlu Rüstem vs., Rombaki ocaklarında, ocak sahibi, fenni şartlarda uymadıklarından dolayı ölmüşlerdir. 1919 tarihinden beri Rombaki mahkemeye verilmedi. Çünkü Yunan uyruklu imiş. Bir türlü mahkemeye çağrılamamıştır. Bu ölen adamların aileleri hala sızlanmaktadırlar.

Onun için, mademki bu madenler bütün Rombaki, Papadakislerin elindedir. Ne olur efendiler, bunlar benim dindaşlarımın emeği ile, benim ırkdaşlarımın sayesinde ceplerini doldurduktan halde amele ücretinin %1'i oranında bir parayı bu amelenin mutluluğu için verse ne olur? Bu zavallı amelenin mutluluğu sağlayacak olan bu parayı vermekle ne olur? Neyi kıskanacağız? Onun için bendeniz maddeyi aynen kabul ediyorum ve hiç şüphesiz böylece kabul edilecektir."

151 sayılı yasa tasarısının 4. maddesi üzerindeki en ilginç konuşmalardan birisini de Besim Atalay yapmıştır. Atalay, işçilere dernek kurma hakkını yukarıdan aşağıya vermektense, onlara kendi kendilerine örgütlenme olanağı sağlayacak yasal bir ortam yaratılmasının da doğru olacağını söylemiştir. Daha sonra yasa tasarısının diğer maddelerine geçilmiş ve 151 sayılı yasa kabul edilmiştir. 151 sayılı yasa, ya da tam adıyla "Ereğli Havza-i Fahmiyyesinde Çalışan Maden İşçilerinin Hukuk-u Mütekabilelerinin Temini Hakkında Kanun" 10 Eylül 1337 (1921) de yürürlüğe girmiştir.

Şu var ki, bu yasanın 4. maddesiyle kurulması öngörülen Amelebirliği İhtiyat ve Teavün Sandıkları'nın fiilen hizmete girmesi 2 yıl sonra 1923 yılının Aralık ayında gerçekleşebilmiştir.

APPENDIX C

ARTICLES BY ARKAN ON ZONGULDAK HOUSING PROJECTS

AMELE EVLERİ, İLKOKUL, MUTFAK VE ÇAMAŞIRLIK BİNASI KOZLU-ZONGULDAK

Mimar Seyfettin Arkan

(*Arkitekt*, September 1935, vol.9, pp. 253-258.)

Memleketimizim çok verimli bir köşesi olan Zonguldakta yapıcılık bakımından büyük bir çalışma başlamıştır. Cumhuriyet rejimine kadar yabancı ellerin menfaatine yarayan, dolayısile Türk kültür ve karakterine hiç uymamış olan bu yurt köşesi çok bakımsız kalmıştır. İçinde çalışan Türk halkına, mühendisine ve amelesine uygunsuz olarak yapılmış olan bir takım barakalar arasında şimdi bilgi ve teknik esaslarına uygun eserler inşa edilmeğe başlanmıştır. Halkevinden başlayan ilk Türk mimarlık hareketi şehir içinde ve civarında yeni ve modern Türk mahalleri ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu arada Sömikok fabrikası civarında büyük bir amele ve mühendisler mahallesi de yeşil ağaçlar içinde ve etüdlü bir plan dahilinde doğmağa başlamıştır. Beş sene içinde tamamlanacak olan bu önemli çalışmanın programı dikkatle çizilmiş ve ilk olarak Somikokta çalışacak olan bekar işçi evleri, bunlara ait duş, çamaşırhane, aş evi ve yemekhaneler, bir okul, ustabaşı ve evli işçi evlerinin birkaç tipi yükselmeğe başlamıştır.

Bu sene yapılan inşaat mahallerinin ancak bir kısımdan ibarettir. Arazi çok apik olduğundan yerin durumuna uygun iki ana yol bu mahalleyi şehire bağlamaktadır. Evler ikinci derece patika yollarla bu ana yollara bağlanmıştır. Bu plana nazaran yollar tamamile açılmıştır.

KÖMÜR-İŞ İŞÇİ URAMI
ZONGULDAK-KOZLU

Mimar Seyfi Arkan

(*Arkitekt*, January, 1936. pp. 9-10.)

Türk devriminin büyük yapıcısı ve yaratıcısı "Türk ülkesi içinde köylere varıncaya kadar küçük, büyük bütün şehirlerimizin birer genlik ve bayındırlık göreyi olması önde tuttuğumuz amaçlardandır". Kamutayı açış söylevlerile devrimin yapıcı çocuklarını ve uraylarını bu güdüş ve düşünüşle çalışmaları için ödevlendirdiler. Ülkemizin çok verimli bir köşesi olan Zonguldak Türk Mimarını ödevlendiren ilk uray olmuştur. Yabancıların ürbanik çalışmaları kadar çalışmaya başlayan ve yabancı ilim ve fenden faydalanarak yürümeye alışan Türk mimarı devrime layık olmaya çalışıyor. Cumhuriyet rejimine kadar yabancı ellerde bulunan maden ocaklarımız ve bu ocaklarda çalışan işçilerimiz hep yabancı çıkarına yarayan, dolayısile Türk kültür ve karakterine hiç uymamış olan bu yurd köşesi çok bakımsız kalmıştı. Ekonomi devrimimizle Türk sermayesine geçen sosyetelerden Zonguldak'ta "Türkiş"in kurduğu işçi uramının ürbanik projeleri ve ev planlarını iki sayı evvel basmıştık. Bu sayımızda "Kömür-iş"in işçi evlerinin ürbanik projelerile bir kısım mühendis evlerinin ve direktör evinin maket fotoğraflarını basıyoruz. Sosyetenin Kozluda kendi kömür ocaklarının işçileri için yurtlandırmaya elverişli olan Kılıçta kurmağa başladığı sitenin ürbanik bakımdan projesini düzenleyerek işçi, mühendis, işyar evlerile köy ve işçi çocukları için ilkokul, tenis alanı, ve ayrıca da ergen işçi yatak evi ve idare kurağı yapıları inşaasına başlanmıştır. Kılıç yolu ile başlayan uramın anayolu yukarılara kadar devam ediyor. Direktör evi bu yolun sonunda arazinin egemen tepesine yerleştirilmiştir. İşçi, işyar, ve mühendis evleri birer katlı gayet ekonomik olarak düşünülmüş, arazinin apik olduğuna göre manzaradan ve denizden faydalandırılmıştır.

Teknik ve bilgi planlarına göre inkişaf ederek kültürle bir gidecek olan işçi uramı bu düşüncelerle hazırlanan memleket planlarında köylülerin değeri çok önemlidir. Köyler insanlığın sağlığı, kuvveti üreni bakımından pek büyük değeri olmakla beraber görünüş, giyiniş ve bulunduğu mevki ve yaptıkları iş bakımından yapısı da farklıdır. Burada anane, iklim, yerli malzeme, apik arazi dolayisiyle ve istenen ihtiyaç teklifine ve şekline usal sınırlar çizilmesi düşünülmüştür.

Bu planda genel yol diğer yol ikinci derecede kalan ve evlere giden yollar bağlanarak arazinin meyiline tabi olarak normal bir meyil kabul edilmesi düşünülmüştür. Kılıç yolunun başlangıcında yol kenarına konan ilkokuldan Kozlu halkının da faydalanması düşünülerek köye yakın bırakılmıştır. Anayol arazi dolayısile meylin fazla olmaması için münhaniler yapmaktadır. Mimarın site için yapacağı ve düşündüğü bu projenin uygulamakta tam başarılmasını dileriz.

APPENDIX D

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE REALIZED PART OF THE *TÜRK-İŞ* HOUSING COMPLEX



Figure D. 1. The road just before entering the site of the *Türk-İş* complex.



Figure D. 2. *Türk-İş* complex, a house in the civil servants' part.



Figure D. 3. *Türk-İş* complex, the pavilions that have been changed to row houses for workers with additions.



Figure D. 4. *Türk-İş* complex, the pavilions.



Figure D. 5. *Türk-İş* complex, the pavilions.



Figure D. 6. *Türk-İş* complex, the pavilions.



Figure D. 7. *Türk-İş* complex, the primary school building.



Figure D. 8. *Türk-İş* complex, the primary school building, inside.

APPENDIX E

MAPS

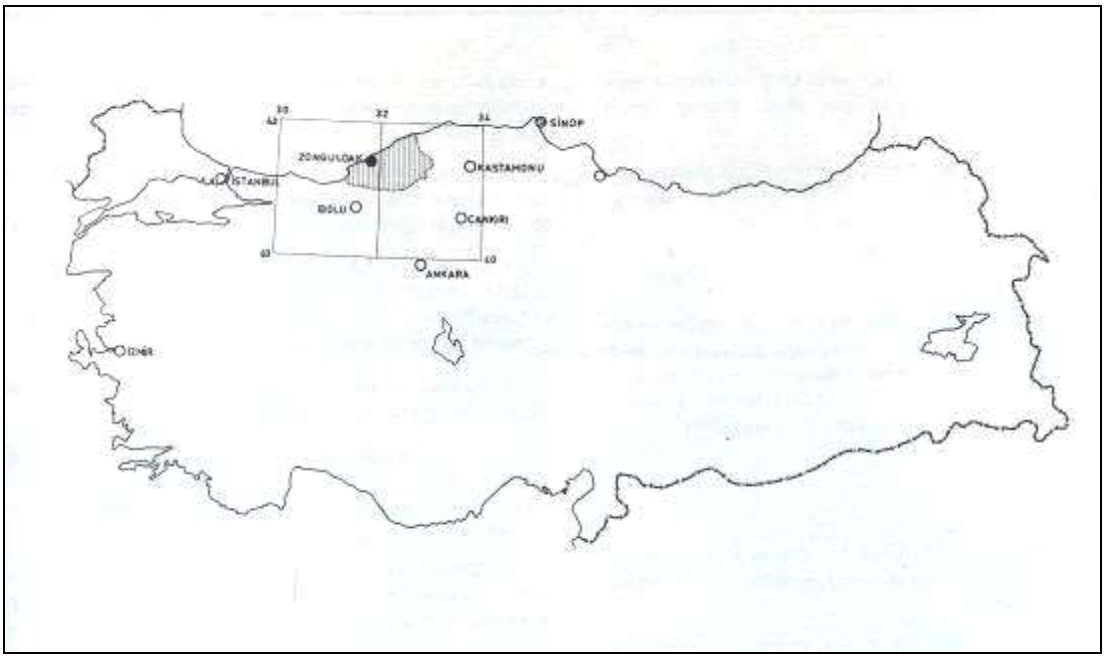
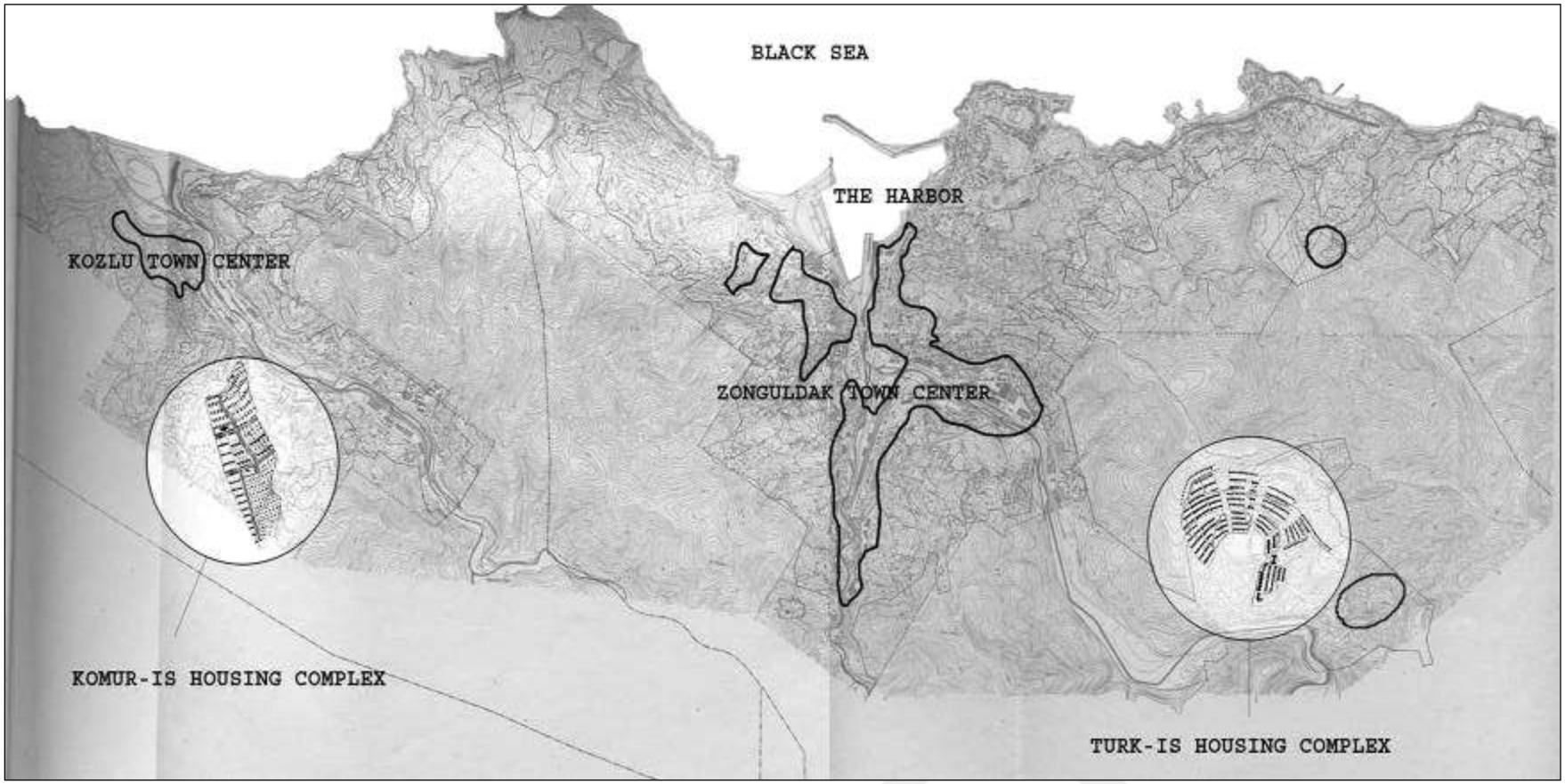


Figure E.1. The location of Zonguldak in Turkey.


BLACK SEA
THE HARBOR
KOZLU TOWN CENTER
ZONGULDAK TOWN CENTER
KOMUR-IS HOUSING COMPLEX
TURK-IS HOUSING COMPLEX