

BUILDING MARSHALL PLAN IN TURKEY:
THE FORMATION OF WORKERS' HOUSING QUESTION, 1946-1962

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ABSTRACT

BUILDING MARSHALL PLAN IN TURKEY: THE FORMATION OF WORKERS' HOUSING QUESTION, 1946-1962

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This thesis aims to analyze the formation of workers' housing question at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales with regard to the ideological, political, economical, cultural and institutional programming of Americanization in Turkey within the scope of the financial and technical assistance programs of the Marshall Plan accompanied by the praxis of the United Nations.

Based on the premise that the Marshall Plan engaged in workers' housing production and architecture culture in Turkey at institutional and communal levels because of its specific attention to labour relations in all the Marshall Plan countries, its ideological and discursive program on workers' housing production and architecture culture in Turkey from planning to application will be examined.

Within this context, the formation of workers' housing question from labouring to housing covering the *habitus* and habitat of the working class in Turkey between 1946 and 1962 will be analyzed with reference to the Marshall Plan's international

program and themes on the workers' housing question. In detail, this formation will be researched in relation to the economical planning based on rationalization and productivity, regional planning based on zoning principle and physical planning, urban planning based on slum-clearance, neighbourhood planning based on the paradigm of the garden suburb and community planning on behalf of the discourse of democracy, cooperation and self-help promoted by the Marshall Plan.

In this sense, unraveling the ideological background and the discursive formations in the formation of the workers' housing question at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales for the subject period, and questioning the paradigmatic shift or continuity in the manner of workers' housing production in Turkey by comparing the state-financed model of the interwar period and the self-help model promoted with the Marshall Plan are the main objectives of the thesis.

Keywords: Marshall Plan, United Nations Technical Assistance, welfare state, physical planning, workers' housing question, workers' housing cooperatives, workers' housing architecture.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE MARSHALL PLANI’NIN İNŞASI: İŞÇİ KONUTU SORUNUNUN OLUŞUMU, 1946-1962

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Bu tezin amacı, Marshall Planı’nın finansal ve teknik yardım programları ve buna eşlik eden Birleşmiş Milletler pratiđi bağlamında Türkiye’de Amerikanlaşmanın ideolojik, politik, ekonomik, kültürel ve kurumsal programlaştırılması ile ilişkili olarak işçi konutu sorununun emek, yer, yapı ve barınma ölçeklerinde oluşumunu çözümlenektir.

Marshall Planı’nın tüm Marshall Planı ülkelerinde olduđu gibi çalışma ilişkilerine gösterdiği özel ilgi dolayısıyla Türkiye’de kurumsal ve toplumsal ölçekte işçi konutu üretiminde ve mimarlık kültüründe etkinlikte bulunduđu önermesi üzerine, Türkiye’de planlamadan uygulamaya işçi konutu üretimi ve mimarlık kültürü kapsamında planın ideolojik ve söylemsel programı incelenecektir.

Bu bağlamda, işçi konutu sorununun işçi sınıfının *habitus*’unu ve yaşam çevresini kapsayacak biçimde çalışmadan barınmaya 1946 ve 1962 yılları arasında Türkiye’deki oluşumu, Marshall Planı’nın işçi konutu üzerine uluslararası

programı ve temaları bağlamında incelenecektir. Bu oluşum, rasyonelleştirme ve verimliliğe dayalı ekonomik planlamaya, bölgeleme ilkesi ve fiziksel planlama temelinde bölge planlamasına, kentsel dönüşüme dayalı kent planlamasına, bahçebanliyö paradigmasına bağlı olarak mahalle planlamasına ve Marshall Planı'nın tesis ettiği demokrasi, işbirliği ve kendine yardım söylemi adına mahalli planlamaya ilişkin olarak incelenecektir.

Bu çerçevede, söz konusu dönem bağlamında işçi konutu sorununun emek, yer, yapı ve barınma ölçeklerinde oluşumuna ilişkin ideolojik zemini ve söylemsel oluşumları aydınlatmak ve Türkiye'de işçi konutu üretim biçimindeki paradigmatic değişim ya da sürekliliği, iki savaş arası dönemdeki devlet destekli model ve Marshall Planı'nın takdimiyle teşvik edilen kendine yardım modeli kıyaslamasıyla sorgulamak bu tezin temel hedefleridir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Marshall Planı, Birleşmiş Milletler Teknik Yardımı, refah devleti, fiziksel planlama, işçi konutu sorunu, işçi konut kooperatifleri, işçi konutu mimarlığı.

To Sadi and Ezgi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AID	Agency for International Development
CHP	Republican People's Party
DP	Democratic Party
ECA	European Co-operation Administration
ERP	European Recovery Program
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICA	International Cooperation Agency
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	The International Monetary Fund
İSK	Workers' Insurance Agency
METU	Middle East Technical University
MPM	National Productivity Agency
MSA	Mutual Security Agency
TBMM	Turkish Grand National Assembly
TODAİE	Public Administration Institute for Turkey and Middle East
UN	United Nations
UNPTA	United Nations Program for Technical Assistance
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USIS	United States Information Service

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Scope of the Study

Not having thoroughly been brought to light within the field of theoretical and historical studies of postwar architecture culture regarding housing in Turkey, the aim of this thesis is to uncover the field of postwar workers' housing question in Turkey within the framework of the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance which paid much attention to labour relations and the condition of the working class, thus engaged in workers' housing production and architecture culture in Turkey like the other participating countries. Building on the legacy of the postwar regional and urban planning literature fed by the worldwide phenomenon of Americanization within the course of the Marshall Plan and the United Nations (UN) development and technical assistance programs, unraveling the ideological and discursive formations in the formation of the workers' housing question in Turkey in relation to the Marshall Plan's reconstruction and development discourse is the objective of the study. In this regard, the place of the urban and architectural paradigms of the postwar period in parallel to the rising discussions on neighbourhood and community planning at a closer scale in the formation of the workers' housing question next to the condition of workers' housing question in relation to the postwar labour affairs within the framework of the development of social security are within the scope of the study.

The contextual framework of this study is grounded upon the ideological, political, and socio-economical phenomenon into which the Marshall Plan introduced globally. Fordism, as a production regime born into the early 20th century's

industrial relations based on the technology of assembly line to provide efficiency and productivity in industrial production, was not only influenced the modern industrial production but also penetrated into the modern architectural discourse covering housing as putting mass production in the center of architectural production, and more than that, defining the schemata for the *habitus* and habitat of the working class. Actually, modern architectural concepts related to mass housing discourse such as low-cost housing, prefabricated housing and ready-made housing had already entered before the Marshall Plan into the field of mass housing production in the 1920s especially in Europe, but earned a great reputation within the course of the Marshall Plan which promoted heavy industrial development next to the development of building and construction industries based on mass production.

As a material phenomenon characterizing the postwar economical scenario of the Marshall Plan countries, Fordism received a great share in the case of workers' housing production and culture generating a housing discourse related to the manner of the production and reproduction of the labour force covering its everyday habitual patterns in space from production to consumption. In this regard, the spatial elements of the Fordist physical planning, became prevalent in all of the participating countries of the Marshall Plan, is notable in the discussion of the postwar formation of workers' housing question.

Within this context, the notion of zoning which was favored within the postwar regional and urban planning approach, the literature of which was not introduced but popularized by the post-World War I European experience on planning and architecture, and also within the legacy of the American New Deal Program based on the Keynesian economy, was instrumental in the formation of workers' housing question and discourse. On this occasion, attached to the modernization discourse regarding region and city in parallel to the physical and economical reconstruction discourse of the Marshall Plan which led to the extensive construction of highways, slum-clearing, and suburbanization, the architectural paradigm of garden city was unearthed in the Marshall Plan countries next to the

decentralization of production and workers' housing along with infrastructural development for the flow of raw materials, goods and labour within space, all of which were the elements of the Fordist spatial scenario defining the schemata of workers' housing under the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance. On the other hand, Marshall Plan defined a new vocabulary in the field of workers' housing by promoting concepts mainly as "cooperation," "self-help," "freedom" and "democracy," which promoted aided self-help method in workers' housing production, and yet led the propagation of workers' housing cooperatives all over the country.

The European Recovery Program (ERP), set forth with the Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, and mostly referred after its enunciator as the Marshall Plan, initiated a long term period of economical, political, cultural and psychological assistance of the United States of America (USA) in the wake of the World War II not only in Europe including Turkey but also in many African, Asian and Latin American countries. Apart from an economical cooperation of the participating countries to the USA, the plan was rather aimed at remodeling the postwar everyday life from economical to social production, from regional to urban planning, from factory to housing.

Indeed, the ERP was justified on the national interest of the USA and the attainment of the objectives of the UN proposing the cooperation of all participating nations on the reduction of trade barriers among themselves and especially with the USA, "based upon a strong production effort" to reach "an expansion of foreign trade."¹ In this sense, the US' motivation, indeed, was to build a free market regime allied to the recovering of postwar European economy apart from bearing a hand to European countries for the economical and physical reconstruction after the World War II.

¹ The Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, 80th Congress, 2D Session, Chapter 169, Title 1, Sec 102. For the fullest extent of the act visit <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/collection/marshall-plan-resources/#!/collection=621> (accessed January 11, 2015).

Housing, especially workers' housing in this case, emerged as one of the problematic courses of the period along with industrial and agricultural development initiated by the Marshall Plan counterpart funds, and by the great demand on building industries as well. Indeed, the topics, which made the workers' housing question as a postwar paradigm by the Marshall Plan, could be set on the reorganization of labour force in parallel to the postwar reconstruction of the economical, political and cultural relations of production and consumption in space. In this regard, official reports which was prepared by housing specialists and technical experts from the USA and other Marshall Plan countries who also carried out field research for the purpose of recommending on regional planning which was a favored postwar profession next to the neighbourhood and community planning in the scope of workers' housing question are within the scope of the study. Concordantly, the paradigmatic continuity in the field of the architecture culture of workers' housing, in detail, the ideological, physical and discursive formations related to the paradigms of hygienic city and garden city is also sought to analyze within the contextual background of the period grounded upon the postwar regional, community and neighbourhood planning discussions; and thereby, in relation to the notions of decentralization and industrial suburb in relation to the production of workers' housing.

The periodization of the study depends on the argument that there was a critical break between the public housing approach of the Early Republican Period by the agency of state-owned companies and cooperative housing approach of the postwar multi-party period by the self-help method to workers' housing production under the guidance of the Marshall Plan themes of cooperation, self-help and democracy, which were characterized within the political, economical and social impulses underlying the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance.

In this regard, the reason why the year 1948 when Turkey agreed to the Marshall Plan was not chosen as a beginning of the subject period relies on the significance of the year 1946 as the precursor of the period which aimed at transforming the working class to middle-class under the guidance of the Marshall Plan. More

precisely, 1946 was the year setting fire of a postwar economy-politics based on an international monetary and free trade system negotiated by the economist John Maynard Keynes in close relation to the USA like Muhlis Ete, whom to serve as the Minister of Management as well as the Minister of Economics and Trade during DP power, had proposed the entrance of foreign capital to Turkey in the beginning of 1946.² It was also the year when the US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development was organized in Paris by the National Housing Agency of the USA and the Office of War Information of the USA which foresaw the entrance of the USA into the habitual scene of the postwar world to form and advise the workers' housing question from its function to topographical assets, morphology to habitat.

More importantly, 1946 was the year when the Ministry of Labour and the Workers' Insurance Agency (İSK) was founded to operate on the social security of the working class in relation to the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance next to the Mortgage Loans Bank [Emlâk Kredi Bankası]. Besides, it was the year permitting the foundations of labour unions the condition of which had an important role in the formation of the workers' housing question. And finally, it was also the year when the Democratic Party (DP) was founded to progress the shifting of the country to a US-guided period of liberalization, which also made a clear cut break in the state-operated praxis of "sheltering workers" on the formation of workers' housing question in lieu of a cooperative system promoted in the name of "marketing housing" aimed at making workers homeowners, apart from some ideological commonalities between the two regarding the efficiency of the labour force.

Within this framework, the scope of the study also covered the workers' housing praxis in Turkey realized in between 1946 and 1962 by the promotion of the self-help method through workers' housing cooperatives mostly founded by labour

² İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Savaş Sonrası Ortamında 1947 Türkiye İktisadi Kalkınma Planı*, (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1974), 7.

unions, and with the support of the mortgage system based on the collaboration of the Mortgage Loans Bank and the Workers' Insurance Agency. In this regard, the reason to choose 1962 as the end of the subject period depends on the shift in the production method of workers' housing attributing a not only financial but also technical role to İSK as an active agent in the production of workers' housing after the charging of state with the production of social housing for the low-income families in the Constitution of 1961.

1.2. Research Method and Data

The methodology is mostly grounded on a content-based study in order to situate the ideological, political and economical impulses also effective determining the social and cultural framework in the formation of the workers' housing question in the subject period. In this regard, for a general reading of the formation of workers' housing question in the European countries and Turkey subjected to the Marshall Plan, and also based on the argument that there were some commonalities in the formation of the housing question and culture related to its built environment in all of the Marshall Plan countries, the official publications prepared during the Marshall Plan such agreements, acts, propaganda brochures, educational booklets will be referred next to the official reports, news and articles issued in the mass media, on which the Marshall Plan also operated massively in the control and dissemination of information in the participating countries as well as Turkey.

For the theoretical discussion on workers' housing question, Friedrich Engels' seminal work *Housing Question* will be consulted along with Pierre Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice*, Edward Palmer Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* and Antonio Gramsci's *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* covering his seminal article "Americanism and Fordism" in order to reveal the theoretical framework within which *habitus* and habitat of the working class is formed. Moreover, the key literature in terms of regional planning, urban planning, neighbourhood planning, community planning and housing planning together with

the critical architectural theory on housing produced by the professionals of architecture and planning will be counseled such as Walter Isard, Kate Liepmann, Patrick Abercrombie, Holmes Perkins, Charles Abrams, William Curtis, Manfredo Tafuri and Martin Pawley.

Regarding the analysis of the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey, the archival documents from the Prime Ministry Republican Archive, the online archive, "Democracy in Turkey, 1950-1959:" Records of the U.S. State Department Classified Files, regarding the labour affairs conducted between the USA and Turkey during the course of the Marshall Plan's and the UN technical assistance, George C. Marshall Foundation Digital Documents, OECD (OECD-CEEC) Online Archives, United Nations Online Archives and the World Bank (IBRD) Online Archives will be consulted in terms of agreements, acts and official reports prepared regarding the US and related institutions' praxis in labour affairs during the subject period in Turkey. Moreover, the reports prepared by the housing and planning experts notably Donald Monson, Charles Abrams and Bernard Wagner who conducted field research in the subject period in Turkey within the technical assistance program of the Marshall Plan and the UN, and advised in terms of housing question, but significantly workers' housing question will be referred and have recourse to check the solutions offered by the Marshall Planners.

Additionally, next the literature produced by the foreign experts, the theoretical and practical approaches by the Turkish officials covering ministers, public administrators and economists, industrial managers and business administrators such as Hayrettin Erkmen, Muhlis Ete, Ekmel Zadir and İlhan Altan along with the regional and urban planners and architects in relation to the bureaucratic and academic circles like Gerhard Kessler, Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, Celal Uzel, Cahit Talas, Fehmi Yavuz, Ernst Egli and Orhan Alsaç will be referred through their official speeches, conference proceedings and publications appeared in some of the Turkish official and independent periodicals disseminated in the subject period such as *Akis*, *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, *Arkitekt*, *Ayın Tarihi*, *Çalışma*, *Mimarlık* and *Sosyal Siyasetler Konferansları Dergisi*. Furthermore,

news and columns regarding the workers' housing question in the newspapers particularly *Akşam* will be consulted.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This study is formed of five chapters to analyze the formation of the workers' housing question during the course of the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan and the UN.

The *first chapter* comprises of the aim and scope of the study next to the research method and data which the study is drawn upon.

The *second chapter* deals with the formation of workers' housing question as a postwar paradigm. First, the contextual background of the Marshall Plan from humanitarian aid to mutual aid is reread in accordance with the economical, political and ideological references behind its scheduling in relation to its program on the built environment via building on the literature regarding the origins and formats of the Marshall Plan. Here, the formation of the discourse of reconstruction as the leverage of the Marshall Plan at economical, political and ideological levels covering building and construction sector is analyzed next to the reasoning of the formation of postwar housing question with regard to the rise of regional and urban planning as favored postwar themes, and also seeking the paradigmatic continuity in the planning paradigms effective in the formation of the postwar workers' housing question by an analysis of the American planning movement. Second, the formation of the workers' housing question regarding the *habitus* and habitat of the working class as the practice of the Marshall Plan is discussed. In this sense, the theoretical framework regarding the workers' housing question on which this study is concretized upon is set forth in relation to the architectural legacy regarding the workers' housing question from the industrial revolution to the interwar period based on the argument that workers' housing question is a product of industrialization. In this sense, the program of Taylorism and Fordism on the formation of the workers' housing question and discourse is mentioned. Afterwards, the Marshall Plan's program and themes in the formation

of the postwar workers' housing question covering the habitus to habitat of the working class at the manpower scale, the topographical scale, the morphological scale and the habitual scale will be analyzed. In the end of the chapter, the Marshall Plan's legacy on the postwar workers' housing discourse is discussed.

The *third chapter* discusses the origins and application of the Marshall Plan introducing the development and democracy discourse to the ideological, political, economical, social and cultural scene of Turkey, which also played a significant part in the formation of the workers' housing question in Turkey. First, the making of the Marshall Plan and the indoctrination of the discourse of development in Turkey will be dealt next to the concretization of the Fordist planning in terms of industrialization and urbanization in the name of development leading to. In this regard, the economical framework giving birth to the regional planning which led to decentralization and the emergence of the "housing crisis" of the subject period will be referred next to the solution of the scheme of low-cost housing which was promoted nationwide by the government, academic circles and foreign experts. Last, the foreign expertise promoted for portraying the situation of housing in Turkey during the 1950s by preparing reports on the solution of the "housing crisis" but significantly aimed at advising the American way of planning and housing defining the need of workers' housing both quantitatively and qualitatively, and hence, became instrumental in the postwar formation of the workers' housing question in Turkey is negotiated.

The *fourth chapter* focuses on the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey in a framework determined by the collaboration of DP and the USA as part of the development and democracy discourse fed up by the Marshall Plan's ideological, political, economical and cultural framework. As an initial discussion in order to introduce the argument of the study regarding the shift from the single-party Republican Period up to the introduction of the Marshall Plan, the formation of workers' housing question in the former period will be discussed with reference to the governmental and philanthropic approaches to the workers housing question within the political, economical and cultural framework of the labour affairs.

Followingly, the instrumentality of the workers' housing question in Turkey for the Marshall Plan regarding the production and dissemination of workers' housing with regard to the ideological program of the Marshall Plan on the *habitus* and habitat of the working class will be analyzed. For this reason, the praxis of workers' housing cooperatives will be detailed as the means of the production and dissemination of postwar workers' housing discourse. Last, the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey is inquired with reference to the themes and program of the Marshall Plan in detail at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales.

The *fifth chapter* is an attempt to understand the causes and prescriptions of the postwar formation of the workers' housing question apart from dealing with the case of *gecekondu*, which indeed occupies a satisfactory place in the scholarly discussions regarding the subject period, and not given a place in this discussion. Actually, noting the long term effects of Marshall Plan on the state-oriented or cooperative-oriented workers' housing experiences in Turkey, workers' housing production culture under the ideological program Marshall Plan funds is sought to evaluate.

CHAPTER 2

MARSHALL PLAN AND THE FORMATION OF WORKERS'S HOUSING QUESTION AS A POSTWAR PARADIGM

A truly revived and modernized Europe could be won only on factory floors, in neighbourhoods, and in villages.³

Marshall Plan officially implemented in Europe including Turkey in between 1948-1951 dated to the early but leading years of the Cold War. It was a milestone in the shifting of the world order - not limited to Europe but extended to the Middle East, Far East, Africa, and Latin America- covering the political, economical, technological and military power struggle between the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and embracing ideological confrontations in the reformation of the everyday culture from humanities to arts and architectural culture as well.

An economical and technical assistance program in appearance, the Marshall Plan transformed the manner of everyday life from country to city, production to consumption, laboring to sheltering though. Lining a clean break within the world history in terms of politics, economics, and societal relations on part of the USA, the Marshall Plan guided the Americanization of the societal matter defining new concepts, approaches, advices, and recipes on the *habitus* and habitat of the common man but notably the working class.

³ Anon., *1947-2007 Marshall Plan 60*, May 30 (Rome: The United States Mission to Italy Office of Public Affairs, 2007).

Workers' housing question occupies a critical place in the outlining of the postwar communal affairs within the scope of the Marshall Plan. It came into existence as an inevitable issue of the postwar capitalist development economically and physically to cope with, and yet it generated a housing discourse related to the manner of the production and reproduction of the labor force covering the everyday habitual patterns in space from production to consumption. In this sense, the term reconstruction cultivated and promoted within the Marshall Plan's program led the postwar discursive formations in the everyday practices of the society including urban planning and housing bringing forth its own language by promoting concepts mainly as "recovery," "reconstruction," "cooperation," "self-help," "freedom" and "democracy."

The recovery of the economies of participating countries in the Marshall Plan through the rise of industrial production with the intensive installment of the mass production methods, and the mechanization of agricultural production supported with Marshall Plan aids increased the labor demand in cities. Accompanying with the expanding discrepancy between the urban and rural development as a result of the industrial development boom, high percentage of migration to cities brought working class affairs to the agenda of the Marshall Plan.

Housing question already came to existence in Europe as a result of the warfare destruction of the housing stock, and for the emergent need to shelter war refugees also contributed to the formation of workers' housing question. Hereby, the modernization of city behind the physical and economical reconstruction leading to the extensive construction of highways, slum-clearing, and suburbanization in parallel to the agenda of the housing question, assisted the formation of the workers' housing question as a must-have postwar theme regarding regional and urban planning next to neighbourhood and community planning, which were the postwar professions in favor.

Within this context, the formation of workers' housing question as a postwar paradigm with the Marshall Plan is sought to analyze in three main subchapters.

In the first subchapter 2.1, the contextual background of the Marshall Plan is reread in accordance with the economical, political and ideological references behind its scheduling in relation to its program on the built environment via building on the literature regarding the origins and formats of the Marshall Plan. Principally, the formation of the discourse of reconstruction as the leverage of the Marshall Plan at economical, political and ideological levels is analyzed under the section 2.1.1. Subsequently, the formation of postwar housing question with regard to the rise of regional and urban planning as favored postwar themes is reasoned under the section 2.1.2. Within this context, first; the essentials of the postwar physical reconstruction and planning in relation to the location theories under the Marshall Plan's pioneership are discussed in the section 2.1.2.1. Followingly, the formation of the postwar housing question and housing discourse is discussed in the section 2.1.2.2.

In the second subchapter 2.2, the formation of the workers' housing question regarding the *habitus* and habitat of the working class as the practice of the Marshall Plan is discussed under two sections. First, the theoretical model regarding the workers' housing question on which this study is concretized upon is set forth in relation to the architectural legacy regarding the workers' housing question from the industrial revolution to the interwar period in the section 2.2.1. Followingly, the Marshall Plan's program and themes on the formation of the workers' housing question is searched in four subsections under 2.2.2 referring to the functional, topographical, morphological and habitual responses of the Marshall Plan to the workers' housing question with regard to a comparative review of the experiences in participating countries especially Federal Germany, France, Italy, and covering Britain and Belgium as well.

In the last subchapter 2.3, the Marshall Plan's legacy on the formation of the postwar workers' housing question in concern with the production, consumption and reproduction of the labor force regarding its *habitus* and habitat is summarized.

2.1. From “Humanitarian Aid” to Mutual Aid: The Contextual Background of the Marshall Plan

The foundations of the Marshall Plan were laid by the American President Harry S. Truman’s address to the United States (US) Congress in March 1947. Seemingly asserted as the Greek Government’s request for financial and economical aid after the United Kingdom’s renunciation of the military and economical funding of Greek Civil War,⁴ the matter of Truman’s address was actually to stress the vitality to financially and economically aid European countries against the expanding Soviet threat in the continent allegedly to protect the national security of the US in the end. Referring to Turkey and Greece as the notable countries in “the fight against the USSR,” Truman suggested \$400 million military and economical assistance for both countries, indeed, to set a US-dominated political stability in Europe and the Middle East, the call of which was later referred as the Truman Doctrine characterizing the Cold War foreign policy of the USA.

Aid for Greece and Turkey led to the proclamation of the economical and financial assistance for Europe including both Greece and Turkey three months after the Truman Doctrine. General George C. Marshall’s speech at Harvard University in June 1947 remarked the USA’s undertaking of the recovery of the postwar European economy “to protect peace in the world.”⁵ The condition of peace would only be ensured by the “return of normal economic health in the world” which would lead to the political stability in the world.

George C. Marshall, commemorated as the “architect of the victory of the World War II”⁶, and appointed by the US President Truman as the Secretary of State

⁴ Anon., “Truman Doctrine,” in *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*, ed. Christine Compston and Rachel Filene Seidman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 195.

⁵ Anon., “Marshall Plan,” in *Ibid.*, 199.

⁶ George C. Marshall is fathered as “the architect of victory during WWII” by the George C. Marshall Foundation, which was established in 1953 by Truman to honour Marshall and the

succeeding the war; put forward the essentials of the recovery program as “to place Europe on its feet economically” noting the program’s positive consequences to the economy of the United States at the same time.⁷

Principally, the foundation of the Marshall Plan was occasioned on the discourse generated by the USA that war-devastated Europe could not feed herself. As a matter of fact, the postwar physical and economical situation of Europe was present at the urgent need for food depending on the insufficiency of food crops since the high percent of migration to cities almost ended agricultural production. The demand for importing food was at issue, nonetheless, the demolition and suspension in industrial and agricultural production required foreign assistance of the USA in terms of the supply of raw materials and new technologies, as claimed by the successors of the Marshall Plan.⁸

Feeding Europe, in this sense, meant ensuring food and shelter with the US dollars in the first place, having the recovery of the agricultural and industrial production with the reconstruction of necessary infrastructure, also progressing along with the economical revitalization due to the financial assistance of the intermediary institutions of the US and Europe. Besides the nutrition problem, the Marshall Plan, or the European Recovery Program (ERP) with its official naming, was outwardly promoted by the US as to reconstruct European economy supposedly to gain its former economical power again by its own authority.

Reconstruction, therefore, constituted the basis of foreign aid and assistance of the Marshall Plan, and was instrumentalized from the field of economy to ideology, agriculture to industry covering rural and urban infrastructure, urban planning and housing question. The postwar bankruptcy of banking and insurance companies as

Marshall Plan. For the origins of the Marshall Plan on the part of the George C. Marshall Foundation and to view some key documents visit <http://marshallfoundation.org/marshall/the-marshall-plan/history-marshall-plan/> (accessed January 8, 2015)

⁷ Compston and Seidman, *Our Documents*, 199.

⁸ Lewis P. Todd, *The Marshall Plan: a Program for International Cooperation*, The Advisory Committee on Education, Economic Cooperation Administration, Bulletin, Undated, 1.

well as the monetary erosion provided justification for the reconstruction of European economy figuring on the reducing of trade barriers withinside the continent and with the USA. In other respects, the reconstruction of the demolished countrywide and continent-wide transportation system covering railways and harbors was needed for the distribution of the import and export of raw materials, technologies and goods in connection with the Euroepan and US markets. In addition to that, the reconstruction of cities was in schedule with respect to urgent housing, based on the housing shortage caused by the rubble and the high percentage of migration to cities as well.

2.1.1. The Making of the Marshall Plan and the Indoctrination of Reconstruction

The economical assistance of the USA to Europe was a subject discussed widely by intellectuals and philanthropists in the American mass media already during the war. For instance, the American well-known sociologist Louis Wirth, who produced a significant scholarly literature on urban studies as a member of the Chicago School of Sociology, had been invited to a radio discussion entitled “Should America Feed Europe,” organized by the University of Chicago.⁹ Likewise, many radio programs were broadcasted via the collaboration of the commercial broadcasting companies like the National Broadcasting Company of the USA and some governmental organizations during and after the World War II discussing the necessity of the American financial assistance to Europe, and also on the purpose of building the American public support with respect to the changing US foreign and military policies throughout the war.¹⁰

⁹ Neil Jacoby et. al., “Should America Feed Europe,” A Radio Discussion By The University of Chicago Round Table No. 130 (342d Broadcast in Cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company; Sept. 8, 1940) Pamphlet, January 1, 1940.

¹⁰ The effect of the Office of War Information of the USA on radio broadcasting in the USA during and after the World War II is discussed as part of a “home front propaganda.” For more information see Gary S. Messinger, *The Battle for the Mind: War and Peace in the Era of Mass Communication*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011).

The amount of foreign aid until the launch of the Marshall Plan was over \$9 million provided in a variety of aid programs in Europe.¹¹ Actually, the US assistance to Europe primarily started in 1940 with the military aid to the United Kingdom.¹² Although the USA did not enter the war until December 1940, it supplied military and logistical assistance to the Allied countries including France, China and the USSR, but mostly to the United Kingdom during the war with the Lend-Lease Act passed in March 1941. Armament of the United Kingdom being at the first place, these aids included emergency lends later provided via the agency of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) which was established in 1943 by the agreement of 44 countries, and substantially funded by the USA to logistically aid the Allied countries in Europe from nutrition support to shelter.¹³

UNRRA was established after the United Nations Information Organization (UNIO), which was the first intergovernmental organization to include “United Nations” as a denotation withinside following the former Inter-Allied Information Committee and Center, and operated information on wartime public opinion through films, exhibitions, radio, press, and projections on women’s affairs and postwar planning.¹⁴ Officially recognized as the principal predecessor organization

¹¹ Michael J. Hogan, “European Integration and the Marshall Plan,” in *Marshall Plan: A Retrospective* ed. Stanley Hoffmann and Charles S. Maier, (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1984), 1.

¹² Anon., “Lend-Lease and Military Aid to the Allies in the Early Years of World War II,” <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/lend-lease> (accessed January 8, 2015).

¹³ Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 11. Also see Lewis P. Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 48.

¹⁴ The Allies were mentioned by the federal government of the USA as “the United Nations” during the World War II although UN was not yet established at the time. Until the Declaration of the United Nations was officially announced in 1942, the word “United Nations” represented the Allied countries, which agreed on the Declaration of the United Nations. The agency of the US government in the management of the UNIO is claimed to be legalized by an agreement asking the consistency of the organization’s policies with the Congressional demand in parallel with the policy and program of the Office of War Information (OWI) of the USA. Therefore, the Inter-Allied Information Committee and Center and the UNIO with the latter side organization UNRRA are said to meet the US national interest in its war efforts, also defining the postwar foreign policy of the USA as the savior of peace for all nations via the agency of the UN as a “pathfinder” in public opinion making the UN “a concept for winning the war and creating a better peace.” For more

of the UN and the posterior organization of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations working under the authority of the US government, UNRRA served to supply military and logistical assistance not only to the Allies but to the Latin American, African, Far Eastern, and Middle Eastern countries including Greece, Cyprus and Turkey from 1943 to 1948.¹⁵ UNRRA was supposed to "plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services."¹⁶

UNRRA serviced under the authority of the local missions in countries dispersed to five continents, but two sections the European Regional Office in London and Middle East Office in Cairo, were the important missions operating as well in close relation to the headquarters in New York City. Its director-general were American whereas most of its relief and rehabilitation staff and field workers were being educated in the USA.¹⁷ Indeed, it mainly functioned in Europe for the rehabilitation and resettlement of the war refugees and 'displaced persons' (Jewish refugees, also called as DPs) providing housing and health services; nonetheless, it

discussion on the agency of the US government in the former UN organizations see Giles Scott-Smith, "The UN and Public Diplomacy: Communicating the Post-National Message," in Dan Plesch, Thomas G. Weiss eds., *Wartime History and the Future United Nations*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), 38-43. For more information on its administrative history see https://archives.un.org/sites/archives.un.org/files/files/Finding%20Aids/Predecessors/AG-037_UNIO.pdf (accessed January 11, 2015)

¹⁵ For information on all missions of the UNRRA visit the archival documentation list on <https://archives.un.org/content/predecessor-organizations> (accessed January 11, 2015).

¹⁶ UNRRA Agreement Articles 1 and 2, Anon., "AG-018 UNRRA fonds 1943-1948." <https://archives.un.org/sites/archives.un.org/files/files/Finding%20Aids/Predecessors/Photographs.pdf> (accessed January 12, 2015).

¹⁷ See UNRRA Monthly Review No.7, Washington: The Office of Public Information, Bulletin, March 1945. http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/wrb/wrb1238.pdf (accessed January 14, 2015).

functioned in the Middle East and the Far East (especially in China) as well for the recovery of agriculture, industry and public services for postwar development.¹⁸

Although the relief and rehabilitation in war-devastated Europe had not finished yet, the UNRRA and other forerunner UN sections were conjugated within the UN after the USA's initiative in the establishment of the UN in 1945.¹⁹ On the other hand, the UNRRA also played its part on the European reconstruction mostly providing housing, health and safety for the DPs in the very first years of the Marshall Plan until it was totally liquidated in 1947.²⁰ With the official establishment of the UN in 1945, foreign aid for Europe was further promoted by the agencies of the UN and the Marshall Plan institutions.

The succession from the "humanitarian" assistance of the UNRRA for the rehabilitation of Europe to the Marshall Plan's mutual aid for the reconstruction of Europe is attributed to the changing routes in the US foreign policy with the onset of the Cold War. Karetny and Weiss argue that former president Franklin D. Roosevelt's inclination towards the New Deal social politics on the program of the UNRRA, which came close to a multilateral relief organization through which the American aims were best served in cooperation with other member states, was eliminated in the succeeding UN since Truman Doctrine desired a less multilateral

¹⁸ In China, UNRRA serviced under the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA). See Herbert H. Lehman, "Message of the Director," UNRRA Report (15 September 1944 - 31 December 1944). http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2002/10/10/cf082c4c-608a-4e8d-b924-10946c1b7b61/publishable_en.pdf (accessed January 14, 2015).

¹⁹ The establishment of the UN is attributed to the initiative of the wartime US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and further efforts of the following US President Harry S. Truman, drawing the basis of the United Nations Charter on providing an organization to set more initiative of the USA up in world affairs regarding peace and security after the World War II, based on the claim that the League of Nations, of which the USA was not a member, failed to prevent the World War II. Even the design of the logo and flag of the UN was claimed to be serviced to the wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which was the predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the USA. For more discussions see Stephen C. Schlesinger, *Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations*, (Cambridge: Westview Press, 2004).

²⁰ For the UNRRA's role in the European postwar reconstruction see Rigas Raftopoulos, *Italian Economic Reconstruction and the Marshall Plan: A Reassessment*, (Gießen: Politische Italien-Forschung, 2009), 5-28., For its liquidation period see Eli Karetny and Thomas G. Weiss, "UNRRA's Operational Genius and Institutional Design," in *Wartime History*, ed. Dan Plesch and Thomas G. Weiss, 111.

organization leaving the future assistance to “its major benefactor,” the USA.²¹ Redvers Opie, a British economic adviser during the war and been to Turkey in 1953 to give a conference on the American foreign assistance, asserts the wartime humanitarian assistance of the USA, also having led to contraversial discussions in the USA on the unpaid debts of Europe because of the lending policy of the Lend-Lease Act, paved the way for the postwar US policies of mutual aid.²²

In this sense, the postwar financial assistance of the USA to Europe was based on mutual aid, the principle of which was initially assured with the Article VII of the Lend-Lease Act setting future negotiations on trade and currency liberalization between Europe and the USA as a prerequisite for more financial loans.²³ As Marshall later verbalized Europe’s dependency on “foreign food and other essential products -principally from America- are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help, or face economic, social and political deterioration of a very grave character,”²⁴ the economical and physical reconstruction of Europe, at first hand, meant the reintegration of the European economy linked to trade and currency liberalization among European countries but mostly with the USA one by one. Further, the American advisor Lewis P. Todd, who was also a member of the publication committee of an educational booklet prepared in moulding the US public support for the Marshall Plan, wrote that;

They [Europe] needed so much of everything even to get started –food, clothing, and medical supplies in huge quantities to relieve suffering and dire want; seeds, fertilizer, and equipment to restore agricultural production; industrial machinery to rebuild mines, factories and transport; raw materials such as steel, coal, cotton, and lumber to feed the machines. These materials –raw and manufactured- were, of course, available, principally, although not exclusively, in the United States. The almost miraculous expansion of American production during World War II

²¹ UNRRA is claimed to be managed by the USA with the “leading from behind” policy but “without complete US domination” during the Roosevelt’s presidency. See Karetny and Weiss, “UNRRA’s Operational Genius,” 109.

²² Redvers Opie, “Amerikan Yardımı ve Kalkınma Meselesi,” *SBF Dergisi* 8 no.1, (1953): 87-88.

²³ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁴ Compston and Seidman, *Our Documents*, 199.

placed the United States in a position to supply Europe's basic needs if – and this was the catch – Europeans could find the dollars with which to buy the goods.²⁵

Todd also insisted Europeans were traditionally best customers of the USA, and added the USA “with its greatly expanded industrial machine needed European markets more than ever,” indicating the importance of an integrated and powerful European economy would gain the USA much more dollars on trade, and thus the US economy would continue to work providing the US citizens the guarantee for employment and wealth.²⁶ This would cost every American “only 32 dollars a year.”²⁷

Actually, the wartime financial alliance of the USA and the United Kingdom during the World War II started with the Lend-Lease Act and the latter Anglo-American Financial Agreement in 1946 negotiated by the economist John Maynard Keynes paved way for the developments in the foundation of an international monetary and trade system opening the US market to the rest of the world. The war-devastated Europe was in favour since the currency inflation culminated the downfall of the international trade since no specific currency or country could lead the world trade.

A key figure in the application of the Marshall Plan working for the US Office of Economic Security Policy and prepared Truman's presentation to the US Congress for the enabling of the Marshall Plan, the economist Charles P. Kindleberger asserted the Marshall Plan was based on the *key-region* concept for “the recovery of a strategic continent” in the structural balance of the world economy.²⁸ Next to the US postwar economic policy making the US dollar as the postwar *key-currency*, distribution of US capital, technologies and goods through free trade was

²⁵ Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 3.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Jo Spier, *Marshall Plan and You*, (The Hague, the Netherlands: Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1949). <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/wp-content/uploads/sites/16/2014/09/The-Marshall-Plan-And-You-Opt.pdf> (accessed January 10, 2015).

²⁸ Charles P. Kindleberger, *Marshall Plan Days*, (New York: Routledge Revivals, 2010), 96.

desired within an integrated economical system in the name of the European reconstruction. The establishment of the International Money Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) -also known as the World Bank today- after the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference –earned reputation as Bretton Woods Conference- in July 1944, and the replacement of the International Trade Organization (ITO) by the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) established in Geneva in 1947 contributed to the concretization of the course of the Marshall Plan.

On the other hand, some countries took a significant part in the course of the Marshall Plan. Federal Germany was valued as a *key country* in the revitalization of its heavy-industrial legacy in parallel to its dense *West-coal* production for the import-export exchange of the international raw material market as well as providing “democracy” and “the settlement of peace” with the unity of Germany against the Communist oppression of the East, whereas France, Italy, Greece and Turkey were regarded as other *key countries* in the domestic psychological war against the rising left-wing union movements within the working class predisposed to the Communist sphere.²⁹

As referred by Todd as “the democratic way of self-help and cooperation,”³⁰ the Marshall Plan remarked “self-help” and “cooperation” in launching the European

²⁹ Discussing the origins of the Marshall Plan, John Kimbel argues Germany’s postwar economical recovery was principally intended in relation to the general European integration, and the efforts of the bureaucracy between the US Army and US State in the occupied Germany underlied the route of the Marshall Plan. See John Gimbel, *The Origins of the Marshall Plan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976). See also, *Marshall Plan Days*, 26-35. On the other hand, a pro-Marshall Plan reviewer, Harry Bayard Price attaches importance to France, Italy, Greece and Turkey as the fields facing hazardous binary tensions which did the groundwork for the launching of the Marshall Plan. Price writes, “In the latter half of 1947 strikes and riots were fomented in France and Italy as ‘spontaneous protests’ against American capitalism. Waters already troubled were further muddied in Greece and Turkey. In Austria propaganda played on the fear of permanent partition. Socialist governments wondered if they would be caught between conflicting pressures from the United States and the USSR. As the food situation in Europe grew worse, the Russians increased obstacles to East-West trade. The Russians hardened their rule in east Germany, attempted to create a Balkan federation, and strengthened their strategic positions near the perimeter of the Mediterranean.” For more details see Harry Bayard Price, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955), 60.

³⁰ Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 5.

economical, political, ideological, and cultural integration within the course of the ERP as a “cooperative recovery program” leading to “the democratic world.” In this context, Marshall addressed in his Harvard speech an agreement between the European countries on the reconstruction program to make it “a joint one” for the European integration.³¹ The legitimacy of the plan was also set on this point arguing Europeans were eager for the introduction of the plan. The British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, the pioneering diplomat in the launching of the plan in Europe, appraised Marshall’s call asserting it be “a lifeline to sinking men,” and “generosity...beyond belief,”³² and replied to Marshall’s recommendation calling the French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault to initiate the cooperation plan with the involvement of the USSR.³³

Eventually, sixteen European countries including Greece and Turkey met upon the invitation of the United Kingdom and France in Paris in July 1947, under the guidance of the American representative George Kennan to discuss Marshall’s call and to prepare a report.³⁴ As part of the Paris Conference, an initial report was prepared by the Committee of European Economic Co-operation (CEEC) in September 1947, and signed by the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, the

³¹ Compston and Seidman, *Our Documents*, 199.

³² Michael J. Hogan, “Blueprint for Recovery,” in *The Marshall Plan: Rebuilding Europe*, ed. Kathleen E. Hug, U.S. Department of State Bureau of International Information Programs, Bulletin, Undated. <http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/marshall/pam-toc.htm> (accessed January 11, 2015). Bevin was also the official insisting the Marshall Plan first be applied in the United Kingdom then transferred to the other European countries with the cooperation of the United Kingdom and the USA. See Kindleberger, *Marshall Plan Days*, 96.

³³ Although the participation of the USSR with the Eastern Bloc countries to Paris Conference was requested by Bevin and Bidault during the meetings with Mikhailovich Molotov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the USSR disagreed to attend the plan. The Eastern Bloc countries, in response to the USSR’s memorandum blaming the reconstruction plan to be a project of the American imperialism, disagreed to attend the conference too. See also Sadun Aren, “Marshall Planı,” in *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 3, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1988), 990-991., Çağrı Erhan, “Ortaya Çıkışı ve Uygulanışıyla Marshall Planı,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 51, no.1, (1996): 282.

³⁴ Randall B. Woods, ed., *The Marshall Plan: A Fifty Year Perspective*, (Washington, DC & Lexington, Virginia: German Marshall Fund of the United States & George C. Marshall Foundation, 1987; 1997), 17., Erhan, “Marshall Planı,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 283.

Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, and Turkey.³⁵ Thereby, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which would be followed as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) after 1961, was officially established to coordinate the relations of the European countries' with the US regarding the programming the amount of the Marshall Plan aid.³⁶

Followingly in April 1948, the Foreign Assistance Act, alias the European Cooperation Act, passed from the US Congress addressing “to promote world peace and the general welfare, national interest, and foreign policy of the United States through economic, financial, and other measures necessary to the maintenance of conditions abroad in which free institutions may survive and consistent with the maintenance of the strength and stability of the United States,” and signed by the US President Harry Truman officializing the ERP.³⁷ In accordance with the act, an official institution called the European Co-operation Administration (ECA) was founded by the US Government as an agency to lead the correlation with the US on the amount and fields of application of the American aid.

ECA, being primarily a financing institution also which dissolved into to the Mutual Security Agency (MSA) after the official end of the Marshall Plan in 1951, did not belong to any governmental body but was a private agency responsible to the US state, and formed of private sector representatives working

³⁵ Committee of European Economic Co-operation, General Report, Volume 1 (Paris: The Department of State Division of Publications Office of Public Affairs, 1947). For the fullest extent of the CEEC's initial report of 1947 visit <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/collection/marshall-plan-resources/#!/collection=621> (accessed January 18, 2015).

³⁶ Woods, *The Marshall Plan*, 20. Having an extensive literature on the topic, this economical cooperation of Europe initiated via the OEEC paved way for the European unification, and succeeded by the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community leading to the establishment of the present day European Union. For discussions on the effect of the Marshall Plan on the establishment of the European Union see Pelin Güney, “Marshall Planı: Avrupa Birliği'nin İnşasında Amerikan Harcı,” *Ankara Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 5, no.3, 2006, 103-114.

³⁷ Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 5.

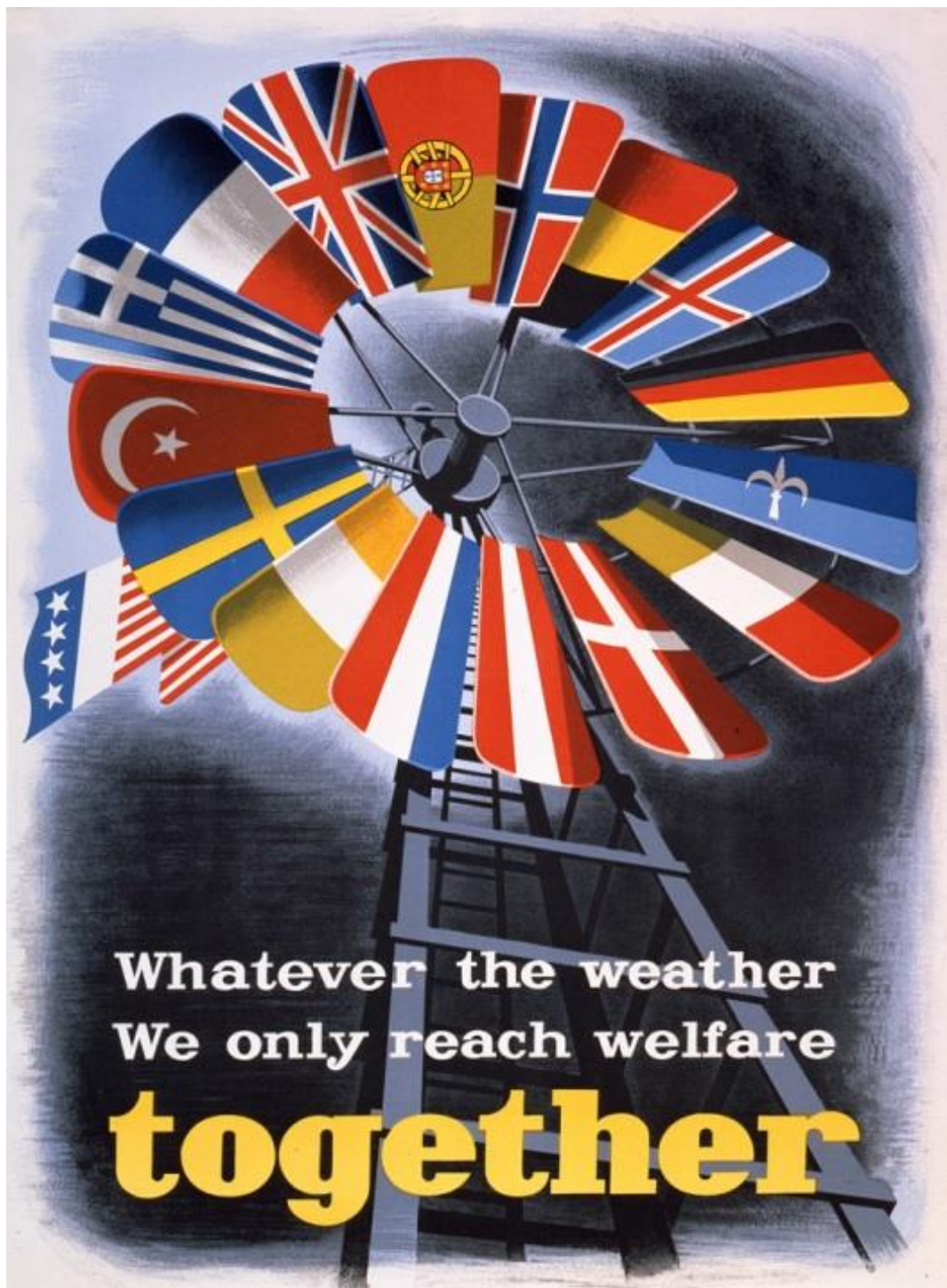


Figure 2.1 A poster prepared by E. Spreckmeester among submitted 10,000 others for the international competition named *Intra-European Cooperation for a Better Standard of Living Poster Contest* organized in 1950. Source: <http://marshallfoundation.org/blog/marshall-plan-poster-contest/> (accessed January 18, 2015).

via consultancy committees. In this sense, ECA provided the American private sector that was in relation to the institution with close communication to the European food and raw material market.³⁸ Therefore, collaborating via local Marshall Plan missions in the participating countries and having represented in the OEEC by each country, the ECA serviced as an intermediary agent between the American and European officials and entrepreneurs in the practicing of the Marshall Plan.³⁹ As Paul Hoffman, the director of the ECA in the very first years mentioned the US policy that only European countries could save Europe,⁴⁰ the words “cooperation” and “self-help” was promoted for the countries participating in the Marshall Plan as mentioned earlier.

The “self-help” discourse, also saturated in the case of postwar housing production, was based on the “counterpart fund” system of the Marshall Plan’s bilateral aiding framework, which set a special account for the participating government - without the exceptions of some “emergencies”- to reserve an *equivalent* amount of its own currency in return of the loan taken by its “European buyer (an individual, a corporation or a government)” in service for specific projects regarding reconstruction.⁴¹ European Payments Union (EPU) helped functioning of this transcription system setting *ecu* as a virtual currency for the exchange.⁴² The field of use of counterpart funds was dependent on the requests of governments, however, proofed by the veto power of the USA questioning whether they were used to serve European reconstruction or not.⁴³ Harry Bayard Price expresses the counterpart fund system was “particularly important in the

³⁸ Erhan, “Marshall Planı,” “*Marshall Planı,*” *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 283.

³⁹ Lewis P. Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 9.

⁴⁰ Interview with Paul Hoffman, 28 January 1953. <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/oral-histories/interview-paul-g-hoffman/> (accessed February 11, 2014).

⁴¹ Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 14.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 15.

shaping of investment programs in Austria, Italy, Greece, West Germany, France, and Turkey” in “a wide variety of uses for recovery purposes.”⁴⁴

The ECA was responsible, in the charge of its Deputy Administrator, “for the supply of sources, services, processing, storing, transporting and repairing any commodity or service to the participating countries” in accordance with the requisites for whom the ECA determined; providing technical information and assistance; distribution of commodities or services to specific projects in the participating countries in line with the administration’s approval.⁴⁵

The initial policy of the ECA was to meet short-term requirements of Europe rather than long-term gains.⁴⁶ In this sense, the amount of aid was determined in accordance with predefined objectives in terms of the estimates of production and consumption of the participating governments. These objectives were lined in an official report prepared by the USA on the details of the aid program as below;

[O]ne is to continue to discharge their existing military and political obligations and perform the functions of government. A second is *to maintain certain standards of living for their own peoples, in terms not only of current consumers goods but of housing, durable goods and other forms of consumers capital as well.* The third is *to achieve rapid economical progress (increased production and productivity)* through the creation and acquisition of capital equipment.⁴⁷

In the first year of the Marshall Plan, the loans included aid provided via the agency of the International Bank covering coal, food and fertilizer for the rapid recovery of the industrial and agricultural production.⁴⁸ However, increasing “the

⁴⁴ Harry Bayard Price, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955), 316.

⁴⁵ The Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, 4.

⁴⁶ Michael J. Hogan. *The Marshall Plan, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 51.

⁴⁷ Italics are mine unless indicated otherwise. Anon., *European Recovery and American Aid*, A Report by The President's Committee On Foreign Aid, Washington D.C., November 1947, C7-C8. For the fullest extent of the report visit http://marshallfoundation.org/library/wp-content/uploads/sites/16/2014/04/European_Recovery_and_American_Aid_13_01_1947.pdf (accessed February 8, 2015)

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, M5.

[agricultural] production and availability of essential foods [mostly grains] not only in the participating countries and Western Germany but elsewhere throughout the world” was taken as a principle in the application of the plan in the longer range.⁴⁹ So as, further was the increasing of production next to the expanding of exports and the encouragement of tourism.⁵⁰

On the other hand, the second year of the plan declared reconstruction in a physical sense with special regard to the rational development of “investment” and “modernization projects” also emphasizing the increasing of imports.⁵¹ As seen in the Figure 2.2 below, aid for the reconstruction of industrial plants and the enhancement of industrial production was at issue together with the reconstruction and “modernization” of inland and overseas transportation.

Accordingly, the third year faced a crucial change of course in the application of the plan with the enactment of the Act for International Development which proposed a wide-range program of technical assistance and aid to economically underdeveloped areas in the onset of the Korean War leaving the aid planned for In this sense, the address of Truman in January 1949 declaring the Point Four Program of the USA below depicts well the Marshall Plan’s program on the workers’ housing question indicating the mutual relationship of *habitus* and habitat of the labor force so as to enhance production and consumption in the “underdeveloped areas:”

[T]o aid the efforts of the peoples of economically underdeveloped areas *to develop their resources and improve their living and working conditions by encouraging the exchange of technical knowledge and skills* and the flow of investment capital to countries which provide conditions under which *such technical assistance and capital can effectively contribute to raising standards of*

⁴⁹ Importing grains including corn to the participating countries, and providing the use of chemical fertilizers in agricultural production was in short-term target of the Marshall Plan, on the other hand mechanization of agriculture by selling agricultural equipments and technologies . For more details see Ibid., E1-15.

⁵⁰ Price, *The Marshall Plan*, 102-103.

⁵¹ Ibid., 133.

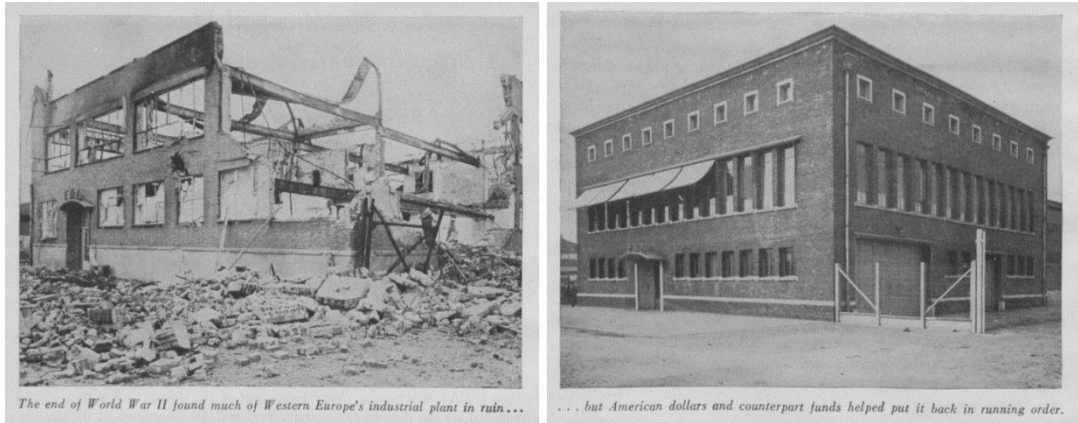


Figure 2.2 “The end of World War II found much of Western Europe’s industrial plants in ruin... but American dollars and counterpart funds helped put it back in running order.” Source: Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 2.



Figure 2.3 “Walcheren, Holland, as it looked after the Allies bombed the dyke... and as it looks reclaimed with Marshall Plan aid.” Source: The online album of William Averell Harriman, “The Marshall Plan at the Mid-Mark” placed under the section “Europe Gets Houses to Live in” <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall/mal1a.html> (accessed February 13, 2015).

*living, creating new sources of wealth, increasing productivity and expanding purchasing power.*⁵²

By the middle of 1951, the Marshall Plan's counterpart system subsidized approximately \$12 million for which participating countries utilized financing imports of fuel, food, feed, and fertilizers and machines, vehicles, and equipment; in the end, the total amount was \$13 million,⁵³ albeit asked \$19,6 billion in the OEEC report prepared after the Paris Conference.⁵⁴ Most of the counterpart funds went to expanding agricultural and industrial production especially to increase steel production with emphasis on providing energy sources in terms of fuel and power facilities; in detail, providing coal mining machinery and increasing use of petroleum via improving fuel production and distribution worldwide.⁵⁵ The production and utilization of cars and other vehicles to realize import-export relations were, in this sense, officially stressed and taken crucial to invest on and aid.⁵⁶

Therefore, reconstruction in the unbuilt and built environment centered as “the more permanent building of recovery”⁵⁷ initially for the improvement of inland transportation system with other infrastructural development leading to the distribution of raw materials, technologies and goods; and accordingly for the spatial scheduling of the production and consumption relations set forth by the plan. Not only the ECA but also some other intermediary organizations between the US Department of State and the participating European countries such as the IBRD, principally operated on infrastructural projects, also provided counterpart funds.⁵⁸ Indeed, working in close correlation with the IBRD, the Export-Import

⁵² Italics are mine unless indicated otherwise. Quoted in Price, *The Marshall Plan.*, 135.

⁵³ Hogan, “Blueprint for Recovery.”

⁵⁴ Anon., *European Recovery and American Aid*, C7.

⁵⁵ Ibid., F1-G11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., H1-8.

⁵⁷ Ibid., M15.

⁵⁸ These agencies worked also for balancing the opponent public opinion in Europe against the application of the Marshall Plan by the USA. In a report dated to 27 October 1947 and attached to

Bank and the International Bank; the ECA guaranteed long-term loans in terms of physical reconstruction and development of urban and rural lands via the financial agency of those institutions.⁵⁹ A caption below from the booklet prepared for building the US public opinion on the necessity of the US assistance to Europe with the Marshall Plan also indicates the importance of the physical reconstruction for the program of the Marshall Plan;

[T]he American dollar does double duty. It is to our interest that Europeans get tangible evidence of the help that we are giving. Many of the things we ship them –wheat, oil, machinery, for example- are instrumental in spurring European production but are not always visible to the visitor, whereas public works projects undertaken with counterpart funds are visible evidences of the cooperative recovery program made possible by the Marshall Plan.⁶⁰

Within this context, especially after the second year of the Marshall Plan, physical reconstruction based on the loans for the reconstruction of public works was at the agenda. Indeed, housing programs were not in focus of the USA in the initial period of the plan, except housing reconstruction projects as one case seen below in Figure 2.3, comparable to her emphasis on the supply of aid for the economical and physical reconstruction of industrial and agricultural production next to the sufficient infrastructure, albeit aid for housing requested in the report of the OEEC.⁶¹

Even though financially attached the least importance on the production and promotion of housing during the course of the Marshall Plan, workers' housing

the first General Report of the CEEC, the establishment of the IBRD was proposed as a European intermediary agency in the application of the Marshall Plan for the manipulation of European public opinion as such: “[I]f the Europeans have an active part and real responsibility in the planning and direction of the Marshall Plan they are likely to have a stronger feeling of responsibility for its success.” For more information see Anon., “Creation of OEEC,” OEEC-276 Fonds. <http://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/181172?item=OEEC.TRA-01-276> (accessed February 15, 2015).

⁵⁹ Anon., *European Recovery and American Aid*, C12.

⁶⁰ Anon., *Counterpart Funds: Europe's Contribution to the Marshall Plan*, August 1950. (Washington, DC: ECA Office of Information). http://marshallfoundation.org/library/wp-content/uploads/sites/16/2015/03/counterpartfunds_opt.pdf (accessed February 16, 2015).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

was taken a critical issue of the economical and social reconstruction to be dealt with as part of the labor affairs of the Marshall Plan in relation to the health and safety of the working class, and an economically and politically core element of the postwar physical planning as both being an industrial product and favored commodity in relation to the physical organization of production, consumption and reproduction patterns of the Marshall Plan economy and ideology in space as well. Thereby, the analysis of the formation of workers' housing question with the Marshall Plan deserves a broader and systematic overlook to the postwar policies of physical planning from regional and urban planning to neighbourhood and community planning which became the discursive tools of the reconstruction for the concretization of the Marshall Plan economy and ideology with respect to the industrial, agricultural and infrastructural, and social reconstruction.

2.1.2. The Bread and Butter of Reconstruction: The Rising of the Notion of Planning and Housing Question

Put into words by George C. Marshall in his Harvard speech, the division of labor as the “basis of modern civilization” grounded upon the functional division between country and city for the former to “provide foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller regarding the other necessities of life” whereas urban industries to “produce adequate goods to exchange with the food-producing farmer,” was marked by the Marshall Plan's discourse of recovery as threatened by the lacking raw materials, fuel and machinery in the postwar Europe which were the prerequisites for increasing industrial and agricultural production.⁶²

Reconstruction, in this sense, was brought into view with the Marshall Plan as the immediate field of aid in the participating countries to reconnect the spatial organization of the relations of production and consumption via uninterrupted distribution of raw materials, technologies and goods. In the words of the Marshall Planners, “Marshall Plan supported both new construction and reconstruction of

⁶² Compston and Seidman, *Our Documents*, 199.

war-damaged businesses and houses (...) Marshall Plan dollars were used to modernize transportation systems, helping spur intra-European trade and economical integration. Road building, railway and other infrastructure projects were essential to the success of the Marshall Plan,” and “[a]s Marshall Plan projects rebuilt communities, Europeans replaced “old world” technologies with “new world [the USA].”⁶³

For an economically and physically integrated reconstruction, planning as a term was raised to the surface in the immediate postwar years also as an already favoured phenomenon within the prewar and wartime economical, social and environmental program of the New Deal in the USA. Regional planning covering industrial, agricultural and infrastructural planning was favored in relation to national planning at a larger scale in terms of economics, whereas urban planning constituted a recognized topic in relation to neighbourhood and community planning in parallel to housing planning and urban reconstruction based upon slum-clearing during the course of the Marshall Plan.⁶⁴

Concordantly, economical planning at national scale was scheduled upon the concentration on the creation of the postwar ‘welfare state’ by advancing industrialization and industrial productivity, developing social security in parallel to scaling up free enterprise, international trade and consumerism. In physical sense, location and land use policies regarding the functioning of the industrial and agricultural production and consumption at the regional and urban scales were in focus with the legal and bureaucratic regulations at governmental and municipal levels regarding physical zoning of the patterns of production and consumption. In

⁶³ Anon., *1947-2007 Marshall Plan* 60, 4.

⁶⁴ The urban planner and sociologist Dirk Schubert argues planning was regarded as “the key to postwar rebuilding –for slum clearance, optimized land use, new housing production, and restructuring dense urban area based on the neighbourhood principle.” For more details see Dirk Schubert, “Transatlantic Crossings of Neighbourhood Ideas: The Neighbourhood Unit in the USA, UK and Germany,” in *Transnationalism and the German City*, ed. Jeffrey M. Diefendorf and Janet Ward (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 141. The issue of neighbourhood planning and neighbourhood unit concept in case of the Marshall Plan’s influence on the workers’ housing question as part of its postwar physical and social planning program is discussed later.

terms of regional and urban development, decentralization of production was promoted next to the decentralization of habitation leading to suburbanization, whereas the renovation of the historical built environment and cultural heritage in city centers were battle cried as slum-clearing in both the Marshall Plan countries and the USA as well.

Housing in general, and workers' housing distinctively, took its share from the postwar physical planning as part of the regional and urban planning programs in relation to industrial and infrastructural planning guided by the Marshall Plan's financial aid and technical assistance, also in association with the UN technical assistance and development programs especially in the third world countries. The progressive architectural concepts brewed within the modern European and Soviet urban planning and workers' housing discourse of the period up to the Marshall Plan -such as "regional city," the "garden city," "functional city," "disurbanism," "minimum dwelling," "minimum existence unit" etc.- were populated, but re-manifested and re-interpreted within a US-dominated sense as the leverages of the political, economical, physical, cultural planning from city to country, and found their responses functionally, topographically, morphologically and habitually especially in the case of workers' housing.

Yet, the reduction of trade barriers between the Marshall Plan countries and the USA, and the promotion of foreign capital (especially the US entrepreneurship) as a requirement of the Marshall Plan counterpart agreements served the pioneering of the USA on housing question (mostly inherited from the prewar European experiences and the New Deal housing politics) which mutually led to a great demand on building industries especially in the case of housing production. For that matter, the Marshall Plan aids regarding the establishment of construction and building industries in the participating countries to meet the supply against the postwar housing shortage progressed at the rapid industrial development, and went along with the popularization of the architectural concepts in relation to mass production technologies such as low-cost housing, ready-made housing, prefabricated housing, and import housing.

Within this context, in the section 2.1.2.1, the bases of the phenomenon of postwar physical planning are analyzed in relation to the earlier paradigms of planning related to the country-city dichotomy. In this sense, the paradigmatic continuity from hygienic city to garden city in the course of the postwar physical planning discussions is sought to unravel principally. In the sequel, the postwar brewing of the concept of region under the guidance of the paradigm of garden city is discussed with relation to the concentration of the postwar Fordist planning introducing zoning as a planning principle respecting the formation and dissemination of production and distribution patterns in the participating countries.

Subsequently, in the section 2.1.2.2, the grounds of the formation of postwar housing question and housing discourse as an instrument of physical planning is sought to analyze in relation to the discourse of postwar reconstruction. In this regard, the concept of postwar reconstruction is argued as divided into two articles. First, the place of economical reconstruction in the rising of low-cost housing sector is discussed in relation to the infrastructural developments within the program of the Marshall Plan. Second, the instrumentality of neighbourhood and community planning for postwar social reconstruction is introduced.

2.1.2.1. Postwar Physical Planning and the Country-City Dichotomy: Decentralization and Suburbanization

Planning, albeit the notion of which was not first born into the context of the Marshall Plan, became worldwide popular within the course of the Marshall Plan. Actually, the birth of the notion of planning is mostly analyzed upon the political, economical and social conflicts between city and country with regard to industrial development.⁶⁵ Indeed, physical planning as a significant field of practice was

⁶⁵ Many scholars interpret the development of the notion of planning within an industry-centered analysis. See for instance Gideon Sjöberg, *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present*, (New York: The Free Press, 1965)., Ralph E. Turner, *The Industrial City: Center of Cultural Change*, in *American Urban History: An Interpretative Reader with Commentaries*, ed. Alexander B. Callow Jr. ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 180-189., For a broader overlook to the contextual history of the notion of industrial city see Clemens Zimmermann ed., *Industrial Cities: History and Future*, (Frankfurt-on-Main: Campus Verlag, 2013).

born initially into the field of economy and social policy in parallel to industrialization related to the relations and patterns of production and consumption in space. In compliance with the rising of urban industrial environment grounded on the high industrialization on and after the second half of the 19th century, planning occurred from the need for the functional planning of land use patterns related to the production cycle; in detail, production, distribution and consumption of raw materials, energy and goods, but also for the habitation and recreation of the labor force both in the USA, the UK and Europe.

The birth of modern urban planning as part of physical planning is widely discussed among scholars of environmental history, urban history and geography, and architecture referring to the Utopian Socialist and Bonapartist spatial practices in the 19th Century Britain and France based upon the deals with the problems of public health in urban industrial built environment resulted by the country-city conflict. Indeed, physical planning in Europe became a regarded profession by the practice of policy makers, public health officials, industrialists and architects significantly in relation to the problems of infrastructure and public health especially in the second half of the 19th century. Allied to the rapid mechanization and industrialization in cities leading to the territorial inequilibrium between industrial city and agricultural country with the economical preeminence of the former to the latter, the concentration of labor population around the urban industries as a consequence of migration from country to city, and thus the overcrowding of cities paved the way for the initiatives on the overall planning of the built environment in relation to industrial location, decent housing for workers and sufficient infrastructure for industrial progress. By this way, the flow of labor, raw materials, machinery, energy and goods between city and country required the development of inland and overseas transportation, bringing forth the development of railway and maritime transportation towards the end of the 19th century.

In this sense, the physical location and condition of industrial production and housing has gained a meaning with regard to health, productivity and safety requirements of the labor force for more productivity and efficiency in industrial

production, and thus more profit maximization in addition to the location of commerce with reference to inland and foreign transportation planning since the 19th century onwards. Accordingly, the problem of how to shelter the high concentration of the working class in cities was taken into consideration in relation to the hygiene of cities facing dense industrial growth and diseases caused by industrial air pollution, regarding the sanitary condition of the working class for more industrial productivity indeed.

Mitchell Schwarzer renders the characteristic of modern urban planning comprised as of immense professions to make the urban metropolis as an integral space formed of interrelated functions as a healing attempt on and after the 19th century.⁶⁶ His claim that architectural interventions on urban stage in the 19th century drew a frame for the 20th century modernist urban planning and architectural practice is, hereby, considerable to some extent next to the Foucauldian reading of space through the paradigm of hygiene from physical and urban planning to architecture culminated within the enlightenment theories of city. Although, the official and philanthropic approaches to physical planning from country to city housed different ideological concerns in relation to the physical and spatial composition of the industrial location and workers' housing, they shared a common ground dealing with urban planning as a profession of spatial healing through land use policies based on the principle of hygiene and accessibility after the spatial legacy of the 19th century experience of rapid industrialization and urbanization.

As Dirk Schubert argues, the World War II gave the earlier planning paradigms the greatest chance to be practiced upon.⁶⁷ If any paradigmatic persistence from the former planning concepts to the postwar urban planning concepts related to the spatial program and themes of the Marshall Plan is under question, a concise glance at the chronological course of urban planning under the light of popular

⁶⁶ Mitchell Schwarzer, "CIAM: City at the End of History," *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-garde in America*, ed. in R. E. Somol (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1997), 241.

⁶⁷ Schubert, "Transatlantic Crossings of Neighbourhood Ideas," 141.

postwar planning concepts has the potentiality to reply this question to a certain extent. In this regard, the paradigm of ‘hygienic city’ and the paradigm of ‘garden city’ are notable to be discussed broader in relation to the postwar planning paradigm of zoning since the course of postwar housing production and architecture culture took a great share from these planning concepts especially in the case of workers’ housing settlements.⁶⁸ Thereby, the discursive history of housing, distinctively workers’ housing production and architecture culture in the Marshall Plan countries could be highlighted at a greater scale in relation to the course of physical planning experiences guiding the functional, topographical, morphological and habitual formation of the workers’ housing question at a closer scale.

2.1.2.1.1. From Hygienic City to Garden City: The Paradigmatic Continuity

Originated from the pioneering planning experiences born into the phenomenon of industrial revolution, geographical, urban and architectural paradigms which changed the course of environmental history throughout the long 20th century such as the ‘garden city’ or ‘city beautiful,’ grounded upon the housing question. The trilogy of ‘sun-air-space’ which featured the modern urban and architectural discourse ran in the blood of either garden city paradigm or city beautiful paradigm.

Actually, that planning for hygiene or public health was the driving force at the surface behind the mass housing experiences mostly inheriting from the question of how to shelter the working class has been argued by many scholars of environmental and urban history, geography and architecture also critics grounded upon the Foucauldian analyses of space. Realized either in the form of the urban renewal (or slum-clearing) initiatives against the overcrowding of city centers by

⁶⁸ For the scholarly discussions on the paradigmatic continuity in the course of physical planning see Robert Freestone, “Learning from Planning’s Histories,” *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, ed. in R. Freestone (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1-19., Peter Hall, “The Centenary of Modern Planning,” in *Ibid.*, 20-39., Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, c2002).

the unhealthy working class settlements called as slums or through producing workers' housing estates and model satellite towns in the greenfields, the modern planning on and after the century of capitalist industrialism dealt with planning housing as not only a physical but a social matter. Hence, as the urban geographer Peter Hall argues the modern planning movement was a natural outcome of housing reform movement, and accordingly of land reform problem based on property relations in industrial cities,⁶⁹ housing reforms either in the leadership of Utopian Socialist industrialists, factory owners and philanthropists' ideal workers' towns or self-sufficient communities or by the public officials efforts to produce decent housing was tied in a sort of way to the production relations of industrial capitalism while installing but balancing the country-city dichotomy.

Therefore, the spatial experience of some of the 19th century industrialists also referred as Utopian Socialists, such as Robert Owen of the Britain and Charles Fourier of France produced varying Reformist answers to the housing conditions of the working class but in close commitment to industrial development. Industry for those utopians was a means to construct the best medium for the public welfare since mechanization by industrialization was respected to realize the progressive ideals of societal revolution, nevertheless, in association with the merits of the productive rural life in the country. Indeed, most utopian industrialists of the 19th century were directed towards an alternative economy-politics of a self-sufficient community organization as a decisive solution to the chaotic physical environment of the industrial capitalism. Destroying the urban purulent at the peripheries of the city resulted by the dense industrial production next to where the working class were settled and subjected to unhygienic living conditions, and resettling them in designed utopias of both industrial and agricultural communities was the common aim.

The search for the 19th century ideal community found its response to create the topographical harmony between city and country, brownfields and greenfields in

⁶⁹ Hall, "The Centenary of Modern Planning," 22.

other words, bringing forth the ways of cooperation for not substituting but balancing property relations and land-use in way for the social harmony. In this regard, the shared goal of the Utopian Socialist planning and architectural tradition was to provide a healthy and self-sufficient physical environment and social services for the welfare of the working class where the productivity of the industrial production was saved besides.

Within this context, the planned New Lanark settlement of the industrialist and philanthropist Robert Owen proposed in 1816 in Scotland was not only constructed next to a river to provide the sufficient energy for the productivity of his cotton mills, but also housed many types of tenements for the mill workers with gardens, a village store like a consumers' cooperative operated by the workers and the Institute for the Formation of Character which was proposed by Owen for the education and socialization of the workers along with a full-time school for the children to combine a community center together. In this sense, it was not only the physical construction of a self-sufficient industrial-rural community, but also meant the self-manipulation of the society through a communal order based on moral education and improved social security of the workers to realize a kind of socialism called later as Owenism. In Germany, similar planned communities as a response to the chaotic environment of industrial cities had already been designed by Count Ramford in 1790s.⁷⁰

The planned community called *phalanstère* that Charles Fourier proposed was, on the other hand, a huge perimeter block with lateral wings including workers' tenements and inner courtyards to house the social activities of the worker community next to the production facilities based on the integrity of the industrial and agricultural production and crafts as well, a school and community centers like Owen's to form a self-sufficient community too. The idea of an egalitarian society was also sought to provide on an interior street linking various functions such as

⁷⁰ Martin Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, (New York, Washington: Praeger Publications, 1971), 14.

private rooms, ballrooms, a hostelry, a library and an observatory.⁷¹ The other Utopians' such as the British writer, artist and activist William Morris's Romantic but critical concerns on the living condition of the working class in a capitalist society was similar to John Ruskin's, and the American Edward Bellamy's who had proposed workers' housing in towers in his Utopian novel *Looking Backward*.⁷²

Improving the sanitary condition and welfare of the working class was also dealt by the 19th century housing reformers of private enterprise such as the Model Dwellings Companies of the Victorian Britain, a Reformist practice to build and sell decent workers' housing in high-rise blocks and low-rise rows by private initiatives, or *cités ouvrières* (model companies/housing estates) of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's Third Republic France to build decent workers' housing at a reasonable price. These experiences of housing reformers such as Edwin Chadwick in the United Kingdom or A. Mülberger in Germany and Emile Saxx in Austria was criticized also in Friedrich Engels' seminal work "Housing Question" published 1872, where he analyzed the state and ideology of workers' housing in Germany while confuting Proudhon's and Proudhonian responses to the workers' housing question.⁷³ By the same time, social scientists and public health officials in the USA were also dealing with the housing reform movement especially in immigrant-receiving industrial cities such as New York and Chicago. Controlling urbanization through public controls and legislative measures Model housing estates were being founded next to factory estates to combat with the poor housing conditions.⁷⁴

⁷¹ William Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*, (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1982), 242.

⁷² John F. Bauman, "Introduction: The Eternal War on the Slums," in *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. John F. Bauman, Roger Biles (University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2003), 9.

⁷³ Friedrich Engels, *Konut Sorunu*, (Ankara: Sol Yayınları, 1992), 8, 43.

⁷⁴ Schubert, "The Neighbourhood Paradigm: From Garden Cities to Gated Communities," 118.

However, the 19th century Western planning experience based on the making of the hygienic city was not only characterized by the Reformist healing attempts to provide decent and healthy housing for the working class in self-sufficient communities or through promoting homeownership of the workers in the urban peripheries by the Model Companies designed workers' housing settlements, but also formed by the urban reconstruction experiences headed towards city centers in parallel to the City Beautiful Movement of the end of the 19th century pioneered by the Austrian urban planner Camillo Sitte's seminal work, *City Building according to Artistic Principles*. For this reason, the destruction and reconstruction of the old inner-city housing settlements and narrow streets to provide a beautiful clean city such as Lisbon by Marquis di Pombal in 1755 as Manfredo Tafuri mentioned ⁷⁵and Paris by the Bonapartist practice of Georges-Eugène Haussmann under the guidance of Louis Bonaparte was seemingly based on the ideal city of hygiene by the help of large straight boulevards through which air and gaze could easily pass, formal squares where the state ceremonies of the commercial elites and bourgeoisie could happen, public parks where free individuals could chill out, and a sanitary infrastructure based on a well-drained sewerage system.⁷⁶ On the other hand, these experiences were actually formed their original public sphere showcased by the commercial elite and petit-bourgeoisie, and concretizing the physical space for the well-functioning of the capitalist mode of production in place of the former urban pattern of the mercantile capitalism through land-use regulations of slum-clearing and building speculation based on class distinction, and therefore causing spatial segregation, with David Harvey's direct expression, the "creative destruction" in the case of Paris.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: The MIT Press, 1976), 10.

⁷⁶ Engels, *Konut Sorunu*, 21.

⁷⁷ David Harvey, *Paris: The Capital of Modernity*, (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), 234. For Harvey's conceptualization of "creative destruction" regarding his claims on spatial planning to serve for the capital accumulation and circulation in space see Ibid., David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: an Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, (Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1989).

Harvey's conceptualization of "creative destruction" well explains the concept of modern city planning to come up into existence as a physical reorganization of the pre-modern spatial fabric, formed by premodern trade relations, housing blocks and organic street pattern, in accordance with the spatial and infrastructural needs of the industrial city where raw materials, capital and goods were best circulated. It is also because of this spatiality of the industrial facilities constructed in connection with the city center in service for trade of the industrial products which resulted in the chaotic environment of the industrial city housing a great population of the working class in slums, and so led to the Utopian and Reformist projections of the 19th century industrialists. In this sense, the scholarly and governmental questions on the structure and planning of cities throughout the 19th century were emerged from the physical planning of the economic organization of cities between industry and workers' housing. The early modern urban planning discourse either based on the self-sufficient planned communities at the periphery or the modern beautiful city, thereby, was formed into the paradigm of "hygienic city" allowing clean air, sunlight and greenery for the working class, but dislocating it towards the rural periphery, and leaving the city for the bourgeoisie.

Actually, the discourse of "hygienic city" could be claimed to be a product of Enlightenment. Putting the emphasis on rationalism at first hand, Enlightenment philosophers who pioneered the rational organization of everyday social life through objective reasoning prepared the economical, political and cultural base of early modernism by establishing the ground for the Industrial Revolution. Therefore, the distinctive aspect of the city of Enlightenment as the generator of the industrial city which resulted in the emergence of the concept of the "hygienic city" dialectically was that it was materialized through the capitalist mode of production becoming as the operational field of the production, consumption and distribution of industrial capital.

On the other hand, what brought physical planning forth into the field of economy and social politics conquering the spatial healing attempts of the Utopian Socialists and other Reformist efforts of civic planning, with the expression of the

architectural historians Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, is the introduction of “the region as physical, economic, and social reality” with Patrick Geddes.⁷⁸ Patrick Geddes, an English botanist, physiologist, social scientist, philanthropist and town planner known as “the father of regional planning,” introduced city in relation to its surrounding by means of economical and social relations.⁷⁹ Tafuri and Dal Co argue, for Geddes “urban growth cannot be controlled simply by shifting the population to the periphery, or by up-to-date versions of such systems as Haussmann’s, or by the codes and regulations of the most equitable administration. Only planning on territorial scale, as expression of the concentration of productive phenomena, can assure a balanced utilization of the progressive potentialities of the neotechnical age.”⁸⁰

Indeed, Geddes’ regionalist concerns related to the contradictory relationship between country and city were on the claim that those resulted by the distortion and blockage of the “productive and social potentialities of the Industrial Revolution,” which actually could solve that contradiction through the evolution of technology.⁸¹ Geddes’ formula for the elements of a well-functioning society as ‘Organism, Function, Environment’ corresponding to ‘Folk, Work, Place’ paved way for the paradigm of the 20th century modern urban planning, the paradigm of zoning which reciprocally set the paradigm of garden city.

As Robert Freestone touches upon, there is a chameleon in the relationship between industry and housing from greenfields to brownfields or vice versa.⁸² Either the 19th century Reformist praxis or the early capitalist praxis of Haussmannian urban planning based on the hygienic city discourse dealt with the country-city conflict on and after the great Industrial Revolution. Although town

⁷⁸ Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture / 1*, (New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1986), 29.

⁷⁹ Curtis, *Modern Architecture*, 246.

⁸⁰ Tafuri and Dal Co, *Modern Architecture / 1*, 48.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁸² Freestone, “Learning from Planning’s Histories,” 9.

planning in terms of civic planning dates back to the Neolithic City constructions and the Ideal City visions of the Renaissance, urban planning in the modern sense is based on the zoning principle designated by the spatial segregation of different urban functions of production, commerce, housing and recreation linked by a well-designed infrastructure covering the means of in-between communication.

Hereby, greenfields of agricultural production is the site where food is obtained, and also the way to regenerate labor whereas brownfields of industrial production is the site of the vehicle of modernization and urbanization as well of pollution by both the industrial contamination and the unsanitary slums of the working class, which dialectically reproduce the discourse of hygiene and the country-city conflict as the sustainability of greenfields versus the productivity of brownfields. Thereby, the modern industrial city has been in pod to the discussions of zoning since the 19th century experience onwards, but reached its peak after the World War II by the second industrial revolution in the West after the launching of the Marshall Plan.

Gideon Sjöberg, one of the leading postwar American urban sociologists studied regional and urban planning based on an industry-centered analysis, uses the term “non-industrial city” while examining the notion of preindustrial city.⁸³ Comparing two Western industrialized cities to Asian and African “non-industrialized” cities, Sjöberg puts the physical organization of different functions of producing, living, storing and selling at the bottom of his analysis on preindustrial city claiming it covers all urban functions in the same place, thus differentiates from the industrial city which is characterized by the spatial division of those urban functions. Therefore, the physical organization of the relationship of everyday urban functions between working and habiting, spatially factory and workers’ housing, together with the commercial facilities in the city centers provided basis for the notion of physical planning from industrial and housing location to commercial

⁸³ For more information see Gideon Sjöberg, *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present*, (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

location, the practice of which has become a piece of engagement for the well-functioning of industrial cities from policy makers to planners, social scientists to architects and inhabitants.

Within this context, the introduction of the concept of garden city by Ebenezer Howard, who pioneered the British Garden City Movement after the publication of *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* and popularized via its 2nd edition *The Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, was a cornerstone in modern housing and planning discourse. The architecture critic Martin Pawley defines Howard's garden city as the "ideal synthesis" between country and city.⁸⁴ Upon the legacy of Geddes' regionalism integrating country and city on an economical and social basis, Howard utilized the principle of zoning for the separation of industrial and housing location in relation to the inner-city slum-clearing, and next to peripheral employment. In this sense, the garden city proposal appraised decentralization of industry and workers' housing.⁸⁵ Utilizing the railway as the link between the inner city and the periphery, garden city would provide necessary infrastructure for the flow of labour, raw materials, energy and goods while setting the sun-air-space trilogy within the physical setting of workers' housing settlements in greenery saving the productivity of labour besides, the healthy environment of which was described by Howard himself as "[c]lean streets with free countryside all around; a belt of fine gardens and orchards, so that from every point in the city one can reach the pure air, the grass and the distant horizon."⁸⁶ Indeed, the garden city also offered an integrated community life based on the nuclear family as a community unit settled withinside a green belt to house a civic center with churches, schools, markets and public buildings. The optimum-size for a garden city was as large as

⁸⁴ Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 14.

⁸⁵ Curtis, *Modern Architecture*, 243.

⁸⁶ Ebenezer Howard, as quoted in *Ibid.*, 243.

to house 32.000 inhabitants, the excess in the population of which would led to the construction of new garden cities.⁸⁷

By the same time, Howard dealt with land reform and cooperative movement.⁸⁸ Proposing community ownership principle (municipality ownership) with exceptions of individual ownership for the workers' villas built by garden city development companies which utilized land value also for the profit of inhabitants, Howard is said to introduce "philanthropy with profit" by land-lending (or Rate-Rent as Howard defined), and with common good through providing low-cost housing and municipal services for the workers' community in the spacious periphery.⁸⁹ Thereby, garden city differed from factory towns built by industrialists such as George Cadbury's 'the factory in a garden,' Bournville as William Curtis calls as "the philanthropic side of capitalist ownership,"⁹⁰ by promoting workers' use and ownership of an individual house in a garden, and therefore pointed out a democratic community life against a paternalist management.

Decentralization not in the form of a self-sufficient planned community but linked to the integral economy of the urban territory to break the conflict between country and city was also the concern of the French Reformist Tony Garnier in his *Cité Industrielle* dated to 1901, who interpreted Howard's garden city proposal with a socialist predisposition, and the Spanish Soria y Mata in his *Lineal City* linking industrial production and workers' housing on a spine providing flow of materials, people and goods in parallel bands to greenery and interprovincial roads with railways, the model of which also influenced the Soviet urban planners especially after the October Revolution.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Tafuri and Dal Co, *Modern Architecture / 1*, 30.

⁸⁸ Schubert, "The Neighbourhood Paradigm," 120.

⁸⁹ Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 15.

⁹⁰ Curtis, *Modern Architecture*, 242.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 243.

Howard's approach to decentralized garden cities settled around small-scale industries is argued to have been influenced by some anarchist theories of the late 19th century such as Peter Kropotkin's to build "small towns of limited populations with surrounding agricultural green areas."⁹² However, the local community settled within garden city progressed the traditional English village, as William Curtis argues,⁹³ by offering workers' housing in individual family plots on long streets adding the small-scale industry and railway transportation for the periphery, therefore, held with industrialism as a production regime and proposed an open solution the land value problem intrinsic to densely populated industrial cities. In this direction, Francesco Dal Co's below explanation well explains why Howard's garden city proposal became the 20th century's paradigm in the formation of housing question within the modern planning theories:

"In the first place, the garden city was in *keeping with decentralist theories* that received considerable support from the progressivists in their fight for a policy capable of *resolving the problems of congestion*. Second, the garden city was considered *an effective model for attracting the financial interest of business enterprises*, because of the stable yield it guaranteed, the possibility it offered for *enlarging the real estate market*, and the means it provided for *removing the labor force from urban unrest*. Third, as a new and entirely planned city and a programmed formula for its management, *the garden city made possible not only a series of economies that permitted the realization of higher residential standards but also the definitive integration of the housing problem and the planning operation.*"⁹⁴

Within this context, first garden city of Britain, Letchworth not very far from London, was designed by Raymond Unwin who worked with Howard and Richard Barry Parker, and constructed by a garden city company utilizing the Three Magnets scheme in Figure 2.2 offered by Howard. Proposing "freedom and co-

⁹² Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 90., See also Güven Arif Sargin, "Making the Second Nature: Towards a Critique of Cultural Politics in Urban Perception –The USA Context 1850-1940s," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 28, no.1, (2011): 154.

⁹³ Curtis, *Modern Architecture*, 243.

⁹⁴ Italics are mine unless indicated otherwise. Francesco Dal Co, "From Parks to the Region: Progressive Ideology and the Reform of the American City," *The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal*, ed. In Giorgio Ciucci et.al., (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1979), 211. Quoted in Güven Arif Sargin, "Making the Second Nature," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 154.

operation” for the “people” in a physical environment withinside agricultural belts composed of, “pure air and water, good drainage, bright homes and gardens, no smoke, no slums” next to new industries, energy and a railway station, Letchworth became the model in not only Britain but also in Europe and the USA. Although the Garden City Movement initiated urban planning practices in Britain already in 1900s the garden city wave propagated towards the globe with the following foundations of Garden City Associations⁹⁵ in different countries such as Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, and the USA.

The community model that Letchworth Garden City provided, which was explained on a newspaper column two years after the foundation of the Garden City Association of Britain as below, sheds light on the postwar workers’ housing discourse under the Marshall Plan’s political, economical and cultural guidance itemizing the importance of physical location and conditions of the workers’ housing in relation to the “interests of industrial, professional and commercial classes:”

The chief objects to be attained in garden cities are (1) to associate the means of living (*employment*) with the home of the worker by removing established industries to, or founding others on, new sites, and under conditions which shall secure *the best attainable conditions of life in town and country*; (2) to provide *sites for the houses of the workers in proximity to such industries*; and (3) to reserve (a) to the inhabitants of cities thus formed the increment of value which their presence will give to the sites, and among other benefits (b) *the highest attainable physical and intellectual advantages of town life*, together with the freedom and healthfulness of residence in the country - *these being secured in the interests of the industrial, professional and commercial classes alike*.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ In Germany, The Deutschen *Gartenstadtgesellschaft* [The German Garden City Association] was founded in 1902. In Britain, The International Garden City Congress was organized in 1904. Followingly, The Garden City Association of America was founded in 1906, and attached to the establishment of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1913 in collaboration with the national garden city associations of Germany and France, garden city movement laid the foundations of modern regional and urban planning. For more information see Ewart Gladstone Culpin, *The Garden City Movement Up-To-Date*, (New York: Routledge, 2015), Stephen Ward ed., *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future*, (Oxon: Spon Press, 1992).

⁹⁶ Quoted in Charles Benjamin Purdom, *The Building of Satellite Cities*, (London: J. M. Dent&Sons Ltd., 1949c). <http://cashewnut.me.uk/WGCbooks/web-WGC-books-1949-4.php> (accessed April 21, 2015).

It is not a coincidence that the book *The Building of Satellite Cities* by Charles Benjamin Purdom, which tells the story of the founding, building and managing of Letchworth Garden City and the second garden city of Britain under Unwin and Parker's collaboration namely Welwyn Garden City, made its second edition in 1949. Marking down the merits of the schemata of garden city in terms of the municipal model it provided via organized property relations controlled by local municipal management, increased the land-use value in the periphery serviceable for the housing estates, prefabricated low-cost housing for the working class based on a cooperative ownership system, and over and above, the ideal integration of industrial city and agricultural country which modern capitalism needed for more productivity, Purdom's book traced that garden city became the environmental paradigm of the 20th century from 1900s onwards but recalled with the midcentury USA in the first place, and diffused into the globe in the form of garden suburbs during and after the Marshall Plan's ideological formula.

After Levittown, the first garden suburb and of the USA and the prototype of American suburbs and the foundations of which was laid in 1947, the everlasting mortgage system for homeownership in garden suburbs next to industries especially for the working class and the middle-class families became the formula of a democratic way of life in the intersection of city and country. Through planned decentralization with the motto of rationalist planning upstood along with Fordism, which is zoning, creating homeowner workers' communities at the peripheries for the healthy and pleasant way of life next to the integration of city and country fed the postwar housing discourse based on "freedom," "self-help," and "cooperation" in homeownership, and formulized the architecture of democracy, the flag of which has been carried by the USA since then. As the creator of Levittown told that "No one who owns his own house and lot can be a Communist. He has too much to do,"⁹⁷ the "democracy" of the USA against the

⁹⁷ Colin Marshall, "Levittown, the prototypical American suburb," *The Guardian*, April 28, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities> (accessed April 21, 2015).



Figure 2.4 The workers' housing blocks in Cité Industrielle of Tony Garnier, 1917. Source: http://www2.gwu.edu/~art/Temporary_SL/177/ah177_htmls/177_18lect_9.htm (accessed February 24, 2015).

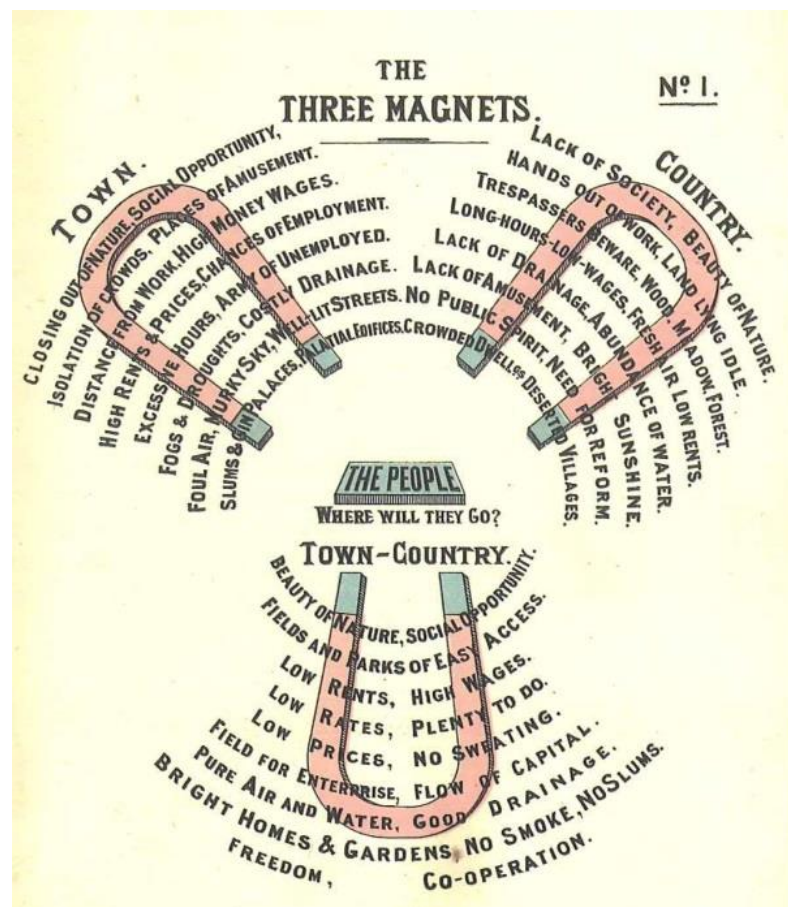


Figure 2.5 The Three Magnets Scheme of Ebenezer Howard. Source: Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Social Reform*, (London: Routledge, 2003), 24.

“totalitarian” way of life, in the USSR, the sentence of which was the underlying urge for the making of the Marshall Plan is ensured at the end. Moreover, the integration of art and technology, which has been inquired by either 19th century utopians or 20th century urban planners and architects, seems to have been found at mass housing with the introduction of planning to modern capitalism by Fordism. As Martin Pawley put it already before on the legacy of Engels’ critique of workers’ housing question, the meaning of *house* melted within the notion of *housing* since it embodies the process of “financing, planning, construction and administration” as a complex whole.⁹⁸

In lieu of conclusion, it could be asserted that the housing paradigm has not been changed from the mid-19th century’s self-sufficient workers’ communities in the country to mid-20th century’s workers’ housing in garden suburbs. The discourse of hygiene attached to the discourse of the standardization of living physically found its best response in the schemata of garden city, which have been offering garden suburbs composed of civic centers, industries, and greenery for the production and reproduction of the postwar everyday life, the setting of which still continues to change the peripheral landscape of third world countries like Turkey in the form of so called gated communities. Attached to the welfare state ideal of the Marshall Plan globe emphasizing a socially-secured working class with a high purchasing power, the postulate of the industrial capitalism that the productivity of labour force is ensured by a healthy living environment close to the industries collaborated with the emphasis on decentralization and zoning of the modern capitalist planning, which became the valued postwar profession.

2.1.2.1.2. From Garden Suburb to Region: Zoning and Fordist Planning

The transformation of the schemata of garden city to garden suburb could best be understood by the material phenomenon which characterized the postwar environmental setting based on decentralization of production and habitation with

⁹⁸ Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 10.

the introduction of regional planning. Fordism, a notion born into the early 20th century's American economical context, which was much more extended with the European economical and cultural context of the time rather than the USA though, flourished as the material phenomenon of the postwar globe under the US financial and technical assistantship. Pioneered by the time-based principles on scientific management of manufacturing developed by the American industrialist Frederick Winslow Taylor in the beginning of the 20th century, and consummated by another, Henry Ford, via the introduction of assembly line as a means of mechanical production in automobile manufacturing, Fordism assigned the trilogy of mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption by advancing industrialization and industrial productivity for the sake of profit maximization.

Taylor's scientific management proposed *optimization* and *efficiency* in production processes for the sake of profit maximization. Indeed, scientific management meant time management in accordance with the fragmentation of tasks in benefit of labour productivity leading to surplus gain. Each worker's task is defined, and should be finished in limited time. Taylor's separation of production tasks into articles was further developed with Henry Ford's assembly line enabling mass production which realizes Money-Commodity-Money circle which Karl Marx introduced, and thus profit maximization as an essential of capitalist mode of production. Optimization and efficiency both being the key elements of Fordist mechanization, therefore, in agriculture, industries, and everyday life came to the rescue of the basis of capitalist modern civilization to achieve balance in European postwar economy.

Actually, the very aim of Fordist industrial capitalism was to create a balanced and stabilized economy at a national scale together with other life-sustaining causes of a mechanized society based on the modern capitalist production relations to balance the supply-demand scheme of the war-devastated economies. The creation of a middle-class society out of a working class society with a high-purchasing power, especially after the Great Depression of 1929 and later with the Keynesian state as well, contributed to the Fordist formula of mass production for mass

consumption, the formula based on the society of which could buy homes and automobiles to communicate between work and habitation. Albeit mechanization was accepted as an evil violating urban space at first hand, Fordism was glorified promoting the notion of rationalism in industrial production and everyday lifecycle, so as the law of instrument, the mechanized society would constitute Fordist goals of a rationalized lifestyle based on the efficient industrial production and mass consumption of goods between the physical zones of production and housing rather than a utopian self-sufficient community subjected to traditional manufacturing systems but for the common ownership of public goods in a limited space.

Within this context, what brought Fordism into the sphere of modern urbanization is the mass production - mass distribution - mass consumption formula requiring the functional transformation of preindustrial space, which covers all urban functions in the same place which Gideon Sjöberg mentioned, towards the Fordist industrial city characterized by the spatial division of urban and regional functions. Therefore, premodern urban patterns out of date had to be demolished for the new spatial organization of production, consumption and distribution of the capital, and thereby, regional planning based on the zoning principle came as a response brewing the phenomenon of modern urbanization. In search of a balance between the agricultural country and industrial city, the peripheral growth was promoted against the limited space of city centers but for the efficient intercommunication between country and city through a well-developed regional and interregional infrastructure.

According to the urban geographer David Harvey, the production of urbanization as a “rational landscape” within which the accumulation of capital could proceed is out of a material process grounded on the circulation of capital in space:

Profit depends upon realizing the surplus value created in production within a certain time. The turnover time of capital (the time taken to get back the initial outlay plus a profit) is a very important magnitude –hence drives the old adage ‘time is money.’ Competition produces strong pressures to accelerate turnover time. That same pressure has a spatial manifestation. *Since movement across*

space takes time and money, competition forces capitalism towards the elimination of spatial barriers and 'the annihilation of space by time.' Building a capacity for increased efficiency of coordination in space and time is one of the hallmarks of capitalist urbanization. Considerations derived from a study of the circulation of capital dictate, then, that the urban matrix and the 'rational landscape' for accumulation be subject to continuous transformations. In this sense also, capital accumulation, technological innovation and capitalist urbanization have to go together.⁹⁹

In this sense, the development of transportation facilities from the intercity canals to local railroads and regional railroads to interregional networks such as highways, airports and shipment ports as Isard counts,¹⁰⁰ supported zoning of different functions of the regional economical activity in relation to the region's hinterland, and utilized the regional differences cultivated through time-space theory of capital circulation. The functional necessities of the Fordist urban landscape, which required rapid transportation of produced goods in space, assisted the technological development in infrastructural facilities between zones of production and consumption adding the sun-air-space trilogy of modern housing discourse for the industrial productivity of the working class.

Actually, at the threshold of the Great Depression, the pot stands of modern capitalist urban planning initializing Fordist planning was already set as the by the collaboration of urban planners and architects from Europe under the *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* [The International Congress of Modern Architecture] (CIAM). Treating city as a place of purulent matter because of the chaos of disorganized urban space, and so a bed of diseases like tuberculosis stemmed from contaminated air as a result of capitalism, CIAM had already put three pot stands of urban planning as *housing, production, and recreation*. However, principles of modern urban planning were later put as the elements engendering the paradigm of *The Functional City* which added *transportation* to the essentials of modern urban planning by CIAM in 1933. Athens Charter, which

⁹⁹ Italics are mine unless indicated otherwise. David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 190-191.

¹⁰⁰ For more details see Walter Isard, *History of Regional Science and the Regional Science Association International: The Beginnings and Early History*, (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2013), 1-6.

got the naming from the fourth CIAM meeting happened on a board cruise ship sailing towards Athens, was accepted now as the manifestation of the modern urbanization.

Some scholars claim the US-originated theories on regionalism were affected by European interwar experience of modern urban planning.¹⁰¹ Moreover, the architectural legacy of the interwar period in Europe shaped the approaches of the American housing experts who visited Europe for examining European responses to the workers' housing.¹⁰² John F. Bauman claims the ideas produced on the Garden City Movement and public housing experiences in the 1920s' and 1930s' New Deal economy in the USA based on the Keynesian State model, were brought by the American housing reformers influenced by Europe.¹⁰³ >Actually, zoning and suburbanization was being promoted with the "Own Your Own Home" campaign and Better Homes in America Movement in the USA already in the 1920s¹⁰⁴ when Fordism was started to operate on workers' housing question in terms of labour productivity.

In this regard, with the US-originated prewar and wartime studies on agricultural and industrial location theory together with the promotion of regional planning, industrial decentralization leading to industrial suburbs, and therefore garden suburbs, reintroduced decentralization and zoning into the physical setting of postwar Fordism based on the early 20th century's experiences on regional planning. To note, the American economist Walter Isard's industrial location theory discussed in his book, *Location and Space Economy: A General Theory Relating to Industrial Location, Market Areas, Land Use, Trade, and Urban*

¹⁰¹ For instance, Tafuri and Dal Co asserts Geddes' approach to regional planning as a scientific discipline established the connection between European and American manner of planning. See Tafuri and Dal Co, *Modern Architecture / 1*, 48.

¹⁰² John F. Bauman; Roger Biles eds., "Introduction," 10.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

*Structure*¹⁰⁵ promoted the theory of regional science, which Isard developed in his studies at the departments of City and Regional Planning at MIT and University of Pennsylvania. Although the common disposition to the location of industry in the 19th century was to plan manufacturing industries in relation to the qualified reserves of raw materials, energy, labour, and available markets against the high transportation costs, with the introduction of regional science to the economical and geographical theory, the location of agriculture and industry started to be planned in accordance with the specificities of regions including the differences in demography, culture, and most importantly, technical knowledge as Isard puts forward.¹⁰⁶

Hereby, the location of economic activity gains importance in relation to interregional pattern of economic activities, the communication of which was planned with a well-organized distribution pattern through infrastructure. As Isard argues “regional differentiation will remain important however much the specific patterns of distribution may be changed by new discoveries and new technologies,”¹⁰⁷ the development of infrastructure for the efficient distribution of material inputs and outputs defined the concentration and disperses of manufacturing, industrial and agricultural production, and moreover, regional cooperation and enterprises.

Within this context, the vast rebuilding of new highways was an occasion for the creation of the Fordist welfare capitalism. War’s devastation of the transportation system in Europe became a pretext for Marshall Aid for highway construction. Indeed, the trade liberalization set forth by the Marshall Plan counterpart agreements required a steady infrastructure providing rapid transportation of raw materials and goods all over Europe, and to the USA. In this sense, for instance,

¹⁰⁵ See Walter Isard, *Location and Space Economy: A General Theory Relating to Industrial Location, Market Areas, Land Use, Trade, and Urban Structure*, (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1956).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), a regional UN organization founded in Geneva in 1947, provided not only the installation of a continental transportation system in Europe but also dealt with coal and steel production, improvement of agricultural production, and housing.¹⁰⁸ The Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe dealt with mobility throughout the continent including “transport by railroad, road, inland waterway, and pipeline, but explicitly excluded civil aviation and maritime shipping for which universal organizations on a worldwide level seemed more appropriate.”¹⁰⁹

Frank Schipper, who discussed the European continental road network in relation to the political and economical setting of the prewar, interwar and postwar period, calls the Marshall Plan’s contribution to the building of European integration on international road networks as “M-aid for motorways.”¹¹⁰ Arguing the road and highway network in Europe was aimed at the European integration and unification at infrastructural level already in the interwar period starting by 1929; Schipper mentions two five-year plans on road building prepared before the World War II for the physical integration of the trade markets of the Western Europe with the rural fertility of the Eastern Europe via tertiary and quartary roads to strengthen the internal ties of the European economy.¹¹¹ The other five-year plan, on the other hand, was based on the building of intracity motorways, but not realized at the time. Nevertheless, the long-distance and high-speed motorways and the E-roads¹¹² for the rapid interconnection between European and other markets could

¹⁰⁸ Frank Schipper, *Driving Europe: Building Europe on Roads in the Twentieth Century*, (Amsterdam: Aksant Academic Publishers, 2008), 166.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹¹² The construction of the E-Roads over the European continent was realized as part of the ECE program within the scope of “linking all European countries, the harmonization of road signs and signals, safety and anti-pollution standards for motor vehicles, standards for the transport of dangerous goods by road, the agreement for the development of combined transport, standards for perishable agricultural produce, agreements on customs procedures and various trade regulations, standards for the electronic exchange of trade and transport data and conventions ...” by controlling at a regional scale as well for the European integration against the Iron Curtain. The activity of the ECE on workers’ housing will later be mentioned in detail under the section 2.2.3.2. The United

be possible after the introduction of the Marshall Plan to Europe. The development of ports and airports to provide international transportation of goods and services also dates to the immediate postwar years guided by the technical and financial assistance of the Marshall Plan. Put forward in the General Report of the CEEC presented to the US Congress for the necessity of the Marshall aid in 1947, the mutual assistance of the Marshall Plan was assigned to achieve the expansion of inland transport facilities to carry a 25 percent while carrying the greater load by the end of the Marshall Plan program in 1951 than in 1938 together with providing goods and services exceeding the prewar level.¹¹³

As Isard mentions how urbanization went parallel to the developments in transportation technology and the opening of new transport routes led to the opening of new areas into development in terms of in-between terminals, housing demand increased together with service trade, and building activity along with construction economy arose around this new trade centers with new housing located at their peripheries.¹¹⁴ With the foundation of the Regional Science Association in the USA in 1954, of which Walter Isard became the first president, the association's study fields successively covered related disciplines of regional science from regional planning, urban planning and city planning to economics, political science and geography.¹¹⁵ Added to the location and land use policies, housing planning also gained importance along with the rise of regional planning regarding the mutual relation between the location of industry and workers' housing. Like railway was praised by the 19th century reformist Ebenezer Howard and automobile by the 20th century prophet-architect Le Corbusier for the

Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), "History." <http://www.unece.org/oes/history/history.html> (accessed March 10, 2015).

¹¹³ CEEC General Report, 1947, 8., European University Institute, Historical Archives of the European Union. <http://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/173648?item=OEEC.TRA-02> (accessed March 10, 2015)

¹¹⁴ Walter Isard, *History of Regional Science*, 4.

¹¹⁵ For more information on the Regional Science Association International's study fields visit http://www.regionalscience.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=380&Itemid=591 (accessed on May 3, 2015)

interconnection between fertile, airy country and messy, congested city, decentralization was legitimated by the program of the postwar regional development formatting low-density periphery stretched out in the form of industrial suburbs surrounded by garden suburbs of working class and middle-class communities versus high-density city centers of trade and services.

Patrick Abercrombie, the official urban planner of postwar London who promoted planned decentralization and industrial dispersion, and reintroduced garden suburbs to the British postwar planning, argued the essence of zoning as a practice of town [urban] planning could be explained by its formats related to the notions of character, density and height.¹¹⁶ Zoning, in this sense, could be formulized by the character, density, and height of land-use patterns defining industrial, agricultural, commercial and residential use while setting density for the land distribution, and building height either in the form of low-rise or high-rise. Hereby, the zoning principle provides a basis for the postwar planning of all scales from national to regional, neighbourhood to community planning since the character of the economical activity of the region which is defined as a zone at the national scale constructs industry and related workers' housing in zones of production while defining the character of neighbourhood and community at the same time. Infrastructural development stands in between zones of different scale as organizing distribution on and of the land-use pattern. In this regard, the postwar reconstruction guided by the Marshall Plan's program covered the fields of industry, infrastructure, and housing in relation to each other through planning the zones of mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption concurrently identifying the mode of production in the fields of industrial, infrastructural and housing reconstruction. Planning, Fordist planning based on mass production-distribution-consumption formula in this case, thereby, became the master field of reconstruction.

¹¹⁶ Patrick Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, (London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1959), 140.

Within this context, there was a boom in regional and urban planning programs dealing with zoning and planned decentralization under the name of New Towns programs throughout Europe on and after the war. Patrick Abercrombie, the official urban planner of postwar London who promoted planned decentralization and reintroduced garden suburbs, supported the New Towns Act of 1946, and after the major Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 suggesting heavy industry at the peripheral land, and yet *housing for all* surrounded by fresh air and greenery. The Greater London Plan of Abercrombie dated to 1944, was framed upon the four functions of modern urban planning such as *industry, housing, recreation* and *transport* in relation to population growth and employment focusing on the issue of immediate reconstruction of London with the construction of new satellite towns. In this regard, the British postwar “New Towns” program based on the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 proposed planned decentralization of not only war-devastated London but entire Britain.

Moreover, France’s official program of New Towns, *Habitations à loyer modéré* (HLM), encouraged peripheral urban development through low-cost housing construction based on the self-help model by housing cooperatives. An act enabling cooperative housing construction with *rent-to-own* approach, which allowed gradual ownership of the property, was enacted in 1947 resulting in the building of more than 12.000 housing units between 1948 and 1952 during which the Marshall Plan was operated.¹¹⁷ At the same time, the concept of “city-region” was promoted in Italy¹¹⁸ while the principle of zoning was put at the center of planning discussions in the so-called depressed areas in need of reconstruction under Marshall Plan’s guidance.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ <http://www.chfcanada.coop/icahousing/pages/membersearch.asp?op=country&id=6> (accessed May 15, 2015).

¹¹⁸ Alan Calquhoun, *Modern Architecture*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 190.

¹¹⁹ For more information see Pier Paolo d’Atorre, “Italian Reconstruction and ‘Depressed Areas’: The Marshall Plan in the ‘Mezzogiorno’,” Working Paper Series no. 11, (Cambridge: Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1987).

These New Towns programs were directly or indirectly were supported and funded by Marshall Plan counterpart funds, or some intermediary agencies for the reconstruction and development planning of participating countries. Zoning approach was promoted next to regional planning programs especially in the Mediterranean countries such as Italy, Greece and Turkey. As d'Attore mentioned for the case of Marshall aided Southern Italy, zoning was set essential for guaranteeing invested capital by the help of “an agency for coordinating and quickly implementing projects and works independent of the government and of organized and informal lobbies,” which was indeed the Association of the Development of the South (SVIMEZ), the institution funded by the Marshall Plan counterpart funds.¹²⁰

2.1.2.2. The Formation of Housing Question as an Issue of Reconstruction and Planning

Either for the crucial need to “remove the rubble,” or for “bolstering hopes,” the housing shortage already started to rise in Europe even before the end of the war.¹²¹ Charles Abrams, a high-profile on housing and urban planning during the implementation of the Marshall Plan, served for the ICA and the UN as a housing expert, prepared reports on housing within Marshall Plan’s operational countries, and the mentor behind the foundation of the Middle East Technical University in Ankara for the promotion of regional planning in Turkey, argues that urban and housing planning would become one of the leading postwar topics also since there was a growing debate within the public opinion.¹²² Abrams noted “modern furnished and equipped houses” became widely discussed topics in the society next to “broad highways, the playgrounds and parks” during the war.¹²³

¹²⁰ Ibid., 5.

¹²¹ Charles Abrams refers to the orientation of warfighting Western governments to the housing problem as for “bolstering hopes.” See Charles Abrams, *Housing in the Modern World: Man’s Struggle for Shelter in An Urbanized World*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), 89.

¹²² Ibid., 89.

¹²³ Ibid.

The “home-hungry world,” as Abrams verbalized,¹²⁴ set the stage for housing to become one of the leading postwar fields of Marshall Aid. Likewise feeding Europe, sheltering Europe was at the agenda of the Marshall Plan. As housing was confirmed within the basic human needs in the UN Charter of Human Rights, the USA as “the savior of the human rights” appeared on the scene describing the housing question as an immediate field of reconstruction next to the reconstruction of industries and infrastructure, and prescribing for solutions as well. The task, outwardly, was the reconstruction of the European cities highly devastated in the World War II. Not only was there a need to revitalize the housing stock but the housing shortage became the bread and butter of reconstruction via the expansion of building and construction economy and trade, and yet defined the postwar housing discourse through the formation of housing question in terms of function, topography, morphology and habitation, as an aside, the USA utilized the housing question as a functional propaganda tool.

As a matter of fact, European cities needed a large scale reconstruction after the catastrophic damages of the World War II on the physical environment of Europe. Huge destruction of industrial plants and housing blocks went along with the damage in transportation and communication systems. Standing on the urgent need to recover the destructed Europe of the war, the economical reconstruction construction proofed with the Marshall Plan counterpart funds specifically resisted on mass housing projects either in individual cases or as part of regional and urban planning programs as a leading sector of economical recovery next to infrastructural recovery projects fed by the construction trade. Extensive building programs for densely bombed European cities such as London, Berlin, Paris, Le Havre, Lorient, Naoussa, Milan, Turin and Trieste together with many other cities were initiated governmentally, and under the assistantship of the American urbanists and housing specialists also in relation to local construction firms and agencies.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

Reconstruction in case of housing was attributed official interest with the regulation of legal procedures for the topographical and morphological aspects of housing construction while encouraging the new construction technologies in relation to the building materials market in close commitment to the agreements of counterpart funds as well. One after the other, ministries of reconstruction, urbanism and housing were being founded in especially Britain, Germany, France and Italy programming reconstruction in the national scale for planning the regional and urban growth but significantly mass housing projects in relation to the intermediary agencies and counterpart fund agreements of the Marshall Plan.

From the continental scale to the national scale, the discourse of reconstruction was produced and adverted in the name of the European economical recovery. International exhibitions on the urban reconstruction, and housing planning by the help of Marshall Plan aids were organized in European countries, Greece and Turkey as well with graphical presentations comparing the prewar and postwar condition of the housing stock next to infrastructure, industries, and postwar American lifestyle in new suburban neighbourhoods.

Housing question, especially for the sheltering of war refugees and housing the growing mass of workers next to the reconstructed industrial plants and especially coal mines became a crucial means of the postwar workers' housing discourse introducing the prefabricated low-cost house for anyone offering an affordable "democratic" lifestyle of the sun-air-space trilogy, all of which were provided by the US assistance with fully-furnished households at the airy and sunny garden suburbs with an ease of accessibility to work. Paying attention to the design of neighbourhood unit as an entity of the workers' community of socially-secured families with children with high purchasing power, housing question as a product of postwar economical reconstruction was associated with social reconstruction. Especially via neighbourhood and community planning focalized for the functional and habitual production of the housing question for the working class, the largest mass of users and consumers of the housing stock, reconstruction for the US-guided modernization of Europe could only be won on "factory floors, in



A "counterpart" housing project in Italy

Figure 2.6 A housing project in Italy constructed by counterpart funds of the Marshall Plan. Source: The online album of William Averell Harriman.



Norway--wooden houses to replace those the Germans destroyed

Figure 2.7 A reconstruction project for housing in Norway constructed by counterpart funds of the Marshall Plan. Source: The online album of William Averell Harriman.

neighbourhoods and in villages” as revealed as a mission of the USA.¹²⁵

Within this context, the formation of housing question as an issue of reconstruction and planning will be discussed under two subchapters. First, in the section 2.1.2.2.1, the place of building and construction economy in the economic reconstruction programmed within the economic recovery program of the Marshall Plan will be discussed with regard to the promotion of low-cost housing especially for the growing mass of the working class. Followingly, in the section 2.1.2.2.2, the economical, social and cultural politics of neighbourhood and community planning in the case of postwar housing question will be negotiated with reference to the American legacy and theoretical background of urban planning and architecture on neighbourhood and community planning especially carried out by the ECA’s planning and housing experts as part of the US and the UN technical assistance in Europe, Greece and Turkey as well.

2.1.2.2.1. The Rise of Low-Cost Housing Sector for Economical Reconstruction

After the war’s devastation of the agricultural and industrial production next to continental infrastructure, the prognosis for Europe to become a “self-sufficient” continent again was set as the economical reconstruction by the Marshall Plan but having the bombed housing stock recovered was a must at the outset. The planning for physical reconstruction had already been started while the air bombing was continuing especially in the Britain and Germany. Martin Pawley claims the link between planning and destruction was very clear even in the beginning of the war, and bombing legitimized planning for reconstruction and development.¹²⁶ Pawley notes some planners mentioned there was an enthusiasm for planning which was

¹²⁵ For the fullest extent of the quotation placed in a propaganda brochure in remembrance of the Marshall Plan see page 11.

¹²⁶ Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 45.

universal during the war since cities were daily attacked and destroyed by bombers.¹²⁷

On the occasion of the lack of shelter in the ruins, not only planners and architects had interest in immediate planning of cities and housing out of the rubble but the British government, for instance, initiated reconstruction plans for bombed cities on the devastation of the Blitz through two strategies; first, “strategic dispersal of urban population,” second, “the accelerated construction of immediate dwellings.”¹²⁸ Pawley refers to the Barlow Report setting the route of the postwar physical reconstruction and housing planning presenting decentralization, industrial dispersion, construction of garden suburbs, satellite towns, and zoned light industrial areas,¹²⁹ the physical setting of all would create the Fordist welfare of the postwar society based on the commuters of middle-class living between work and housing. Indeed, the programming of the Greater London Plan of 1944 dates to the first two years of the war based on the recommendations of the Barlow Report; note that the wartime Lend-Lease Act between the USA and the Britain also laid down the transactions to provide immediate shelter.

It is also argued that Germany and Japan’s today’s economic success was based on “the opportunity to start again” because “environmental destruction afforded them,” and thereby, they legitimized reconstruction during the war which made them prevailed the postwar housing construction performance of other European countries.¹³⁰ However, since Britain was the only country to be able to plan her future via reconstruction planning albeit continuing to be bombed,¹³¹ the wartime housing planning of Britain launched the postwar trends in regional and urban planning introducing planned decentralization.

¹²⁷ J. Tetlow and A. Goss, quoted in *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 46-49.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

Not only in Britain but also in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, Germany and the USSR, the environmental condition was the same requiring immediate reconstruction since the prewar housing stock of cities were highly damaged by the war. In France, posters covered Charles de Gaulle calling reconstruction as “the big task,” “the sacred task” and “the national task.”¹³² Programming reconstruction in the national scale for planning the regional and urban growth but significantly for mass housing projects was at the agenda of Europe. The Marshall Plan, thereby, easily set its legitimacy on reconstruction refurbishing up the lack of industries, infrastructure and housing.

Within this context, the First National Meeting for Reconstruction in Italy happened in Milan in 1945.¹³³ The AR Plan of Italy already started in 1944 was based on the Functional City paradigm of Athens Charter, proposed regional planning and urban reconstruction based on the development of international and continental infrastructure, highway transportation, high-rise housing blocks and greenery next to industrial and residential suburbanization.¹³⁴ Adverting new Italian and European style of living up to 44 km from city centers, the AR Plan realized reconstruction in the form of industrial decentralization and the creation of a central commercial district in the old city centers both of which including suburban housing connected via highways.¹³⁵ On the other hand, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Urbanism (MRU) of France was founded in Le Havre, the city of which was in focus of the Marshall Aid funding a huge reconstruction project at regional, urban and housing scales by a team led by the architect Auguste Perret

¹³² W. Brian Newsome, *French Urban Planning, 1940-1968: The Construction and Deconstruction of an Authoritarian System*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009), 143.

¹³³ Francesca Bonfante and Cristina Pallini, “The Role of a Historic Townscape in City Reconstruction: Plans for Genoa, Milan Turin after World War II,” in *Alternative Visions of Postwar Reconstruction: Creating the Modern Townscape*, ed. John Pendlebury et.al. eds., (New York: Routledge, 2015), 143.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

starting from 1946¹³⁶ with the same position towards the Fordist decentralization of industry and housing focusing on the zoning principle.

Although housing programs were initially planned to serve for sheltering millions of war refugees in Europe, low-cost housing for the working class families became the primary problem to be dealt with. Like the former postwar period experienced in Europe, mass housing initiatives were sprawled throughout Europe. Within this context, it is not by coincidence for all of the sixteen countries aided by Marshall Plan that the ECA specialists addressed the housing shortage, and the necessity of productive building industries especially for producing prefabricated low-cost housing.

Within this context, Harold Macmillan as the Minister of Housing and Local Government proposed 300.000 houses a year between 1951 and 1954 in Britain.¹³⁷ In Germany, social housing was officially conceptualized with the First Housing Act of 1950 proposing a program to build 300.000 houses a year like in Britain between 1950 and 1956, the application of which later was postponed to 1962.¹³⁸ Germany spent 65 billion DMs for housing construction between 1950 and 1957 of which 400 million DMs were directly state subsidies whereas some of the counterpart funds of the Marshall Plan were spent for the loans that Reconstruction Finance Corporation supplied for housing construction.¹³⁹ In France, between 1950 and 1965, with mortgages for 35-year indebtedness at 2%

¹³⁶ ISAI was the model for building low-cost housing under the assistance of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Urbanism of France. Auguste Perret was appointed as the chief architect of the reconstruction of Le Havre mostly covering low-cost housing projects. Mass housing projects based on the reconstruction project of Le Havre first started with state-funding but continued by the practice of trade union-based workers' housing cooperatives like it was in Turkey. For more details visit DOCOMOMO France, <http://www2.archi.fr/DOCOMOMO-FR/fiche-havre-isai-va.htm> (accessed June 2, 2015).

¹³⁷ Abrams, *Housing in the Modern World*, 89.

¹³⁸ Robert G. Wertheimer, "Savaş Sonrası Döneminde Batı Almanya'da Mesken Konusunda Yaratılan Mucize," in *Batı Almanya, İtalya ve İspanya'da Mesken Politikası*, ed., Turhan Yörükân, trans. Ayşe Budak (Ankara: İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Sosyal Araştırma Dairesi, 1968), 5.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

interest, 140 housing cooperatives under the name of *Habitation à Loyer Modéré* [Low-income Housing] (HLM) were established (see Figure 2.9), representing some 130,000 units in France.¹⁴⁰ HLMs were the social housing settlements of France founded after the World War II to house the large mass of the working class flowing to industrial cities, which was the means of social housing from the war over the course of 1960s for “for young working couple – the first step on the residential path” but fell towards depression after 1970s by the second migration of the middle-class owners towards city centers transforming HLMs to “out of law areas.”¹⁴¹ In Italy, with the introduction of the Vanoni Plan which proposes state subsidies on four zones of development covering agriculture, public infrastructure such as gas, water, and electricity, reconstruction and housing reserving 410 to 600 billion Lirets from 1954 to 1964 for housing construction.¹⁴² Including state agencies for officer housing, local agencies for social housing, and the workers’ cooperatives and local communes, social housing was based on a mortgage system for 35 year indebtness at 4% interest like it was in France. In 1950, *Fondo per L’Incremento Edilizio*[The Growth Fund for the Building] was established by the Marshall Plan counterpart funds to provide 35 year long term funds at 4% interest.¹⁴³

Promoting the use of prefabricated building materials, bought from the US firms as an agreement of Marshall Plan assistantship, the reconstruction of the physical environment of devastated Europe served in reality as an economical program based on a construction trade between the US and the affiliated countries, noting the boom in their own building industries though. With the Marshall Plan’s

¹⁴⁰ “Co-operative housing in France,” The Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada. <http://www.chfcanada.coop/icahousing/pages/membersearch.asp?op=country&id=6> (accessed May 9, 2015).

¹⁴¹ Stéphanie Sotison, “A French Definition of Social Housing,” http://www.iut.nu/members/Europe/West/2010/French_CNL_DefinitionOfSocialHousing_SS_2010.pdf (accessed May 9, 2015).

¹⁴² Paul F. Wendt, “İtalya’da II. Dünya Savaşı Sonunda Mesken Politikası,” in *Batı Almanya, İtalya ve İspanya’da Mesken Politikası*, ed. Turhan Yörükân, trans. Halil İnanlı, (Ankara: İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Sosyal Araştırma Dairesi, 1968), 25.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 32.



Figure 2.8 The site of the SNCF, the national railway company of France, in the New Town district of Lorient, France, 1947. Source: Flickr album *Lorient (1946-1956): clichés de la Reconstruction* in “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU” <https://www.flickr.com/photos/reconstruction1945-1979/albums/72157655286479152> (accessed June 13, 2015).



Figure 2.9 HLMs built during the reconstruction of Lorient in France by the MRU assisted by the counterpartfunds of the Marshall Plan. Source: Flickr album *Lorient (1946-1956): clichés de la Reconstruction* in “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU.”

counterpart funds agreements, European countries were promoted to import raw materials and technologies from the US by force of the reconstruction program for building their own modern industries and agriculture to work efficiently in feeding modern cities with modernized transportation systems linking industries to modern low-cost housing.

In this regard, foreign investments in housing production was dealt next to the Marshall Plan counterpart funds which ensured financial and technical assistance for the housing production together with physical reconstruction projects. Financial assistance for reconstruction was supplied via intermediary financial credit institutions or banks such as the IBRD (today's World Bank) contingent upon the ECA whereas technical assistance regarding physical planning at all scales was conducted by technical expertise from the USA. The Credit Institution for Reconstruction in Germany (KfW) founded in 1948, for instance, was organized to provide medium- to long-term loans "to enable the completion of reconstruction projects, insofar as other credit institutions are not able to provide the required" but in relation to the Central Bank of Germany.¹⁴⁴ In other respects supporting "basic materials industries (especially coal and steel), housing, agriculture (machines, fertilizers, reconstruction of farms), local infrastructure (roads, water supplies, and so on), an autarkic energy supply for encircled West Berlin, promotion of export business, and, finally, job creation and integration of many millions of refugees" was in the program of the KfW. The quotation below well explains the financial loans secured by the Marshall Plan counterpart funds in housing production in the case of Germany:

Step by step, the KfW was allocated additional sums from the "counter-value fund," until 1953, and these funds were immediately used as the base upon which to issue new credits, and initiate new credit programs. *Beginning in 1950, housing construction was one of the KfW's areas of special focus. Initial demand was estimated at some 5 million housing units.* Because there was no free market for housing, refugees were assigned to the homes of other families, and the rents were fixed by the authorities. Housing construction would not have moved ahead

¹⁴⁴ Lothar Komp, "How Germany financed its postwar reconstruction," *EIR Executive Intelligence Review* 26, June 25, 1999, 42.

without state intervention. *In 1950 alone, 350,000 homes were completed, every eighth one financed by the KfW. By 1956, some 3 million housing units had been completed, and government-subsidized public housing projects became an important pillar of the construction sector. In the 1960s, when more than 6 million new housing units had been completed, market conditions began to settle into the construction sector.*¹⁴⁵

On the other hand, technical assistance was ensured by the ECA and related institutions on construction of housing. For instance, attended in 1948 as the chief administrator of the ECA, Paul G. Hoffman himself provided a technical assistance program to transfer the American housing know-how to Germany.¹⁴⁶ Hoffman had suggested the encouragement of private investment on housing production through a revitalized building program.

Concordantly, the American advanced technology in building industries and the exportation of the American housing know-how were adverted grounding upon the housing shortage problem in the participating countries also by the agency of mass media under the US guidance, and traveling exhibitions organized by the information section of the ECA as Harry Bayard Price noted below:

[T]hree aspects of the European information program are especially noteworthy. First, the ECA became a prolific source of ideas in such specialized activities as documentary film making, radio production, news photography, local exhibits, and traveling exhibitions. (...) Mobile exhibition units were found to be most effective in countries such as Greece, Turkey, and southern Italy where other media were not highly developed.¹⁴⁷

In this regard, it is known that the Director of Planning in the Ministry of Reconstruction and Urbanism (MRU) of France asked the US government to organize an exhibition on the American construction techniques in Paris.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Italics are mine unless indicated otherwise. *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁴⁶ Greg Castillo, "Housing as Transnational Provocation in Cold War Berlin," in *Transnationalism and the German City*, ed. Jeffrey M. Diefendorf and Janet Ward (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 130.

¹⁴⁷ Price, *The Marshall Plan*, 247.

¹⁴⁸ Anon., "1946: Exposition des techniques américaines de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme," Ministry of Housing, Equality Territories and Rural Policy, 20 May 2014.

Exposition des Techniques Américaines de l'Habitation et de l'Urbanisme [The US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development], which was collaborated by the French Ministry, the National Housing Agency of the USA and the Office of War Information of the USA, was in show at the Grand Palais in Paris for a month in 1946. Louis Kahn was among the architectural advisers of the exhibition.¹⁴⁹ The following international exhibition, *Exposition de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitation* in 1947 in Paris, advertised the US technology and expertise on low-cost housing for war victims and workers with the large graphic displays of wartime destruction and postwar reconstruction.¹⁵⁰ The sections in the exhibition covered 14 countries including Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and South Africa with some plans and models.¹⁵¹

On the other hand, the US technology not only was being promoted but also being exported from the USA to the participating countries in Europe including Greece and Turkey. In this regard, the model American prefabricated plywood house was exported to wartime Britain after its exhibition in 1945 as “a possible auxiliary for British housing recovery.”¹⁵² Bernard Wagner, the architect working for the Housing and Home Finance Agency in the US, and who also would serve Turkey as a housing specialist for the United Nations Program for Technical Assistance (UNPTA) and the International Co-operation Administration (ICA), designed a fully equipped prefabricated American House for the International Berlin Fair in 1950.¹⁵³

<http://www.territoires.gouv.fr/1946-exposition-des-techniques-americaines-de-l-habitation-et-de-l-urbanisme> (accessed June 9, 2015).

¹⁴⁹ The detailed description of the exhibition's tag could be seen on the exhibition board on show.

¹⁵⁰ W. Brian Newsome, *French Urban Planning, 1940-1968: The Construction and Deconstruction of an Authoritarian System*, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009), 143.

¹⁵¹ J.P. Vouga, “L'exposition internationale de l'urbanisme et de l'habitation, Paris, 10 juillet-17 août 1947,” *Swiss Bauzeitung* 65, (1947): 588. <http://retro.seals.ch/digbib/view?pid=sbz-002:1947:65::558> (accessed June 9, 2015).

¹⁵² Martin Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, p. 57.

¹⁵³ Bernard Wagner, “More Homes for Germany,” *Information Bulletin of the Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany*, December 1951, p. 21.



Figure 2.10 The US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development at Grand Palais, Paris held between 14 June-21 July 1946. Source: The Flickr album *L'exposition des Techniques américaines de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme 1939-194X* in “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU.”



Figure 2.11 Prefabricated American model home in the US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development in Paris. Source: Flickr album *L'exposition des Techniques américaines de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme 1939-194X* in “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU.”

Not specifically designed for the working class but significantly middle-class Berliners, Hansaviertel district in Berlin was realized after the International Building Exhibition (Interbau) of 1957 which was funded by the ERP including modern housing blocks constructed with the so-called US technology of prefabrication.¹⁵⁴ The designs were by pioneering modernist architects such as Le Corbusier, Oscar Niemeyer and Alvar Aalto et al. Still in 1963, there were “ready-home” exhibitions being organized in Germany.¹⁵⁵

The US technology which was advertised in the Marshall Plan countries on building construction and housing production was actually the mass production of building and construction materials under the Fordist assembly line which found its expression in prefabricated buildings. The prefabrication in building industry was a high topic in the USA already in the 19th century regarding experiments of the balloon-frame construction in timber farm houses.¹⁵⁶ The mass production of the partitions of houses for units of kitchen, bathroom, air conditioning or plumbing progressed towards completely factory-made houses only delivered to the site for in-situ assemblage in the period between the two wars in the USA.¹⁵⁷ The balloon-framed construction of timber farm houses developed into the balloon-framed construction of steel construction after the temporary housing settlements designed to house defense workers and veterans in the USA, and war refugees after the World War II in Europe, which was preferred for catalyzing the construction efforts by lowering the manpower required for construction, and also eliminating the land ownership, finance, building legislation or contractual delay during the wartime.¹⁵⁸ In this sense, what Patrick Abercrombie noted that

¹⁵⁴ Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, “American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945-1955,” 25-27 March (Washington, The German Historical Institute, 1999), 18. See also Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, “America and the Rebuilding of Germany,” in *American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945-1955*, Jeffrey M. Diefendorf and Axel Frohn (New York: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge), 350.

¹⁵⁵ *Akn*, 4 October 1963.

¹⁵⁶ Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 51.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 53.

permanent housing schemes were manufactured in the form of prefabricated individual houses to build housing as quickly as possible¹⁵⁹ indicates the development of prefabricated housing in Europe is also related to wars.

In the USA as well, the mass production of prefabricated temporary housing became possible by emergent accommodation for defense workers next to wartime aircraft industries like Willow Run near Washington.¹⁶⁰ The integration of the United States Federal Housing Authority (FHA) to the National Housing Agency (NHA), Pawley claims, forced the pace in prefabricated housing construction for defense workers' families up to millions. In Europe, no such huge construction for prefabricated housing was realized but the USA troops built prefabricated barracks in Britain by the requisites of the Lend-Lease Act, and exported prefabricated houses elsewhere to Europe via the financial and technical assistance of the UNRRA. However, only after the war, Britain planned to use the industrial capacity of the military equipment and automobile production for the mass production of housing by integrating the technology of automobile and warcraft production for pressed steel houses. Pawley elucidates the level of mass production for housing at the period revealing the aircraft industry-based house was being produced at a rate of one every twelve minutes.¹⁶¹ In this regard, Carola Hein refers to an exhibition organized by the collaboration of the MoMA and the National Housing Agency of the USA for promoting the need of housing for defense workers who engaged in wartime military activity offering ways of postwar communities.¹⁶²

Actually, the issue of mass production and prefabrication of housing came to Europe in the 1920s after the introduction of Taylorism to building industries in

¹⁵⁹ Abercrombie, *Town and Country Planning*, 268.

¹⁶⁰ Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 55.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁶² For more information see Carola Hein, "The New York Museum of Modern Art: Engagement in Housing, Planning, and Neighbourhood Design," in *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, ed. Robert Freestone and Marco Amati (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 249.

Europe. Eric Bloemen claims that Europe actually met Taylorism in 1900 during the World Exhibition in Paris where Taylor presented his invention of the “high speed steel.”¹⁶³ On the other hand, the main encountering of Europe with Taylorism was when a group of fifty American management experts visited Prague for the first international management congress organized in Europe which took place respectively in Brussels, Paris, Amsterdam, London, and Washington from 1924 to 1938, and later organized under the auspices of a permanent board namely the *Comite International de l’Organisation Scientifique* (CIOS) which was officially founded on 27 September 1927.

Indeed, when Taylorism became a real phenomenon in Europe was the wartime after 1914 which led European executives and governments had to become more dependent on industries rapidly expanding as a result of exigencies of war.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, the orientation towards the American phenomenon of Taylorist industrial efficiency was inevitable at the time by not only Europe in order to cope with the rapid production requirements of warfare but also by the young USSR to be able to industrialize the country as the nature of the regime. Taylorization of war plants together with the establishment of Taylorite planning departments was a call from the French government as a solution to the immediate necessities of the war production by 1918 whereas Germany too started to face Taylorism, Fordism and other American industrial production methods beside the spread movement of “rationalization” of German industry by the 1920s.¹⁶⁵ The cumulative result of the developments during and after the World War I Europe was that Taylor’s scientific management aimed at organizing many phases of industrial production from labour productivity to technological efficiency and even corporate organization,

¹⁶³ Eric Bloemen, “The Movement for Scientific Management between the Wars in Europe,” in *Scientific Management: Frederick Winslow Taylor's Gift to the World?*, ed. J.C. Spender and Hugo Jakob Kijne (Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), 112.

¹⁶⁴ Daniel Nelson, *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 21.

¹⁶⁵ Kendalle E. Bailes, “The American Connection: Ideology and the Transfer of American Technology to the Soviet Union, 1917-1941,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 3, (1981): 430.

was taken as a model together with the Fordist assembly line, and adopted in Europe “as a characteristic feature of American civilization” by the 1920s, which made way for the postwar reconstruction of European economy after the World War I together with the creation a rationalist welfare society.¹⁶⁶

Within this context, Fordism could be claimed to set the ground for the modern architectural production and discourse of the 1920s’ and 1930s’ European modernism since it fit well to the immediate needs of the essential reconstruction of the post-World War I European physical environment as serving as an economical program based on mass production. Fordist planning was stipulated to meet the large housing demand even for the mass production of Post-World War I social housing blocks of the working class or the mass production of the Post-World War II New Towns which covered production-distribution-consumption facilities together with decent housing for the working masses on the peripheries. Pawley also touches upon the Fordist assembly line was praised in housing production aiming at industrializing building itself, the phenomenon of which characterized the essence of modern architecture of the 20th century.¹⁶⁷ In this sense, the low-rise housing settlements of low-cost prefabrication of the 1920s Europe and 1930s USA gradually led to the high-rise mass housing blocks of the postwar suburbanization. As Kemal Ahmet Aru indicated, the garden city paradigm not only appeared in the form of single-family housing but also reproduced with mass produced housing blocks in Europe.¹⁶⁸

On the other hand, the discussions on the production of low-cost housing in the USA, apart from industrializing building construction, rose in the New Deal era of the 1930s in the name of providing public housing affordable at reasonable prices.

¹⁶⁶ League of Nations International Labour Office, International Economic Conference, Geneva, 4 May 1927. Quoted in Charles S. Maier, “Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 2, (1970), 30.

¹⁶⁷ Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 50.

¹⁶⁸ Kemal Ahmet Aru, *İkinci Dünya Harbinden Sonra Garp Avrupasında Mesken Problemi*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaacılık T.A.O. İTÜ. Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayımı, 1951), 207-209.

The mass production of housing became the means of housing planning in relation to neighbourhood and community planning advocated countrywide by scholars. For especially the working class suffered from huge unemployment resulted by the Great Depression after 1929, low-cost housing production conducted by private companies, housing estates or workers' housing cooperatives founded by the American trade unions, and supported by federal government subsidies was promoted in the New Deal's Fordist and Keynesian economy politics based on the creation of welfare society. In this sense, the Public Housing Movement of the New Deal utilized the US technology of mass production and prefabrication for the production of low-cost workers' housing settlements in garden suburbs. The Greenbelt Towns program was also designed for middle-income groups offering low-cost housing in garden suburbs. In this regard, decentralization of housing and suburbanization went along with community planning in terms of low-cost housing production by gathering federal government and community promoting cooperative ownership model.

However, the postwar free market system based on private enterprise brought the integration of the federally supported public housing for low- and middle-income groups as well as workers with private housing market which led to the disposal of publicly funded housing settlements and garden suburbs for millions of dollars to private companies, institutions or individuals.¹⁶⁹ The consolidation of all federal housing finance agencies to form the Housing and Home Finance Administration of Truman Government in 1947,¹⁷⁰ was the preview of the initiative of Levittown, the model of which transformed the economics and planning of housing production and homeownership based on the cooperative ownership model next to the functional, topographical, morphological, and habitual means of housing not only in the American periphery but in Europe including Turkey since then.

¹⁶⁹ For the American experience of the Greenbelt Towns program from its foundations to disposal see Joseph L. Arnold, *The New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Town Program*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 232.

Levittown, in this case as a model of prefabricated single-family suburban settlements inheriting from the wartime temporary housing production of the USA, catalyzed the urban and architectural paradigm of the 1950s making the prefabricated low-cost housing affordable by anyone with the promotion of mortgage-based homeownership within especially the middle-class families but the working class families as well. All parts of a house were transported to the site, and assembled only in 16 minutes;¹⁷¹ the pitched roof boxes that Levittown offered to live in became the means of a healthy but low-cost life in a garden suburb for anyone able to afford roughly 10.000 dollars, which were actually the initial steps of the American Dream. This time, not only the former construction trend to build mass housing complexes to house low-income families were at the stage but also prefabricated single-family houses were promoted globally with the built-in household furniture, and modern appliances produced by the praised US technology of mass production.

Actually, what was commercialized in Europe in the name of economical reconstruction during the Marshall Plan was the model of Levittown with the construction and building technologies which provides the Taylorist efficiency in housing production, and reduces labor force by transforming housing production to a work of conveying building components on an assembly line, the homeownership model based on the ages long mortgage guarantees, decentralized habitation in garden suburbs with fast connection to workplace and commerce in city center on private automobiles, the modern household equipments as an active way of integrating postwar workers' families into the economical reconstruction by the postwar consumer of Americanization. Linking the idea of a single-family cottage in country to the single-storey American prefabricated houses, as Pawley argued for the link between the American inspired [or exported] prefabricated emergency housing in the wartime Europe and the traditional "self-contained

¹⁷¹ Colin Marshall, "Levittown, the prototypical American suburb -a history of cities in 50 buildings, day 25," <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities> (accessed June 12, 2015).

cottage,”¹⁷² the garden suburb model of prefabricated low-cost housing for anyone could afford equipped with consumers’ goods was instrumentalized by the Marshall Plan’s program for postwar housing question.

In this regard, the American National Exhibition in Moscow of 1959 organized by the collaboration of US Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet President Nikita Khrushchev carried the flag of postwar consumerization of housing and household equipments based on the Fordist mass production.¹⁷³ The Kitchen Debate arose from this exhibition promoted modern prefabricated American house furnished with mass produced household appliances as a model for postwar globe in not only the Marshall Plan countries but the Eastern Bloc as well. It is not a coincidence that earlier before, Henry Ford was making an analogy between shop and home describing the shop as “mainstay of all the finer things which the home represents,” and continuing as “If we want the home to be happy, we must contrive to keep the shop busy. The whole justification of the profits made by the shop is that they are used to make doubly secure the homes dependent on that shop, and to create more jobs for other men. (...) A successful business is profitable to all three of these interests - planner, producer, and purchaser.”¹⁷⁴

This rhetoric of low-cost housing was generated in the African and Latin American countries as well as Middle Eastern countries like Turkey via the praxis of housing and planning experts working for the ICA and the UN. In this sense, low-cost housing in the developing countries actually played its part not significantly in the economical reconstruction but in social reconstruction affairs of the Marshall Plan. Flagging development as the bread and butter of welfare, promoting the self-help model in housing construction through countrywide campaigns, exporting special experts on low-cost housing and community development to the local communities, and directly or indirectly aiding and

¹⁷² Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 59.

¹⁷³ Greg Castillo, “Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 40 no.2, (2005): 261.

¹⁷⁴ Henry Ford and Samuel Crowther, *My Life and Work*, (LLC: Akasha Publishing, 2008), 39.



Figure 2.12 Photograph of the Willow Run Court, the complex of which was also exhibited in the US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development in Paris. Source: Flickr album “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU.”



Figure 2.13 Aerial view of construction workers assembling the prefabricated parts of single-family house in Levittown, New York, June 1948.: <http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/aerial-view-of-construction-workers-as-they-pose-with-the-news-photo/2937859> (accessed June 13, 2015).

assisting the construction of low-cost housing in Africa, Latin America, Middle and Far East, the USA utilized low-cost housing question in the social reconstruction of the postwar community affairs. The formation of housing question with the introduction of the Marshall Plan as part of the low-cost housing effort, in this sense, formed the Marshall Plan's scenario of reconstruction and development in participating and non-participating countries by both integrating them into the free market system in relation to the US markets based on privatization of building and housing industries and committing them as participatory agents of US-assisted postwar community planning with the rising of democracy and self-help rhetoric from the nuclear family to housing in garden suburbs.

2.1.2.2.2. Neighbourhood and Community Planning for Social Reconstruction

Robert Freestone claims planning was seen as one of the central tools of social reconstruction after the World War II as a “beneficent statist activity: comprehensive, technocratic, scientific, and still somehow magically reformist.”¹⁷⁵ Neighbourhood and community planning, in this sense, played a crucial part in the social reconstruction of the participating countries during and after the Marshall Plan conducting a comprehensive, technocratic, scientific and reformist activity in terms of integrating the society into the organized postwar way of life concretized upon the unionized, homeowner, automobile-owner, and consumer working-class communities settled in garden suburbs while canonizing nuclear family as the basis unit of working class or middle-class neighbourhoods. Performing community planning campaigns throughout the countries in Europe, Middle East, Far East, Africa and Latin America, the USA utilized community planning for consolidating the postwar welfare within the community life not only in the Marshall Plan countries but especially in the “developing countries” as the pro-Marshall Planners intitled, via promoting organization in trade unions, social

¹⁷⁵ Robert Freestone, “Learning from Planning’s Histories,” in *Urban Planning in a Changing World*, ed. R. Freestone (London: E&FN Spon, 2000), 3.

interaction in community meetings and so on in the name of reaching the “community well-being.”

Neighbourhood planning, likewise, helped the realization of community planning at the habitation scale via providing housing settlements close to community services, recreation areas, open-spaces and greenery for, in reality, the reproduction and social reconstruction of labor together with social integration in the low-cost housing neighbourhoods in garden suburbs. As the well-known American sociologist and urban planner Lewis Mumford put “home” into words “as primarily a biological institution” related to school, community center and workshop,¹⁷⁶ community and neighbourhood planning was utilized as the tools of postwar social reconstruction at the habitual scale.

A chart prepared by the two leading American architects of the postwar period Louis I. Kahn¹⁷⁷ and Oscar Stonorov (See Figure 2.14), who also designed and assisted workers’ housing settlements, displays well the postwar trend collaborating regional, urban, neighbourhood and community planning with housing planning. Indeed, Kahn and Stonorov’s image illustrating the notion of planning within a hierarchical scale between the national and domestic focusing on

¹⁷⁶ Tafuri and Dal Co claims Lewis Mumford pioneered the popularization of Geddesian approach of regional planning in the USA influencing the establishment of the Regional Planning Association of America which formed the suburban housing discourse of the USA offering “neighbourhood unit” as part of the community and neighbourhood planning principles within the legacy of the Garden City paradigm via the agency of the efforts of community planners and architects such as Catherine Bauer. See Tafuri and Dal Co, *Modern Architecture / 1*, 48.

¹⁷⁷ Louis Kahn, worked as a professor of architecture in the University of Pennsylvania also took part in the formation of a postwar discourse of architecture education. He took part in the education of some Turkish scholars in the field of architecture and planning including Fikret Yegül, Cengiz Yetken, Kemal Aran, Gönül Evyapan, Yıldırım Yavuz and Türel Saranlı in his Master’s Class nicknamed as “the United Nations of Architecture.” For information on Kahn’s Master’s Class see James Williamson, *Kahn at Penn: Transformative Teacher of Architecture*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015). See also Tonguç Akış, “Teaching, Forming, Framing a Scientifically Oriented Architecture in Turkey between 1956-1982,” Unpublished PhD Dissertation, METU, 2008.

family as the basis of all planning summarizes the postwar notion of physical planning.¹⁷⁸

Community planning, in this regard, stands in the intersection of all planning activity but rooted on house planning starting from family planning to society planning. For Kahn, community and family were the means to planning not the block itself, as Andrew Shanken indicates, “its object is house planning, but by extension, its work radiates through the rings to neighborhood, city, regional, and national planning, connecting them all. The larger actor, ‘the people,’ stands behind the broadest planning efforts: national resources planning, farm programs, air and land transportation, social security, and so on. The architect thus charted a vision of American democratic planning. (...) It serves both as a building block for planning and a bulwark against antagonism to planning as antidemocratic or totalitarian.”¹⁷⁹

Actually, community planning has a long history which the Marshall Plan’s community program took its legacy from as it was being dealt since the 19th century onwards after the resolution of traditional family life in cities by high industrialization transforming traditional community values of preindustrial communities that were based on strong ties of kinship, friendship, and neighbourhood. The chaotic physical environment in industrial cities causing to be the reprobated space of the polluted air, working class slums of ‘filthy lifestyles’ which resulted in the resolution of nuclear family next to urban disintegration became the tool of legitimization of the notion of planned community as well as community planning. In this regard, later in the postwar years, the American social

¹⁷⁸ The details of the wording on the chart in the Figure 2.14 from top to bottom is as such: “National Planning: National resources, farm programs, air&land transportation, social security, industrial relations, population trends.; Regional Planning: Interurban highway systems, land use, industry location, protection of rural beauty.; City Planning: Population density, utilities, health services, education, highways, building codes, municipal services.; Neighbourhood Planning: Stores, schools, playgrounds, recreation; House Planning: Family.” For more details see Andrew M. Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front*, (Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 2.

¹⁷⁹ Andrew M. Shanken, “The Uncharted Kahn: The Visuality of Planning and Promotion in the 1930s and 1940s,” *Art Bull* 88, no.2, (2006): 315-316.

psychologist and family sociologist Joseph Kirk Folsom, who studied the relationship of family and democratic society, criticized industrialization and urbanization as the causes of the dismantling of the traditional family which housed wider kinship relations. However, Folsom appraised nuclear or “atomistic” family - as it was criticized at the time by conservatives - of industrial cities of which all parents work and children flee from at early ages because of the economic situation they are forced to adapt as the way of progression to the American democracy and individual freedom. Hence, he appraised “family as an economic unit” because it catalyzed social mobility and friendship in the community, and increased the character of the “family as an emotional unit” because the dependence of family members to each other decreases economically and morally.¹⁸⁰ Note that Folsom worked in the USA and the United Kingdom during the World War II for the Office of War Information, the Office of Strategic Services, and operated on launching the *Amerika* magazine distributed in the Eastern Bloc countries as a propaganda tool of the USA.¹⁸¹

Community affairs, indeed, was taken crucial by factory owners, social reformers and social pedagogists as a means of providing a harmonious healthy life for the sustainability and well-being of the planned communities composed of working class families of the 19th century and early 20th century such as New Lanark of Robert Owen, *Phalansterés* of Charles Fourier, the Garden City of Ebenezer Howard or *Cité Industrielle* of Tony Garnier as well as the company towns based on the paternal relations between the factory owner and the worker community in Britain, Germany and the USA for the well-being and productivity of the labor

¹⁸⁰ *Life*, 26 July 1948.

¹⁸¹ *Amerika* was a propaganda magazine published in Russian by the United States Information Agency (USIA) including reprinted articles and news on the American fashion, sports, automobiles, and more alike. For more information on the US propaganda in the Cold War years through mass media see William R. Keylor, “Waging the War of Words: The Promotion of American Interests and Ideals Abroad During the Cold War,” In Cathal J. Nolan ed., *Power and Responsibility in World Affairs: Reformation Versus Transformation*, (Westport: Praeger, 2004), 79-102., See also <https://vcencyclopedia.vassar.edu/faculty/prominent-faculty/joseph-folsom.html> (accessed June 15, 2015).

force while focusing on kinship, friendship and neighbourhood values for the sustainability of the production.

Likewise, balancing social stratification was among the weighty issues of community planning since the 19th century experiences via furnishing neighbourhood centres where different sections of the society could come together.¹⁸² The architecture of the neighbourhood and community, therefore, helped the realization of this integration by providing the ideal physical environment for the encounter of people. In that vein, the relationship of human communities to their physical environment was also among the sociological concerns of the Chicago School of Sociology, the scholars of which dealt with community affairs and politics,¹⁸³ and into which the principle of zoning was also born, with the search for the ideal urban environment composed of neighbourhoods and community units,¹⁸⁴ where the best integration of human being and urban environment to reach public welfare could be realized at its best.

Dirk Schubert mentions the German social scientist Ferdinand Toennies' concepts *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) as Toennies attributed community reliant on blood ties, friendship and neighbourhood whereas society bringing the social relations intrinsic to cities,¹⁸⁵ thereby, opens the argument on neighbourhood planning as part of community planning which was regarded as the tools of social engineering in spatial means. In this context, Schubert claims the Nazi Germany also utilized neighbourhood and community planning and designing decentralized settlement units where the cross-section of German society would be represented as a whole tied to the bases of kinship, neighbourhood and camaraderie.¹⁸⁶ Since Hitler being a passionate follower himself of Fordism, mass-

¹⁸² Schubert, "The Neighbourhood Paradigm, 119-120.

¹⁸³ See for instance, Robert Park, *Human Communities: the City and Human Ecology*, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952).

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 119.

¹⁸⁵ Schubert, "The Neighbourhood Paradigm," 119.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

motorization and motorways, Schubert claims, the design of new cities and decentralization which went along with economic modernization and high armament was the political framework of the Nazi Party leading to the neighbourhood planning idea of the Nazi Germany, *Die Ortsgruppe als Siedlungszelle* [The Local Group as a Settlement Cell] representing the political and ideological stratification of the Nazi Party.¹⁸⁷

With the introduction of the neighbourhood unit as a planning term by Clarence Perry, a member of the Regional Planning Association of America, after his article *The Neighborhood Unit, a Scheme for Arrangement for the Family-Life Community* published in 1929, neighbourhood became the main tool of planning inner cities by slum-clearance and demolition of workers' tenements as well of peripheries by garden suburbs including community services in the USA. Community planning, in this sense, covered housing planning offering a healthy life in a suburban neighbourhood. In this sense, Sunnyside Gardens was regarded as the first example designed as a garden community model of the USA including housing blocks in gardens after official connections between the member of the Regional Planning Association of America and Ebenezer Howard together with Patrick Geddes on the British Garden City model. Also Radburn, including housing estates in the periphery of New Jersey was based on the principle of garden suburb utilizing the concept of neighbourhood unit with planning community centers and housing blocks in a cellular settlement, and separating the vehicle and pedestrian circulation.

G. Holmes Perkins, another member of the Regional Planning Association of America, suggested four criteria required to measure the quality of design of the neighbourhood unit.¹⁸⁸ First "social values to the individual and to the community shall, in case of conflict, [should] outweigh any temporary financial advantage" through "enough variety in homes, jobs, and play to give a freedom of choice to all

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 128-129.

¹⁸⁸ G. Holmes Perkins, "The Regional City," In Coleman Woodbury ed., *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), 35-36.

persons regardless of age, temperament, or purse.” Second was to “foster family life with widely diverse opportunities for wholesome outdoor and indoor social activities.” Third was the exigency of “promoting friendliness among neighbours” such as “physical arrangements which bring preschool age children and their mothers together almost daily in natural and informal play and talk,” in this regard, “the neighbourhood park, the playground, school, the clinic, library, and shops by their mutual support may act as catalysts in promoting a community sense of participation.” Fourth was “the recognition of the rightful dominance of the pedestrian within the social unit centering on the smaller elementary school,” by enabling only pedestrian roads around schools, but providing freedom to “door-to-door transportation” by automobile which became the “second nature of the American.”

Actually, Holmes and other scholars from the Regional Planning Association of the America appraised private automobile ownership as “the second nature of man” which was actually the motor-age environment within which the modern human being was socially and culturally cultivated, by appraising the on-foot freedom in the limits of the neighbourhoods whereas automobile freedom within neighbourhoods and functional zones of urban environment against mass transportation which turned mobility in urban space between different settlements to a rigid activity.¹⁸⁹ On the other hand, Louis Kahn who never drove a car throughout his life had prepared *The Movement Plan* for Philadelphia which respected both the principle of neighbourhood unit and zoning but separating pedestrian in neighbourhood and vehicle transportation in region as well.

The essence of neighbourhood unit, in this regard, appears as its character as the local built environment including all life-sustaining facilities within a walking distance including family houses with driveways but in relation to zones of industry, commerce and recreation on and around highways. Remembering Patrick Abercrombie’s statement related to the postwar town planning’s program in

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 36.

Britain that “We have used the community as the basic planning unit. Each community would have a life and character of its own, yet its individuality would be in harmony with the complex form, life and character of its region as a whole,”¹⁹⁰ community planning next to neighbourhood planning could only be assessed in relation to the hinterland of the neighbourhood from neighbourhood unit to suburb, from city to region covering different cities, suburbs and neighbourhoods in relation to the specified function of a greater zone.

Indeed, neighbourhood planning and community planning were among the weighty issues in the discussions regarding the significance of community for the economical and physical planning in the USA before and after the World War II within the New Deal program. Scholars studying on regional, urban and housing planning, Lewis Mumford and Catherine Bauer for instance, promoted neighbourhood and community planning within the Public Housing Movement setting family at the center of everyday relations of production in relation to education, commerce, and housing but the local initiative for the realization of the welfare economy.

Catherine Bauer, a well-esteemed scholar on housing planning in the USA, who was graduated from the Regional Planning Association of America, and received the prize given by the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials for her efforts as a housing pioneer in 1954, is known for her program on low-cost housing. Bauer also served for the advisory secretary for the Labor Housing Conference organized by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). The Public Housing Movement was carried in some states of the USA under the assistantship of Bauer also in collaboration with other scholars and specialists of regional planning, neighbourhood, community and housing planning such as Edith Elmer Wood,

¹⁹⁰ Quoted in Dirk Schubert, “Transatlantic Crossings of Planning Ideas: The Neighbourhood Unit in the USA, UK and Germany,” in *Transnationalism and the German City*, ed. Jeffrey M. Diefendorf and Janet Ward (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 146. Also quoted in Schubert, “The Neighbourhood Paradigm, 127.

Carol Aronovici and Clarence Perry after Bauer's visiting of the mass housing developments constructed for the European working class. After her book, *Modern Housing* published in 1934, and covered the European experience on workers' housing introduced housing planning "from bottom to top"¹⁹¹ focusing on the self-help model with the support of local, state or federal financing, and related housing planning with community planning. Bauer, also called as the frontier in public housing movement, and encouraged to push her efforts on housing within the UN projects by Charles Abrams,¹⁹² helped formation of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937 upon the essentials of which the solution to decent workers' housing was based for the efficient but moderate production of low-cost housing with the collaboration of workers' cooperatives founded by unionized workers and the US government and federal subsidies while focusing on slum-clearance, urban reconstruction and community planning at the same time.

In this regard, Hosiery Workers' Model Development, namely Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia which was completed in 1934, was a crucial example constructed through the cooperation of workers' housing cooperatives established by the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers Union with federal support and the AFL-CIO of the USA for the supply of affordable housing. Financed by the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust (HIT),¹⁹³ and supported with Roosevelt's newly established Housing Division of the Public Works Administration which released loans for the making of Carl Mackley Houses, the

¹⁹¹ Anon., "Carl Mackley Homes: Unionism and Collaborative Design." <https://ruins.wordpress.com/2006/10/23/carl-mackley-homes-unionism-and-collaborative-design/> (accessed June 12, 2015).

¹⁹² H. Peter Oberlander and Eva M. Newbrun, *Houser: The Life and Work of Catherine Bauer, 1905-64*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 261, 266.

¹⁹³ <http://www.aflcio-hit.com/wmspage.cfm?parm1=1878&page=3> (accessed June 15, 2015). For more housing developments financed by the HIT, and awarded for "innovative design, outstanding resident services, special needs housing, quality affordable housing design, community development and historical preservation" visit <http://www.aflcio-hit.com/wmspage.cfm?parm1=1878&page=1> (accessed June 15, 2015).

project was realized based on the limited-dividend model for workers' housing.¹⁹⁴ Named after the murder of a striking hosiery worker by police, Carl Mackley Houses became a pioneering project of the New Deal era in the public housing movement for providing low-cost and affordable housing for industrial workers after the Great Depression.¹⁹⁵

Called as *communitarian public housing* instead of *social housing* with which the European experience was referred, the case of Carl Mackley Houses for the American textile workers covered many services and social facilities for the simplification of the daily obligations and socialization of workers' families such as laundries, a kindergarten, a dental clinic, a pharmacy, a store led by the consumers' cooperative of the settlement, a library, youth center, swimming pool, children's wading pool and community hall. Famed at the time as a "cooperative apartment house project [which] will provide every possible facility for the convenience and amusement of the working man and his family on a wholesale scale which, as an individual, he could not afford,"¹⁹⁶ Carl Mackley Houses and other public housing projects of the New Deal USA regarded community planning in neighbourhood scale as a tool of public welfare as well as a means of bottom-up rhetoric of American democracy appraising the "individual's freedom." As Kahn noted, "everything in planning stems from the essential needs of the individual family and its home. And one must respect its individual freedom."¹⁹⁷ The below phrase of Catherine Bauer while writing on the merits of the public housing development model they offered, in this sense, is up to the point in the aim of the significance of the local (or People) against the federal:

¹⁹⁴ Anon., "Carl Mackley Homes: Unionism and Collaborative Design." <https://ruins.wordpress.com/2006/10/23/carl-mackley-homes-unionism-and-collaborative-design/> (accessed June 15, 2015).

¹⁹⁵ For more information on this union-supported project see Gail Radford, "The Hosiery Workers' Model Development," *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era*, Gail Radford (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 114-145.

¹⁹⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁹⁷ Shanken, "The Uncharted Kahn," *Art Bull*, 315-316.

For what we have mainly done to date is create a vast array of governmental machinery, for private and public housing, for slum clearance, redevelopment and now renewal, for city planning and public works. And although these tools are very powerful, and together will shape the future of our communities for better or worse, it is not at all clear what kind of community we are really trying to produce with them. (...) For it is only at the local level that over-all community goals can be determined in any concrete sense. And once this is done, with firm conviction, the Federal tools can be made to fit together into a rational, integrated picture. (...) We need a dynamic revival on a broader front of the great fight that was led by NAHO and a handful of local housing authorities prior to passage of the 1937 Act, the fight for local autonomy in housing reform, for Federal aid but local initiative and responsibility.¹⁹⁸

Likewise Carl Mackley Houses case, the United Automobile Workers' Union's support on a model city sheltering defense workers of the Ford Motor Company's Willow Run Bomber Plant (See Figure 2.12) was a union-backed cooperative housing development realized during the industrialization of the USA in World War II. Called as the "Arsenal of Democracy" at the time producing the war effort of the World War II USA, Willow Run Bomber Plant close to Detroit turned its hinterland to a metropolitan area composed of cities and suburbs.¹⁹⁹ With an express highway and supposed expansion to suburbia, as Sarah Jo Peterson calls, community planning via cooperation and corporation was again a tool to realize a "union-backed model city of workers to house 100.000 people."²⁰⁰ Peterson validates that the USA utilized participatory planning from bottom -up strategy for the postwar urban planning as well as the New Deal attached to the federal support to local objectives for building communities.²⁰¹ Likewise, International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) had assisted production of cooperative apartment houses in the 1920s with the US bottom-up strategy of community planning especially in New York.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Catherine Bauer, "Housing, Planning and Public Policy," *Marriage and Family Living* 17, no.2, Housing and Community Development Issue, (1955): 101-102.

¹⁹⁹ Sarah Jo Peterson, *Planning the Home Front: Building Bombers and Communities at Willow Run*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 1.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 4.

²⁰² Radford, *Modern Housing in America*, 116.

In this regard, participatory planning in terms of developing neighbourhood unit and housing planning was regarded as a requisite of community planning not only in the example of the Public Housing Movement of the New Deal USA but for the wartime and postwar USA, the discourse of which was reproduced in the Marshall Plan countries as well. The agency of the architect in the field of planning was highly discussed during the time whereas the commuters' self-help method in housing construction was discussed as part of the bottom-up neighbourhood and community planning programs.²⁰³ For instance, the American Journal *Marriage and Family Living* where scholars from the Regional Planning Association of America such as Catherine Bauer, Carol Aronovici and so had published, reserved one of its issues to "Housing and Community Development" in May 1955 which included articles on the importance of slum-clearance, prefabricated single-family housing, cooperation for housing construction and family's place in urban and community development. Cooperative housing, in this sense, was given importance regarding its effect on community development next to slum-clearance, urban reconstruction and protecting neighbourhood within cul-de-sacs and greenery from the urban chaos. Indeed, the traditional single-family dwelling but constructed with modern mass production methods was promoted by not only Catherine Bauer but many other scholars of housing and planning like Jane Jacobs, Holmes Perkins, Charles Abrams and such.²⁰⁴

Actually, there is a dialectical relationship between the notion of planned community and community planning either in possession of the technocrats or specialists of state, federal government, social reformers or company owners. The shared focus was the integration of society either of the working class or other classes providing means of labour, habitation, and recreation in physical and habitual connection to commerce. Either planned communities offering the neighbourhood unit as the physical setting for workers or community planning in

²⁰³ See for instance Catherine Bauer, "The Architects' Role in Urban Renewal," *Journal of Architectural Education* 10, no. 1, (1955) 37-38.

²⁰⁴ Bauman and Biles, "Introduction," 14.

working class or middle-class neighbourhoods, decentralization and suburbanization were the means to realize the individual's freedom through home and automobile ownership but setting family as the basic means of reproduction of labor to reach the so called well-being of the society. As Holmes Perkins claimed that "instead of this paternal relationship between the owner and the habiter, the individual must be encouraged to retain his individuality, if democracy is to survive,"²⁰⁵ homeownership was promoted as the base of American democratic planning.

In this sense, community planning was seen as an important tool in reaching "democracy" in the participating countries during Marshall Plan. A conference sponsored by the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and supported by the International Co-operation Administration (ICA) in December 13-15, 1957 well portrayed the increasing discussion on "the rationale of Community Development, its goals and its political, economic and social implications" in the US-aided countries.²⁰⁶

Within this context, the neighbourhood unit concept was appraised in the Marshall Plan countries in physical means within the postwar decentralization and suburbanization in the form of well-designed garden suburb settlements of workers becoming middle-class, and which organized automobile and pedestrian traffic around housing blocks in gardens whereas accorded the automobile linkage to cities on highway or motorway. Like Donald Monson who worked on community planning in the USA, for the UN Development Program in Africa, Latin America and Far East, and served as a housing expert in Turkey to prepare a report for the ICA as part of the Marshall Plan's technical assistance encouraged urban sprawl

²⁰⁵ Perkins, "The Regional City," 49-50.

²⁰⁶ The conference was sponsored by the Center for International Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and assisted by the ICA and Associates for International Research, Inc., See Anon., "Community Development and National Change: Summary of Conference, Endicott House," (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1958), <http://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/85142> (accessed March 19, 2015).



Figure 2.14 “The base of all planning is the family.” Louis I. Kahn, Diagram of Planning, 1944-45. Source: Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture*, 2.

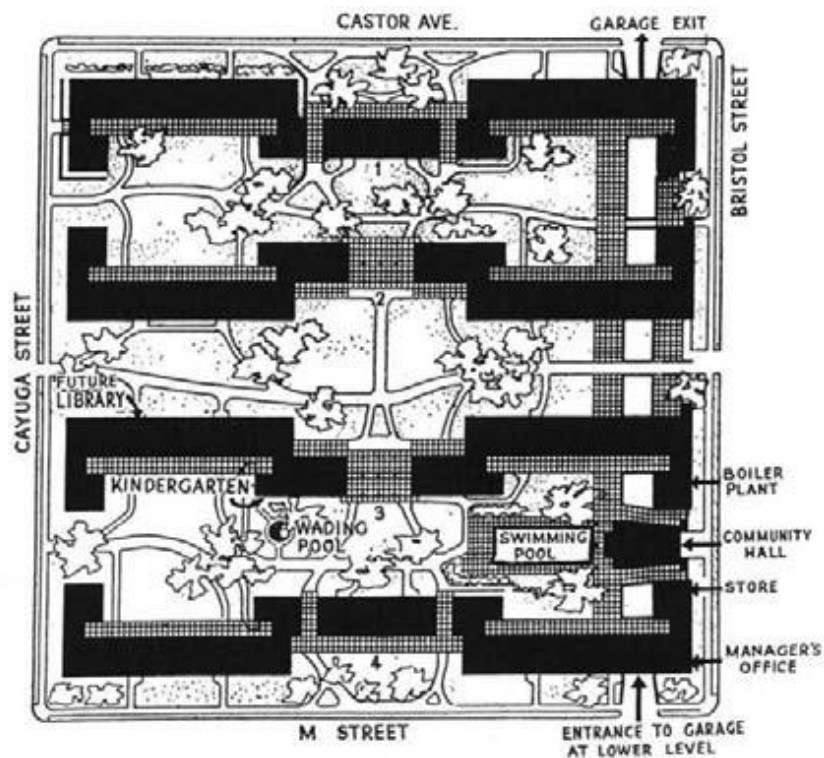


Figure 2.15 The site plan of Carl-Mackley Houses indicating the community facilities such as the community hall, kindergarten, cooperative store and wading pool. Source: Radford, *Modern Housing in America*, 130.

and dispersal together with his wife Astrid Monson who promoted slum-clearing,²⁰⁷ community planning regarding education, health and recreation along with organization in labour unions was seen as the means to reach the ‘democratic society’ in working class neighbourhoods. In this sense, self-help in the form of cooperative housing was promoted whereas the homeownership in the name of individual’s freedom of choice was publicized.

Thereby, it is not a coincidence that the US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development in Paris of 1946 included different sections representing the US suburban method of community and neighbourhood planning “to serve all” under the name of *Habitation* (See Figure 2.16 and Figure 2.17) also with American houses with gardens next to the panels advertising American machines and materials for fabrication and prefabrication of low-cost housing production, and for household amenities. The US community model in the exhibition suggested community planning for the sustainability of suburban dwelling while dividing community into groups of industrials, traders and inhabitants which works together in the neighbourhood for all for individual.²⁰⁸

In this regard, the community’s welfare was based on the cooperation of industrials, commercials and inhabitants setting a relation between the role of industrial companies on transportation, of labour unions working conditions, of industrial groups on location of industrial plants, of commercial groups on allocation of goodwill, of family groups on traffic safety, of religious groups on social needs, of teachers and parents on educational improvements, of owners on habitats, of recreation committees on sports and entertainment. Concordantly, the

²⁰⁷ See Donald Monson and Astrid Monson, “A Program for Urban Dispersal,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 7, no.9, (1950): 244-250. See also Astrid Monson, “Slums, Semi-Slums, and Super-Slums,” *Marriage and Family Living* 17, no.2, Housing and Community Development Issue, (1955): 118-122.

²⁰⁸ Some of the statements on the exhibition board captioned in Figure 2.16 is as such: “Suburban developments depend on the life of the community.” “The future of the community depends on the plans established for its economic and social stability.” “The goals of individuals to the goals of the community: traders, industrialists living and working in the same community are assessed and modeled to harmony.” Translation of the excerpts from French to English is completed by the help of Google Translate.

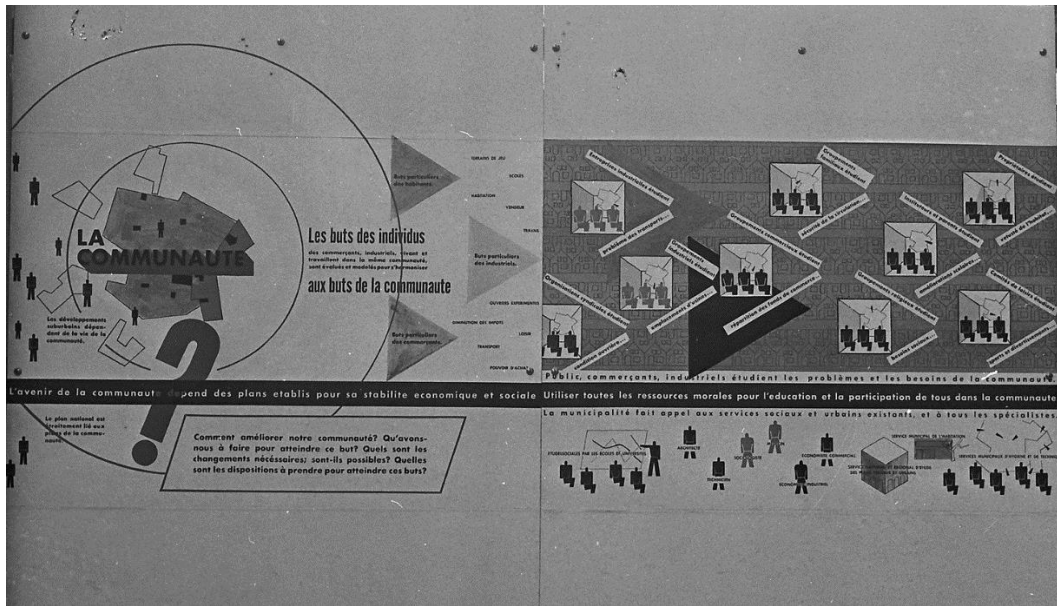


Figure 2.16 Detail of an exhibition board illustrating the US prescription of community planning for national planning in the US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development in Paris Source: Flickr album “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU.”

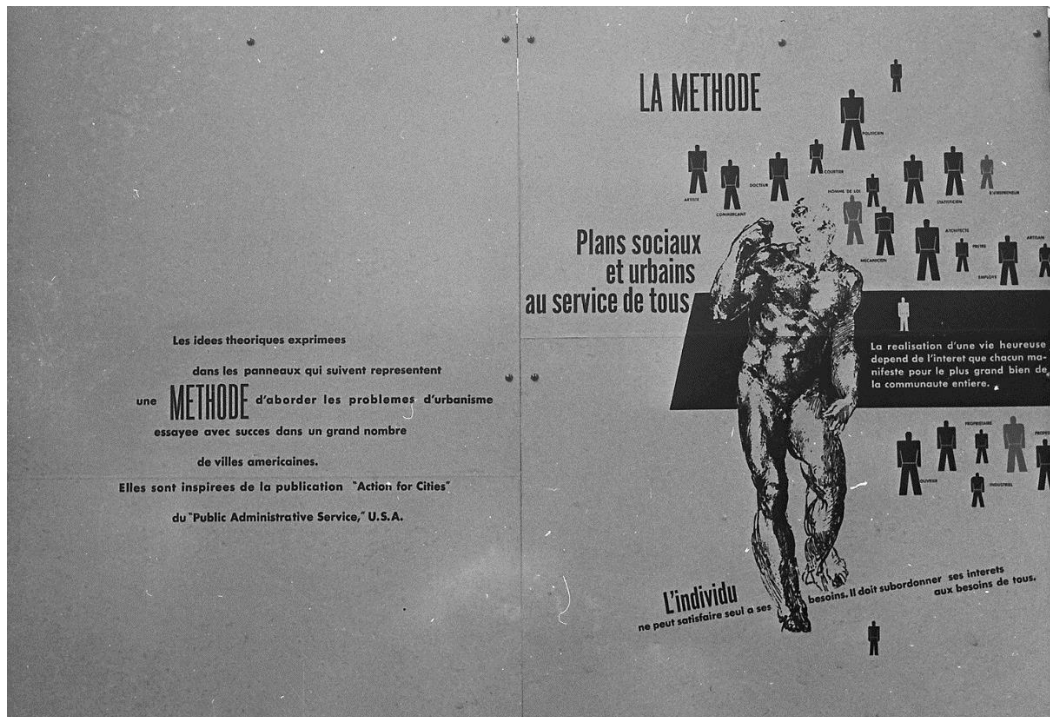


Figure 2.17 Detail of an exhibition board illustrating the US “Method” of community planning “to serve all” in the US Technical Exhibition of Housing and Urban Development in Paris. Source: Flickr album “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU.”

solution to urban problems was the US model of depoliticized suburban neighbourhoods composed of different but harmonized classes for a democratically envisaged neighbourhood unit. The rhetoric of “the needs of all” abstracted by the rhetoric of the cooperation of industrials, trades and inhabitants, which actually was the working masses, was the golden key to individual happiness.²⁰⁹ This cooperation was, indeed, set in workspace and domestic space with the functional, topographical, morphological and habitual needs for a depoliticized working class of the Marshall Plan forming the workers’ housing question in relation to that cooperation.

2.2. The Contextual Formation of Workers’ Housing Question from *Habitus* to Habitat

The centuries-long question of how to house the working class of either industrial workers or agricultural workers occupied a crucial place in different countries in common. Nurtured within the country-city dichotomy, workers’ housing question from the 19th century industrialization onwards has been a significant issue of the organization of community life in accordance with the physical and habitual requirements of industrial or agricultural production although discursive formations varied with reference to different ideological backgrounds. The search for the ideal setting where the productivity of labour would increase at its best, however, has been in common in different production regimes based on industrialization to economically survive. Either as part of slum-clearance and urban construction formed by the speculation of land value, or in empty rural land

²⁰⁹ The statements on the exhibition board captioned in Figure 2.17 is as such: “The theoretical ideas expressed in the following panels represents a method of addressing urban problems successfully tested in a large number of the US cities. These inspired the publication *Action for Cities* by the Public Service Administrative of the USA.” The Method,” “Social and urban plans to serve all,” The individual alone can not meet its needs. He must subordinate its interests to the needs of all.” “The realization of a happy life depends on the interest that each manifest for the greater good of the entire community.” Translation of the excerpts from French to English is completed by the help of Google Translate. For more information on the exhibition visit the online Flickr album “[Re]construction 1945-1979, Archives photographiques du MRU” <http://www.territoires.gouv.fr/1946-exposition-des-techniques-americaines-de-l-habitation-et-de-l-urbanisme> (accessed June 13, 2015).

urbanized via mechanical production, the location of workers' housing has been related to production facilities either in socialist or capitalist planning models. In the case of the Marshall Plan, workers' housing took its share from industrial development gradually being transformed into a mass-produced commodity as long as the elements of which could be produced and reproduced. As the law of the instrument, workers' housing question has been related to the condition of the working class since an affordable commodity requires buyers to be massively consumed and produced. In this regard, workers' housing question covers fields of production-consumption-reproduction in terms of labouring and habitation.

Within this context, workers' housing question stands in between political, economical and cultural hegemony struggle as both a propaganda tool of Marshall Plan, and an urgent matter to be dealt with as part of the capitalist production regime which the USA helped propagation in the postwar globe. The construction of workers' housing was in Marshall Plan's agenda in all the participating countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Italy coming at the first place, but Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Portugal and so including Greece and Turkey. Cultivated as part of the reconstruction discourse of the Marshall Plan in "developed countries" of Europe, and as part of the development discourse in "developing countries" of Africa, Latin America, the Far East and the Middle East including Turkey, the workers' housing question took a significant share of the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan.

Marshall Plan's operations on labor embodied any part of daily occasion of a worker from workplace to dwelling. In addition to direct or indirect financial assistance supplied by the counterpart fund agreements, these operations took its share from the technical assistance programs of the Marshall Plan covering labour's organization in unions, education, social security from birth to death, well-being and sheltering. Constituting an important gearwheel in economical planning, housing the working masses was taken into consideration on a greater scale with regard to regional planning introducing industrial location, urban planning related to land use patterns and housing planning for the supply and

demand of the housing stock but assisted as part of the neighbourhood and community planning programs prevailing on the habitual relationship of the worker to the built environment. In this sense, the discourse of *the standard of life* and *the quality of life*, which became the habitual motto of the rationalist planning especially after the 1960s, was produced in relation to the characteristics of the region defining the physical and habitual environment of the working class. In detail, the Marshall Plan introduced workers housing question a functional framework of the Marshall Plan in relation to a framework for manpower based on labour productivity, a topographical framework from the location to the physical setting of housing settlements, a morphological framework from construction types to building materials, a habitual framework from domestic life to community life covering the everyday habitual patterns of the working class.

In this regard, the formation of the workers' housing question will be analyzed in this subchapter regarding the manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual schemata it was born into and nurtured from as part of an ideological, political, economical and cultural program of the Marshall Plan.

2.2.1. A Theoretical Framework for an Analysis of Workers' Housing Question

Workers' housing question has been intensively debated before the Marshall Plan, actually as a phenomenon of modernization starting from the Enlightenment, within the ideological, political, economical and cultural spheres in a large spectrum from legislative regulations in institutional scale to physical solutions in geographical scale covering the regional and urban economics and politics related to the built environment together with architecture culture. Regarding the mutual relationship of labouring and sheltering or the workplace and dwelling at the functional, topographical, morphological and habitual scales especially with the progression in industrialization since the Industrial Revolution, workers' housing took its share from the production relations. Thereby, the everyday habitual patterns of the working class, which actually has been effective in relation to the

functional, topographical, morphological and habitual relationship of the labor to its immediate surroundings (the unbuilt and built environment), could be analyzed in terms of the production relations and regimes of which workers' housing has been a product in terms of political, economical, cultural and habitual schemata.

Likewise the British historian Edward Palmer Thompson defined in the beginning of his monographic volume, *The Making of the English Working Class*, the word *making* in terms of class formation as an analysis of an active process which owes much not only to the agent but conditions as well,²¹⁰ the formation of workers' housing question is a process within which the schemata of workers' housing has historically been defined by agents and conditions. In this sense, the formation of workers' housing question could be analyzed as a sum of political, economical, social and cultural processes related to production and property relations to which the working class has been subject, and also which cultivate and reciprocally are cultivated within the unbuilt and built environment with the agency of both working class and the ruling class. In this sense, workers' housing question has been formed in relation to, and in collaboration with the collective effort and reasoning of political parties, labour unions, fraternal associations, cooperatives, educational, religious and cultural organizations, either governmental or independent periodicals, the intellectual tradition of the working class along with its customs.²¹¹

In this regard, workers' housing is a product of its own historicity. The economical, political, social and cultural formation of the workers' housing question corresponds both to a material and social construction process, indeed,

²¹⁰ Edward Palmer Thompson, *İngiliz İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumu*, (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2002), 39.

²¹¹ E. P. Thompson explains the formation of working class in two formats. First is the progression in class consciousness which actually is the consciousness of the working class in the identicalness of its own interests with different sections of the working class as far as its identicalness against the interests of other classes. Second is the development of appropriate conditions in political and industrial organization. In this regard, Thompson refers to the activity of political organizations, labour unions, fraternal associations, educational and religious movements, the intellectual tradition of the working class along with its customs and feelings. For more information see *Ibid.*, 249.

originates a workers' housing discourse. Therefore, the formation of workers' housing question is an issue of ideology subject to production and property relations, of politics related to the governmental regulations on built environment, of economics effective in the materiality of housing, i.e. the construction technology, standards and building trades, and of culture covering everyday habitual patterns as well as traditions and moral value systems, and lastly a means of propaganda as well.

In this regard, the formation of workers' housing question could be discussed on two stages. In order to state the workers' housing question in relation to the ideological, political and economical phenomena within which it is evolved, a material reading of the formation of workers' housing question will be drawn upon Friedrich Engels' seminal analysis from 1872 on workers' housing question. On part of the societal and cultural phenomena introducing the habitual framework on the workers' housing question Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualization of *habitus* will be referred.

The historicity of the workers' housing question is also related to the historicity of the working class. As Friedrich Engels attributed the factory workers, "the great children of the Industrial Revolution" to form the core of the labour movement since the very beginning,²¹² the formation of workers' housing question is mostly brewed into the industrial workers since the Industrial Revolution progressed to Fordism, the material phenomenon of which reached its utmost state with the Marshall Plan's economical program.

Engels, in his book *The Housing Question* first published in 1872 where he analyzed the state of workers' housing in Germany while confuting Proudhon's response to the housing question, explained the need for workers' housing in relation to the physical relationship between worker and factory. Engels explained that the need for housing for working class was appeared during the Industrial

²¹² Friedrich Engels, quoted in Thompson, *İngiliz İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumu*, 245.

Revolution in England as large-scale rural industry, composed of mine and foundry industries, promoted workers' housing because of the problem of worker's efficiency.²¹³ Indeed, workers' housing was "a necessary part of the total investment of capital and a very profitable one, both directly and indirectly."²¹⁴ Engels argued that the 19th century British industrialists had to promote dwellings for the working class as their profit was based on the worker's efficiency in production based on the fact that the efficiency of the workers decreases since they walk for long time from their village to factory, and as a result become exhausted when they arrived for work.

In this regard, Engels referred to an intricate correlation between the factory owners and the workers in such a way that the factory owners could easily exert pressure over striking workers whereas they became also landlords of the workers together with being the employers of them although this kind of relation caused by the conversion of the peasant-worker of the domestic scale home industry to a factory worker of the large-scale rural industry resulted in the formation of the revolutionary class.²¹⁵ Fundamentally, benefiting from the need for transporting the ex-domestic scale production worker to the large-scale mechanized factory in country in terms of workers' efficiency, the factory owners also gained profit on land speculation. This is the situation in the case of the company towns where factory owners provided in-situ housing for workers, the property of which belongs to the factory owner redefining his position as a landlord.

On the other hand, the location of workers' housing gained importance with the decentralization of industries by high industrialization. Attached to the hygienic city discourse and garden city paradigm along with the infrastructural developments of tram and railway transportation, planning the location of workers' housing settlements next to industries came along with the promotion of workers'

²¹³ Friedrich Engels, *Housing Question*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970).

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

housing cooperatives founded significantly by labour unions or with housing estates already in the 19th century in Britain, France and Germany. Likewise the first garden cities such as the Letchworth Garden City and the Welwyn Garden City, housing estates in industrialized countries provided workers' housing in rows with gardens at the peripheries increasing the land-use value as well. The model of cooperative ownership of workers' housing gradually transformed into individual homeownership of the working class by the introduction of the mortgage system through workers' banks promoting homeownership as if paying rent monthly. Hereby, Engels criticized the Proudhonian model in homeownership of the working class instead of paying rents monthly propagated in the 19th century by social reformers claiming that homeownership resulted in the dependency of the working class to the factory, hence, hindering the revolutionary potentiality of the labor. In other words, no worker could buy a house as if paying rents since the workers' mobility in industries never ends if the workers go on strike. Below explanation of Engels well describes the workers' commitment to workplace through the fictitious mobility of a Berliner worker only owns smaller parts of dwellings in different cities in years as if paying rents:

On the day of the world-delivering decree, when the redemption of rent dwellings is proclaimed, Peter is working in an engineering works in Berlin. A year later he is owner of, if you like, the fifteenth part of his dwelling consisting of a little room on the fifth floor of a house somewhere in the neighborhood of Hamburger Tor. He then loses his work and soon finds himself in a similar dwelling on the third floor of a house in the Pothof in Hanover with a wonderful view on to the courtyard. After five months' stay there he has just acquired one thirty-sixth part of this property when a strike sends him to Munich and compels him by a stay of eleven months to take on himself ownership in exactly eleven one-hundred-and-eightieths of a rather gloomy property on the street level behind the Ober-Angergasse. Further removals such as nowadays so often occur to workers saddle him further with seven three-hundred-and-sixtieths of a no less desirable residence in St. Gallen, twenty-three one-hundred-and-eightieths of another one in Leeds, and three hundred and forty-seven fifty-six-thousand-two-hundred-and-twenty-thirds, to reckon it out exactly in order that "eternal justice" may have nothing to complain about, of a third dwelling in Seraing. And now what is the use for our Peter of all these shares in dwellings? Who is to give him the real value of these shares? Where is he to find the owner or owners of the remaining shares in his various one-time dwellings? And what exactly are the property relations of any big house whose floors hold, let us say, twenty dwellings and which, when the redemption period has elapsed and rented dwellings are abolished, belongs

perhaps to three hundred part owners who are scattered in all quarters of the globe.²¹⁶

Actually, what makes workers' housing question is a problem to be dealt with are the production and property relations which breed the need of workers' housing anew. As Engels stated, "in reality, the bourgeoisie has only one method of solving the housing question after its fashion –that is to say, of solving it in such a way that the solution continually reproduces the question anew... (...) the same economic necessity which produced them in the first place, produces them in the next place."²¹⁷

Actually, capitalist production relations based on productivity of the working class have to ensure basic human rights such as food and shelter for the reproduction of the labor force albeit surviving via the exploitation of labor force functionally and spatially. Since it brings the working class into the situation of cogwheels of production, labor force should lastingly be reproduced not only by food and shelter but a healthy living environment. The concentration of working masses around production needs to face functional zoning for the spatial organization of production and consumption along with the dispersion of labor force. Indeed, land use value could increase by the capitalist production relations which utilize rent on a specific land, or decrease after the exploitation of land. Thereby, the solution seemed in the 19th century and still seems to provide decent housing for the working class in physical relation to production facilities for more productivity. Making workers homeowners, in this regard, functions as a catalyzer for a more satisfied working class productive at workplace and consumer at domestic place. This also nurtures housing industry where the supply of building and construction materials is related to the increase in industrial efficiency. With Erhan Acar's concise description below, of which actually was grounded on Engels' critique of workers' housing question, housing oscillates between the positions carrying the

²¹⁶ Ibid., 28.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 71.

characteristic of a market commodity and appearing as a public service for the sustainability of capitalism:

Mass housing question in the capitalist society, indeed, the question of housing the working masses, develops in parallel to the expansion of domestic market by capitalist development together with holding the working masses attached to this domestic market. At this point, beyond housing functions as a means of taking a share from the system, integrating with the private property system, with today's words, "hitting the jackpot," the significance of housing as a consumerist lifestyle comes to the forefront. Gradually, homeownership and reaching to a specific level and format of purchasing power is abstracted from an absolute yearning for the working class especially for the relatively high-wage earner groups; on one hand, wages are increased from place to place, on the other hand, this increase in wages is charged by the capital stock which produces enduring consumers' products, household equipments and construction materials. In other respects, mortgage trusts which supplies loans for the financing of housing seize mortgages upon the labor force regarding its organization and economical struggle. The state intervention on housing in capitalist countries generally emerges and concentrates at this stage. This intervention appears in most countries by supporting private initiatives with loans and aid policies in the form of increasing purchasing power of the workers via mortgage loans and subsidies, and reaches to the production of property and rental housing via public institutions most capitalist countries. However, this state intervention never exceeds the logic and necessities of the capitalist system; in other words, housing produced by such state interventions not ensures the real necessities of society and class but furnishes the spatial infrastructure for the lifestyle and differentiations came as a requirement of the system. Rental housing production in developed countries never exceeds a limited level, and 'slums,' which house the least salaried, half-unemployed or unemployed section of the differentiated working masses, never disappear.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ The translation of the quote from Turkish to English belongs to me. The original quote of Acar is: "Kapitalist toplumda 'toplu konut' sonunu, daha doğrusu emekçi kitleleri 'konutlandırma' sorunu, kapitalist gelişmenin, 'iç pazan genişletme', emekçi kitleleri bu pazara çekme sorunu ile içiçe gelişir. Bu aşamada konutun, düzenden bir pay alma, özel mülkiyet düzeni ile bütünleşme, güncel deyim ile 'köşeyi dönme' aracı olarak işlevleri ötesinde, bir tüketici yaşam biçimi aracı olarak önemi, ön safa çıkmaya başlar. Giderek, konut sahibi olmak, belli bir tüketim gücüne ve biçimine ulaşmak, işçi sınıfının, özellikle görece yüksek ücretli kesimleri için, salt bir özlem olmaktan çıkarılır, bir yandan ücretler yer yer yükseltilirken, öte yandan bu artışlar özellikle dayanıklı tüke tim malları, konut donatım ve yapı malzemeleri üreten sermaye tarafından ipotek altına alınmaya başlar. Öte yandan, bu mülk konutun finansmanını sağlayan kredi kuruluşları da, emeğin örgütlenme ve ekonomik savaşım gücüne ipoteklerini koymaya başlar. Kapitalist ülkelerde devletin konut piyasasına müdahalesi, genellikle bu aşamada belirir ve yoğunlaşır. Devletin bu müdahalesi, çoğu ülkede işçilerin satın alma gücünün krediler ve yardımlarla yükseltilmesi biçiminde, özel girişimcilerin kredi ve yardım politikaları ile desteklenmesinden geçer ve birçok kapitalist ülkede, devletin kamu kuruluşları aracılığı ile mülk ve kiralık konut üretmesine varır. Ancak bu müdahale, hiçbir zaman kapitalist düzenin mantığını ve gereksinimlerini aşmaz; bir başka deyişle, bu müdahalelerle üretilen konutlar, gerçek toplumsal ve sınıfsal gereksinimleri değil, düzenin gerektirdiği yaşam biçiminin ve farklılaşmaların mekansal altyapısını sağlar. Gelişmiş kapitalist ülkelerde kiralık konut üretimi, hiçbir zaman sınırlı bir düzeyi aşmaz; farklılaştırılmış

Within this context, development of social security, increasing of wages to a minimum standard and supporting labor unions along with state intervention on housing sector are realized as a necessity for the sustainability of the capitalist production relations, the outlines of which were already experienced in the advanced capitalism of Britain, France and Germany especially in the high industrialization between 1890 and 1914 as Acar also mentions.²¹⁹ Creating and breeding a working class aristocracy in balance appeared in that period, in addition to making every worker homeowner with low-cost workers' housing settlements with gardens to end class struggle in France,²²⁰ was also within the program of the Marshall Plan for the balancing of the postwar economy, reconstruction and development based on the US-dollars. In this sense, the consumer lifestyle generated within the Marshall Plan's program based on a politically neutralized working class with a high-purchasing power by supporting and promoting homeownership and mass consumption of consumers' goods together with household equipments went along with technical assistance on unionization, development of social security, wage regulations, paid vacations, promotion of family and community life and cultural propaganda at the habitual level introducing the standards of living for the workers' welfare.

Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, in this sense, is referred as the common values regarding the social engagement of the working class to its physical environment. In other words, the working class is subject to a common ground in its everyday social, cultural and habitual patterns from production to consumption as a producer and product of the everyday relations of production and consumption in space. *Habitus*, in this sense, comprises schemata of the habitual patterns of the working class in space, from production in workplace and consumption at home to the reproduction of the labor force in the public and domestic sphere from the family

emekçi kitlelerin en düşük ücretli, yarı işsiz ya da işsiz kesimlerini barındıran 'slum'lar, hiçbir zaman yok olmaz." See Erhan Acar, "Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Konut," *Mimarlık* 78, no.3, (1978): 35.

²¹⁹ Martin Pawley, quoted in *Ibid.*, 16.

²²⁰ Manuel Castells, quoted in *Ibid.*, 35.

life to the fields of health, education and recreation. Therefore, the sociology of habiting could be analyzed as part of the *habitus* of the working class since the construction of everyday patterns of labouring and habiting for the working class is set forth in accordance with the needs of the production regime as the dominant field of ideology. Defined by Bourdieu as a historically and contextually characterized second nature originated from the socially constructed habitual and behavioral patterns of the everyday life, and therefore, is a constructed illusion,²²¹ the notion of *habitus* has some potentiality in the analysis of the formation of the workers' housing question as part of the Marshall Plan's ideological setting also since the condition of the working class is crucially instrumental.

Habitus and habitat is, hereby, could not be assessed as an individual process but a collective phenomenon of habitation. Therefore, the formation of housing question is not related to the formation of dwelling which is characterized by an individual practice but to the formation of housing as a phenomenon of modern production relations as a collective act of habiting, and affected by the manipulations in public and domestic sphere. If housing is defined as the cumulative sum of the process of "financing, planning, construction and administration" as a complex whole as Pawley argued,²²² the formation of workers' housing question embodies the *habitus* of manpower in relation to the built environment as well as its habitat since the financing, planning, construction and administration of workers' housing is a sum of the production process of the *habitus* and habitat of the working class at commons. In other words, the formation of workers' housing question is related to the political, economical, physical and habitual relationship of the working masses between workplace and housing covering the everyday patterns of production-consumption-reproduction of the labor force from its *habitus* to habitat at work and at home as a producer and consumer by the acts of labouring and habiting. Since *habitus* is discussed by Bourdieu as the field of the practical logic of practice, it is effective on the social production of psychology, knowledge and

²²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 56.

²²² Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, 10.

culture of the working class defining the state of body politics, hence, produces and reproduced by its habitat.

Within this context, postwar workers' housing question under the guidance of the Marshall Plan's and the UN's financial and technical assistance, which actually was based on the ideology of productivity, is analyzed with reference to the production-consumption-reproduction of the labor force from its *habitus* to habitat by means of the physical and habitual relationship of the workplace and housing at an international scale since workers' housing question was regarded as a question of postwar planning of labour force from the scale of region to urban, neighbourhood to community as well from the scale of space to body. In this sense, physical and habitual environment of the working class at workplace and housing during the course of the Marshall Plan, is defined legally, assisted financially and advised technically at manpower scale with reference to labour efficiency together with industrial and agricultural productivity, topographical scale regarding the easy communitng distance between workplace and housing, the morphological scale introducing the methods of the rationalist production of housing, and habitual scale characterizing the common standards of *habitus* and habitat of the working class.

In this regard, an analysis of the formation of workers' housing question within the program of the Marshall Plan requires an overview of the political, economical and cultural background of the workers' housing question in relation to the former approaches and responses by the practice of company owners, social reformers, state officials along with urban planners and architects to workers' housing question as part of the capitalist production relations from the 19th century to the interwar period. Actually, the Marshall Plan's program and themes regarding the postwar workers' housing question were mostly grounded on the prewar apprehensions of the question from the field of social sciences to architecture regarding the *habitus* and habitat of the working class for the sustainability of the capitalist production relations putting emphasis on the vital ties between labour efficiency and industrial productivity.

2.2.1.2. The Formation of Workers' Housing Question as an object of Modern Industrialization

Workers' housing has occupied a crucial place in the production relations, the sustainability of which has first been subject to the productivity of the labour force since the Industrial Revolution. In, the improving of living standards for workers has always been one of the core solutions to improve workers' efficiency, and thus to increase the level of productivity. Edwin Chadwick's report of 1842 on the sanitary conditions of workers for the improvement of their moral condition, which Friedrich Engels criticized as a reformist attempt to solve the workers' housing question, or the act of Housing of the Workers' Classes of 1885 in the United Kingdom, both discussed the well-being and health, hence, the efficiency of the working class in relation to its physical living standards cultivating a healthy, efficient and productive labour force. On the other hand, even the solutions to the workers' housing question by the Utopian Socialists like Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Tony Garnier who utilized zoning in terms of functional separation along with the ease of transportation for an industrial city, set the necessity of decent low-cost housing in a well-designed neighbourhood for the labour efficiency.

Aiming profit maximization at the end, labour efficiency has occupied an important place in labour affairs from the field of production to consumption. The manpower scale of workers' housing, in this context, has been the issue of the efficient production of labour force at workplace especially after the introduction of Taylorism in the beginning of the 20th century, but extended to the habitual organization of the after hours of labour force at home and in the neighbourhood with the phenomenon of *mass production for mass consumption* as the founding principle of Fordism, the phenomenon of which also characterized the Marshall Plan's program and themes regarding the workers' housing question next to the social security program of the Keynesian welfare state.

The *raison d'être* of a factory in the capitalist mode of production is the *optimization* and *efficiency* in production for the sake of profit maximization, the concepts of which was first defined by the American industrialist Frederick Winslow Taylor in his book *The Principles of Scientific Management* of 1911. Scientific management was actually time management in accordance with the fragmentation of tasks in benefit of labour efficiency leading to the more surplus gain at a defined time interval. In other words, each worker's task is defined in correlation to the bulk of the work, and should be finished in a limited time.

This formula for the maximization of the production volume at a factory, indeed, cannot be separated from the maximization of the consumption expenditure for the supply and demand equilibrium. Taylor's separation of production tasks into articles was, for this cause, further developed with the industrialist Henry Ford's introduction of the technology of assembly line enabling mass production at a limited time interval, and as a result, profit maximization as an essential of capitalist mode of production. In parallel with the increasing capacity of industrial development, productivity had entered the field of Taylorist and Fordist industrial relations which also became the control wheel of the social task of 20th century modern architecture.

However, what carried Fordism to a state of paradigm apart from a means of a technological revolution becoming the greatest material phenomenon of the 20th century capitalism to realize *civilisation machiniste* with Manfredo Tafuri's denotation²²³ was Ford's formulation of *mass production for mass consumption* to realize the supply and demand equilibrium. This formula could only be realized by the problem of alienation of labour, well foreseen by Henry Ford, which was also targeted for the reproduction of the relations of production since the worker turned to be a consumer after hours off the work totally alienated to the end product as he/she faced only a part of the product throughout the day.

²²³ Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 132-133.

Indeed, the power of scientific management or further mechanization through Fordist assembly line for the realization of *mass production for mass consumption* was the alienation of labour. Here, Antonio Gramsci's explanation of alienation with a metaphor of text publication before printing is essential to mention.²²⁴ For Gramsci, professions related with textual reproduction for publication varies in accordance with each phase of reproduction: Scribes, compositors on hand presses, linotype operators, stenographers and typists, all are in charge for a different article of text publication. Considering the reproduction of a text through a fragmentation of differentiated tasks, any profession specializes in a part of the whole. Although text production is a highly intellectualized specialty, each profession is supposed to "forget or not think about the intellectual content of the text he is producing." With Gramsci's description, "If he is a scribe, to fix his attention exclusively on the calligraphic form of the single letters; or to be able to break down phrases into 'abstract' words and then words into characters, and rapidly select the pieces of lead in the cases; or to be able to break down not single words but groups of words, in the context of discourse, and group them mechanically into shorthand notation; or to acquire speed in typing, etc." it is so hard to reach the end intellectual content of the text of which he is producing a part.²²⁵

That means any profession's work is measurable since it is a well-defined repetitive action. Assembly line, therefore, resulted in alienation of modern labour likewise medieval text labour. Assigning each worker a specialized task on the assembly line to be fulfilled in a limited time thus blocks the worker's achievement to an awareness of the total image of the product. Thereby, the worker could not familiarize the end product, which is actually the mass produced good to be consumed, since he is alienated against it becomes a potential consumer of that product when he first encounters.

²²⁴ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, (New York: International Publishers, 1992), 308.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 308-309.

In reality, all this formula abstracts the relationship between production and consumption patterns of capitalist mode of production regarding the *habitus* and habitat of labour. Indeed, the manipulation of a worker's life in line with the requirements of reproduction of capital is realized physically and habitually through this seemingly technical problem. The manipulation here, albeit not being very explicit, should be searched under daily activities of the worker. The entire action of the worker is as such designed in service for his role in the production, consumption and distribution of the capital. In other words, the reproduction of the worker is described through the redefinition of family life. Fordism and the Marshall Planners as well, offered the utmost position for the family to serve for the rationalized patterns of production and consumption, and of course, the reproduction of labour force. The worker goes to work, takes his place in the morning, and stands in front of the production line towards the evening dealing with the same task; after then, comes to home, eats dinner which his wife cooked throughout the day, rests for a while with his family, listens to radio or watches TV as means of mass media, and then goes to sleep, and probably sleep with his wife. After hours at home or the spare time activities are proposed for the consumption and reproduction pattern of the worker to get ready for the next day's assignment.

In this sense, Taylor's scientific management seems to be more than "piece work, task cards, or time studies, but 'a complete mental revolution on both sides' stemming from efficiency, optimality, enhanced productivity and expanded output" as verbalized by Charles S. Maier.²²⁶ In this manner, the Fordist assembly line based on scientific management resulted in a new culture of habiting based on and characterized by a vital cycle between mass production, mass distribution, and mass consumption of goods. What Henry Ford stated, hereby, explicitly reveals the essentials of the Fordist capitalism: "Manufacturing is not buying low and selling high. It is the process of buying materials fairly and, with the smallest

²²⁶ Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no.2, (1970): 30.

possible addition of cost, transforming those materials into a consumable product and giving it to the consumer.”²²⁷

In this regard, in tandem with similar implementations of strict state regulations initiated by the British economist John Maynard Keynes, the stabilization of Fordist economy could be realized in Europe by creating a so-called public welfare of a politically neutralized and homogenized working class society who worked as both the subject and object of the assembly line producing at factories, consuming at home, and reproducing itself at home and in the neighbourhood in service for the survival of Fordist capitalism. As the historian Eric Hobsbawm stated, “It was now possible for the average citizen in those countries to live as only the very wealthy had lived in their parents' day - except, of course, that mechanization had now replaced personal servants.”²²⁸ Here, it is important to note that Ford also had established a social welfare department in service for the making of his *5 dollars-8 hours working day* in order for the cycle of mass production for mass consumption to work properly also within the afterhours of the workers. The development of social security especially after the World War II, in this sense, is not a coincidence that Ford also was making an analogy between a shop and a home describing the shop as “mainstay of all the finer things which the home represents,” and continuing:

If we want the home to be happy, we must contrive to keep the shop busy. The whole justification of the profits made by the shop is that they are used to make doubly secure the homes dependent on that shop, and to create more jobs for other men. If profits go to swell a personal fortune, that is one thing; if they go to provide a sounder basis for business, better working conditions, better wages, more extended employment that is quite another thing. Capital thus employed should not be carelessly tampered with. It is for the service of all, though it may be under the direction of one. *Profits belong in three places: they belong to the business to keep it steady, progressive, and sound. They belong to the men who helped produce them. And they belong also, in part, to the public. A successful*

²²⁷ Ford and Crowther, *My Life and Work*, 9.

²²⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, (London: Abacus, 1994), 264.

*business is profitable to all three of these interests - planner, producer, and purchaser.*²²⁹

In this regard, Ford also suggested the close commitment of artists, architects, and engineers to the industrial and labour affairs of Fordism in service for the realization of mass culture through the creative construction of a Fordist way of life:

We want artists in industrial relationship. We want masters in industrial method both from the standpoint of the producer and the product. We want those who can mould the political, social, industrial, and moral mass into a sound and shapely whole. We have limited the creative faculty too much and have used it for too trivial ends. We want men who can create the working design for all that is right and good and desirable in our life.²³⁰

This phrase not only expresses the Fordist ideals of a consumerist working class society, but also the role of modern urban planners and architects as technocrats in meeting the requirements of mass society's physical and habitual integration to the economical, political, social and cultural framework defined by the rules of Fordist capitalism. The physical response to this material phenomenon also explains the formation of workers' housing from *habitus* to habitat at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales. The praxis of 20th century modern architecture but further modern housing is, actually, the search for the physical and habitual integration of the labour to the production relations characterized by Fordism by offering architectural solutions in the name of a modern way of life.²³¹

All this verbosity, indeed, provides a causal explanation of the *rationalization* in the spatial organization of workspace and domestic space by architectural means, the notion of which also lied behind the program of the Marshall Plan's program in the expansion of mass production and consumption. Bauhaus, for example, as an

²²⁹ Italics are mine unless indicated otherwise. See Ford and Crowther, *My Life and Work*, 68.

²³⁰ Henry Ford, quoted in Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 67.

²³¹ For the discussions on the praxis of modern architecture in its relationship to the material phenomenon of mass production see Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia* and Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing*, especially the latter which mentioned Fordism in this case.

agent in structuring rationalization and efficiency, pioneered the determination of space through standardized furniture arrangement. According to Mauro F. Guillén, Le Corbusier's *free plan* aimed at rationally organizing every space of daily life from workspace to domestic space, but especially to reveal interchangeable identity of work through division of labour within the working hours.²³² In this regard, these architectural solutions not only defined the spatial needs of the labour efficiency at workplace but also mediated between the industrial productivity and the reproduction of industrial labour force. For instance, Walter Gropius, one of the pioneering architects of 20th century modern architecture as the founder of Bauhaus, an active member of *Deutscher Werkbund* and the *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), put forth the *raison d'être* of a factory as efficiency in production in relation to the psychology of a worker which should have been determined by spatial arrangement (which would lead alienation in turn) with the following statements:

A worker will find that a room well thought out by an artist, which responds to the innate sense of beauty we all possess, will relieve the monotony of the daily task and he will be more willing to join in the common enterprise. If the worker is happy, he will take more pleasure in his duties, and the productivity of the firm will increase.²³³

Here, to claim that the modern architectural praxis which covered the standardization of movement patterns and object-based actions through rational and minimal design of planes and furniture had maintained the spatial alienation would not be unreasonable. In the USSR, Taylorite and Fordist methods of industrial production were also valued in search of labor efficiency and industrial development either. *The Central Institute of Labor* was founded in 1920 to implement Taylorite methods of time-based work in the Soviet industries in order to develop the fastest production in the shortest time interval. In contrast to the capitalist way of spatially and psychologically adaptation of modern working man

²³² Mauro F. Guillén, *The Taylorized Beauty of the Mechanical*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), 23.

²³³ Walter Gropius, quoted in Guillén, *The Taylorized Beauty of the Mechanical*, 23.

to Taylorized lifestyle in workspace and domestic space leading to the exploitation of labor surplus via the efficiency gained by time-based operations, USSR manipulated Taylorite principles of scientific management by adapting it to the daily organization of the working class spatially realized between the factory and the housing. With Susan Buck-Morss's expression, "It was an experimental laboratory in the mechanized rhythmic of labor."²³⁴

The USSR technocrat and designer El Lissitzky, for instance, introduced Taylorite principles of managing time and work, and specialization of tasks into the factory as a means of transforming it to a place of socialization of the urban population.²³⁵ Indeed, the simplification in the organization of any architectural task was searched through scientific methods. A method of which helped analyze movement patterns in domestic work and way of life in order to formalize standards of spatial organization, and called "time-motion study" was implemented by Soviet researchers in 1920s.²³⁶ Indeed, factory would become "a true home of social education" since the collective act could lead each worker a social responsibility.²³⁷ Therefore, factory and industrial plant was taken as a Taylorist laboratory by the Soviet technocrats starting with the 1920s and lasting to the early years of Stalinist industrialization realized with the First Five-Year Plan in 1930s, where the Taylorite organization of workers' daily life as a 24-hour social condenser by the minutely division of daily functions into particles to mechanize the everyday life in the city as a time-based collective act.

This method, then, was suggested by CIAM members at its first meeting in 1924 with a different intention to reach the "minimum existence housing unit" "for a standardized family life. Victor Bourgeois, the representative of Belgium at CIAM, in his speech *Le Programme de l'habitation minimum* (The program for

²³⁴ Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The MIT Press, 2002), 105.

²³⁵ Guillén, *The Taylorized Beauty of the Mechanical*, 21.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24-26.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

Minimum Dwelling) at the 2nd meeting of CIAM, put the design requirements of Taylorized housework in correlation with standardized dwelling unit. What Victor Bourgeois suggested for a modern architect was to study the relationship of rationalized man in their rationalized environment.²³⁸ Concordantly, while the American Christine Frederick's ideas on scientific management in the kitchen in the name of *new housekeeping* was being promoted in the USA for appraising the role of modern woman at home as the domestic cogwheel of modern productivity, the Frankfurt Kitchen proposed by the left-wing Margarete Schütte Lihotzky was being utilized as the liberator of the modern working woman of the traditional housekeeping. Although the modern workers' housing experience as part of the 1920s' municipality housing, which actually pioneered the practice of modern architecture, were strictly tied to the social democracy movements in Weimar Germany and Austria.

At this point, the Frankfurt Experiment implemented between 1926 and 1930 under the authority of the modernist and left-wing architect Ernst May, which was a building program of mass housing units, *Flats for Subsistence Living*, for single women proletarian springs to mind. Starting in 1926, the first attempts to build the New Frankfurt was the rental of Ernst May by municipal authorities to make the New Era after the World War I by providing affordable housing for 10% of the city's population with 15.000 units. Susan Henderson points out the New Frankfurt project suggested a new mode of daily life with new schools, new housing types, standardized allotment gardens, electric laundries, and kitchens. Such kind of attempts lasted up to the early years of Germany under the Nazi rule with different housing programs especially for single working women. May's imagination of new life was realized with different volumes of building cells designed with rationalized and standardized built-in furniture. In this sense, these small but cheap houses for single working woman could provide the minimum physical requirements of a house to live in with the merits of prefabrication and

²³⁸ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2000), 243.

standardized built-in furniture. (See Figure 2.19). Note that, Ernst May was also invited to the USSR to study low-cost and mass-produced housing for workers in Moscow as part of the first Five-Year Plan.²³⁹ Ernst May's practice in the USSR had launched the mass production and prefabrication of not only building materials for low-cost housing but also of the prefabrication of building construction as well it was appraised by the USA with the case of Levittown.

Morss explains this phenomenon as "mass utopia" in both its capitalist and socialist forms asserting the fall of the USSR based on the exporting of the US model in spatial organization of production and consumption. However, since the question of modern architecture in the formation of housing question became how man could spatially and thus psychologically be adapted to the material conditions of Taylorized capitalism and Fordist mechanization, that approach appraised efficiency and productivity substantiated that modern dwelling unit was nothing more than a space of reproduction of working class after Ford's *five dollars-eight hours working day*. Beyond it aimed to serve the cumulative growth of the building production industry as a direct result of rationalized standardization in building production. Thus, the rhetoric of CIAM as "scientific management of human functions in accordance with material conditions and emergent technology"²⁴⁰ was meant the adaptation of modern working man to Taylorized lifestyle in workspace, and domestic space also for the modern architects of Bauhaus or the housing experts working for the Marshall Plan and the UN Technical Assistance.

The realization of the everyday cycle of a worker, which is made efficient at workspace and domestic space, also needed rapid circulation not only for the

²³⁹ Anon., "Ernst May Brigade: Housing for Greater Moscow." Canadian Center for Architecture Collection. <http://www.cca.qc.ca/en/collection/429-ernst-may-brigade-housing-for-greater-moscow> (accessed April 12, 2015)

²⁴⁰ Mitchell Schwarzer, "CIAM: City at the End of History," in *Autonomy and Ideology*, R. E. Somol (New York: The Monacelli Press, 1997), 247.

transportation of mass produced goods in territorial space but also for the mass commuting of workers between work and housing. Indeed, the habitual relationship of the labour force to its physical environment has also been tied to the physical organization of the production relations covering the distance. The topographical harmony between the factory or the workplace and the neighbourhood of the working class, which also became a means of the question of the conflict between country and city, was a pretext for the post-World War I practice of urbanization under the guidance of CIAM and Le Corbusier but for the Marshall Planners as well, who promoted automobile ownership next to the construction of highways. This is also because industrial decentralization next to residential suburbanization in the form of garden suburbs was the common approach in the postwar regional planning and urbanization under the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan, forming the workers' housing question at the topographical scale.

Guillén claims that modernist architects from various countries all over the world respected Taylorism and Fordism regarding three aspects: “First, those provided architect with a technocratic position in problem solving through neutrality, efficiency, and planning; second, those ensured firms attached to the principles of scientific management to implement on the production of architects' projects; and third, those created scientific management in aesthetic terms.”²⁴¹ In this regard, what was appreciated in Fordism by Europeans in general was “rationalization in terms of economy” whereas were “the social possibilities of mechanization” in terms of arts and architecture as Maier mentioned,²⁴² which actually composed of the social front of modern architecture forming the workers' housing question anew. Modern architecture, in this sense, denoted the social front of mechanization by use of rationalization and standardization as a means of a massive solution the question of workers' housing, the *raison d'être* of Fordist mechanization offering mass production for mass consumption, for the welfare of the society. Indeed, it

²⁴¹ Ibid., 19.

²⁴² Maier, “Between Taylorism and Technocracy,” 28.

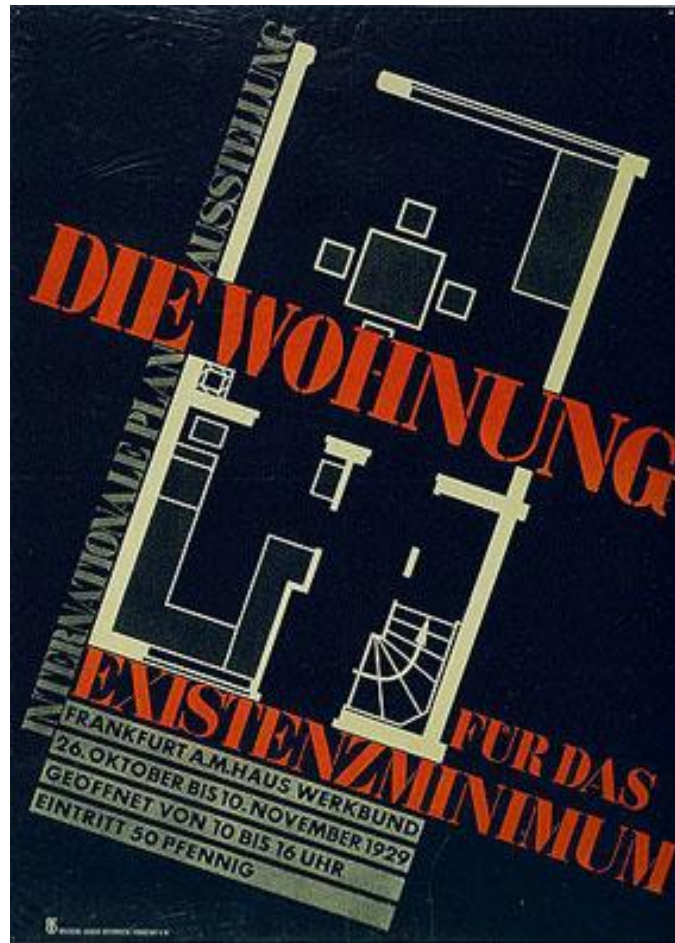


Figure 2.18 The poster prepared for the CIAM-2 Conference in Frankfurt, 1929. Source: Ross Wolfe, “The sociohistoric mission of modernist architecture: The housing shortage, the urban proletariat, and the liberation of woman,” <http://thecharnelhouse.org/2011/09/20/the-sociohistoric-mission-of-modernist-architecture-the-housing-shortage-the-urban-proletariat-and-the-liberation-of-woman/> (accessed April 13, 2015).



Figure 2.19 Construction of test houses in Frankfurt with prefabricated concrete panels, 1926. Source: https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2010/counter_space/the_frankfurt_kitchen#highlights (accessed April 13, 2015).

embraced mechanization as the engine of the realization of public welfare by creating a discourse of functionalism from the architectural design of domestic space or workspace to the design of urban landscape with the praise of rationalization and standardization along with sanitization, which was the motto of the paradigm of hygienic city and garden city at the same time.

Machine for modern architecture, before being reified into one of the symbols of the modern architectural discourse representing the Utopian aspect of modern architecture, had been embraced as a means of building industry. It was the inevitable instrument of architecture which had been an element of the competitive social front of the industrial capitalism at the world fairs since the Industrial Revolution. However, the close commitment of architecture to industrialization, the phenomenon of which would create a universal discourse thereafter, was realized by the establishment of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, an institute formed of architects as well as industrialists and merchants in 1907 in order to establish the connection between building production and industrial production, in other words, to “introduce the idea of standardization as a virtue, and abstract form as the basis of the aesthetics of the product.”²⁴³ The manifest of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, publicized during its first great exhibition in Cologne, was the commitment of the organization to the notion of standardization as a universal, beneficiary symbol of a harmonious culture and good taste.²⁴⁴ Moreover, it declared architecture as an “industrial art” entailed to be exported in service for the improvement and promotion of German economy. *Bauhaus*, on the other hand, had institutionalized mass production and standardization in service for design of especially housing, and the mechanical way of life.²⁴⁵ Placing design on the verge of form and function, *Bauhaus* became the pioneer of the social tradition of modern architecture, which evolved as a Utopian projection embracing mass production

²⁴³ Banha et. al., quoted in Guillen, *The Taylorized Beauty of the Mechanical*, 10.

²⁴⁴ Quoted in Ulrich Conrads ed. *Programs and Manifestoes in 20th Century Modern Architecture*, (Cambridge and Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1964), 28.

²⁴⁵ Walter Gropius, “Principles of Bauhaus Production,” in *Ibid.*, 95.

for the use of everybody. At the same time, the *Bauhaus* tradition was the legitimization of the commitment of modern architecture to the rules of Fordist capitalism as it promoted working in close partnership with industries to produce prototypes for everyday use.

The problem of industrial efficiency, therefore, became the means of housing the working class by modern architecture through standardized production of prototypes, which actually latter fed up the Marshall Plan's program on workers' housing question at the morphological scale. Mechanization and assembly line brought the question of low-cost building programs through reduce in production costs as a result of rationalization. This is actually because low-cost housing was the leading question after the destructive effects of the World War II likewise realized after the World War I. Indeed the Great Depression originated in the USA after 1929 forced architecture to concentrate on the economic necessities, and thus building costs as the architectural historian Hilde Heynen stated.²⁴⁶ Building production after the catastrophic destruction of the World War II, thereby, not only had to rely on the rules of scientific management in production processes of the row materials, but also turned out to survive the economy via the enhancement of the construction work throughout Europe. Therefore, the notions of rationalization and standardization, which became the motto of modern architecture in terms of public housing as well becoming an economical and financial problem as Heynen also mentioned,²⁴⁷ appeared for the reconstruction of European economy through increased postwar housing production as well. The then-migrant leading modern architects from *Deutscher Werkbund* and *Bauhaus* such as Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius and Josep Luis Sert made initiatives to form the "American CIAM Chapter for Relief and Postwar Planning."²⁴⁸ Functioned between 1943 and 1945, the New York CIAM Chapter for Relief and Postwar Planning famed concepts

²⁴⁶ Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*, (Massachusetts and London: MIT Press, 1999), 48.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 49.

²⁴⁸ Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 114.

such as “planning for productivity.” In this sense, it is important to note that the reconstruction discourse of the Marshall Plan based on the notions of rationalization and productivity was also fed by the praxis of European social front of modern architecture in case of workers’ housing question in the interwar period.

2.2.3. Marshall Plan’s Program and Themes for Workers’ Housing Question from *Habitus* to Habitat

Labour affairs was crucial for the success of the Marshall Plan in terms of the integration of the working class into the Marshall Plan’s economical, political, ideological and cultural scenario for its dissemination from bottom to up. Workers’ housing, in this sense, occupied an important place since it intermediates as a generator of the *habitus* and habitat of the working class in relation to its built environment. Hence, workers’ housing question took its share from the program and themes of the Marshall Plan on the working class.

In this regard, in the subchapter 2.2.3.1, the Marshall Plan’s program and assistance on the postwar workers’ housing question will be sought to analyze in relation to its promotion of rationalization and productivity regarding the efficiency of manpower. Followingly, in the subchapter 2.2.3.2, the topographical dimension of the workers’ housing question as part of the Marshall Plan’s topographical framework will be discussed. After that, in the subchapter 2.2.3.3, the Marshall Plan’s substantial themes of rationalization and productivity will be examined in relation to the construction industry feeding up the workers’ housing discourse advertising low-cost and prefabricated housing. Lastly, in the subchapter 2.2.3.4, the habitual program of the Marshall Plan will be reviewed to locate the cooperation and self-help discourse in the formation of workers’ housing question along with the promotion of household consumerization.

2.2.3.1. At the Manpower Scale

Rationalization and productivity were the most regarded themes of Marshall Plan in relation to manpower, the gearwheel of production relations. As Harry Bayard

Price stated, “The efficiency of labor is of course crucial to productivity,” next to full employment,²⁴⁹ the issue of productivity and labour efficiency, was the core theme of the Marshall Plan’s reconstruction and development scenario set on the expansion of the industrial and agricultural productivity. In this regard, labour efficiency at work was guided and controlled through the technical assistance programs of the Marshall Plan whereas the reproduction of labour efficiency at public and domestic sphere was ensured both financial and technical assistance programs via decent housing in garden suburbs. The Keynesian welfare state and the development of social security in relation to the promotion of organization in ‘free’ labor unions, in this case, set the ideological base for the Marshall Plan encapsulating industrial relations from dealings between employers and workers to wage regulations, from occupational safety to decreasing work hours, from paid vacations to housing ownership.

Like Harry S. Truman’s justification of Marshall Plan aid to overcome poverty and misery, which he claimed threaten the free independency of the war-devastated European countries orienting them towards totalitarian regimes, Marshall Plan set its legitimacy over the matter of social security and welfare state of the labour. Economical and social welfare, in this sense, were regarded essential for the political equilibrium in European reconstruction and integration next to third world development to break potential left-wing uprisings as well as promoting labour organization in US-assisted labour unions. Indeed, the organization of the working class in labour unions was seen as a means of the domestic propaganda against the communist threat in Europe but integration of the labour within labour unions to the political, economical and cultural framework of the Marshall Plan was promoted with the statement of social security from bottom to up. On the other hand, organization in labour unions was a means to establish workers’ housing cooperatives, hence, supporting the cooperation and self-help discourse of the Marshall Plan.

²⁴⁹ Price, *The Marshall Plan*, 338-340.

Social security, the bases of which were set after the World War II by the British economist Sir William Beveridge, carries a significant place in labour affairs related to the reproduction of labor force from birth to death offering health insurance, maternity insurance and old age insurance for labour efficiency inasmuch as industrial and agricultural productivity. The minimum standard of living for labour efficiency, which was also the motto of the social housing scene of the 20th century modern architecture cultivated within the first Taylorist and Fordist wave of mass production, was also taken into consideration in terms of social security as crucial to labour productivity. In this sense, social security at work encompassed industrial relations concerning dealings between employers and workers, collective bargaining, wage regulations, paid vacations, labour education, and organizing in labour unions for right to legal remedies next to and social security at commons enclosing education, culture, health, housing. The higher and more stable employment would lead higher productivity.

The report prepared by Beveridge titled *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (known as the Beveridge Report after its enunciator) in 1942 defined decent housing at a flat rate along with national health insurance or all classes “from cradle to grave” as the essentials of the social security and progress. For good measure, right to education (education security) and decreased unemployment together with increased wages (income security) and paid vacations were scheduled for the wellness and development of the capitalist state. Setting the basis of the postwar welfare state along with the Fordist goals of production and consumption, social and economic security of the labour was foreseen as the absolute must for the postwar reconstruction and the survival of the Fordist capitalism. The postwar reconstruction was featured by Beveridge as a means of achieving the welfare state.

After the war, social security was proved with the motto of “peace, freedom and a decent standard of living” as a human right at the universal scale.²⁵⁰ With the

²⁵⁰ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

Article 55 of the UN, “higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion” were set for a ‘free world.’ Thereby, the Marshall Plan made housing an issue of human right next to industrial and agricultural productivity, which were the essentials to achieve the postwar reconstruction and development in the participating countries. Workers’ housing mattered in the realm of discussions on labour efficiency assured at decent housing especially next to the discussions on social security. Indeed, not only the US-side but also the pro-Marshall Planners in Europe asked decent housing for the working class. In this regard, what the Marshall Planner Lewis P. Todd called below is well to the point that workers’ housing put next to the improvement of health was regarded crucial for the productivity of the worker:

It would have been ironical to try to improve the health of Europeans if, at the same time, efforts had not been made to provide shelter. Indeed, it was obvious from the outset that without adequate food, clothing, and housing the workers would lack the energy necessary to carry on the recovery program. Housing, like health, is a capital asset.²⁵¹

In this regard, along with the housing specialists’ activity, the participation of labour to the Marshall Plan was ensured internationally via the technical assistance of the labour advisers and labor information specialists mostly from the American labour union movement related to the AFL-CIO by controlling labour union movement as Hoffmann stated.²⁵² Moreover, the activity of the European Productivity Agency (EPA) established by the agency of the ERP and the productivity teams of ECA serviced for the labour’s integration to the Marshall

²⁵¹ Todd, *The Marshall Plan*, 27-28.

²⁵² Anon., Interview with Paul Hoffman, Transcript. 28 January 1953. <http://marshallfoundation.org/library/oral-histories/interview-paul-g-hoffman/> (accessed January 11, 2015). See also Anthony B. Carew, *Labour under the Marshall Plan: The Politics of Productivity and the Marketing of Management Science*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 81.

Plan from the scale of housing. The Office of the Special Representative (OSR) in the European headquarters of the ECA in Paris housed a Labour Advisory staff and a Labour Information staff administered by directors suggested by the AFL and CIO working in cooperation with the Labour Advisers Office in ECA's headquarters at Washington.²⁵³ The staff on technical assistance regarding labour relations in Europe was responsible for advising the OSR on the situation of manpower and to provide technical assistance to labour unions, employers and governments in terms of labor education, productivity, housing, wages and working conditions.²⁵⁴

For instance, James Killen, the labour advisor to the UK mission of ECA, pointed out the need for policies on full employment and retraining, and advised loans on public works and housing in a two-day conference on OSR in May 1950.²⁵⁵ Soon after, Killen, Douty and Wesley Cook, the labour advisers of the Austrian mission, are asked to prepare a joint statement recalling the ECA objectives on employment, prices, consumption, and housing regarding labour.²⁵⁶ Matters of "housing, protection against unemployment and the sharing of increases in production and productivity" are asked from the ECA to make "direct and forceful representations" on to the European governments of the participating countries.²⁵⁷ Likewise, the AFL-CIO delegation sent to France to criticize the effectiveness of the productivity program of the ECA in France on labour relations resulted with their suggestion for the Marshall Plan aid to be laid out on low-cost housing programs for a massive propaganda program at grass-root level.²⁵⁸ In parallel to the focusing on housing, a stronger American influence via the agency of the AFL-

²⁵³ Carew, *Labour under the Marshall Plan*, 81.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁵⁵ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 124.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

CIO on the non-communist labour union movement in Europe was reasoned in the report.²⁵⁹

Another example was a large refugee housing project in Luebeck, Germany aided and assisted by the ECA counterpart funds together with government loans and labour unions' financial assistance.²⁶⁰ The project named "Brown" with more than 10.000 units included 800 apartments that had been dedicated to the director of the US Office of Labour Affairs and the ECA Labour Advisor to the US High Commissioner in Germany, Harvey W. Brown, for the financial efforts and interest of the American trade union movement to such kind of projects regarding the labour affairs in Germany.

The solution of the labour efficiency in the first place was set on "an assurance of better food without delay and the prospect of better housing conditions at an early date" especially in Germany.²⁶¹ In the CEEC report prepared after the Paris Conference in 1947, the need for adequate housing for workers was suggested as a means of production especially in the coal mining areas for a productivity program in service for more productivity of the labor force as below:

[T]he main essentials for achieving the production programme are *mining supplies and equipment, an adequate labour force, better housing conditions and food supplies as an encouragement to workers in the industry and prospective recruits.* (...) Participating countries and Western Germany are endeavoring to secure an adequate and stable labour force for the mines by *offering special inducements in pay and housing conditions.* Total needs of these countries in foreign labour have been estimated at 60,000 underground workers up to the end of 1948. For Western Germany overall additional manpower needs are estimated at 180,000, part of which will normally be covered by the return of prisoners of war from other countries, but there remains still a big labour problem in view of the vital importance to Europe of raising coal output. Training schemes can be accelerated, and, if the intake of recruits to the industry is increased, the problem can be

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ *Marshall Plan News* 1, no.4, (Washington: ECA Office of Information, Undated), 8. http://marshallfoundation.org/library/wp-content/uploads/sites/16/2015/03/marshallplannews_opt.pdf (accessed February 19, 2015).

²⁶¹ The CEEC General Report 1947, 85.

solved. But the solution depends in the first piece on *an assurance of better food without delay and the prospect of better housing conditions* at an early date.²⁶²

In this regard, a crucial industrial production site in the Western Germany, Ruhr region took its share in the context of the workers' housing question from the Marshall Plan also since it was an important region of the US Zone in Germany. The region was facing controversies as placed in the valuable interface between France and Germany with its rich mine reserves. Next to the Monnet Plan proposing the reconstruction of France, the Morgenthau Plan had offered the destruction of all coal mine production facilities in the region to impoverish Germany's heavy industry. However, the Ruhr Agreement of 1949 which resulted in the division of Germany into two states was aimed at controlling coal, coke and steel reserves of Germany by the Allies via the International Authority for the Ruhr dependent on the OEEC for the European cooperation and reconstruction of the participating countries of the ERP. After the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952, the Ruhr Authority was unauthorized.

The activity of the Ruhr Authority was to provide productivity of the coal mine reserves in the Ruhr region at high levels for plumping out the coal and steel capacity of Germany to serve for the productivity of European reconstruction. In this direction, workers' housing especially in Ruhr mining region, which was part of the US Zone in Germany, was financially and technically assisted by the ECA and other agents and institutions of the ERP. The High Commission of Germany (HICOG), for instance, worked on labour affairs including housing. Official reports were prepared by housing specialists mostly came from the United States such as Bernard Wagner to work for governmental institutions to give advices and recipes on the workers' housing question especially regarding coal miners. Marburg, a West German city under the US occupation for instance, was governed and planned in accordance with the Marshall Plan policies of the Office of the Military Government, United States (OMGUS).

²⁶² Italics are mine unless indicated otherwise. Ibid., 47-48.

In the case of technical assistance, as Harry Bayard Price noted, “under broad directives, ECA missions in both Europe and Asia were given a relatively free hand in hiring American and local personnel and in making arrangements for housing, travel, and the like.”²⁶³ Price also stated the ECA information specialists took part in the technical assistance and productivity programs by use of “audio-visual aids, assistance in the conduct of demonstrations and training programs, and the transmission of skills in the use of these techniques,” and quoted from a Marshall Planner that “many millions of farmers, foremen and workers learned more about their own line of work through the efforts conducted by the ECA information people.”²⁶⁴ The Labour Information Division of the ECA and of the latter MSA was disseminating news about the successes of the Marshall Plan through mass media producing pamphlets, magazines, documentary films, organizing exhibitions and so.²⁶⁵ In Germany, for instance, the United States Special Representative in Europe (SRE) through its Division of Information produced a documentary film *Mr. Marshall and Me*, which was not only in show in Germany but also in other participating countries including Greece and Turkey as well, telling the story of a coal mine worker in Ruhr being recruited for his job by the help of the Marshall Plan, and understanding his role in the ERP at the end.²⁶⁶ Another documentary that the SRE prepared, on the other hand, was titled as *The Marshall Plan and the Family*.

At this point, Paola Bonifazio’s study on the ideology of the Marshall Plan films shown in Italy has significant points to mention. Bonifazio analyzed the activity of the ECA and *Centro*, which produced films on workers’ housing in relation to male productivity and female reproductivity dealing with the management of manpower in terms of disciplining its mobility/stability, noting the Marshall Plan’s

²⁶³ Harry Bayard Price, p. 233.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

²⁶⁵ Kenneth Heger, “Publicizing the Marshall Plan: Records of the U.S. Special Representative in Europe, 1948-50.” Retrieved from <http://www.archives.gov/publications/record/1998/09/marshall-plan.html> (last accessed 18.03.2015).

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

manipulation for the “value of freedom,” “the ethics of work,” and “the idea of progress.”²⁶⁷ In this regard, an Italian film called *Man and Machines* of 1951 presented the development of Fordism in Italian factories, respecting the time gained via Fordist assembly line.²⁶⁸ Bonifazio argued the film was shot to appeal Italian workers for freedom at work since all production was based on assembly line by the help of advanced American technology which decreases the energy that a worker needs to pay.²⁶⁹ In parallel, she also noted that including government-funded homes (but in relation to the Marshall Plan’s agencies and in coordination with the counterpart funds of the ERP) housing programs both aimed at blue-collar and white-collar workers by means of “philanthropic strategies,” and “instructing the viewers on how ‘modern’ dwelling will improve their lives,” valuing work and family life, and moral aspects of hygiene.²⁷⁰ Moreover, these films subnarrated the significance of urbanization next to family life based on productive labour force of man against the reproductive labour force of woman at home as argued by Bonifazio.²⁷¹

Chiarella Esposito also mentions the place of workers’ housing in the Marshall Plan France against the increasing sympathy towards communism between workers.²⁷² Within this context, the ECA in France carried a propaganda campaign in France on workers’ housing “to convert French leftists to a pro-American stance,” and to convince the French government to spend some of its counterpart funds on the construction of low-cost workers’ housing. However, like most of the participating countries, most of the counterpart funds were spent on technical

²⁶⁷ Paola Bonifazio, “Narrating Modernization: Documentary Films in Cold War Italy (1948-1955),” Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The New York University, 119-121.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 117.

²⁷² Chiarella Esposito, *America's Feeble Weapon: Funding the Marshall Plan in France and Italy, 1948-1950*, (New York: Praeger, 1994), 116.

assistance on productivity programs not directly in the form of financial assistance on workers' housing in France.

In conclusion, Marshall Plan's program regarding the themes of rationalization and productivity constituted the greatest place in the formation of workers' housing question. Next to the financial assistance to the building of low-cost workers' housing by the agency of the ECA Housing Division, especially technical assistance programs on the rationalization of production and expansion of productivity through decent housing for workers by the agency of the ECA Labour Information Division, the ECA Labour Advisers, the local but US-guided labour unions and government assisted labour education programs. As Charles S. Maier noted, the productivity mission of the USA applied with the Marshall Plan "arose naturally out of the domestic modes of resolving social conflict, or, rather, the difficulty of resolving conflicts cleanly."²⁷³ In this sense, the Marshall Plan's programs on rationalization and productivity in the manpower scale were ideologically centralized upon balancing social conflicts, thereby, went hand in hand with resolving the working class consciousness through social security programs, labour education and decent workers' housing.

2.2.3.2. At the Topographical Scale

Labour mobility was among the most regarded themes of the Marshall Plan next to productivity, and taken into consideration as part of its financial and technical assistance to be controlled. Workers' housing played a significant part in case of labour mobility as a constraining element of decent, healthy living besides the improved social security programs. Next to the establishment of a Ministry of Social Security, the Marshall Plan's assistance to build workers' housing had been called in its first report by the CEEC against low productivity and high mobility of the worker:

²⁷³ Charles S. Maier, "The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II" *International Organization* 31, no. 4, Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States (1977: 607-633).

It is entirely clear, however, that total supplies will be inadequate and will prevent the development of housing programmes which are urgently needed; in many countries the housing shortage is a cause of low productivity, and everywhere it is a check to the mobility of labour.²⁷⁴

The question of where to house the large masses of the working class, which was essential for the sustainability of the ERP to hinder the loss of manpower the cogwheels of industrial and agricultural productivity, was dealt within the scope of the management of manpower but also as part of the topographical concerns of the Marshall Plan such as regional planning effective in the decision of the location of industries and workers' housing. The separation of industrial production from cities, decentralization of industry indeed, led to the formation of suburban development for the case of workers' housing since the Marshall Plan's program on the workers' housing question as a solution to labour mobility was to house workers' in neighbourhoods of garden suburbs next to industries but also in relation to cities on motorways and highways constructed by the Marshall Plan's assistance.

Actually, the discussions on the relationship and labour mobility regarding the location of workers' housing were in common since the 19th century industrialization. The British industrialists controlled labour mobility through the workers' housing question whereas the Utopian Socialists' experience produced alike solutions to the location of workers' housing. A potential barrier against the labour mobility, workers' housing also occupied a place in the economical, political and ideological harmony as well as a means of topographical harmony between city and country. In this regard, the formation of location discourse in case of workers' housing extended beyond the issue of location but also in relation to the postwar tension between city and country making city as the commercial center, periphery as the production center and workers' housing in between.

²⁷⁴ CEEC Report, 1947, 24.

Engels had discussed the workers' housing question blocking labour mobility as a potential means of struggle.²⁷⁵

Actually, the assistance to the building of workers' housing was given importance against the problem of migration from country to city but from "under developed countries" covering Turkey to "developing countries" such as Britain, Germany and France as well. In this regard, workers' housing question was seemed as a serious barrier against migration along with sufficient food supplies. On the other hand, since migration especially from foreign countries was seen crucial for the development of war-devastated industries as part of the ERP, the lack of sufficient housing for immigrant workers, which would lead labour mobility against the settling of immigrant workers for the emergent industries, was in the Marshall Plan's program to deal with. In this sense, a report prepared by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development Research Department put forward the situation of housing shortage especially in the war-devastated countries, and the necessity of building workers' housing especially for the key industries which were letting in large masses of foreign immigrants.²⁷⁶

In this sense, the ECE which was established within the UN for "the economic reconstruction of devastated areas" and aimed to "initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Europe for raising the level of European economic activity, and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of the European countries, both among themselves and with other countries of the world" as a regional economic commission next to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA),²⁷⁷ remarked the

²⁷⁵ Engels, quoted in Tafuri and Dal Co, *Modern Architecture / 1*, 22.

²⁷⁶ Postwar International Migration Agreements, IBRD Research Department, 1948, 14-15. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/1948/04/2872049/postwar-international-migration-agreements> (accessed June 16, 2015).

²⁷⁷ The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), "History." <http://www.unece.org/oes/history/history.html> (accessed June 16, 2015).

importance of technical assistance on the construction of workers' housing especially for the immigrant-receiving industries:

[T]he Committee recommended that the housing panel of the E.C.E. should pursue the exchange of technical information on rapid reconstruction of accommodations for workers engaged in key industries. This proposal was aimed at removing the chief obstacle to intra-European migration movements at the present time.²⁷⁸

Concordantly, the praxis of the ECE on the construction and development of inter and intra-European transportation on motorways, highways and E-roads was significant to link industries and workers' housing setting communication opportunities between the two matter in political means of integration, economical means of free trade and liberalization and social means of a controlled mobility of the working class. In this regard, the development of motorways and highways by the assistance of the ECE and other institutions of the Marshall Plan linking industries and cities offered the "liberation" of mobility on automobiles whereas helped a healthy living in the garden suburbs in peripheries.

Kate Liepmann, who discussed the physical and economical means of commuter transportation between work and workers' housing in her study *The Journey to Work* of 1944, argued a satellite city as not "a new independent town" but rather a self-contained, new planned town having "a social, civic and economic life on its own."²⁷⁹ In this regard, she attributed more importance on building satellite cities rather than garden cities since a "suburban development on garden-city lines" with

²⁷⁸ International Agencies of the Manpower Field, (Murray Press: IBRD Economic Department, 1948), 4. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/1948/09/3153125/international-agencies-manpower-migration-field> (accessed June 16, 2015).

²⁷⁹ Kate Liepmann, *The Journey to Work: Its Significance for Industrial and Community Life*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1945), 89-91. The principle of easy accessibility between workplace and housing, physical connection of factory to workers' housing, community planning in industrial suburbs, and productivity of workers were also among the research issues studied in leading American universities in 1950s. For instance see Justin Gray, "Planned Communities for Coal Mine Workers," Unpublished Masters Thesis, MIT Department of City and Regional Planning, 1952., Ivan Dale Owen, "The Automobile as a Factor in the Design of Residential Areas," Unpublished Masters Thesis, MIT Department of Architecture, 1955.

“the garden-city principle applied to suburbs”²⁸⁰ the distance between work and housing would be eased, and also the workers’ communication between the greater city as the metropolitan cultural center and the satellite city gathering neighbourhood and community values would be provided by satisfying the demand of labour mobility for economical purposes through daily travelling as well.²⁸¹ Moreover, low-density housing in satellite cities would provide the “social betterment” by providing healthy environment for a productive working class of increased moral behavior. On this occasion, the notion of “open development” was offered as a means of regional planning and manpower planning as well but noting the over dispersal of suburban neighbourhoods would increase the journey costs between work and workers’ housing.

Thereby, the workers’ housing settlements composed mostly of single-floor or two-floor single-family garden houses together with superblocks formed the garden suburb neighbourhoods adjacent to cities in communication with commercial city centers and industries in the participating countries. Next to the problem of hindering labour mobility at well-designed workers’ neighbourhoods, the development of satellite cities fed up the workers’ housing question along with the New Towns programs initiated in Britain, Germany, France, Italy and so as a postwar response to decentralization and suburbanization. In this regard, the underdeveloped areas at the peripheries of the cities was taken into consideration as part of regional and urban planning programs offering the construction of workers’ neighbourhoods in the country adjacent to cities of industrial regions. For instance, the US-modeled suburban neighbourhoods were built composed of prefabricated workers’ housing units in France such as Noisy-le-Sec in the periphery of Paris. Or in Italy, the INA-CASA experience, directly established to build workers’ housing after the US-Italian liaison on labour affairs regarding workers’ housing, paid attention to the building of suburban neighbourhoods adjacent to metropolis but never approached the size that Howard proposed for a

²⁸⁰ Liepmann, *The Journey to Work*, 89-91.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 91.

garden city.²⁸² The Tiburtino neighbourhood in the underdeveloped suburban land 5-kilometers away from Rome was built as a satellite town in 1949-1952 by the agency of the INA-CASA and the Marshall Plan's technical assistance, also by the engagement of the American architects such as Denise and Scott Brown.²⁸³

Additionally, the trend in slum-clearance in the name of urban reconstruction became also the means of suburban development for workers' housing settlements. The construction of workers' housing by the agency of governments and labour unions was also promoted against slum-clearance. For instance, the master plan of Matera including the INA-CASA development for workers was designed by the modern urban planner Luigi Piccinato who also served in Turkey, including five satellite villages and suburban quarters to house farmers and workers of the region in close connection to workplaces.²⁸⁴

The American experience on the topographical aspect of the workers' housing question also taking its legacy from its agrarian tradition was, in this regard, effective in the formation of workers' housing question. The postwar trend in industrial decentralization, suburbanization and building of satellite cities was actually fed by the New Deal's experience on regional planning. In this regard, suburban development next to decentralization composed the topographical scale of the Marshall Plan on the formation of the workers' housing question.

2.2.3.3. At the Morphological Scale

The notions of rationalization and productivity, apart from labour efficiency and industrial productivity, was also dealt by the ECA specialists concerning building industries. Rationalization of building production in the case of low-cost housing was in the technical assistance program of the Marshall Plan especially regarding the free trade between the USA and the participating countries via the counterpart

²⁸² Stephanie Zeier Pilat, "Reconstructing Italy: The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era," Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 2009, 56-58.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 129-130.

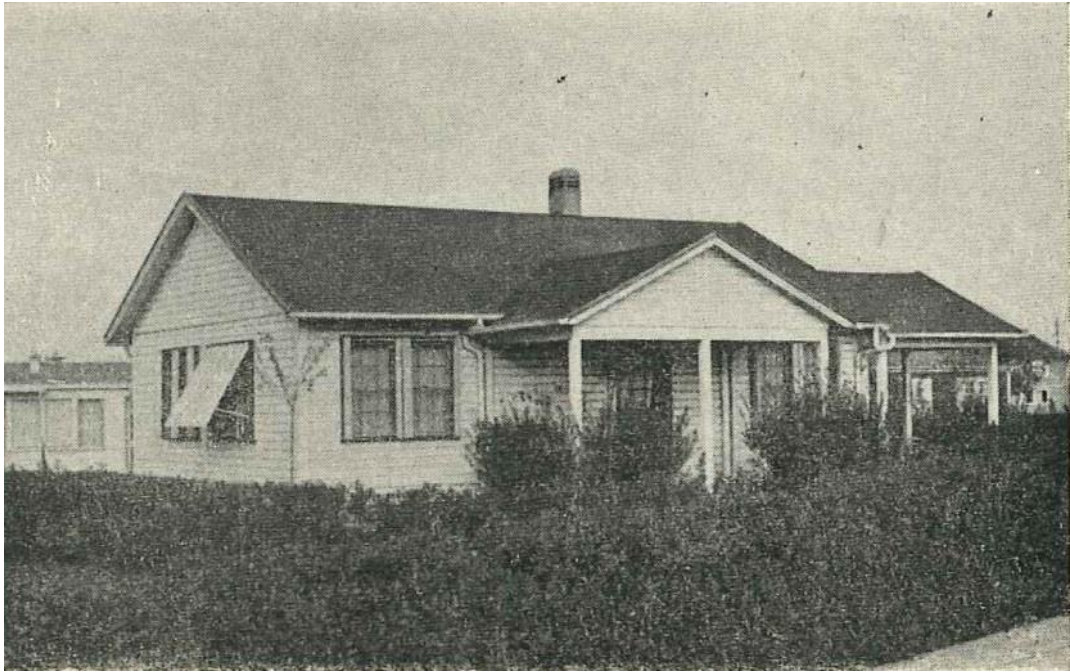


Figure 2.20 American suburban type of prefabricated house in Noisy-le-Sec, at the periphery of Paris assisted by the Marshall Plan aid. Source. Aru, *Garp Avrupasında Mesken Problemi*, 221.

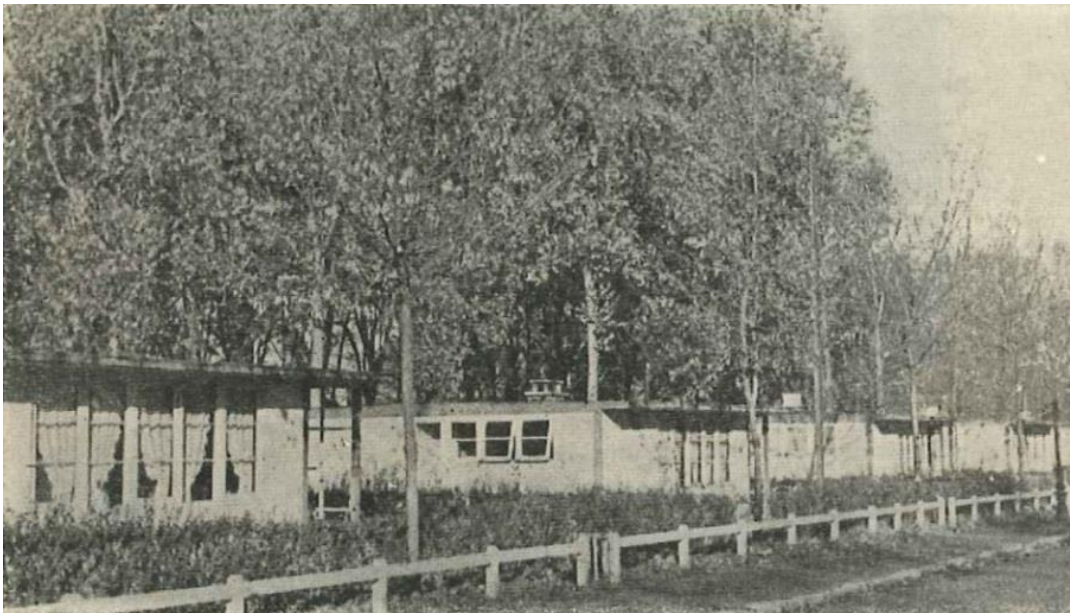


Figure 2.21 Ready-made American housing in France assisted by the Marshall Plan. Source. Aru, *Garp Avrupasında Mesken Problemi*, 221.

funds. In this regard, the productivity teams of the ECA also covered “building industry productivity teams”²⁸⁵ next to advisers of industrial productivity and labour efficiency, so the US technology in building construction was not only exported to the Marshall Plan countries but also formed the morphological characteristic of workers’ housing production describing and advising the materials, methods and labour force required for construction.

For the productivity in building industry, the ECA laid down the decrease in construction costs “through the use of standardized building techniques” as a condition to release counterpart funds for the construction of housing programs.²⁸⁶ In this sense, Britain, Italy, France and Greece were seen as key to the success of the American construction sector²⁸⁷ by the export of the US technology for low-cost housing production. Not only the French MRU in collaboration with the Marshall Plan institutions advertised the US construction technology of prefabrication with exhibitions but the US technology in building construction was also promoted in other participating countries next to export-import agreements with the USA and the other participating countries.

In this regard, Paola Bonifazio mentioned an Italian documentary prepared by the Marshall Planners, which promoted the idea that “second industrial revolution” was brought to Italy and Europe by the USA with the Marshall Plan, and that Italy needed to collaborate with Europe and the USA for the industrial reconstruction all over the continent to for mass production of consumers’ goods such as cars as showed in the movie,²⁸⁸ or for the “greater housing industry” as part of the private entrepreneurship in Italy under the Marshall Plan to be exported to other European countries.²⁸⁹ The counterpart funds system of the Marshall Plan, hereby, helped realization of the workers’ housing construction as well as imports of building

²⁸⁵ Jeffrey W. Cody, *Exporting American Architecture 1870-2000*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 35.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ Bonifazio, “Narrating Modernization,” 178-181.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

materials of the US technology. The INA-CASA program, indeed, was designed for workers' housing construction with the support of the counterpart funds of the Marshall Plan.

Along with the financial assistance provided via the counterpart funds, technical assistance in terms of workers' housing construction by the US technology of mass production, prefabrication and standardization was at the agenda. What the first director of the ECA mentioned is, hereby, significant to mention:

[I]n this I am not referring to the technique of housing construction but, rather to the need... for technical assistance in creating a proper financial environment... for the encouragement of private investment and the creation of employment opportunities through a revitalized home building program. The TA project... should also analyze the effect of rent ceilings and possibly suggest basic changes that would avoid the need for public subsidies.²⁹⁰

In this regard, "the productivity tours" financially assisted and guided by the ECA worked for this purpose.²⁹¹ French and Dutch delegations were sent to the USA to learn the US technology on housing construction. Castillo mentioned a study trip to the USA from Germany covering eleven recent architecture school graduates among the other 2.500 from West Germany as part of the US educational exchanges,²⁹² which also occupied an important place in the formation of the Marshall Plan's discourse on the merits of the American neighbourhood and community planning next to housing. Happened in 1950, the Chapel Hill program that Castillo's article was focused on was for the appropriation of the Cold War "city planning exchange" by architects through pedagogical programs "deliberated over classroom information, observed foreign lifestyles and work styles, and drew their own conclusions about American consumerism, gender roles, racism, and

²⁹⁰ Paul Hoffman, quoted in Castillo, "Housing," 130.

²⁹¹ Cody, *Exporting American Architecture*, 132.

²⁹² Greg Castillo, "Design Pedagogy Enters the Cold War: The Reeducation of Eleven West German Architects," *Journal of Architectural Education* 57, vol. 4, (2004): 10.

community activism -all of which inflected their understanding of the urban planning methods presented to them.’’²⁹³

Here, the German architects attended a seminar on the American planning organized by the University of North Carolina which promoted housing as an industrial product which was an important aspect of American planning. What was advertised thereby was building costs would decrease whereas quality and quantity increase through prefabrication, standardization and mass purchasing. Castillo noted the German architects were also taken to visit Levittown, “a new community and ongoing construction site, they watched as precut wood framing, plumbing, and heating systems were delivered in neat bundles and assembled by crews of subcontracted, nonunion labor who moved from house to house as if on a human conveyor belt,” decreasing labour force needed for the construction of a house, and providing “cheap construction for people who needed it,” the organizational achievement of which was not yet being applied in Germany.²⁹⁴

Within this context, the US technology, machines and materials for cheap and rapid construction and building of workers’ housing was promoted in the participating countries like it was presented for the construction of miner’s housing in the Netherlands with the US block molding machine decreasing labour force in situ. (See **Hata! Başyuru kaynağı bulunamadı.**)

A significant case on behalf of the Marshall Plan’s program on the morphological formation of workers’ housing question was the ECA Housing Exposition which was organized in collaboration of German Federal Ministry of Housing with the ECA Special Mission to Western Germany and funded by the ECA Housing Developments Program.²⁹⁵ Including models and plans for a competition to design

²⁹³ Ibid., 11.

²⁹⁴ Gwendolyn Wright, quoted in Castillo, “Design Pedagogy Enters the Cold War,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, 14.

²⁹⁵ The aforementioned news was a well-depiction of the American propaganda on low-cost housing putting much emphasis on ECA’s funding over housing construction in Germany. The award-winning project first being built which was a housing settlement in a Nuremberg suburb,

low-cost housing settlements to be constructed with DM 37 million (\$8.806.000) funds provided by the ECA Mission in Germany as well, this traveling exposition on housing to visit fifteen West German cities for six months portrayed the extension of American support on low-cost housing especially for workers. The jury including Bernard Wagner promoted the use of prefabricated construction materials most of which would come from the USA.²⁹⁶

Indeed, this architectural design competition was assisted by the ECA Housing Developments Program for the construction of low-cost housing projects to be completed in fifteen cities of Germany by the ECA counterpart funds between 1951 and 1953.²⁹⁷ Most of the projects were ruled to serve refugees and DPs but a project was proposed for the mine workers in Dortmund-Derne of Ruhr region, the ninth and last regarding miners' housing constructed by the MSA in between 1952 and 1954.²⁹⁸ The construction of which was suggested by James W. Butler, the director of the MSA Housing Department and the chief of the ECA Housing Section in Frankfurt, for increasing productivity in coal production in the region, and costed 100 million DMs of the 400 million DMs spent for the housing program of the ECA in Germany until 1952.²⁹⁹

Langwasser, was announced in detail with its low-budget, and the type and quality of housing units was described as well with the community facilities around. It also included notices on the future schedule of the exposition. See Anon., "ECA Housing Exposition Goes on Tour," *Information Bulletin of the Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany*, March 1952. <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/Historyidx?type=div&did=History.omg1952March.i0014&isize=text> (accessed January 20, 2015).

²⁹⁶ Cody, *Exporting American Architecture*, 135.

²⁹⁷ These cities were Munich, Kaufbeuren, Freiburg, Reutlingen, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Mannheim, Frankfurt Mainz, Aachen, Krefeld, Braunschweig, Hannover, Bremen, Luebeck housing 3.275 flats for each, and costed 44 million DMs from the ERP counterpart funds. See Hans H. Hanke, "Eigenheime –bewohnte Bollwerke der Demokratie," in *Kulturpolitik im besetzten Deutschland 1945-1949*, ed. Gabriele Clemens (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 21.

²⁹⁸ Anon., "Siedlergemeinschaft MSA-Siedlung Dortmund-Scharnhorst e.V.," <http://www.lokodex.de/msa/dokumente.htm> (accessed January 21, 2015).

²⁹⁹ Bernard Wagner, "More Homes for Germans," 21., Anon., "Siedlergemeinschaft MSA-Siedlung Dortmund-Scharnhorst e.V.," <http://www.lokodex.de/msa/dokumente.htm> (accessed January 22, 2015).

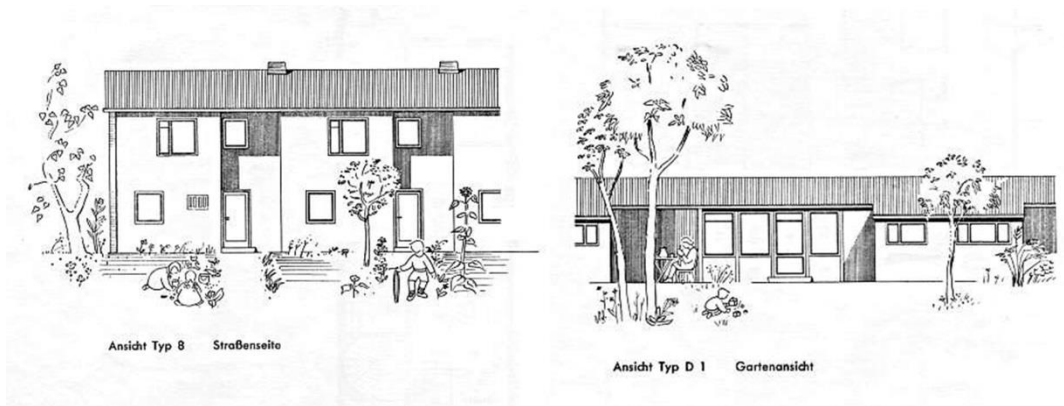


Figure 2.22 Original elevation drawings of the ECA financed miners' housing in the garden suburb of Dortmund-Derne called as MSA-Siedlung. Source: Deutsche Bahnen Documents <http://www.lokodex.de/msa/entstehung.htm> (accessed January 20, 2015).



Figure 2.23 ECA Siedlung for workers at Essen-Schonnebeck, Wandersleb 1954. Source: Hans H. Hanke, "Eigenheime," 66.

In this regard, Castillo mentions the MSA sponsored a six-week study trip to the USA of a group including miners, miners' wives, architects, a home economist and

a reporter together with municipal and union officials.³⁰⁰ The American know-how on workers' housing question was promoted during this trip fully under the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance which covered the American mining towns and housing developments, the US technology in housing design, construction and financing as Castillo notes. The low-cost housing project for the Ruhr miners in Dortmund-Derne included 800 apartments all of which were either in the form of single family row housing or semi-detached dwellings exemplary of the American case with fully-equipped modern kitchens, and for sale or rent.³⁰¹ Actually, a model industrial community surrounded by neighbourhood associations composed of affluent and homeowner miners settled in the American type single family houses within gardens was, as Castillo points out, created at the end, the result of which was appraised by Bernard Wagner claiming the vast majority was "satisfied, knowing they are getting their money's worth and better."³⁰² Including a church, shopping center, school, kindergarten, café, cinema, the MSA housing in Dortmund-Derne became a model American neighbourhood housing workers in a garden suburb.

On the other hand, the Marshall Plan assistance on workers' housing also made room for superblock, which was the prototype of the social front of the postwar mass housing abstracted by *Unité d'Habitation* in Marseille designed by Le Corbusier in accordance with the "sun-air-space" trilogy of modern urban planning after CIAM. It is not a coincidence that the urban landscape of Marseille after *Unité d'Habitation* or Le Havre, which was rebuilt with the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance, composed of copies of the initial block in Marseille with miscellaneous dimensions.

Indeed, what was being promoted in the name of modern, prefabricated housing was not actually the suburban single-family housing in satellite towns and garden

³⁰⁰ Castillo, "Housing as Transnational Provocation in Cold War Berlin," 131.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 131.

³⁰² Ibid.

suburbs concretized upon the case of Willow Run Bomber Plant or Levittown in the USA, but more than that, the mass production of workers' housing turning housing a growing industry of the Marshall Plan counterpart funds nurtured by the US ready-made (prefabricated) homes and the US-exported cement along with the US private initiative of building and housing sector in the participating countries. Therefore, the solution to the workers' housing question in the participating countries extended beyond single-family housing in rows in the subsequent years but appeared as the prefabricated panel construction of superbloc housing. In this sense, the morphological pattern regarding the workers' housing settlements in different participating countries was in common with neighbourhoods composing of single-family individual houses as well as row houses and superblocs. Likewise, the 14 three-storey buildings at the edge of the forest in Nuremberg suburb Langwasser of the winning project of the ECA Housing Exposition pieced the suburban single-family house together with workers' housing in reinforced concrete blocks which would carry the discursive flag of social housing morphologically in the 1960s.

It is not necessary but important to note that housing programmes guided or assisted by the ECA came across cut-offs. For instance a low-cost housing project initiated by the Marshall Aid had to decrease since the German government banned labour unions from administering workers' housing construction, yet the ECA Labour Advisers offered withholding the counterpart withdrawals unless housing programs were doubled in the country.³⁰³ The cut of domestic funds including the loans for the low-cost workers' housing programs in Europe was proposed by the ECA in accordance with the American policy to make more investment on the promotion of production and monetary stability.³⁰⁴

³⁰³ Carew, *Labour under the Marshall Plan*, 100.

³⁰⁴ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 14.

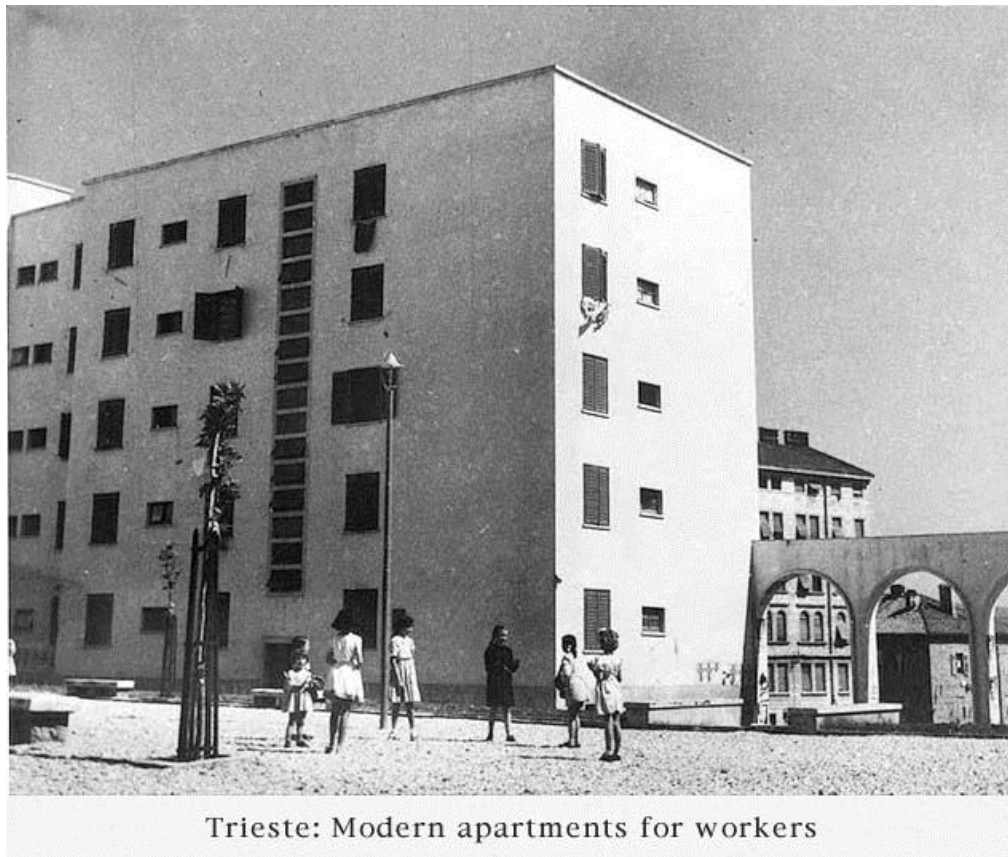


Figure 2.24 A workers' housing project realized in the US-guided Free Territory of Trieste. Source: The online album of William Averell Harriman "The Marshall Plan at the Mid-Mark."

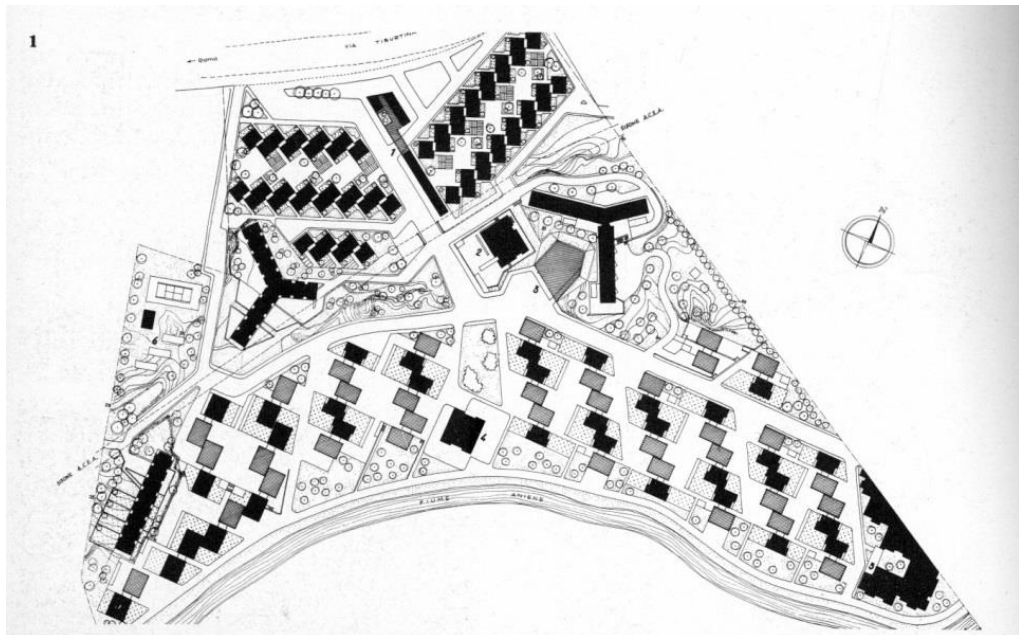


Figure 2.25 The site plan of an INA-CASA workers' neighbourhood in the suburban Rome composing two-story row houses, three-, four- and five-story blocks, social center, shops, a market, and two schools. Source: Pilat, "Reconstructing Italy," 328.

In this sense, the governments of the participating countries were either forced by the ECA or preferred not to grant loans for workers' housing production but infrastructural reconstruction and industrial expansion instead. However, the cut of funds for low-cost housing construction was criticized both by the Marshall Planners and the technocrats in housing construction of the participating countries such as government officials or labour union leaders in close connection to the ECA. For example, Carew quotes the French Government ignored the acute housing shortage making much of the capital investment on industrial development although counterpart funds of the Marshall Plan were aimed at house-building programmes.³⁰⁵ Or, the Secretary of the Unione Italiana del Lavoro [Italian Union of Employment] complained Marshall Plan loans had not been put to use on low-cost housing, and fostered \$4,000,000 be spent on low-cost housing programs.³⁰⁶ For instance, \$30,000,000 from the ECA counterpart funds had been withdrawn from the by September 1950; however, the government utilized some for other purposes.³⁰⁷

In conclusion, although the amount of financial support by the ECA to the participation countries did not occupy the greatest part of the ECA funds or came across cut-offs, the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance together with the UN's technical assistance cultivated a morphological discourse of workers' housing by the promotion of rationalization of housing construction activity offering the expertise of the US technology of mass construction at the scales of knowledge and practice.

2.2.3.4. At the Habitual Scale

The Marshall Plan's program and themes at the habitual scale of the workers' housing question was concretized upon the integration for the working class to the ideological, political, economical and social scenario of the plan by the creation of

³⁰⁵ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 97.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 212.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 97.

an affluent working class. The workers' welfare was, thereby, not only secured with increased wages, paid vacations and extendable social services but also by means of a social reconstruction process imposing upon the working class the notion of the standard of life as consuming housing as well as automobiles and household equipments for balancing the supply and demand equilibrium, which was at the base of the postwar Keynesian economy of the welfare state. As the law of the instrument of mass production, which was the motto of the postwar industrial reconstruction and development based on Fordist industrialism, mass consumption was equated in the participating countries. In this regard, the discourse of democracy and self-help was popularized in the form of the freedom of buying. On the other hand, reaching to a common standard of living by means of the commonization and standardization of the everyday life of the working class as if it economically and socially balanced with other classes in terms of freedom of choice and buy was aimed.

The social balancing of different classes in the participating countries was mutually realized at different habitual scales from community affairs to family life, from togetherness of family to individual freedom, and vice versa. The discourse of cooperation either as part of the financial, political and cultural intercourses between participating countries but also in labour unions for labour rights, in community centers for an integrated community life away from differences, and hence, eliminating the class differences, partook in the habitual formation of the workers' housing question, and also helped realization of the workers' housing projects by the cooperative activity of company owners, union leaders and workers as well as officials, planners and architects.

This activity of integrating the working class into the program of the Marshall Plan was both realized by the agency of political, industrial and cultural organizations but also through the making of "class consciousness of the working class in the identicalness of its own interests" and creating identicalness in its customs and

feelings as E.P. Thompson equated for the formation of the working class,³⁰⁸ in this regard, the false consciousness of equality and welfare in the manners of producing and consuming.

In this sense, the Marshall Plan's program and themes at the habitual scale of the workers' housing question could not be separated from its praxis on neighbourhood and community planning. As the American specialist Henry Joseph Meyer who conducted a community survey in Darmstadt in 1949 reported, community affairs was taken into consideration to help increasing public welfare as well reaching a democratic society.³⁰⁹ A heavily devastated city after the World War II, Darmstadt was claimed to be chosen to carry on a study since it had a hinterland giving the potential to explore the reciprocal relations between the urban and rural environments, and the survey of the health and housing conditions of the bituminous coal miners was claimed to help the demands of the United Mine Workers on the improvement of their economic conditions. Labour unions by Meyer, in this regard, was given crucial importance in creating the community welfare in Darmstadt by providing urban reconstruction, educational and recreational facilities, health services, and adequate housing to the workers of the community since welfare of the members of the labour unions meant welfare of worker families, and hence, welfare of the worker community. Note that, Meyer had even remarked in his report that community development between automobile workers was valued in terms of marketing cars and motion picture credits of the workers as well as evaluating workers' housing needs also in the case of Ford's Detroit as a good example for his study in Darmstadt.³¹⁰

As mentioned before in the section 2.1.2.2.2. Neighbourhood and Community Planning for Social Reconstruction," the activity of labour unions in founding and

³⁰⁸ Thompson, *İngiliz İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumu*, 249.

³⁰⁹ Henry Joseph Meyer, "Darmstadt Community Survey: Development of Local Community Research in Germany," *Visiting Expert Series*, no. 13, Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.), Manpower Division, (1949): 2. <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=header&id=History.VisitSeriesNo13&q1=housing> (accessed January 20, 2015).

³¹⁰ *Ibid*, 2.

operating workers' housing cooperatives with state or federal subsidies for workers' housing construction was not discovered in the USA –to remember the praxis of the labour unions in the 19th century Britain, Germany and France - but popularized in the USA with the Public Housing Movement during the New Deal offering decent housing as a means of communitarian and public welfare. Indeed, the Labor Housing Conference held in the USA in 1935, had suggested the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to support federal government's assistance on low- and moderate-cost housing for the working class.³¹¹ The goal of workers' housing was claimed at the time as “a good home for every American family, a home which it can enjoy and a home which it can *afford*.”³¹² Moreover, it was agreed that well-designed workers' housing communities would improve the productivity of the labour and strengthen the sense of citizenship.³¹³ As Michael Kazin reports, the unionized American workers especially who were members of AFL called themselves as part of the middle-class, or “the average citizen,” “the average American” and “the American people,”³¹⁴

Within this context, as Greg Castillo also points out, the Marshall Plan programs went far beyond improving the condition of labour through decent housing. In Germany's case, for instance, workers' housing was taken into consideration by the American advisors in Ruhr to eradicate the class division by making housing as commodity.³¹⁵ In Italy, the inclusion of “popular housing” into the project of urban reconstruction was supposed in parallel with the reinforcement of labour unions giving a public role,³¹⁶ which they would work melting of class differences in community as being instrumental in the foundation of housing cooperatives,

³¹¹ Peterson, *Planning the Home Front*, 92.

³¹² Quoted in Murray, *The Progressive Housewife*, 39.

³¹³ Bauman and Biles, *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes*, 10.

³¹⁴ Quoted in Sylvie Murray, *The Progressive Housewife*, 39.

³¹⁵ Greg Castillo, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War,” in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, ed. Nezar Alsayyad (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 195.

³¹⁶ Federico Romero, *The United States and the European Trade Union Movement, 1944-1951*.

thereby, realizing the self-help method of buying houses. As Dirk Schubert stated, “the increase in income made it possible for a larger segment of the population to finance a home and growing mobility afforded by the automobile made it possible for many citizens to fulfill the dream of the ‘American way of life’ on urban periphery.”³¹⁷ Likewise, Luigi Berretta Anguissola, the architect of the INA-CASA workers’ housing project told: “to give workers a civilized home, studied in ways so that each can feel it his own and where each man can feel himself a citizen of a new community.”³¹⁸

Paola Bonifazio mentions that the INA-CASA program, responsible for the making of workers’ housing settlements together with UNRRA-CASAS program³¹⁹ in Italy, was led by the Italian architects and urban planners but intellectually, technically and financially guided by the USA.³²⁰ The topographical concerns related to workers’ housing settlements were in focus of the housing projects under UNRRA-CASAS program (after 1948, the institution worked for the ECA) as well as moral, social and ethical concerns such as disciplining the labour force and manipulating sexual and domestic life of the workers were aimed in both programs.³²¹ The welfare of workers was, indeed, seen as an instrument of the ‘democratic’ and ‘free society’ guided by the US financial and technical assistance either by the Marshall Plan institutions or the UN technical assistance in the participating countries against the ‘totalitarian’ regime concretized by the USSR. Thereby, the issues related to well-being as health and hygiene planning, educational planning next to housing and neighbourhood planning were within the

³¹⁷ Schubert, "The Neighbourhood Paradigm," 121.

³¹⁸ Quoted in Pilat, "Reconstructing Italy."

³¹⁹ Bonifazio, "Narrating Modernization," 83.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 83.



Figure 2.26 A photograph of the everyday life in the neighbourhood of two-storey workers' family houses in the garden suburb of Dortmund-Derne called as MSA-Siedlung.



Figure 2.27 Modern interior of an INA-CASA house exhibited at Milan Triennale, 1954. Source: Pilat, "Reconstructing Italy," 298.

community affairs program of the Marshall Plan whereas cementing family and kinship relations setting the sexual differentiation of labor in everyday life covering workspace and domestic space came at hand. Like Richard Nixon emphasized the role of women in housemaking for the welfare of the American democracy in the Kitchen Debate of 1954 next to prefabricated suburban dwelling of the USA, Lewis Mumford, Catherine Bauer, Astrid Monson, Donald Monson together with other scholars and experts, serviced in the participating countries on behalf of the USA, accented the significance of family and the amenities of domestic space along with the role of community composed of families next to labour productivity at workspace for the workers' welfare. Suburban house, in this sense, with its anti-urban character supporting a traditional family life including grandparents and so, hence, could prevail urban super block which houses many nuclear families, and ensured the wife to nurture children instead of working all day. The American way of life represented in the suburban nuclear family was accompanied by the *ideal family* discourse with the propaganda of the *ideal woman*.

The role of "Citizen Participation in Planning," which was focused in the education seminars during the study visit of the German architecture students to the USA by the funding of the ECA,³²² was the key instruments of the habitual discourse of the Marshall Plan. Neighbourhood and community planning on closer inspection were the main fields of application where the worker citizen could participate reinforcing the sense of citizenship next to housing planning. In this regard, likewise the praxis of labour unions in workers' housing production at the level of community and within the neighbourhood in Public Housing Movement of the USA, workers' housing cooperatives especially under the agency of the labour unions became the main tool of workers' participation in housing planning. Financially state-oriented public housing debate initiated by scholars and bureaucrats related to the Regional Planning Association of America, such as Catherine Bauer and Lewis Mumford, was blamed later by Joseph McCarthy for

³²² Castillo, "Design Pedagogy Enters the Cold War," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 13.

being socialistic, thereby, state-oriented public housing discussions of Roosevelt's New Deal was left with the birth of a private sector in social housing production. It is known that the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) supported technical and financial aid to housing cooperatives after WWII.³²³ Later, the promotion of co-operative and similar non-profit housing societies was officially suggested in the Recommendation Report of International Labour Organization (ILO) on workers' housing in 1960.³²⁴ However, it is known that housing economists of the Marshall Plan's technical assistance programs advised Germany on the financial realization of housing based on competitive bidding between contractors and the principle of homeownership based on the Federal Housing Administration of the USA.³²⁵

Within this context, the most important activity of the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan and the UNPTA was the production of the self-help discourse as part of workers' housing production. In this regard, the modern legacy cultivated in the prewar period based on the operation of workers' housing production as part of a social housing praxis by the agency of either state companies or municipalities through tenancy housing was spirited away with the postwar discourse of cooperation and self-help which turned workers' housing production to a self-help activity based on individual homeownership instead of state property. In this sense, Butler's statement below is notable:

We suggest building distinctive ECA housing projects, clearly identifiable as such and properly publicized at the outset, so that we can move immediately towards our prime objective, namely increased production through improved morale. We can do this by impressing the miners with the fact that they can expect to get good, inexpensive housing soon, housing which will be built within properly planned communities, not under the control of individual mines, but under their

³²³ Murray, *The Progressive Housewife*, 43.

³²⁴ Anon., *R115-Workers' Housing Recommendation, No. 115* (Geneva: ILO, 1961). http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:R115 (accessed May 21, 2015).

³²⁵ Cody, *Exporting American Architecture*, 135.

own control as members of a community and as private owners of individual houses contained therein.³²⁶

In this regard, this paradigmatic shift in the manner of workers' housing production from prewar to postwar era could also be observed in the praxis of the American experts on housing and planning. Greg Castillo mentions the USA assigned the German-origin American housing specialist Bernard Wagner to alienate Germany from its past experiences on social housing in the Weimar Republic,³²⁷ actually who introduced the American know-how on housing to Germany and Turkey as well. As Castillo also pointed out, the suburban model of homeownership was advocated by Wagner against the collective ownership model of social housing of the Weimar-era which was actually represented by Bernard's father Martin Wagner, who also worked in Turkey for three years as an architect and urban planner, by his urban planning initiatives in the Weimar Berlin.³²⁸ Castillo draws attention that Martin Wagner's approach to social housing had also changed with his experience in Harvard University after his immigration to the USA in 1938. Bernard Wagner, in other respects, caught the second generation of social housing experience of Europe, the first of which was morphologically imported to the USA as the International Style after the *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* curated by Philip Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock in 1932 for the Museum of Modern Art in New York without its social concerns. Thereby, as symbolized in the individual praxis of Bernard Wagner as a housing specialist of the ECA in Germany and Turkey, the second generation of the workers' housing question not only morphology but also habitually was characterized by the USA.

This rhetoric of self-help helped to kill the social image of the modernist architecture over societal matter who utilized technology in the name of sheltering ordinary people through social housing. Thereby, the aesthetics of modern

³²⁶ James W. Butler, quoted in Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*.

³²⁷ Castillo, "Housing as Transnational Provocation in Cold War Berlin," 130.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

technology, indeed the US building technology, could be stroked off to a public level so long as ordinary man could make a hand on machine on its own, an instance which was contrary to the praxis of modern architecture realized in a collective manner of some shared values on social housing provided by the agency of the social policy planners, public health officials, urban planners and architects for the common good. In other words, Truman's Fair Deal against Roosevelt's New Deal indicated the clear cut divergence between prewar Keynesian housing production based on direct financing of state in public housing and the postwar privatized housing production by credit-oriented cooperative system, which also could be claimed as the primitive version of the mortgage economy.

In this sense, the postwar legacy of the cooperation, self-help and freedom discourse cultivated by the Marshall Plan and accompanied by the Keynesian liberalism on the manner of workers' housing production became the initial steps of the commercialization of social housing production, which is experienced today in the hands of property developers. Thereby, the Marshall Plan and related praxis of the UNPTA could objectively be accused of the commodification of housing on behalf of the so-called basic human rights of health, food and shelter.

2.3. Epilogue on Marshall Plan's Legacy on the Postwar Workers' Housing Discourse

Gary Cerstle sets the notion of Americanism on three pot stands; first, "the Americanization campaigns after the World War I which the [US] government sought to enforce an American identity;" second, "the implementations in the nation's largest firms of a new system of industrial relations, often called Fordism or the American Plan;" and third, "the national diffusion by mass cultural media."³²⁹

³²⁹ Gary Cerstle, *Working-class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960*, (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1994), 8.

Indeed, these three titles of Americanism summarizable as the political formation of the American identity, the economical formation of the American capitalism, and the habitual formation of the American culture formed the postwar discourse of workers' housing in all the Marshall Plan countries. Although the ideological, political, economical and social formation of the workers' housing question did not change from the Marshall Plan onwards, especially its topographical and morphological scale faced some metamorphosis in appearance. The topographical metamorphosis was the physical and economical merging of the country and city by decentralization accompanied by the morphological metamorphosis in course of the single-family detached housing to multi-family urban block.

In this regard, the superblock - *Unité d'Habitation* of Le Corbusier built upon request of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Town Planning of France became the prototype of the postwar cooperative housing in not only the participating countries but in all modernizing countries of the world in general in the subsequent years of the Marshall Plan. (See Figure 2.28). Utilizing architectural elements of the Soviet legacy in social housing within the multi-family block planned to house 1,600 residents, and offering standardized cells for nuclear families by promoting community life at the common activity floor called as "the interior road" which housed community services, *Unité d'Habitation* physically occupied the urban and suburban landscapes of the post-Marshall Plan world. As Le Corbusier himself wrote in a letter to the Minister of Reconstruction and Town Planning in 1952, the "interior road" housed a shopping center together with a fish, butcher, milk, fruit and vegetable shop, a bakery, a liquor and drugstore, a laundry and cleaning service, a pharmacy, a barbershop, a post office, a kindergarten, a hotel accommodation with a restaurant snack bar, and a roof garden with a small swimming pool for children where the community of the block could come together, all of which would help to live an affluent community life.³³⁰

³³⁰ Anon., "Unité d'habitation, Marseille, France, 1945," <http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/corbuweb/morpheus.aspx?sysId=13&IrisObjectId=5234&sysLa>



Figure 2.28. Unité d'Habitation designed by Le Corbusier in Marseille, 1952. Photo Credit: Paul Kozlowski, 1997. Source: Anon., "Unité d'habitation, Marseille, France, 1945," <http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr/corbuweb/morpheus.aspx?sysId=13&IrisObjectId=5234&sysLanguage=en-en&itemPos=58&itemCount=78&sysParentId=64&sysParentName=home> (accessed May 20, 2015).

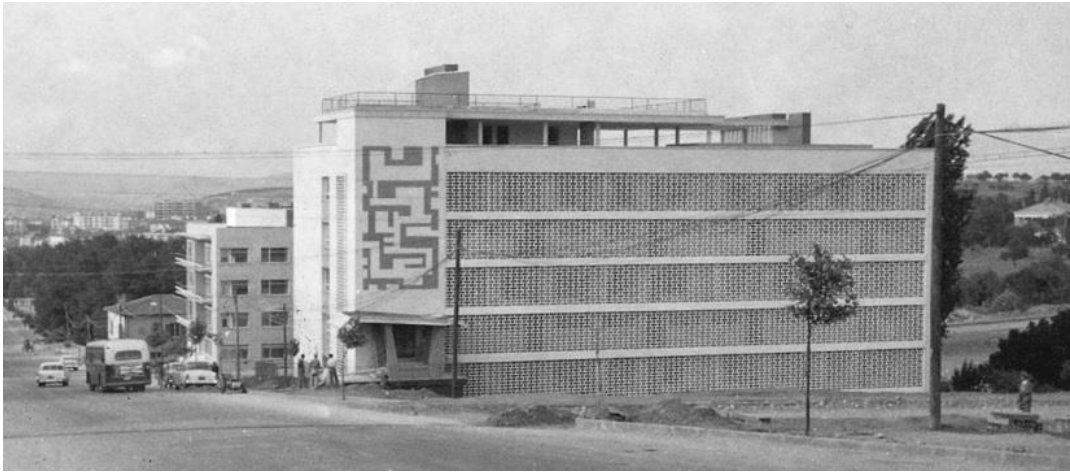


Figure 2.29 Cinnah 19 in Ankara designed by Nejat Erşin, finished in 1957. Source: Ali Cengizkan, "Kurgu/İnşaat/Yaşantı: Cinnah 19," April 16, 2013, <http://www.md1927.org.tr/icerik/nisan-2013/soylesi-cinnah-19-kurgu-insaat-yasanti---ali-cengizkan> (accessed June 12, 2015).

nguage=en-en&itemPos=58&itemCount=78&sysParentId=64&sysParentName=home (accessed May 20, 2015).

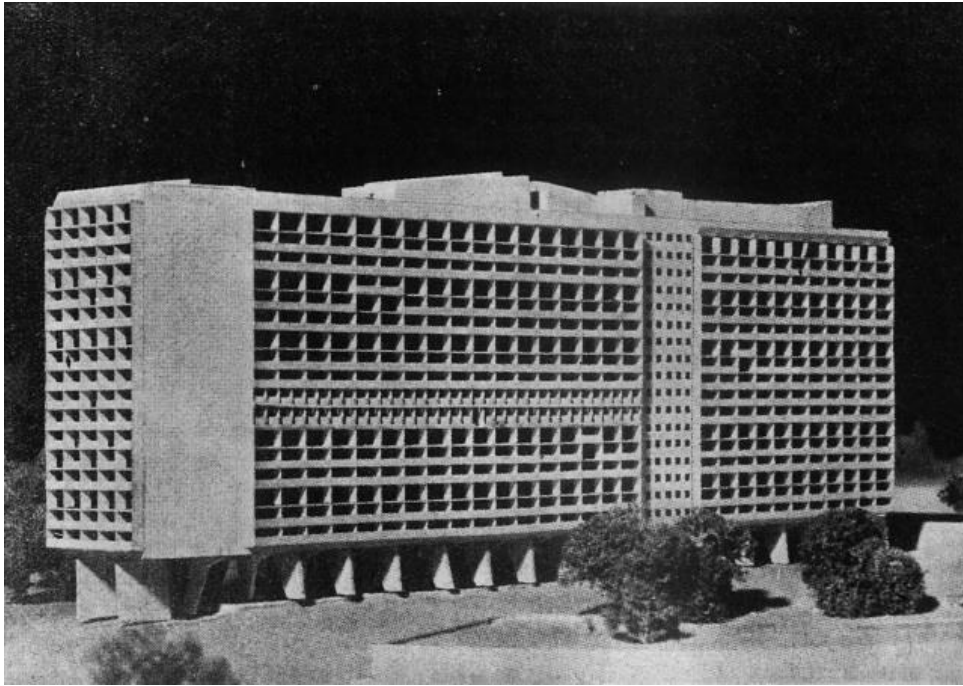


Figure 2.30 Unité d'Habitation designed by Le Corbusier in Berlin as part of the International Building Exhibition of 1957 (Interbau) funded by the ECA. Source: Anon., "Berlin'de Yabancı Mimarlar," *Arkitekt* 3 no.288, (1957): 126.



Figure 2.31 Pruitt-Igoe settlement in Saint-Louis, Missouri, USA. Source: Roman, "Episode 44: The Pruitt-Igoe Myth," <http://99percentinvisible.org/episode/episode-44-the-pruitt-igoe-myth/> (accessed June 14, 2015).

In this regard, *Unité d'Habitation* symbolized the metamorphosis of the topographical and morphological scale of workers' housing question since it offered the potential of a traditional community life in physical relation to work and city on a huge mass produced housing block instead of a housing settlement in a garden suburb. Also consistent with the industrialization of housing as part of prefabrication and standardization of architectural elements, *Unité d'Habitation* became the concrete example of the rationalized housing production under the economical program of the Marshall Plan.

Also equipped with modern households such as built-in electric range with oven, double sink with automatic garbage disposal, refrigerator and air conditioned by the central system,³³¹ *Unité d'Habitation*, or the Marseille Block commemorated with the name of its city, became the prototype as the sole and perfect depiction of the affordability and freedom of reinforced concrete of the modern but Americanized way of life in mass produced housing blocks from the 1950s up to end of the 1970s. When finished in 1952, the end year of the official program of the Marshall Plan, it was not only appraised in the other participating countries for a means of affordable and decent housing but also in the USA, even exported to the participating countries in the form of modern American hotels for seemingly European economical construction but actually mass tourism provided by the Pan American Airways. İstanbul Hilton Hotel became the solid example of the US' architectural export in the prototype of the Marseille Block after its completion by the SOM group which came to Turkey to prepare a report on the housing and urban condition of the country. Although there are few examples of the Marseille Block in Turkey built by workers' housing cooperatives like the superblock of the Building Cooperative of the Workers' of Meydanlar Directorate [Meydanlar Müdürlüğü İşçileri Yapı Kooperatifi] of 1957, which is well-known as Cinnah 19 today (See Figure 2.29), it could not characterize the urban landscape of Turkey as it did in Marseille. Instead, parceled apartment block became the prototype of the urban block in not only metropolitan areas but also in small cities in the country.

³³¹ Ibid.

However, Manuel Castells indicates for the case of France that low-cost social housing in the form of the superblock prototype or low-cost workers' housing in garden suburbs could not succeed in ending class struggle although aimed at making workers homeowners.³³² Since settled in urban peripheries deprived of necessary environmental and infrastructural opportunities, as Castells also argued,³³³ making workers homeowners by providing decent housing did not bring the social balance but resulted in growing social conflicts, actually, since the workers' housing question has been formed anew as a result of neoliberal capitalism. Indeed, after the canonic demolition of the housing blocks of Pruitt-Igoe settlement in 1972 (See Figure 2.31), which symbolized the postwar social housing experience of the USA in the form of a superblock, the century-old experience of social housing was abandoned. Instead, the garden city paradigm is being reproduced within the gated community settlements, which house apartments and detached houses together, in the world not excluding Turkey as well.

³³² Manuel Castells, quoted in Acar, "Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Konut," 35.

³³³ Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

MARSHALL PLAN IN TURKEY: THE RISE OF PLANNING AND HOUSING QUESTION WITHIN DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

It all began with the election that year. The Demokrat men came to Balgat and asked us what was needed here and told us they would do it when they were elected. They were brave to go against the government party. We all voted for them as the Halk men knew no more what to do about the prices then, and the new men did what they said They brought us this road and moved out the gendarmerie. Times have been good with us here. We are all Demokrat party here in Balgat now.³³⁴

Initially based on the political frame by the formerly declared the Truman Doctrine in 1947 by the USA, Turkey along with Greece became one of the focal countries militarily in the bipolar political atmosphere of the Cold War period. Despite initially rejected by the USA when applied to affiliate with the counterpart funds of the program, Turkey was accepted as the 16th country to utilize the Marshall Plan economical and financial assistance although not physically destroyed by the World War II, the catastrophic condition of which was justified for the realization of the Marshall Plan.³³⁵ However, the economical role initially casted for Turkey by the US was to produce agricultural foodstuff and raw materials for the industries developing in the Marshall Plan Europe at the time³³⁶ instead of

³³⁴ Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*, (New York: The Free Press, 1958), 31.

³³⁵ Oral Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1979), 47.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

reaching to the state of high industrialization as planned for the other participating countries for postwar reconstruction.

However, what was later foreseen for Turkey as well as the other “third world” or “developing” countries as termed by the Marshall Planners was mainly the notion of development in lieu of reconstruction. Justified on the wartime poor economical condition of Turkey, the economical development of country in service for the Marshall Plan’s goals for the European reconstruction was programmed in Turkey in terms of agricultural, industrial, infrastructural and physical development that resulted in the regional disparities as a result of regional planning initiatives and the birth of the “housing crisis” by migration from country to city.

Within this context, first, the origins and application of the Marshall Plan introducing the development and democracy discourse to the ideological, political, economical, social and cultural scene of Turkey, which also played a significant part in the formation of the workers’ housing question in Turkey will be discussed in the subchapter 3.1 under two sections. In this regard, the making of the Marshall Plan and the indoctrination of the discourse of development in Turkey will be dealt under the section 3.1.1. Afterwards, the concretization of the Fordist planning in terms of industrialization and urbanization in the name of development will be inquired under the section 3.1.2. Hereby, the economical framework giving birth to the regional planning which led to decentralization and the emergence of the “housing crisis” of the subject period will be referred next to the solution of the scheme of low-cost housing which was promoted nationwide by the government, academic circles and foreign experts in detail. In the second subchapter 3.2, the foreign expertise promoted for portraying the situation of housing in Turkey during the 1950s by preparing reports on the solution of the “housing crisis” but significantly aimed at advising the American way of planning and housing defining the need of workers’ housing both quantitatively and qualitatively, and hence, became instrumental in the postwar formation of the workers’ housing question in Turkey will be negotiated.

3.1. From Development to Democracy: Introduction of the Marshall Plan in Turkey

The footsteps of the Marshall Plan started to be heard already in 1946 albeit the political role given to Turkey in the application of the program was clarified with the declaration of the Truman Doctrine. Declared as a remedy for solving the economical problems of Turkey, taking advantage of the domestic debts and foreign financial assistance had been concluded in the budget plans for the year 1946.³³⁷

Before the agreement of the Republican People's Party (CHP) on the participation of Turkey to the European Recovery Program in July 1948, two indebteding agreements, one of them being the Lend-Lease Act agreed in May 1946 that paved the way for international free trade in Turkey was signed between the USA and Turkey. However, Turkey's foreign indebteding to the USA could not better Turkey's economical situation, on the contrary grew steadily since the Truman Doctrine generated compulsory importation of military equipment from the USA, and thus dollar indebteding in exchange for the military armament of Turkey as Sander put forward.³³⁸ Indeed, although Turkey did not participate in the war until the last year, her war efforts covered huge military armament as if she could enter the war at any moment.³³⁹

In this direction, an important political development launching Turkey's postwar collaboration with the USA was her ceasing chromium shipment to Germany in 1944 upon the request of the USA and the United Kingdom on pain of the financial assistance of those countries to Turkey, and cutting-off the economical and political relations between Germany.³⁴⁰ As Tören also set forth, the alliance between Turkey and the Allied Forces towards the end of the war symbolized

³³⁷ Ibid., 44.

³³⁸ Ibid., 45.

³³⁹ Cem Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti: Tarihi ve İdeolojisi*, (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2013), 4.

³⁴⁰ Cemil Koçak, quoted in Tolga Tören, "Yeniden Yapılanan," 78.

Turkey's political efforts to guarantee her place in the postwar economical scenario.³⁴¹

Beyond the self-request of Turkey for the American financial assistance, three committees of the American official experts came to Turkey after the introduction of the Truman Doctrine to evaluate and prepare reports to present to the American Congress on the country's economical situation and the application fields of aid by the financial assistance of the USA.³⁴² Although, these reports noted the American financial assistance was not crucial for Turkey at the time since aid was not in purpose for national economical developments as mentioned before,³⁴³ the introduction of the Marshall Plan by George C. Marshall on the basis of the European integration to ensure the American national interests could not exclude Turkey along with Greece as the Marshall Plan was programmed in collaboration with the political scenario of the Truman Doctrine. Likewise, the Turkish officials, journalists and intellectuals appraised the Marshall Plan beyond its economical framework but noted that the plan was part of the "political defense" scenario required against the political isolation of Turkey, which was eager to adapt her political program in parallel to the American democracy after the war, and hence, not only geographical but political integration of Turkey along with Europe to the postwar democratic and progressive states.³⁴⁴ In this regard, the first foreign aid agreement to assist Turkey was signed between the USA and Turkey in July 1947, and approved in September 1947 in order to apply the Truman Doctrine. Sander

³⁴¹ Tören quotes İsmet İnönü emphasized the role of Turkey to help "the family of nations" ranking as a subsidiary member, and to be able to found a new regime by the cooperation of the grand states in the opening speech of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) in January 1944. For more details see Tolga Tören, "Yeniden Yapılanan Dünya Ekonomisinde Marshall Planı: Türkiye Örneği," Unpublished Masters Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2006, 78.

³⁴² Ibid., 45.

³⁴³ Ibid., 47.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 48.

states that this agreement was a cornerstone in terms of the agreements and conflicts between the US-Turkish cooperation to last for years.³⁴⁵

The introduction of the Marshall Plan to Turkey symbolizes two important breaks in modern Turkish economy-political history initializing the economical liberalization of the country and political transition to the American democracy. It opened the way for modern capital accumulation by the grand bourgeoisie of traders and senior landowners who grew stronger during the war while the focus on state planning in the single-party Republican period gave place to the promotion of property ownership at different scales of the society. Planning, in this case, became popularized but diminishing the share of the state with the reinforcement of private capital in the country and the entrance of the foreign capital to Turkey. The economical liberalization of the country, indeed, corresponded to the integration of Turkey into the free trade system, the rules of which was set by the USA, but under the pretence of the discourse of modernization in politics, economy and culture. Development, in this sense, formed the main tool of modernization diffused into the areas of economy at the first place as part of industry and agriculture, politics as part of public administration, social policy as part of social security, but also physical planning in terms of infrastructure and urbanization.

Actually, the political scenario characterized by the notions of democracy and self-help as part of the Cold War discourse produced by the USA against the political hegemony of the USSR and the Eastern Bloc or “the war of democracy against dictatorship,” led the liberalization process in Turkey as well as the other participating countries. In this direction, the foundations of the democracy discourse were started to be laid already before DP, the period of which was not only started by the liberalization process within CHP but also within different sections of the society. The single-party regime in Turkey could not stand against the cooperation and democracy discourse based in reality on monetary

³⁴⁵ Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*, 26.

liberalization especially after its entrance to the UN as a founding member as also put forward by Çavdar.³⁴⁶ The foundation of DP was even supported by İnönü as a requirement of “freedom” and “democracy” tied to the needs of the society.³⁴⁷ In this sense, İnönü’s 19 May speech in 1945 heralding the country’s progression to democracy is notable.³⁴⁸

Çavdar claims the oppositions towards the single-party regime came significantly from peasants and workers since the Labour Law of 1936 and the National Security Law of 1940 empowered workers and peasants eliminating the conditions of social security along with the rising cost of life and black market.³⁴⁹ Attached to peasants and workers, traders and industrialists released support of CHP because of the Wealth Tax of 1942 likewise senior landowners who suffered from the Act of Land Provision for Peasants after 1945. On the other hand, the banning of the right to strike by CHP although the Law of Trade Unions was passed in 1946, which legalized organization in labour unions, was effective on the oppositions of the working class to the single-party regime characterized by its promotion of “classless society.” Widely accepted as one of the most important reasons accelerating the political transition from the single-party regime to the multi-party regime by the foundation of DP and its consent by public opinion,³⁵⁰ the debate during the period of 1946-1950 on the right to strike was the precursor of the so-called welfare state of the working class during DP’s power.³⁵¹ DP utilized the the right to strike as an important slogan of democracy to gain support of workers before the 1946 elections. The public will for the public governance as

³⁴⁶ Tefik Çavdar, *Türkiye’nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1839-1950*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2008), 446.

³⁴⁷ Feroz Ahmad, quoted in Tören, “Marshall Planı,” 81.

³⁴⁸ Çavdar, *Türkiye’nin Demokrasi Tarihi*, 454., Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, 7.

³⁴⁹ Çavdar, *Türkiye’nin Demokrasi Tarihi*, 447-448.

³⁵⁰ See for instance TÇavdar, *Türkiye’nin Demokrasi Tarihi*, Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, Kemal Sülker, *Türkiye Sendikacılık Tarihi*, (İstanbul: TÜSTAV, 2004), Aziz Çelik, *Vesayetten Siyasete Türkiye’de Sendikacılık (1946-1967)*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), Ahmet Makal, *Ameleden İşçiye: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Emek Tarihi Çalışmaları*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011).

³⁵¹ Çavdar, *Türkiye’nin Demokrasi Tarihi*, 450.

the motto of democracy, concretized the support of large masses in Turkey for the introduction of the welfare state to Turkey.

Within this framework, the period after 1946 faced the foundation of Ministry of Labour, the Labour Employment Agency and the Workers' Insurance Agency as part of the development of social security for the construction of the postwar welfare state in Turkey, nevertheless, attached to the efforts of CHP by Recep Peker Government to the Bretton Woods system based on free international trade. However, as Eroğul claims, the process of transition to the multi-party regime in Turkey, the formal democracy" as he calls, was realized by the suppression of the left for political and economical liberalization and democracy.³⁵² Still having the credentials in world's so-called "freedom," "justice," and "peace," the ideological framework institutionalized by the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights of 1948 after the official foundation of the UN became the official manifestation of democracy setting the minimums of work, health and shelter for society as the essentials of a democratic regime based on individual and societal liberalization next to political organization, and symbolized the essentials of the welfare state. However, DP went into the orbit of the Marshall Plan manifesting individual and societal human rights as a must for liberalization and democracy next to the promotion of organization in political parties, labour unions and associations, and foundation of cooperatives already in its political program of 1946. However, came to power in 1950 by courtesy of its campaign for improving the economical conditions of the low-income sections of the society but notably the working class, DP never legalized the right to strike during its power, although it battle-cried for the right to strike.³⁵³ Instead, it pursued the single-party regime's "classless society" but under the cover of workers' rights and welfare as an essential element of the postwar welfare state.

³⁵² Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, 6.

³⁵³ Makal, *Ameleden İşçiye*, 278-283.

Eroğul's conceptualization of formal democracy is to the point to explain the economy-political framework of the Turkey with the introduction of the Marshall Plan. Eroğul addresses CHP after 1946 replied to the public opposition for freedom and democracy starting from legalizing scientific and administrative autonomy of universities next to leading up student organizations and taking footsteps for freedom of press under political suppression of DP's liberalization and democracy program full of promises to the society.³⁵⁴ Although negotiated already in the immediate postwar years and agreed by CHP in July 1948, DP carried the flag of the formal democracy with the realization of the goals of the Marshall Plan for the integration of Turkey to modern capitalism.

3.1.1. The Making of the Marshall Plan and the Indoctrination of Development in lieu of Reconstruction

The justification of the Marshall Plan was a by-product of the political scenario drawn by the Truman Doctrine as mentioned before. Being a key country along with Greece, Italy and France where the class consciousness within the working class was growing especially in leftist labour unions after the war, Turkey's similar unrest within the working class, but her historical and geographical ties to the USSR became the reasoning of the Truman Doctrine to supply military armament of Greece and Turkey at the side of the USA against the USSR in exchange for 400 million dollars.

Sander stresses two motives behind the application of the Truman Doctrine.³⁵⁵ First was the physical development of the link between İskenderun and Erzurum since İskenderun Port was regarded as a strategic center for supplying military assistance for the USA and to bomb the industrial and petroleum reserves in the southern section of the USSR in a possible warfare between those two countries. Second was to decrease in numbers the Turkish army's troops in exchange for more mobility and firepower by more armament. Sander summarizes Turkey's

³⁵⁴ Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, 19.

³⁵⁵ Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*, 24-25.

approach towards the assistance by the Truman Doctrine that the cooperation between the USA and Turkey was acclaimed to make Turkey “an advanced patrol of the modern world,” as well as “the warranty to secure the multi-party regime” with a quotation below:

The agreement signed between Turkey and the USA will provide the democratic development of the country, which was accelerated under the guidance of İnönü, make political parties beneficial for the the nation next to ensuring any kind of human right as part of mutual comprehension and mentality of cooperation, and ensure the settlement and development of the democratic regime in real terms as well as it will guarantee the securing, protecting, economically developing the country.³⁵⁶

Albeit the agreement as part of the Truman Doctrine signed in 12 July 1947 was the first attempt in this direction, it did not propose aid for economical development but rather meant unilateral military aid from the USA for the armament of Turkey. Indeed, the long-term negotiations between the USA on the participation of Turkey to the Marshall Plan conducted by the Turkish Foreign Minister Necmeddin Sadak for 615 million dollars-worth material aid initially resulted in the rejection of Turkey based on the aforementioned three reports of the American experts claiming that Turkey “was capable of contributing to the reconstruction of Europe,” “possessed sufficient gold and foreign currency for the coining 15 months,” “had not sustained destruction during the War,” and “Turkish industry was fairly well developed, and output had increased considerably over prewar levels,” thereby, could manage to finance her own development.³⁵⁷ Sander quotes Sadak that these 615 million dollars aid was planned as part of a development plan for Turkey to increase the raw materials production in terms of

³⁵⁶ E. İzzet Benice, quoted in *Ibid.*, 29. Translation of the quote from Turkish to English belongs to me. The original of the quote is: “Türkiye ile Amerika arasında imzalanan anlaşma vatanın emniyetini, korunmasını, ekonomik alanda kuvvetlendirilmesini temin edeceği gibi, İnönü rehberliğinde hızlandırılan demokratik inkişafta memleketin kalkınmasını, partilerin karşılıklı bir anlayış ve işbirliği zihniyeti içinde millet ve her türlü insanlık hakkının Teminat altında tutulmasına faydalı olmasını sağlayacak ve gerçek anlamında demokratik rejimin yerleşmesini, gelişmesini temin edecektir.”

³⁵⁷ Robert D. Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic: A Case Study in National Development*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 137-141.

either agriculture or mining to a sufficient level required for the European reconstruction.³⁵⁸

Soon after Sadak's declaration of the rejection of Turkey to participate in the Marshall Plan in February 1948, the Economic Cooperation Agreement was signed between the USA and Turkey in 4 July 1948. Followingly, the US Representative in Europe for the ECA Averell Harriman, and the director of the OEEC Paul Hoffmann came to Turkey to control the programs as part of the Marshall Plan planned for Turkey.³⁵⁹ As the Chief of the ECA Mission in Turkey Russell Dorr later addressed, Turkey's participation to the Marshall Plan was valued for her position in the European reconstruction.³⁶⁰ However, Turkey was not in an economical position in terms of her agricultural and mining reserves next to industrial production to be able to work for the European reconstruction. Although progressed to a level of industrial production after the First Five Year Plan of 1934, she was still a pre-industrialized country or a non-industrialized country within the scope of what Gideon Sjöberg argued as not accommodating the physical organization of different functions of producing, living, storing and selling. This could essentially be provided on the basis of physical planning which Turkey lacked the necessary infrastructural development to survive a modern industrial country accompanied by a sufficient agricultural and industrial capacity.

Therefore, as the Marshall Planner Charles Kindleberger stated, the American policy regarding the Marshall Plan in Southern Italy, Greece and Turkey became "development" rather than "construction."³⁶¹ In order to assist the development of Turkey in service for the European reconstruction, first Max Thornburg, the American engineer, the Representative of the Twentieth Century Fund of the USA

³⁵⁸ Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*, 46.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁶⁰ Quoted in Burçak Keskin-Kozat, "Negotiating an Institutional Framework for Turkey's Marshall Plan: The Conditions and Limits of Power Inequalities," in *Turkey in the Cold War: Ideology and Culture*, ed. Cangül Örnek and Çağdaş Üngör (New York: Palgrave&Macmillan, 2013), 202.

³⁶¹ Kindleberger, *Marshall Plan Days*, 96.

and the Director of the Bureau for the Economical Survey of Turkey, came to advice on the field of application of the American aid for the development program of Turkey.³⁶² Tören summarizes that the report named *Turkey: An Economical Appraisal* pointed out the transition to a free market system while blemishing statism for the cause of underdevelopment, thereby, offered not the development of heavy industry under the guidance of state but a gradual industrial development under the leadership of the USA to offer new markets for the American industrialists. Moreover, the American lifestyle was mentioned in the Thornburg Report to be promoted in Turkey with the suggestion to take the attention of the American tourists in Turkey.³⁶³

Sander states the ECA Mission in Turkey started to operate assistance in Turkey after 1949 mostly concerning the agricultural development through mechanization and fertilization.³⁶⁴ Moreover, development of mining via investment on chromium, production which was an important mine in terms of the American strategic aims, was also noted. After Turkey was allocated 10 million dollars for the first three months, a Marshall Plan mission from the USA came to Turkey to supervise the aid program.³⁶⁵ The net aid provided for Turkey for the first annual program of Marshall Plan, i.e. the fiscal year 1948/1949 had been reported 28 million dollars until then.³⁶⁶ However, Sander points out that the ECA aid in the beginning resulted in economical inequilibrium, and the IBRD appeared at the scene for a new aid program.³⁶⁷

Within this context, an American mission was established under the leadership of James M. Barker in September 1949 by the IBRD upon the request of the Turkish

³⁶² Tören, "Marshall Planı," 125.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 125-132.

³⁶⁴ Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*, 51.

³⁶⁵ Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic*, 137-141.

³⁶⁶ Anon., "A Report on Recovery Progress and United States Aid," (Washington: The Economic Cooperation Administration, 1949). <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=div&did=History.Recovery.i0001&isize=M> (accessed March 10, 2015).

³⁶⁷ Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*, 52.

government to conduct an economical survey in Turkey.³⁶⁸ Commemorated with the name of the leader of the board of the American experts came to Turkey in the summer of 1950 immediately after the election of DP for the government, the Barker Report was aimed at providing the basis for the development of Turkey to increase “the standard of life of the society” as stated by the Director of the IBRD and Barker himself. Financed by the collaboration of IBRD and Turkish government, its preparation was agreed in 1949 by Şemsettin Günaltay Government, and DP came to power in 14 May 1950 asked the board to continue its mission.³⁶⁹

A letter by Barker to the Directorate of the IBRD in Washington attached as a preface to the report published in Turkish in 1951 indicates the Barker Report suggested the base of a substantial program for Turkey, “a brave and development-lover nation,” and was prepared in close collaboration with the ECA Mission in Turkey, and on behalf of the successive requests from not only CHP but DP as well.³⁷⁰ The aim of the Barker Report was detailed as to prepare a long-term policy within the scope of enabling the suggestions of the IBRD to Turkey to conduct an extensive survey on the Turkish economy. In this regard, major economical sectors could be suggested by the IBRD for investment, methods and measures would be taken to increase the productivity of agricultural and industrial production, and a public administration policy and organizational mechanism suitable with Turkey’s development goals would be provided.³⁷¹

The Barker Report symbolized the development and democracy discourse of the Marshall Plan since it suggested reaching development in terms of increasing production by rationalization and productivity and via education and health as

³⁶⁸ Anon., *Türkiye Ekonomisi Kalkınma Programı için Tahlil ve Tavsiyeler*, (Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1951), X.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, IX-XI.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VI-X.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, X.

important fields in enhancement of productivity by improving standard of life.³⁷² In this sense, administrative organization and technical improvement of administrative staff was given importance, and discussed in a separate section, which resulted later in the foundation of TODAİE for guiding public administration in Turkey. Suggestion of the report was targeted in two aspects; first, to reach a solid program on the economical development of Turkey, eliminating barriers in front of development and setting up an economical program “suitable with the country’s needs and sources.” Thereby, transition to the free market system institutionalized by the Marshall Plan was ensured noting the importance of state administration.

Although the Barker Report mainly focused on agricultural development next to training technical, administrative and business staff for this development, it generated industrial and infrastructural development in Turkey. Robert D. Robinson, a member of the US Institute of Current World Affairs who was a member of the committee that prepared the Barker Report, summarizes the Marshall Plan’s program on Turkey as such:

The over-all purpose of Turkey's participation initially was to increase Turkish production to a point where she could, in exchange for manufactured products, supply food and certain raw materials to Western Europe, which was then in the throes of its postwar reconstruction effort. By the end of the 1949-1950 fiscal year, American economic assistance to Turkey totaled \$180 million. Major projects on which money was spent had to do with the supply of modern farm equipment, expansion of irrigation, development of the meat packing and fishing industries, modernization of the coal mines, improvement of the road and rail nets, reorganization of the steel industry, modernization of iron and chrome mines, expansion of salt and cement production, the purchase of some consumption goods (notably petroleum), and an ambitious technical assistance program.³⁷³

The significance of the Barker Report in the formation of the workers’ housing question in Turkey lies on the entire programming of the Marshall Plan’s themes regarding workers’ housing at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales. Indeed, apart from its attention to the themes of productivity and

³⁷² Ibid., 15-16.

³⁷³ Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic*, 137-141.

rationalization, the Barker Report drew the main lines of infrastructural planning in Turkey in relation to energy sources and free trade by modernization of highways and construction of new ports, which resulted in the regional transformation of Turkey's topography leading to regional disparities and migration. Moreover, the Barker Report foresaw construction sector regarding building materials as a promising industrial field in the economical development of Turkey,³⁷⁴ which would define the manner of building production in the name of rationalizing and industrializing building processes, therefore change the manner of workers' housing production regarding its morphology. On the other hand, setting health and education as essentials of the economical development plan, guiding institutionalization of state planning and regulation and the development of social security next to pointing out technical assistance programs regarding education and health for the sustainability of the plan, the Barker Report framed the program and themes of the Marshall Plan on the formation of workers' housing question although not literally mentioned the importance of workers' housing in its program.

After the signing of the Marshall Plan agreement between the USA and Turkey for financial and technical assistance, another report on the condition of highway infrastructure in Turkey had been prepared by Hilts, the Deputy General Director of the US Federal Highway Administration, in 1948.³⁷⁵ Based on this report prepared within the scope of the Marshall Plan aid, 1.7 million dollars from the counterpart fund were utilized for the application of this report in the first year.³⁷⁶ Offering modernization of highway infrastructure in Turkey, the Hilts Report set the base for the topographical transformation of Turkey in relation to regional disparities by migration from countryside to cities, and hence, giving birth to the "housing crisis" of the 1950s onwards.

³⁷⁴ Anon., *Türkiye Ekonomisi Kalkınma Programı*, 17.

³⁷⁵ Tören, "Marshall Planı," 132.

³⁷⁶ Sami Güven, quoted in *Ibid.*

In June 1957, the total aid supplied by the financial and technical assistance programs started with the Marshall Plan reached 800 million dollars especially in the field of development.³⁷⁷ Robert D. Robinson states the participation and influence of the USA in Turkey throughout the Marshall Plan program were “outstanding in agricultural and industrial development and in various aspects of public administration,³⁷⁸ which actually shifted the manner of production, consumption and reproduction of labour force and everyday life in Turkey from then on.

3.1.2. The Bread and Butter of Development from Country to City: Fordist Planning for Industrialization and Urbanization

The postwar years under the Marshall Plan’s financial and technical assistance realized industrialization at its best in its short history in Turkey. The so-called third world countries in the Middle East, Far East, Africa and Latin America which had not faced the Fordist industrialism yet, embraced high industrialization promoting the rationalist production regime for the welfare of their national economies next to scaling up free enterprise, international trade and consumerism under the political and economical framework of the Marshall Plan accompanied by the UN technical assistance. Fordism, although its political and ideological framework was introduced already before the Marshall Plan to Turkey, was programmed by the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan for the productivity of development, which altered the manner of labouring and sheltering at many scales.

Economical and physical planning at different scales from industry to agriculture, infrastructure to housing, in this regard, were taken into consideration for the rapid development of Turkey in relation to the program of the Marshall Plan. Although economical planning was not a new profession in Turkey with the First Industrial Plan of 1934 and the Second Industrial Plan of 1936, the principles of regional

³⁷⁷ *Ayn Tarihi*, 3 June 1957.

³⁷⁸ Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic*, 318.

planning such as the notions of industrial and agricultural location were included in the development plans prepared within the economical framework of the Marshall Plan bringing forth the housing question next to regional development.

The governmental efforts on the economical and political integration of Turkey already started in the wartime were focused on the economical development of the country. In this regard, Turkish officials especially starting with Saraçoğlu Government in 1944 initiated development plans for postwar Turkey.³⁷⁹ Since rural development was principally aimed at all economical planning efforts in Turkey up to the World War II, being originally an industrial development plan indeed, the Urgent Five-Year Industrial Plan of 1946 highlighted industrialization but of agriculture for the economical development of postwar Turkey.³⁸⁰ In this sense, industrial development regarding power plants for more agricultural cultivation was aimed together with infrastructural development based on the electrification of the country and the construction of new railways, ports and irrigation systems.³⁸¹ Although heavy industrialization of the country was proposed in the plan, the political intercourse between the USA and Turkey which took its turn after the introduction of the Truman Doctrine resulted in the preparation for a new development plan in parallel to the desire of domestic and foreign circles since financing for heavy industrialization was not approved by the foreign assistance.³⁸²

Tekeli and İlkin addresses the proposal for the new development plan for Turkey was completed in November 1947 in exchange for the Urgent Five-Year Industrial Plan of 1946, which focused on state initiative instead of private initiative for industrial and rural development attached to infrastructural development in the name of “a postwar development plan.”³⁸³ As the Minister of Commerce addressed

³⁷⁹ İlhan Tekeli; Selim İlkin, *Savaş Sonrası Ortamında*, p. 1.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

foreign assistance was required next to the available loans in the country for economical initiatives, the development plan of 1947 was significant in not only the economical but also the political transition to the multi-party regime in Turkey characterizing the economical liberalization of the county.³⁸⁴

The Development Plan of 1947 substituted the 1946 plan as more suitable to the needs of the postwar Turkey, agreed to be assisted by the Truman Doctrine at the time, aiming to integrate into the economical framework of the postwar Europe. Casted the role of food and raw materials supplier for the European reconstruction, Turkey's development was concretized upon agricultural and infrastructural development rather than heavy industrial development. Indeed, the development of cement industry as essential for the development of the country next to the development of iron-and-steel industry was offered likewise it was suggested in the latter Barker Report of 1950.

Although the 1947 Development Plan in Turkey was consistent with the postwar development program of the Marshall Plan Turkey since it was prepared with the aim to be financially assisted by the USA, it could not succeed in the participation of Turkey in the ERP.³⁸⁵ In this regard, Tekeli and İlkin mentions CHP government had to revise the plan not only because the popular dissatisfaction based on DP's blaming the plan for being an instrument of Turkey's rejection from the American aid but also because 615 million dollars aid requested by the plan had to be decreased to participate in the ERP.³⁸⁶ In this direction, the sections of the five-year plan related to the aid for industry, mineral sources and energy, which required 450 million dollars aid, was included in a new ten-year program whereas the ten-year agricultural development offered in the plan was revised as the Five-Year Agricultural Development Plan. However, Tekeli and İlkin notes the Development Plan of 1947, albeit the efforts taken for the integration of Turkey

³⁸⁴ Tahsin Bekir Balta, quoted in *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁸⁵ Tekeli and İlkin notes the development plan was named as "Turkish Recovery Program for its English edition." *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

into the ERP program could not be applied but became a reference for the subsequent governments.³⁸⁷ Moreover, it foresaw and formed the base of Turkey's development under the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan.

The development program of Turkey, in this regard, after the introduction of Truman's Point Four Program of 1949, which programmatized the technical assistance and aid to the under-developed countries based on the Act for International Development to "[c]ontribute to raising standards of living, creating new sources of wealth, increasing productivity and expanding purchasing power,"³⁸⁸ was financially and technically assisted by the ECA until 1951 and the MSA afterwards for the production and distribution of food and raw materials, the program of which was separately manifested by the Thornburg, Hilts and Barker reports. As Price noted, Turkey with Denmark was regarded successful in agricultural development by the assistance of the ECA which helped surveying inaccessible rich land not open to agriculture next to the development of road infrastructure related to those lands and supplied tractors.³⁸⁹ The import of modern tractors and other agricultural equipment together with US-made fertilizers and chemical pesticides was utilized by the counterpart funds of the Marshall Plan for agricultural productivity whereas the opening of new mines next to the development of ports such as Zonguldak was assisted to support the enhancement of production and distribution of coal and other mineral sources such as chromium to the participating countries in relation to the free market regime (See Figure 3.32 and Figure 3.33).

Within this context, productivity, the favored theme of the Marshall Plan for reconstruction and development but Fordism as well for the mass organization of everyday life, was central to the postwar development of Turkey in the light of the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance likewise the other participating

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁸⁸ Price, *The Marshall Plan*, 135.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 299.



Figure 3.32 “Turkish farmers, using ECA-financed machinery, opened huge new areas to productive agriculture.” Source: Price, *The Marshall Plan*, 145.



● A Turkish draftsman works on plans for new mines

Figure 3.33 A Turkish draftsman depicted for the Marshall Plan’s propaganda. Source: The online album of William Averell Harriman “The Marshall Plan at the Mid-Mark.”

countries. The Fordist notions of rationalization and productivity in industrial production were promoted not only in agriculture by mechanization for agricultural productivity but also for industries covering building and housing for rationalizing construction processes. Foreign technical expertise was operated in developing rationalization of industrial and agricultural production as well as mining, and suggested plans for enhancing productivity in those fields. The institutionalization of productivity in agriculture and industries resulted in the foundation of the National Productivity Agency of Turkey (MPM) with the initial name Vekâletlerarası Prodüktivite Komitesi (VPK) in 1957 by the collaboration of the American and Turkish bureaucrats and experts.³⁹⁰

Mass production for mass consumption laid the foundations of the agricultural mechanization and infrastructural modernization of the country. Like its contemporaries in the Marshall Plan Europe, DP government in Turkey accelerated highway construction to link countryside to cities for the transportation of agricultural products and raw materials.³⁹¹ At the same time, the first private tractor factory was opened in Turkey by the Marshall Plan counterpart funds, which led the mechanization of agriculture in turn. However, industrialization also gained importance regarding iron-and-steel industry at first hand but sprawled towards other industries including construction industry with increasing demand on building materials.

Printed media and radio mentioned every day the opening ceremonies of new factories and industrial complexes by DP officials in parallel with new highway constructions at the same time with the other participating countries. For instance the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes declared 1953 to public from the balcony of DP headquarters in Çanakkale in 22 June the openings of dozens of factories in various parts of the country with proud after mentioning the need for

³⁹⁰ For detailed information on VPK and the latter MPM see Derviş Kılınçkaya, “Marshall Planı ve Milli Prodüktivite Merkezi'nin Kuruluşu,” *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 18, (2013): 131-146.

³⁹¹ Feroz Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2005),139-140.

reconstruction work to recover the devastations of the recent earthquake happened in Çanakkale.³⁹² This was also, indeed, the enunciation of the urbanization of Çanakkale to be realized by the fattening building sector.

Within this context, not only the building of Fordism in terms of the formation of modern capitalism by modern Turkish industry and economy, but also the spatialization of Fordism in Turkey is the legacy of the Marshall Plan. Indeed, the character of the modern urbanization of Turkey, still being experienced today, was introduced in the Marshall Plan years putting aside the first planning efforts of the single-party Republican period, which programmatized the manner of modern urban planning in Turkey under the German planning and architectural expertise based principally on the zoning principle. However, with the introduction of regional planning in Turkey grounded on the specification of production and energy planning at the national scale attached to the countrywide infrastructural development aided by the Marshall Plan financial and technical assistance, the Fordist urbanization of Turkey was started to realize with the spatialization of mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption from country to city. Although accepted as the modernization of country by the development of public administration in terms of regional planning, the initial attempts of regional development under the guidance of the American expertise, an which would gain the utmost importance in the 1960s, resulted in the physical and social reconstruction of the country lining a clear break between the pre-1946 and post-1946 period.

In this regard, the modern physical planning programmed by the Marshall Plan in Turkey realized the economical and social conflict between country and city by centralizing upon the notions of rationalization and productivity at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales, as part of the discourse of modernization of industrial and agricultural production. Therefore, the country-city conflict cultivated by regional disparities and migration starting with 1950s

³⁹² *Ayn Tarihi*, 18 June 1953.

Turkey, the conflict of which the modern capitalist states having experienced in the mid-19th century onwards and produced physical solutions covering housing planning, resulted in the emergence of the "housing crisis," i.e. formed the housing question but indeed the workers' housing question in Turkey.

3.1.2.1. The Footsteps of Regional Planning: Urbanization, Decentralization and the Emergence of the "Housing Crisis"

Tekeli and İlkin claims that postwar development plan of 1946 drew apart from the Second Industrial Plan of 1936 since it proposed regional development based on the planning of industrial location of large industrial plants in relation to energy sources.³⁹³ Although discussions on regional planning started to gain importance towards the end of the 1950s and accelerated by the official initiatives by public administrators for the development of regional planning in Turkey, it formed an important field of the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance together with the UN technical assistance programs regarding the location of industrial and agricultural production areas together with mining regions.

However, since regional planning was not programmatized in accordance with state regulation and organization for the local economical and social development of a region, instead based solely on the physical planning of the location of production in service for mass distribution raw materials and food sources, regional planning in Turkey during the Marshall Plan was not utilized as to eliminate the economical and social conflicts between countryside and cities, but rather dramatized causing regional disparities as a result of regional concentration of production, and hence, population.

In this regard, whereas Zonguldak Subarea was in focus for energy supply as it was since the single-party Republican period, Marmara Region remained on the agenda on part of industrial development concentrating on the perimeters of the line extending from Eskişehir to İstanbul, which historically guided the industrial

³⁹³ Tekeli and İlkin, *Savaş Sonrası Ortamında*, 3.

modernization of Turkey. Likewise, Çukurova Region was targeted for the supply of agricultural crops in relation to İskenderun Port. Although dates to the afterwards of the official end of the Marshall Plan, regional projects based on production and energy sources was mostly assisted by the counterpart funds of the MSA, NATO, IBRD, ILO and the UN technical assistance programs by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FOA), World Health Organization (WHO) especially after the technical assistance agreement numbered 6114 signed in 8 July 1953.

In this regard, the IBRD provided financial and technical assistance especially for the construction of dams and ports.³⁹⁴ On the other hand, the UN technical assistance together with the American official expertise covered the education of engineers and administrators for the construction projects and controlling of the productivity attained by the assisted production, distribution and consumption. For instance, Prof. Lloyd Rodwin, the first director of the Center for Urban and Regional Studies established at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology³⁹⁵ and a technical expert working for the European Productivity Agency and the UN, came to Turkey in 1960 to prepare a working paper on regional planning in Turkey regarding the production sites.³⁹⁶ During the same time, the planning of Zonguldak subarea was pretested as well as the preparations were finished with the planned budget for Marmara Pilot Planning.

³⁹⁴ The loans provided by the IBRD were planned for the construction and reconditioning of important ports such as Salıpazarı, Haydarpaşa, Alsancak, Samsun and İskenderun. For more details, see International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, “Report and Recommendations of the President to the Executive Directors on the Proposed Loan to the Republic of Turkey,” 16 February 1954, Report No. P63, Volume 1. <http://documents.worldbank.org> (accessed March 15, 2015). NATO also took part in the construction projects after Turkey’s participation in the NATO especially after the 6095 no. Joint Infrastructure Program of the NATO signed in 2 July 1953.

³⁹⁵ Rodwin was also a former student of Charles Abrams, and likewise his professor, was regarded as a famous expert in the fields of housing, planning and urbanization. For more information see Derya Yorgancıoğlu, “Re-constructing the Political and Educational Contexts of the METU Project,” Unpublished PhD Dissertation, METU, 2010, 214.

³⁹⁶ TBMM Tutanakları, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d11/c012/b041/tbmm110120410978.pdf> (accessed January 16, 2015).

Both the Development Plan of 1947 as a reference, and the Thornburg, Hilts and Barker reports of the Marshall Plan suggested for an economical development plan at national scale. Based on the utilization of regional sources but in connection to a rapid transportation infrastructure over the country, Turkey's postwar economical development was aimed at physical planning focused on regional development of production and energy plants, but more than that, development of a wide highway network in exchange for the existing railway infrastructure of Turkey, the condition of which was also noted by Robinson as below:

A major effort had been launched by the Turkish government some years before to develop an adequate highway network, both to integrate the country and to lower transport costs. To assist in this work, the Turkish Ministry of Public Works obtained in 1948 the services of the U.S. Public Roads Administration (now the Bureau of Public Roads). According to the American Chief of the Highway Mission in July 1948, his group started out with five main objectives: (i) establishment of a highway laboratory and the training of the necessary Turkish technicians, (2) the outlining of a long-range plan, (3) provision of aid for current construction work, (4) the training of men to use the equipment brought into Turkey, and (5) the building of an adequate administrative organization within the Turkish government. Prior to July 1949, the road program was part of the Military Aid Program, not the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA). Thus, the first major road construction job, the Iskenderun-Erzurum highway, was undertaken under military auspices for strategic reasons. In 1950, a 47-man mission staffed by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads was in Turkey advising the Ministry. By this time it had helped to develop a nine-year program for the creation of an integrated 13,437-mile national highway system and an adequate organization to maintain it. Work was on schedule. In 1949, a visit to a village in central Turkey had taken me three hours by jeep to cover the twelve miles from the nearest market town. Five years later, the same trip took twenty minutes. The cost of highway transport had dropped. The social implications of the new highway system were very great. The ordinary village farmer began to go into the market town of an afternoon simply to pass the time of day, even to go to a motion picture. And the harvest began moving to market by truck.³⁹⁷

Indeed, development of a modern highway network attached to the construction of modern ports was required for rapid transportation of raw materials, food and goods for the economical role of Turkey in the Marshall Plan. By the same time, the physical integration of Turkey to the international free trade was essential in terms of the spatial scenario of the Fordist capitalism formulizing mass production

³⁹⁷ Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic*, 137-141.

for mass consumption internationally. In this sense, physical planning of regions and cities corresponded to the postwar condition of which was conceptualized by İlhan Tekeli as ‘comprehensive-rationalist planning.’³⁹⁸ In this sense, the three principles of modern urbanization namely housing, production and recreation next to transportation agreed by the Athens Charter of CIAM in 1933 were taken into consideration by a “strong positivist” attitude next to a specialized planning education aside from architectural practice.³⁹⁹

Tekeli’s conceptualization corresponds to the urbanization process in the 1950s under the guidance of the US-exported modernization especially through the technical assistance of the Marshall Plan and related institutions. In all the Marshall Plan countries, the very aim of Fordist economical strategies was to create a balanced and stabilized economy together with other life-sustaining causes of a mass society. Therefore, geographical patterns out of date had to be demolished for the spatial organization of mass production, distribution and consumption of the capital. In this regard, Turkey experienced Fordist urbanization in terms of the physical zoning of labouring or production and sheltering or consumption whereas linking these two via a well-infrastructured highway network.

As quoted before, Harvey, who conceptualized modernity as a project of the capitalist rationalization of everyday life, claims that “building a capacity for increased efficiency of coordination in space and time is one of the hallmarks of capitalist urbanization.” In this sense, the production of urbanization as a “rational landscape” within which the accumulation of capital can proceed, according to Harvey, is out of a material process abstracting the circulation of capital.⁴⁰⁰ In this regard, the geographical production of space under the Fordist mechanization in

³⁹⁸ İlhan Tekeli, “Bir Modernite Projesi Olarak Türkiye’de Kent Planlaması,” *Ege Mimarlık* 16, no.2, (1995): 54.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁰⁰ David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1985), 190-191.

service for profit maximization in agricultural -significantly in Turkey's case- and industrial production, required to realize the Fordist physical planning in not only regional but also in urban scale. Attached to the massive construction of interregional highways, the eradication of the existing urban patterns was realized as in the great case of the historical peninsula of İstanbul by the massive construction of intercity highways such as Vatan Avenue and Millet Avenue in the 1950s. This resulted not only in the physical transformation of city by so-called slum-clearance, but eradication of the premodern Ottoman urban pattern indeed, on behalf of modernization of city but also caused decentralization defining not legislatively but *de facto* satellite cities around new production zones.

İlhan Tekeli claims, rapid urbanization did not only occur as a result of the infrastructure problems or the insufficient housing production at the beginning of the 1950s but also by the unplanned growth of the cities in Turkey including greater cities and countryside.⁴⁰¹ With rapidly developing industries, cities faced a high rate of immigration from their hinterlands. Settling a dense population of workers' immigrated to cities to find work in a factory became an important problem. Land speculation in the city center increased by rapid urbanization in cities, and an unplanned subdivision of land around city centers occurred as a result. This ended in a *de facto* definition of housing areas at the peripheries of the city centers which belonged to the country side. This situation, Tekeli puts forward, was realized both in greater cities of Turkey such as İstanbul and Ankara and in small cities at the countryside by the booming population rate of cities.⁴⁰²

As Acar and Adam argues, *gecekondu* is a phenomenon of underdeveloped capitalism.⁴⁰³ As a result of the agricultural mechanization as a goal of the Marshall Plan in Turkey, unemployment of landless peasants resulted in migration

⁴⁰¹ İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 108.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Erhan Acar and Mehmet Adam, "Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Gecekondu," *Mimarlık* 156, no.3, (1978): 32.

to industrializing cities during the 1950s. Acar and Adam notes the immigrant peasants could mostly survive via temporary employment since capitalist industrialization was not yet realized countrywide at its best.⁴⁰⁴ Therefore, the *de facto* houses or *gecekondus* characterized the peripheries of the urban territories, having the potential to sprawl in a limitless manner,⁴⁰⁵ which gave birth to the formation of workers' housing question by the Marshall Plan.

3.1.2.2. Low-Cost Housing as a Remedy for the “Housing Crisis”

In parallel with the *gecekondu* problem accompanying high industrialization in city and countryside, the need for healthy housing emerged as an indispensable issue to be dealt with initially for the productivity of the labour force. Albeit legalizing *gecekondu* by providing deeds for the illegally built houses, first CHP and subsequently DP governments had to deal with the problem as part of the organization of population movements from country to city since the immigrant crowds was rapidly settling around cities. The immediate solution to the housing crisis called as *mesken buhranı* over the country was expanding the construction and promoting the ownership of low-cost housing in Turkey.

Although the housing crisis was mostly attributed to the agricultural mechanization during DP power, it needs to be discussed with reference to Turkey's economical liberalization starting with 1946. The prewar state policy to provide decent housing for workers around state companies was left with the promotion of private property in industrialization and the introduction of foreign capital. The changing attitude towards workers' housing after 1946 abolishing state initiative and financing in housing construction, therefore, resulted in the concentration of *de facto* shelters by the immigrating workers. In this regard, the crisis on low-cost housing responded as a control wheel of the economical development over the controlling of land rent but rather through the fattening of construction and building materials industry already within the liberalization

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Acar, “Kapitalistleşme Sürecinde Konut,” 36.

programs of CHP. To note as an indicator, the First Exhibition on Building Materials was organized in 1946.

Likewise, the Great Depression in 1929 was utilized housing sector as a wheel of the reconstruction of economy. Tekeli asserts that building low-cost housing was legalized in the Municipality Law of 1930, which authorized municipalities to build low-cost municipality housing to construct for rent and to organize land market by buying and selling land for construction on behalf of their development.⁴⁰⁶ Moreover, the importance of building healthy housing as part of low-cost housing was legalized by the General Sanitation Law of 1930. However, the production of low-cost housing by the authority of municipalities was not sufficient to solve the growing housing question within the economical development program of Turkey, and hence, the Promotion of Building Construction Law of 1948 no. 5228 [Bina Yapımını Teşvik Kanunu] entitled municipalities of building low-cost housing but in collaboration with the Mortgage Loans Bank which would provide 5% interest loans for low-income people.⁴⁰⁷

Indeed, the distinguishing law for the promotion of building low-cost housing against the sprawling of *gecekondus* was the law no. 5218 of 1948 to legalize housing illegally built on public land but also via the land sold by the Municipality of Ankara together with the law of 1949 legalizing demolishing of unlicensed houses (*gecekondus*) by municipalities in exchange for housing construction.⁴⁰⁸ After the passing of the the Promotion of Building Construction Law no. 5228, not only the Municipality of Ankara but also all municipalities in the country were entitled to provide public land for people for the construction of low-cost housing by 10-year loans in collaboration with the Mortgage Loans Bank. Especially after the catalyzation of land marketing by municipalities over production of land and

⁴⁰⁶ Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 37.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

low-cost housing with the law no. 2490 of 1950,⁴⁰⁹ low-cost housing became the leading sector of modern urbanization of Turkey within the geographical framework of the Marshall Plan.

As Cengizkan argued, low-cost housing was the scheme of the postwar paradigm.⁴¹⁰ Three elements breeding the low-cost housing as a scheme could be counted. The first was the expansion of particularly cement industry and other building materials industries within the Marshall Plan's economical development program for Turkey. Attached to the importation of cement and other building materials, the foundation of cement factories was also promoted with the financial assistance of the Marshall Plan, and sustainability of their production was concretized by the technical assistance that supplied technicians to work for the organization of production in these factories. Not only as a pure obligation but, indeed, as a result of the material shortage required for the sustainability of production in specific industries next to construction industry, cement production boomed in Turkey in the ten year period of 1950-1960.⁴¹¹ As Sey indicated, the

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

⁴¹⁰ Ali Cengizkan, "Discursive Formations in Turkish Residential Architecture Ankara: 1948-1962," Unpublished PhD Dissertation, METU, 2000, 69.

⁴¹¹ The Deputy of Business Sıtkı Yırcalı explains the importance of cement industry for infrastructural development, urbanization and housing crisis as well as economical development as such: "Memlekette umumî iktisadî kalkınmanın birinci safhası olarak inşa edilmekte olan fabrika, köprü gibi tesisler yanında geniş, imar hareketleri ve hususî mesken dâvası hükümetimizi, inşaat malzemesi imal etmek hususunda vatandaşlarla girişilen gayretlere büyük bir hız vermek için tedbirler almaya sevk etmiştir. Filhakika 1950 yılında memleketimizdeki çimento istihsali mevcut beş fabrikada 400.000 tondan ibaret ve umumî istihlâk ise 535.000 ton idi. Yeniden işletmeye açılan İzmir fabrikası ile tevsi edilen diğer fabrikaların mecmu istihlâkına üç yıl içinde 1.025.000 tona yükselmiştir. Sadece bu yıl dışarıdan ithal edeceğimiz çimentonun bedeli 70 milyon liraya çıkacağına göre, bu para ile memlekette 85.000 tonluk kapasiteli olan asgarî altı ilâ yedi fabrika kurmak mümkün olacaktır. Bu hususları göz önünde tutan hükümetimizin memleketin muhtelif mntakalarında halkımızın ve hususî teşebbüslerin topladıkları sermayenin yanında Emlâk Bankası, İş Bankası, Sümerbank ve Akbank'ın müşterek yardımları ile en kısa bir zamanda memleket ihtiyacına cevap verebilecek ölçüde fabrikalar kurmayı kararlaştırmış olduğunu evvelce beyan etmiştik. Bu defa, ilk hamlede kurulmasına karar verilen 17 çimento fabrikasından 12'sinin ihalesini bugün ilân etmiş bulunmaktayız. Bu fabrikalar Afyon, Adana, Söke, Bartın, Çorum, Çanakkale, Erzurum. Lüleburgaz, Konya, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir ve Van'da kurulacaktır. Bunları, takiben de Elâzığ, .Kayseri, Gaziantep, Trabzon, Gemlik fabrikaları, teknik hazırlıkları ikmal edilir edilmez ihaleye çıkarılacaktır. Bu ölçü içindeki gelişmeleri terninen yenileri de dahil, memleketin muhtelif mntakalarında cem'an 38 çimento fabrikasının kurulması için tetkiklerimiz devam etmektedir." For more information see *Aydın Tarihi*, 15 August 1953.

privatization of cement industry also dates to that period, the greatest state initiative in cement production also dates to the early years of the period as well though.⁴¹² Within this context, the construction industry became the leading sector of economical development of Turkey.

The second was the introduction of mass production methods in building industry. Based on the promotion of the Marshall Plan theme of rationalization in building industries and construction, mass production of housing was assisted and controlled with the modernization of the construction industries. The prefabrication of housing construction came parallel with the imported US technologies such as tunnel frame construction which adding enabled much more storeys in the shortest time. On the other hand, the promotion of the US ready-made house or the prefabricated house in Turkey as part of the cultural and propaganda activity of the Marshall Plan institutions maintained the discourse of low-cost housing as a remedy for the housing crisis in Turkey.

However, the third and the most important of the postwar schematization of the low-cost housing as a remedy for the housing crisis was the promotion of homeownership by introduction of the self-help method in housing construction. The foundation of the Mortgage Loans Bank by the government dates to 1946 with the manifestation of low-cost housing for the citizens who did not own houses next to the building and repairing works in the country, although there was a former institution founded in 1926 named Emlak ve Eytam Bankası on this occasion. However, the abolition of the former bank to form the Mortgage Loans Bank dates to 1946 which expanded its credit budget. Supplying loans for a maximum period of 50 years on charge of building mortgages, opening up building and construction industries as well as making building and building materials business, forming associations of insurance or making partnerships in such associations and dealing

⁴¹² Yıldız Sey, *Türkiye Çimento Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003), 67.

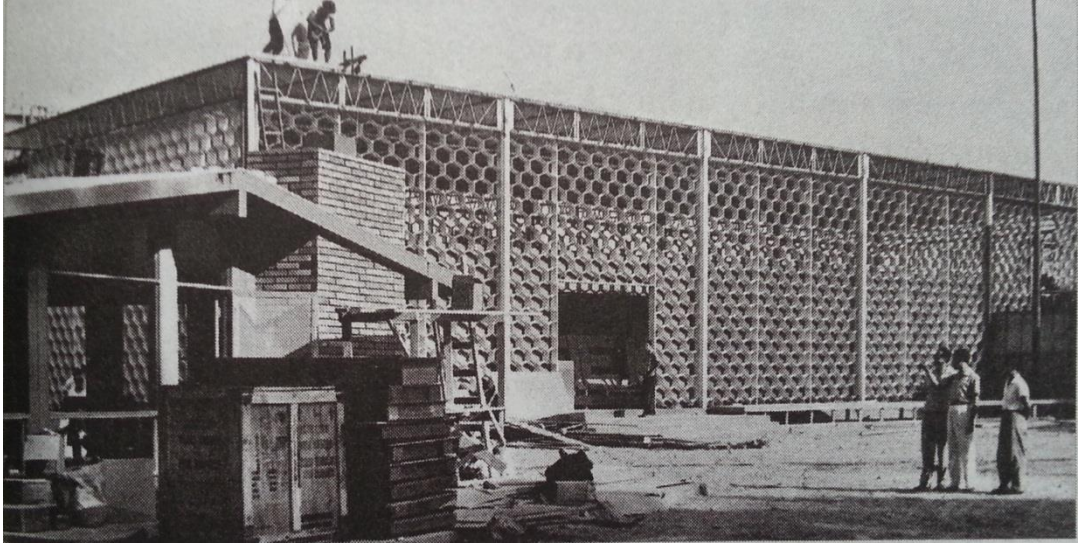


Figure 4.34 The model prefabricated American house in front of the American Pavillion in İzmir International Fair of 1957. Source: Ahenk Yılmaz; Kıvanç Kılıç; Burcak Pasin eds., *İzmir Kültürparkı'nın Anımsa(ma)dıkları: Temsiller, Mekanlar, Aktörler*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2015),121.

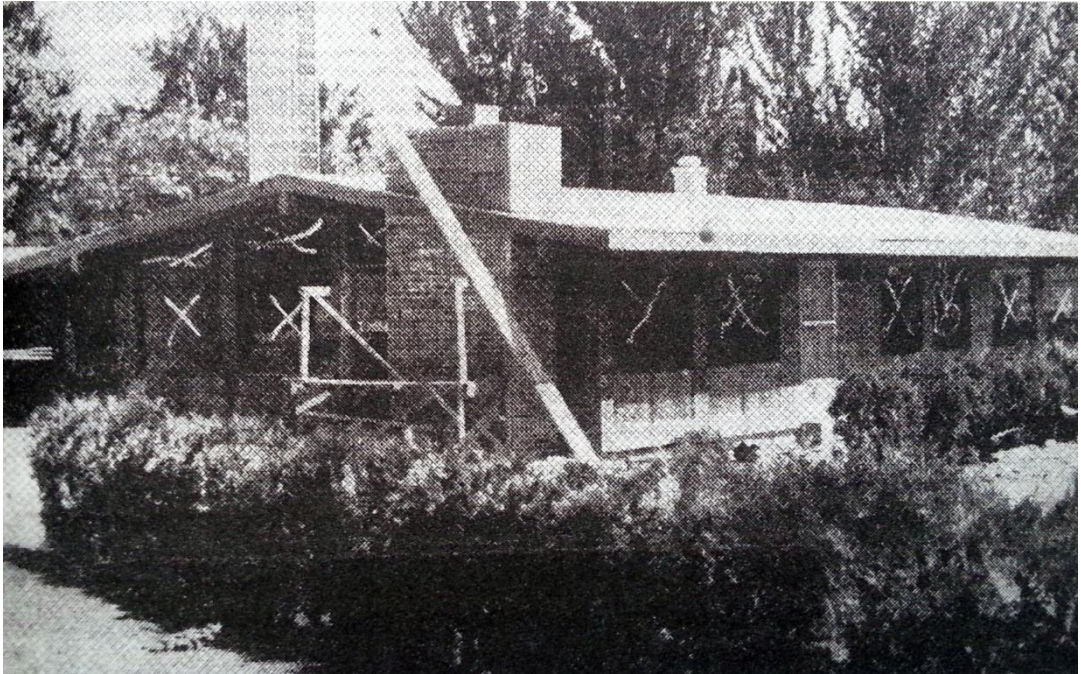


Figure 4.35 The model American house in İzmir International Fair of 1957. Source: Ibid.

with other banking stuff were set duties among the program of the Mortgage Loans Bank.⁴¹³ In this direction, the General Budget of the bank would be supported by the public treasury to supply loans at 5% interest for the housing cooperatives to build low-cost housing.⁴¹⁴

The debate on low-cost housing as a solution to the housing crisis could also be followed in *Arkitekt*. In this regard, Zeki Sayar mentions Seyhan deputy Cezmi Türk asked the foundation of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in the budget discussions in 1953, and another suggested the government could not solve the housing question without a sufficient official organization.⁴¹⁵ As Sayar noted, some laws prepared for the solution of the housing crisis in Turkey after 1945, but not became sufficient since not offered an authorized organization in terms of economics and science of housing. In this regard, Sayar's suggestion to the solution of housing crisis in Turkey through the case of postwar Europe, which dealt with housing crisis by means of planning, urbanization, building materials and financing by the agency of ministries and institutes established by professional associations and universities, is important in understanding the tone of architects and planners in Turkey to the housing question.⁴¹⁶

The importance of low-cost housing, making large masses of the society homeowners and providing healthy housing was emphasized by Sayar as essentials of a housing program which was not sufficient experienced by municipalities and

⁴¹³ "Türkiye Emlak Kredi Bankası Kanunu," *Resmi Gazete*, 22 June 1946.

⁴¹⁴ It is interesting that the comprehensive study on the experience of the Mortgage Loans Bank between 1926 and 1998, which was prepared by Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık on behalf of the bank did not mention the activity of the Mortgage Loans Bank on the workers' housing cooperatives in Turkey, rather covered Levent and Ataköy experiences which are still commemorated as the greatest experiences of the reign of housing cooperatives in Turkey in the 1950s. For more details see Murat Güvenç and Oğuz Işık, *Emlak Bankası 1926-1998*, (İstanbul: Emlak Bankası, 1999).

⁴¹⁵ Zeki Sayar, "Mesken Davasında Teşkilat," *Arkitekt* no. 253-254, (1952): 213.

⁴¹⁶ Sayar notes the UNECE report prepared in 1952 for the financing of housing namely *Methodes et Techniques de Financement de l'habitation en Europe* did not cover Turkey since Turkey did not have a well-organized system of housing finance until then or she reported to the UN that there was no official or individual organization dealing with housing socially and scientifically. However, it is also known the UNECE commission came to Turkey to advice on housing crisis in 1956. For more information, see *Ibid*, 214.

housing cooperatives at the time. What is more, Sayar criticized building of single-family dwellings by housing cooperatives since they did not utilize rationalist building technologies, indeed, multi-storey housing blocks as for low-cost housing. Therefore, the notion of “economical housing” was proposed by Sayar in terms of the economics of architectural plans, building materials and structural elements which indeed was the means of rationalization of housing production.⁴¹⁷

Table 3.1 Housing production in numbers by the Mortgage Loans Bank between the years 1950 and 1958. Source: Kemal Ahmet Aru, “Türkiye’de Konut Politikası,” *İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Şehircilik Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1, 1970, p. 6.

Years	Housing in numbers	Total Million (TL)	Loans per house (TL)
1950	1.351	8.6	6.350
1951	2.872	17.4	6.000
1952	5.635	31.5	5.600
1953	2.854	33.7	11.800
1955	5.385	95.3	17.700
1956	2.575	53.1	20.500
1957	3.762	95.4	25.300
1958	2.862	84.1	29.500
TOTAL	32.486	480.000.000 avg.	14.800

Although no concrete evidence that the Marshall Plan’s counterpart funds were released for the budget of the Mortgage Loans Bank, it is well-known that the Marshall Plan assisted in the foundation of private cement industries in Turkey as well as other participating countries, also by forcing Turkey buying the necessary machinery for the cement industry from German, Denmark and Belgium which

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

were also participating in the plan.⁴¹⁸ The industrialization of housing, thereby, took its share from this process. The scheme of block apartment became popular towards the end of the 1950s either by the agency of municipalities or housing cooperatives founded by different sections of the society.⁴¹⁹

Within this context, the immediate solution to the housing crisis was the industrialization of housing, thereby, easing homeownership since the cost of housing construction fell in important grades. The mass production of housing materials fell the prices of housing which would ease workers and low-income citizens to buy houses as if paying rents. This discourse which has not changed since the modern industrialization by the 19th century onwards, was effective in the formation of the workers' housing question in the Marshall Plan Turkey. Attached to the financial assistance eased with the activity of the Mortgage Loans Bank, the releasing of old-age pension insurances for 25 years for the building of low-cost workers' housing after 1949 helped the formation of workers' housing cooperatives also in collaboration with the promotion of unionization.

After the foundation of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1958, which worked on the inexpensive supply and importation of building materials from abroad to solve the housing crisis through low-cost housing⁴²⁰ until the foundation of the State Planning Institution in 1962, workers' housing production was experienced mostly by workers' housing cooperatives by the help of the Mortgage Loans Bank and other banks or provident funds between workers. In this regard, it seems not weird that, Fehmi Yavuz, who served as the Vice General Director of the Workers' Insurance Agency from 1946 to 1947 and the Minister of Public Works and Housing from 1960 to 1961,⁴²¹ offered ownership of houses as well as stores, ateliers, factories and orchards through plenty of loans to supply demand of

⁴¹⁸ Sey, *Türkiye Çimento Tarihi*, 74.

⁴¹⁹ *Akşam*, 19 August 1959.

⁴²⁰ *Akşam*, 30 October 1958.

⁴²¹ Fehmi Yavuz, "Yurt Ölçüsünde İskân Problemi ve Bölge: Memleket Plancılığı." *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 13, no. 3, (1958): 131-149.

housing and stores for the immigrant population in cities for the Housing Law of Turkey, which was prepared after the fall of DP as part of the national development program of Turkey.⁴²²

3.2. Experting for the “Housing Crisis”: Urban Planning and the Formation of Housing Question from City to Country

Tekeli explains that modernity was experienced in non-European countries like Turkey by two means: first, because of imperialist effect of capitalist development; second, via the collaboration of state elites and commercial bourgeoisie in service for the sustainability of capitalist dynamics through institutional and educational reforms.⁴²³ In this regard, the report *Measures for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries* prepared by the ECA noting the surveys by the American experts was provided in order to determine the specific field of technical assistance from abroad to operate on initial surveys in setting up permanent organization and in training local people for the sustainability of the technical assistance⁴²⁴ indicates the formation of the housing question as part of the modernization discourse of Turkey under the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan and the UNPTA.

During and after Marshall Plan aids under DP government, some official reports were prepared by housing specialists who significantly came from the USA to work on the housing question of Turkey, and advice governmental organizations solutions for the housing question.⁴²⁵ These reports not only portrayed the situation of housing in Turkey during the 1950s but also defined the need of workers' housing both quantitatively and qualitatively. İlhan Tekeli mentions nine reports of some American including a group from the American architecture company

⁴²² Ibid., 133.

⁴²³ Tekeli, “Bir Modernite Projesi Olarak,” 51.

⁴²⁴ Anon. “Measures for the Economic Development of Under-developed Countries,” 61-62.

⁴²⁵ For detailed information on these reports see Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 163-173., Ruşen Keleş, *Türkiye’de Konut Kooperatifleri*, (Ankara: İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Sosyal Araştırma Dairesi, 1967), 41.

Skidmore, Owings and Merrill's of 1951, Donald Monson's of 1953, Charles Abrams' of 1954 and Bernard Wagner's of 1956 prepared to report and advise the condition of housing question in Turkey.⁴²⁶

For this study, three of these reports matters in the analyzation of the formation of workers' housing question beyond the general condition of the housing question in Turkey since they dealt with the workers' housing production by the collaboration of the Workers' Insurance Agency and the Mortgage Loans Bank.

The first is the report of Donald Monson prepared for the ICA, which made suggestions on the financial production of workers' housing in relation to the Workers' Insurance Agency. Monson criticized the amount paid in cash by workers at the beginning of the construction should have been decreased whereas the amount of loans should have been increased. The significance of Monson's report, however, lies on his criticism that workers' housing cooperatives were founded by companies, the condition of which did not support the self-help method carrying similarities with the prewar tenancy housing model supplied by state companies.⁴²⁷ Moreover, Monson took attention to the combined character of workers' housing cooperatives which were founded by not only workers but also white-collar workers and employers resulting in expensive prices at the end.⁴²⁸ Additionally, Monson offered row-houses instead of single-family detached houses with gardens, the suggestion of which could be read in accordance with the developments on mass housing construction as part of the developing building industries. On the other hand, Monson did not suggest individual homeownership for workers, instead, supported cooperative ownership in order to block rent over taking workers' housing on lease by workers themselves. To remember, Monson worked on community planning in the USA, for the UN Development Program in

⁴²⁶ SOM, also took part in the design of İstanbul Hilton Hotel, and prepared its report on the condition of construction, housing and town planning in Turkey. For detailed information see Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 163-73.

⁴²⁷ Keleş, *Türkiye'de Konut Kooperatifleri*, 61-62.

⁴²⁸ Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 164.

Africa, Latin America and Far East, encouraged urban sprawl and dispersal together with his wife Astrid Monson who promoted slum-clearing,⁴²⁹ community planning regarding education, health and recreation along with organization in labour unions was seen as the means to reach the 'democratic society' in working class neighbourhoods as mentioned before.

Another report was prepared by Charles Abrams, a housing and planning specialist and the mentor behind the foundation of the Middle East Technical University as part of the UNPTA as mentioned in the former sections of the study. Abrams had stated the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) was authorized for assisting surveys, research, training, and pilot projects on housing in the Middle Eastern countries, and advanced 1,5 million dollars for the establishment of Middle East Technical University.⁴³⁰ Adam mentions the praxis of the Middle East Technical University Department of Architecture in 1960s in the formation of housing question in Turkey a

The Cold War, which was continuing in thpse years, naturally took share in the increasing of this interest. As part of this interest, the METU Department of Architecture, founded in the beginning of the 1960s, would develop suggestions for the housing question. However, the solution of capitalism for the housing question was not anything other than the American architecture. And the houses which the masters of the American architecture were examined and taught in the METU Department of Architecture for many years.⁴³¹

What Abrams most importantly suggested was to increase the interest rate for the loans, which workers take from the Mortgage Loans Bank by 1% or 2% levels. Like Monson, Abrams emphasized the cooperative ownership against the lending

⁴²⁹ See Monson and Monson, "A Program for Urban Dispersal," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 244-250. See also Monson, "Slums, Semi-Slums, and Super-Slums," *Marriage and Family Living*, 118-122.

⁴³⁰ Charles Abrams, *Housing in the Modern World*, 91.

⁴³¹ Translation of the quotation belongs to me. The original quotation is: Bu ilginin artmasında, doğal olarak, o yıllarda sürdürülen soğuk savaşın da payı vardı. İlginin bir parçası olarak, daha sonra 1960'ların başında kurulan ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Türkiye'deki konut sorununa çözüm olacak önerileri geliştirecek idi. Ancak kapitalizmin konut sorununa çözümü, Amerikan komit mimarisinden başka birşey değildi. Ve yıllarca ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesinde, Amerikan mimarisinin ustalarının tasarladığı evler incelendi, öğrenildi." For more information see Mehmet Adam, "Toplu Konut Sanayii ve Azgelişmişlik," *Mimarlık* 156, no. 3, (1978): 30.

of houses by workers, which was claimed to result in land speculation.⁴³² However, the most important influence of Abrams' report on the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey is his efforts in the foundation of a university to educate domestic regional and urban planners next to housing planners and architects against the importation of experts as Tekeli also mentioned.⁴³³ In this sense, modern planning concepts such as zoning and parceling could be possible which would allow the solution of workers' housing question through better planning.⁴³⁴ However, Tekeli indicates that Abrams emphasized the eactivity of Workers' Insurance Agency in the solution of the workers' housing question in Turkey.⁴³⁵

The third report was the most effective in the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey, which prepared by Bernard Wagner, as mentioned before in this study, who was the son of the former planning executive of Berlin and architect Martin Wagner, served in İstanbul as the Planning Councillor [İmar Müşaviri] for the first Local Planning Authority of İstanbul Municipality [İstanbul Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü] in 1935.⁴³⁶ Gerald W. Schultz, who spent ten months in Turkey from 1956 to 1957 to study land use and urban development in six Turkish cities, was also advised by Bernard Wagner while he was studying in Turkey noted Wagner was a housing specialist working for the ICA.⁴³⁷ Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu also mentioned Bernard Wagner as a "housing specialist"⁴³⁸ who was sent by the ICA to the Agency for International Development (AID) of Turkey to work on the condition of workers' housing for two years. Tekeli notes Wagner's

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 165.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Sabri Oran. "Büyük Şehirli Mimar Martin Wagner'in Ölümü," *Arkitekt*, (1939): 82-83.

⁴³⁷ Gerald W. Schultz, *The Anatomy of Turkish Cities: A Comparative Study of Land Use in Six Medium-sized Urban Places*, v.

⁴³⁸ Ziyaeddin F. Fındıkoğlu. "Beledi Hizmetler ve Âmme İdaresi Bakımından Karabük," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi*, 109.

report is the most comprehensive report prepared in the period of the condition of housing question.⁴³⁹

Wagner's report is significant in three means. First, Wagner came as a technical expert to work for the Workers' Insurance Agency, the praxis of which occupied the greatest part of the formation of the workers' housing question in the subject period. In this direction, he suggested the abolishment of the agency of the Mortgage Loans Bank in the workers' housing production; instead, he offered the Workers' Insurance Agency should embrace workers' housing production itself.⁴⁴⁰ Additionally, he offered the method of housing savings banks. Indeed, he supported workers' homeownership unlike Monson and Abrams, but offered the limitation to participate in workers' housing cooperatives if a worker sells his/her house produced by the agency. Secondly, Wagner emphasized the industrial development regarding building and construction sector as part of the planned development program of the country. He suggested an agency specialized on the housing question, which would work in collaboration with technical assistance programs.⁴⁴¹ Thirdly, Wagner thoroughly examined the manner of workers' housing production in Turkey making suggestions on the institutional, administrative, financial and technical organization of the workers' housing production embracing the Workers' Housing Agency as the most important agent in the solution of the workers' housing crisis, actually the influence of which would last until the end of 1970s.

On the other hand, it is known that a group of eight from the Housing Committee of the ECE visited İstanbul and Ankara to check in-situ and advise the housing crisis in Turkey in 1956,⁴⁴² the same year when Wagner prepared his report. What the Housing Committee of the ECE studied included the condition of housing

⁴³⁹ Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 168.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 167.

⁴⁴² Zeki Sayar, "Şu Mesken Davamız," *Arkitekt* 25, no. 283, (1957): 3.

demand and social housing in Turkey next to the activities of some institutions including the Workers' Insurance Agency, the Bank of Provinces and the Mortgage Loans Bank on the housing problem.⁴⁴³ Zeki Sayar noted the committee regarded the social front of housing, the issue of mortgage, the project and construction technology and the building materials industry when preparing their report on the housing crisis.⁴⁴⁴ In this regard, their advices included institutionalizing the normalization of construction industry via standardization and prefabrication next to the expansion of building materials production. Additionally, regional planning with regard to local differences in climatic, economical and social conditions together with local and architectural traditions and making people who did not own house homeowners was suggested in the report.⁴⁴⁵

In this regard, the article prepared by Jane Jacobs and entitled "Fakir Mahallelerin Ortadan Kaldırılması" serviced by the USIS to *Arkitekt* at the periodical's own request is notable.⁴⁴⁶ The Turkish section of the USIS settled in İstanbul, also known in Turkey as the American News Agency, might have aimed to serv this article of Jacobs not only to advocate the financial support in housing construction by either private entrepreneurship or financial loans but also promote the significance of regional and urban planning viaslum-clearance which was among the weighty issues of urban planning in the USA at the time, and promoted in all the participating countries.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ Fehmi Yavuz, *Şehirciliğimiz Hakkında Mukayeseli Raporlar*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi İskan ve Şehircilik Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1956), 12.

⁴⁴⁴ Sayar, "Şu Mesken Davamız," 3.

⁴⁴⁵ Yavuz, *Şehirciliğimiz Hakkında Mukayeseli Raporlar*.

⁴⁴⁶ Jane Jacobs, "Fakir Mahallelerin Ortadan Kaldırılması" *Arkitekt* 241-242, 243-244, no. 39-41, (1952): 90-92.

⁴⁴⁷ "Tedricen bulunacak hal çaresinin meselenin her iki cephesini nazarı itibara alması gerekmektedir. Bunlardan biri gerek hususî sermaye ile gerekse ödünç para ile modern ve iyi meskenlerin inşası; diğeri ise, şehrin tekâmülünü derpiş eden plân çerçevesi dahilinde fakirleşen ikametgâh ve endüstri mıntakalarının yeniden inşasıdır." See Ibid.

The technical expertise on the workers' housing question, therefore, was not limited to the reports and suggestions of the housing and planning experts but also conducted via the agency of periodicals and exhibitions. It is known that the Mortgage Loans Bank organized an international exhibition on the condition of low-cost housing in the world entitled as "Mesken Sergisi" at Beyoğlu Olgunlaşma Enstitüsü,⁴⁴⁸ where the USIS usually organized exhibitions on art and crafts. It is known that the USIS had an exhibition hall on İstiklal Street at the time, for which most news named the exhibition hall of Beyoğlu Olgunlaşma Enstitüsü. Moreover, the technical assistance of the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, which was mostly covered education of domestic scholars, public administrators and experts in the USA, could be counted as effective in the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey, since it is known that the Rockefeller Foundation assisted scholars from social sciences for mostly fellowships in the US on the issues of development planning, urban planning, and housing as well on engineering.⁴⁴⁹

On the other hand, another unknown report was claimed to be prepared by a Swiss technical expert of urbanization and low-cost housing construction named Bodmer who was declared to come to Istanbul on the request of the Municipality of İstanbul to examine the condition of housing.⁴⁵⁰ The praxis of the Austrian and German speaking architects and planners in Turkey, significantly characterized the single-party period's social housing approach, also continued under the agency of the Marshall plan and the UN technical assistance programs. For instance, Ernst Egli came to serve for the UNPTA, TODAİE and Ankara University Political Sciences Faculty after he came to Turkey in 1953 again.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ *Milliyet*, 16 June 1959.

⁴⁴⁹ For Turkey, see the annual reports of the Rockefeller Foundation.

⁴⁵⁰ *Akşam*, 11 August 1959.

⁴⁵¹ İnci Aslanoğlu, "Ernst A. Egli: Mimar, Eğitimci, Kent Plancısı," *Mimarlık* 11-12, (1984): 16.

CHAPTER 4

THE FORMATION OF WORKERS' HOUSING QUESTION IN TURKEY: “HER İŞÇİYE BİR ÇATI”

*Marshall Plan is an international cooperative. Participating members be helping each other on the condition of their self-help. This is a public program. Its aim is: a better occupation, a better home, a better healthcare, a more fair distribution system, increasing standard of life through political and economical rights.*⁴⁵²

“Her İşçiye Bir Çati” was the tag line of one of the posters of the Democratic Party's stump during the general elections of 1954.⁴⁵³ Though seemingly the Democratic Party fitted the workers' housing question into the program of its third government in the presence of the rising of labour affairs at the time, the state of workers' housing question had been occupied a significant place at the agenda of the Democratic Party until then. Actually, it was already before 1954 the workers' housing question had entered the political scene of Turkey but it was the postwar discourse of development grew workers' housing question into the labour affairs

⁴⁵² The original quotation is: “Marshall Planı milletlerarası bir kooperatiftir. Üyeler kendi kendilerine yardım etmek suretiyle birbirlerine de yardım etmiş oluyorlar. Bu bir halk programıdır. Gayesi: daha iyi bir iş, daha iyi bir maaş, daha iyi bir mesken, daha iyi bir sağlık bakımı, adilane tevziat sistemi, siyasi ve iktisadi haklar yolu ile yaşama seviyenizi yükseltmektir.” *Muhasebe ve Maliye Mecmuası* 44–46, 1950, quoted in Tolga Tören, *Yeniden Yapılanan Dünya Ekonomisinde Marshall Planı ve Türkiye Uygulaması*, (İstanbul: Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı, 2007).

⁴⁵³ Kemal Sülker, quoted in Hakan Koçak, “Türkiye İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumunun Sessiz Yılları: 1950'ler,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 113, (2008): 104.

especially with the introduction of the Marshall Plan in Turkey in 1948 next to the development of social security from 1946 onwards.⁴⁵⁴

The rising discussions on regional planning at governmental and municipal scales by the industrial and agricultural development along with infrastructural development, which led to the extensive construction of highways in the greater cities but motorways linking non-industrial villages, whereas the modern urban planning initiatives in accordance with the larger economical and physical scene brewed within the development discourse which introduced slum-clearing next to suburbanization set the larger economical and physical framework of the formation of the workers' housing question. The rising mass of the working class in cities and their hinterlands as a result of huge industrial development brought forth the question of controlling labour mobility next to the physical planning of workers' housing in parallel with the interest of housing industry against the squatter problem accompanying high industrialization in cities and countryside. In common with the earlier bureaucratic and philanthropical approaches to the workers' housing question in terms of economical productivity next to considerations in public health and social policy in the Republican period, the formation of workers' housing question within the economical, political, ideological and cultural framework of the Marshall Plan also covered the discourse of hygiene effective at the topographical, morphological and habitual scales.

In this regard, likewise the other participating countries faced, the Marshall Plan's program and themes on the workers' housing question consisted of labour efficiency and industrial productivity at the manpower scale, labour mobility at the

⁴⁵⁴ Cem Eroğul argues the year 1954 is crucial in the economical and political state of the Democratic Party since the party had entered a period of regression after its great success of 1954 elections starting to lose the support of large masses in Turkey. Eroğul puts forth the party never provided the right to strike for the working class although it came to power propagating the right to strike before 1950. He also mentions workers tried to establish a workers' committee before the general elections of 1954 to support worker candidates, the attempt of which was suppressed by the government. For this reason, the promotion of workers' housing in the election campaigns of 1954 was notable in terms of the party's target of gaining support of the large masses of the working class in the elections. For more discussion on the Democratic Party's approach to the working class in its period of rising see Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, 145-146.

topographical scale, rationalization and construction productivity at the morphological scale, and the discourse of self-help and democracy next to standardization and consumerization at the habitual scale of workers' housing question.

Designated and assisted as a developing country within the program of the Marshall Plan, the financial assistance mostly covered the rationalization, mechanization and productivity of agricultural and industrial development next to infrastructural development. Hence, workers' housing question was not heavily dealt as part of the financial assistance covering reconstruction and physical planning programs like the other participating countries in Europe but actually assisted technically covering foreign expertise as part of labour affairs from productivity and organization to housing planning. In this regard, the Marshall Plan's formation of workers' housing question in Turkey will be analyzed within the framework of the Marshall Plan's and the UN's international program of technical assistance to the workers' housing question at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales the solutions of which actually were realized as part of the social security program practicing via workers' housing cooperatives.

Within this context, the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey up to the introduction of the Marshall Plan will be discussed with reference to the governmental and philanthropical approaches to the workers housing question within the political, economical and cultural framework of the labour affairs during the single-party Republican regime in the subchapter 4.1. Followingly, the instrumentality of the workers' housing question in Turkey for the Marshall Plan regarding the production and dissemination of workers' housing with regard to its ideological program on the *habitus* and habitat of the working class will be analyzed in the subchapter 4.2. For this reason, the praxis of workers' housing cooperatives will be referred as the means of the production and dissemination of postwar workers' housing discourse. Afterwards, the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey will be inquired with reference to the themes and

program of the Marshall Plan in detail at manpower, topographical, morphological and habitual scales.

4.1. Financial Aid or Technical Assistance: The Instrumentality of the Workers' Housing Question for the Marshall Plan in Turkey

Marshall Plan's program on the workers' housing question in Turkey covered direct financial assistance to workers' housing cooperatives came to terms with the agreement of 1953, based on the counterpart funds agreement of 1951 and the Barker Report which proposed the establishment of TODAİE, in exchange for 1 billion dollars aid to Turkey.⁴⁵⁵ For this case, some part of the counterpart funds, an amount of which was agreed by the USA, would be spent on the developments in low-cost housing construction and for the financial support to workers' housing cooperatives with the aim of a more rationalist and efficient construction. Moreover, those 1 billion dollars could only be released on the condition that an autonomous productivity institution in Turkey would be founded by the agency of the USA. In this regard, building decent workers' housing to meet the supply for especially mineworkers was realized next to the development of infrastructural works such as the construction of highways, water and sewerage facilities for increasing the productivity of coal mining in Turkey for the supply and export to the USA and other participating countries.⁴⁵⁶ Tolga Tören mentions foreign experts studied in Zonguldak Basin to increase the mining capacity of the coal mines, and mechanization of mining at already existing mines was realized next to the opening of new mines, thereby, supplying the housing demand in the region.

However, Marshall Plan's financial assistance on workers' housing construction was not realized in the manner of the other participating countries in Europe especially Germany. Direct aid for the construction of workers' housing either to the governmental institutions and private companies or workers' housing

⁴⁵⁵ Derviş Kılınçkaya, "Marshall Planı ve Milli Prodükivite Merkezi'nin Kuruluşu," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 18, (2013), 137.

⁴⁵⁶ Tören, "Marshall Planı," 169.

cooperatives did not become general in the case of Turkey. Or rather, financial assistance to workers' housing gained a wider currency in Turkey except some cases realized in Zonguldak Basin or Marmara Region. Actually, the Marshall Plan's program regarding the formation of and solutions to the workers' housing question in Turkey were based upon the technical assistance programs of the Marshall Plan focusing on the formation of labour affairs.

In this regard, workers' housing question, which appeared as an inevitable result of the catastrophic devastation regarding industrial and agricultural production in the World War II, was rather taken into account as an instrument of the American Cold War propaganda against the dissemination of the ideology of communism within the working masses especially in France, Italy, Greece and Turkey, therefore, as a problem of workers' social security and as an instrument of creating an affluent working class disposed of class consciousness. Since Turkey did not face a huge housing shortage as a consequence of the war's damage, the issue of workers' housing supply was rather dealt next to the development of agricultural and industrial capacity. On this basis, the formation of workers' housing discourse covering the production methods and habitual culture was technically assisted by not only the USA but also the UN carrying out expertise in the 'developing' and 'underdeveloped' countries in the Middle East, Far East, Africa and Latin America.

Accordingly, self-help method in the workers' housing production on behalf of company housing experience of the single-party period was promoted in Turkey via technical assistance programs covering labour education in seminars or within labour unions to expertise on how to financially and technically solve the workers' housing question. Instead of the professional practice of the single-party period concentrated on the construction of workers' housing based on the common property ownership model of the state-owned companies, the founding of workers' housing cooperatives based on individual ownership model was promoted also as a virtue of a socially secured and unionized working class.

In this sense, the course of the workers' housing production in Turkey from state-owned company towns to self-contained workers' neighbourhoods is notable. The praxis of workers' housing cooperatives by means of cooperation but individual freedom for workers' own initiatives in homeownership was valued within the habitual framework of the Marshall Plan's democracy and self-help discourse nourished with the discourse of cooperation and freedom. The instrumentality of technical assistance to workers' housing, thereby, was reserved in the self-help discourse in workers' housing production and consumption. Also proved with the General Report of the ILO in 1960 as "an inquiry for the necessity of better housing for workers inevitably brought forth the result that the economical capability of workers could not supply workers' housing at a desired scale. In this respect, the idea of societal institutions to work in a foreign manner was getting stronger in terms of guaranteeing everything required for the supply of the necessities of normal housing for workers and their families,⁴⁵⁷ technical assistance to workers' housing question meant the transformation of the manner of housing production with reference to the prescription provided by the guidance of the institutions of the Marshall Plan and the UN.

It is also important to note the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey under the assistance of the Marshall Plan was mostly targeted workers of the state-owned companies since workers of the free enterprise, which actually just started to flourish with reference to the Democratic Party's promotion of the entrance of foreign capital to Turkey as part of the Marshall Plan agreements, were not yet formed the large masses of the working class as the cogwheels of the development discourse of the Marshall Plan. This also lied on the difference in the income and social status between workers working for the state-owned companies and for the private companies. The constraint that only workers subjected to social insurance could found workers' housing cooperatives, in this regard, was effective in the

⁴⁵⁷ Quoted in Wilhelm Schliessleder, "Batı Almanya'da ve Avusturya'da Sosyal Mesken İnşaatı," in *Batı Almanya, İtalya ve İspanya'da Mesken Politikası*, ed. Turhan Yörükân (Ankara: İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Sosyal Araştırma Dairesi), 1968.

homeownership model provided with workers' housing cooperatives since only socially secured workers could financially manage housing construction as being favorable for loans. Noting that most workers were not socially secured in the early postwar years, the workers' housing cooperatives were current within the workers of the state-owned companies.

In this case, the Democrat Party's politics regarding workers' housing question could also be claimed to be related to the party's widely referred populist politics toward society in Turkey during its power. As Hakan Koçak addresses, the Democrat Party was inclined towards the working class as a group of citizens instead of low-income section of society who would be placed inside the formal and informal systems of the distribution of capital.⁴⁵⁸ This claim also fits well to the Fordist ideal society of mass production for mass consumption, which was realized at its peak with the Marshall Plan's program throughout Europe and made of average citizens as part of the working class stabilized in the mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption of goods and housing for societal welfare. In this respect, the workers' housing production in 1950s Turkey should also be researched paying regard to the economical, political and social context it was brewed into as well as the schemata proposed for the workers' housing question proposed within the scope of that context.

4.1.1. Promotion of the Self-Help Model via Workers' Housing Cooperatives

The formation of workers' housing question was not peculiar to the period of the Marshall Plan which was not actually a new phenomenon since İzmir Congress of Economy but reached to its peak with the introduction of the Marshall Plan. The organization of the industrial complex with the attached cultural and sports facilities functioning for the reproduction of the worker in the way for the proletarian revolution was taken as a model by the single-party republic of Turkey, trying to cultivate the modern men and women of the republic via production, not

⁴⁵⁸ Koçak, "Türkiye İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumunun Sessiz Yılları," 101.

only by agricultural production and small-scale manufacturing via “village institutions,” but also large-scale mechanized mass production in public property metal industries as in the case of Karabük and mine works as in the case of Zonguldak.⁴⁵⁹ However, the production of the space of this single-party Republican politics through the smallest habitual unit of the working class was not based on the method of self-help, on the contrary, state initiative in workers’ housing production through the tenancy model in and around the production facilities was the politics of the state.

The first mass housing settlement in Turkey produced by a housing cooperative established in 1934 is Bahçelievler in Ankara aimed at “making homeless people or citizens alike homeowners.”⁴⁶⁰ Though not a workers’ housing cooperative at the time since formed by some Republican officers, Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative is notable as it shared some in common with the midcentury workers’ housing cooperatives in Turkey. Formed of a housing question, grounded on planned decentralization by the Jansen Plan next to its kernels from the First Five-Year Plan of Turkey and based on a bottom-up strategy fed by the populist politics of the Republican People’s Party (CHP) in housing production, Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative had become the means of a cooperative solution against state-financed housing production, thereby, it symbolized as a first example the motives of private initiative and property ownership instead of a statist ideology.⁴⁶¹ Tekeli and İlkin noted Bahçelievler could not operate as an ideal case for the housing question in Turkey not also because it was utilized by the bureaucratic elite in terms of capital accumulation by establishing housing cooperatives but

⁴⁵⁹ Ezgi Pınar, “Working Class Formation in the Democrat Party Period: Evaluating Class Consciousness through Trade Union Publications,” METU, Unpublished Masters Thesis, 2009.

⁴⁶⁰ Quoted in Keleş, *Türkiye’de Konut Kooperatifleri*, 41.

⁴⁶¹ İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Bahçeli Evlerin Öyküsü: Bir Batı Kurumunun Yeniden Yorumlanması*, (Ankara: Batıkent Konut Üretim Yapı Kooperatifleri Birliği, 1984), 135.

seemingly promoted cooperativism as a bottom-up strategy within which the role of the bureaucracy was eliminated to the least.⁴⁶²

In this regard, it is not surprising that cooperativism in workers' housing production was revived in the 1950s in the name of the self-help model for low-cost housing construction and for homeownership since housing cooperatives offered schemata of a cooperative ideology of homeownership over against the supply of housing in low-rentals by state or state-owned companies as also experienced in the case of Bahçelievler. Moreover, it supported the idea of individualism which was advertised by the American propaganda as part of the Marshall Plan by means of supporting individual's initiative for freedom of choice.

Additionally, it utilized the ideological discourse of cooperativism, hence eased the capital interest of the bureaucratic elite in so-called behalf of the collective interests of the cooperative, but not really worked for cooperation for the common interest since it was based on the principle of gaining profit over land speculation by the agency of the bureaucratic elite it was operated by though.⁴⁶³ Therefore, such kind of a cooperative model, which also offered schemata for the latter cases in the subject period, could not operate for collective property and use of housing but individual ownership was aimed in the end. In this sense, as Tekeli and İlkin criticizes Bahçelievler case as it promoted, as a pioneer in Turkey, a cooperative movement based on foreign assistance via mortgage loans instead of domestic savings, thereby, the experience of housing cooperatives in Turkey did not become successful in terms of the real social front of cooperative system in the solution to housing question.⁴⁶⁴

However, housing cooperatives occupies a significant place in the formation and advancement of the housing question in Turkey as a means of mass housing production. It is known by a report presented in Türkiye Kooperatifçilik Kongresi,

⁴⁶² Ibid., 133-134.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 128.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 130.

the first congress on cooperativism organized in Ankara in 1944 that a total of 49 housing cooperatives were operating with 5.000 members in 1944.⁴⁶⁵ Ruşen Keleş pointed out the percentage of housing cooperatives in comparison to other types of cooperatives including agricultural credit cooperatives in Turkey gradually increased from 1934 to 1950.⁴⁶⁶ It was 22,9% in 1950 whereas extended beyond 50% in 1964 with a total number of 33.104 houses built in between 1948 and 1963.⁴⁶⁷ Keleş argued the causes of this increase in percentage could be referred to the ease of funding in cooperative system and the promotion of cooperative housing against the deepening housing crisis in greater cities.⁴⁶⁸

Until the foundation of the first workers' housing cooperative by workers' initiatives in 1951, the members of housing cooperatives were mostly military and state officers many of them belonging to the bureaucratic elite including parliamentarians or intellectuals in relation to the government.⁴⁶⁹ On the other hand, the praxis of these housing cooperatives was commented as enabled the neighbourhood unit and the partial allotment plans as units of a community, which "supported each unit parcel as a democratic entity," and also which provided equal positions for "the developer," "the administrator" and "the architect planner" active as well as the members on the building of housing settlements.⁴⁷⁰ However,

⁴⁶⁵ Ekmel Zamil, "Yapı Kooperatifleri ve Mesken Problemleri," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* 12, (1961): 39.

⁴⁶⁶ Keleş, *Türkiye'de Konut Kooperatifleri*, 42.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 42, 49.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁴⁶⁹ Remzi Saka, quoted in Cengizkan, "Discursive Formations," 77. In this regard, İlhan Tekeli mentions Güvenevler Cooperative founded after Bahçelievler, Küçük Evler Building Cooperative from 1937, Kartal Beach Housing Cooperative from 1940, Şenyuva Building Cooperative from 1941, Emekli Sandığı Building Cooperative from 1941, Ankara İş Bankası Housing Cooperative from 1942, Ucuz Evler Building Cooperative from 1942 and so. For more see İlhan Tekeli, *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konutun Öyküsü (1923-1980)*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012, pp. 70-71. For a discussion on the production process and scheme from foundation to site and architectural planning of a housing cooperative by military officers also see Ali Cengizkan, "1950'lerden Bir Konut Kooperatifi: Ankara Ucuz Subay Evleri." in *Tarih İçinde Ankara II*, ed. Yıldırım Yavuz (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, 2001).

⁴⁷⁰ Ali Cengizkan had studied 24 housing settlements in Ankara built by cooperatives in between 1948 and 1962, which were selected from six major zones representing "the planned-and-spontaneously developed morphology of the city," also on the basis of his argument that these

albeit based on the promotion of low-cost housing for an effective solution to the increasing housing crisis, the experience of especially nonworker housing cooperatives were also criticized by Keleş like Tekeli because of their statual compositions providing interests via land speculation and property development for some privileged, and the ir violation of planning laws.⁴⁷¹ It is known that most shareholders were either selling or renting the low-cost houses that they owned with the help of a housing cooperative.⁴⁷²

With the regulation in 1950 organizing the funding of workers' housing construction under the operation of workers' housing cooperatives by the loans provided from the old age pensions collected at the Workers' Insurance Agency, workers' housing cooperatives started to operate in Turkey on the condition that all shareholders had to be engaged in the social security system.⁴⁷³

The Old Age Pension Act was passed in 1 April 1950 enabling release of a maximum 20% of pensions called as Workers' Housing Funds at 50% of the value of property in return for mortgages.⁴⁷⁴ At first, mortgage loans were given by İSK itself, and yet it was permitted via national banks like the Mortgage Loans Bank, state bonds and estates in exchange for mortgage at 80% of the value of property from 1952 to 1957. After 1957, the mortgage rate was increased to 90% also raising release of the maximum to 25% of pensions. In 1961, İSK started to give loans itself at 90% for in exchange for 20 years mortgage decided after the passing of the 1961 Constitution which charged state in the name of economical, social and cultural development in a democratic way "to solve the housing and settlement

cooperative settlements were representative satellite settlements of the postwar housing schemata produced in Ankara. See Cengizkan, "Discursive Formations," 304-318.

⁴⁷¹ Keleş, *Türkiye 'de Konut Kooperatifleri*, 226-227.

⁴⁷² Zamil, "Yapı Kooperatifleri," 34.

⁴⁷³ Workers' Insurance Agency was founded in 1946 dependent upon the Ministry of Labour to operate for the organization and controlling of social security issues for the working masses. The institution's name was changed in 1964 to Social Insurance Agency, which operated from 1965 to 2006, and was superseded to form the Social Security Institution operating today.

⁴⁷⁴ Anon., *Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu Konut Kredisi Mevzuatı*, (Ankara: Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu, 1977), 10-16.

question, which is an element of development and would catalyze social, economical and cultural development, as a condition of enhancing national savings, governing the priorities and investments together with planning development for public welfare“to provide decent and healthy housing for poor and low-income families” with its 41st article.⁴⁷⁵

In this regard, Ekmel Zamil, the Director of the Labour Employment Agency’s İstanbul section (İstanbul İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu) and also Gerhard Kessler’s pupil, had noted Hayrettin Erkmen’s promotion of labour unions for the construction of workers’ housing increased the activity of workers’ housing cooperatives founded by labour unions after 1953, and reached to its peak in 1958 at 700 housing cooperatives with 26.000 shareholders, most of them being workers’ housing cooperatives established by labour unions.⁴⁷⁶ Likewise, the increase in financing of housing construction at 90% by İSK funds helped the increase in the activities of workers’ housing cooperatives.⁴⁷⁷ In this regard, İlhan Altan, the Deputy of the General Director of the Workers’ Insurance Agency, declared the total account of workers’ housing loans was 40 million liras whereas it would be increased by 50 million liras at the end of 1955.⁴⁷⁸ At the end of 1955, the account was reached to 47 million liras with a finished number of 5199 houses, and Altan, now the General Director proposed 77 million liras for the end of 1956 with a number of 10.000 houses.⁴⁷⁹ Zamil marked 103 million liras were issued for the use of 103 workers’ housing cooperatives, and 10.034 houses were realized until the end of 1958.

Indeed, housing cooperatives were founded and operated in especially İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa, Adana and Eskişehir whose population extended beyond

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁷⁶ Zamil, “Yapı Kooperatifleri,” 39.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ayın Tarihi*, 3 June 1955.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

Table 4.2 The account statistics of the Mortgage Loans Bank during the years 1955-1958.⁴⁸⁰

		Housing Mortgage Loans Account at 7% Interest (TL)	Housing Mortgage Loans Account at 5% Interest (TL)	Workers' Housing Mortgage Loans Account at 4% Interest (TL)
1955	31 March	224.060.868,87-	64.951.127,30-	6.582.444,49
	30 June			
	30 September	273.485.957,32	66.301.914,27	11.777.890,22
	31 December	-	-	15.185.746,79
1956	31 March	-	69.220.368,23	16.253.901,85
	30 June			
	30 September	-	69.776.901	22.016.951,46
	31 December	-	-	26.252.653,31
1957	31 March			
	30 June	-	69.676.654,23	30.889.625,75
	30 September	-	71.462.052,60	33.804.289,23
	31 December	-	75.033.044,53	38.841.795,33
1958	31 March	-	73.365.472,69	41.211.071,79
	30 June	-		
	30 September	-	71 369 779,31	49 232.652,56
	31 December	-	76.445.951,70	58.676.092,64

10.000, and which had more than 50 housing cooperatives. Keleş indicated that workers' housing cooperatives counted as 739 of which 542 was operating in those six greater cities whereas other housing cooperatives counted as 1.475 of which 941 was located in those six.⁴⁸¹

Zadil argued self-help method in workers' housing production was valuable in terms of the "individual freedom to cooperate," the condition of which could not

⁴⁸⁰ The statistical information is gathered from *Resmi Gazete* issues in order of 20 May 1955, 10 March 1956, 25 May 1956, 17 November 1956, 13 March 1957, 12 August 1957, 11 November 1957, 6 March 1958, 22 Mayıs 1958, 6 March 1959, 18 November 1958.

⁴⁸¹ Keleş, *Türkiye'de Konut Kooperatifleri*, 46.

be proved in countries like the USSR where “so-called institutions in the name of cooperatives” could not be regarded as real cooperatives since “free will to enrolling in or proceeding from a cooperation” was not allowed.⁴⁸²

What Zamil offered for the solution to the workers’ housing question in Turkey is notable since he advertised the self-help and freedom discourse of the Marshall Plan in workers’ housing production promoting homeownership model for workers next to his other praxis in the application of the Marshall Plan’s ideology in Turkey. Claiming that “individual freedom in organization for an economical aim but not in the form of capital” was crucial; Zamil divided building cooperatives into three types: First were “cooperative housing societies” which were based on the cooperative ownership model covering land and housing aimed at housing shareholders in exchange for low rents, the model of which was developed in Germany. Second were “construction or building cooperatives” to construct housing blocks of which shareholders could own an apartment. Third were “housing savings banks” aimed at providing necessary loans to build house, the ownership model of which was developed in Britain, and can exemplified with Emlak Kredi Bank in Turkey.⁴⁸³

The solution for the workers’ housing question in Turkey was actually sought in the realization of the second model by the agency of workers’ housing cooperatives. Zamil illustrates this second case with the first cooperative housing example of Turkey dated to 1935 as part of the modern planning of Hermann Jansen which was Bahçelievler-Ankara, the collaboration of municipality and housing cooperative in Levent-Istanbul, Journalists’ Cooperative Housing in Esentepe-Istanbul, workers’ housing cooperative funded by İstanbul Labour Unions Assembly in Şehremini-İstanbul, all workers’ housing neighbourhoods in Paşabahçe, Bakırköy, Kocamustafapaşa, Mecidiyeköy built by workers’ cooperatives, the workers’ housing settlements that the Workers’ Insurance

⁴⁸² Zamil, “Yapı Kooperatifleri,” 33.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

Agency (İSK) constructed in Suadiye-İstanbul, the workers' cooperative housing in Dragos Mountain-İstanbul, and so.⁴⁸⁴

Occupying the widest percentage in the workers' housing construction in Turkey at the time, workers' housing cooperatives established by labour unions and financed by İSK with the purpose of making workers homeowners, were practiced workers' housing in the form of single-family individual houses.⁴⁸⁵ Zamil claimed the building construction costs gradually becoming more expensive those days resulted in the preference of the type of apartment block instead of individual houses which actually were more expensive to be built, also noting the opponents of liberal ideology were supporting such workers' housing cooperatives to ease homeownership.⁴⁸⁶

Hayrettin Erkmen, former Minister of Labour, and Labour Deputy in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, was one of the officials who worked for the workers' housing question in Turkey under Ministry of Labour. It is known that workers' housing projects were realized along the railway route in İzmit, Kayseri, and Eskişehir by his initiative.⁴⁸⁷ Erkmen mentioned at an assembly meeting in 27, February 1958 that nearly 17.000 workers' housing had been built by then and announced 3.000 of workers' housing in the form of apartment blocks be built by the funds of İSK provided for governmental institutions as well as workers' housing cooperatives towards the end of the year.⁴⁸⁸

Zamil mentioned Professor Lutge, who was a housing expert from the University of Munchen and worked sometime in the Economics Department of the İstanbul

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 35-36.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 36.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ İsmail Topuzoğlu, SSK Üzerine Toplumsal Tarih Tanıklıkları Dizisi, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 9 May 1996. <http://portreler.fisek.org.tr/ssk-uzerine-toplumsal-tarih-tanikliklari-dizisi-prof-dr-ismail-topuzoglu/> (accessed June 2, 2015).

⁴⁸⁸ TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem: XI. Cilt 2, Toplantı 48. Birleşim, 27.02.1958. <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d11/c002/tbmm11002048.pdf> (accessed June 2, 2015).

University in 1957, regarding his information-sharing on the housing cooperatives in Germany.⁴⁸⁹ Like the first examples of the workers' housing cooperatives in Germany were realized with the funds provided via old age insurance as part of the social security legislations, the experience of Turkey in workers' housing construction by the agency of workers' housing cooperatives was realized with the funds released from the old age pensions collected at İSK during and after the Marshall Plan.

4.2. Marshall Plan's Program and Themes for Workers' Housing Question in Turkey from the Discourse of Development to Democracy

This subchapter deals with the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey within the framework of the development and democracy discourse fed up by the collaboration of DP and the USA as part of the Marshall Plan's ideological, political, economical and cultural framework. On this occasion, in the subchapter 4.3.1, the Marshall Plan's program and assistance on the postwar workers' housing question will be sought to analyze in relation to its promotion of rationalization and productivity in relation to the organization of labour regarding the efficiency of labour force over decent housing. Followingly, in the subchapter 4.3.2, the locational dimension of the workers' housing question as part of the Marshall Plan's topographical framework will be discussed. After that, in the subchapter 4.3.3, the Marshall Plan's substantial themes of rationalization and productivity, which was effective in the course of the morphological scale of the workers' housing question, will be examined in relation to the construction industry feeding up the workers' housing discourse advertising low-cost and prefabricated housing. Lastly, in the subchapter 4.3.4, the habitual program of the Marshall Plan will be reviewed to locate the cooperation and self-help discourse in the formation of workers' housing question along with the habitual transformation of worker to citizen by commonization, standardization of life by promotion of homeownership and household consumerization.

⁴⁸⁹ Zadir, "Yapı Kooperatifleri," 37.

4.2.1. From Factory to Home: Rationalization, Productivity and Workers' Welfare

Marshall Plan's operations on labour at manpower scale were grounded upon the maximization of industrial and agricultural production through the expansion of labour efficiency as discussed in the Chapter 2.2.3.1. At the Manpower For the case of Turkey as well, which entered the Marshall Plan's scenario as a non-industrialized country but proceeded as an industrialized country with the formation of a modern working class, workers' housing question occupied an important place for the expansion labour efficiency and the "revitalization of Turkish economy through Marshall Aid."

The issue of labour productivity was actually brought to agenda earlier with Türkiye İktisat Kongresi assembled in İzmir in 1923. However, it was institutionalized with the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan with the foundation of the National Productivity Agency (MPM) for rationalization of industrial and agricultural production together with infrastructural and building industries although the official foundation of the institution dates not to the official eras of the plan. The Bellagio Conference organized by *Division for Areas in the Process of the Economic Development of the European Productivity Agency* by the agency of the Rockefeller Foundation "as a response to the urgent requests for study and action addressed by Greece, Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia and Turkey from the EPA," for the "underdeveloped regions of Europe"⁴⁹⁰ was set the framework for the foundation of VPK which would supersede the latter MPM officially established in 1965. To note, as later remarked in its establishment law, providing technical assistance in relation to productivity was counted as a duty of MPM.⁴⁹¹

Within this context, the address of the Minister of Labour Hayrettin Erkmen in the 10th Congress of İSK is remarkable. Erkmen pointed out "the more increase in

⁴⁹⁰ Isard, *History of Regional Science*, 141.

⁴⁹¹ Milli Produktivite Merkezi Kuruluş Kanunu, *Resmi Gazete*, 17 April 1965.

production the more production by larger masses, therefore, the more interest of the employer, the more wages that a worker gets.”⁴⁹² Moreover, Ekmen mentioned “social development as a success of the Turkish worker,” noting the importance of “the cooperation of the worker and employer for mutual interest,” emphasizing the cooperation discourse of the Marshall Plan for the interest of both company unions and labour unions, and hence, propagated the organization of employers and workers to get together in federations noting the role of labour unions not to focus on “the class division” but rather be “conscious, on duty occupational organizations.”

In this regard, what Erkmen proposed for the welfare of the working class was the welfare of the employers arguing the relationship between employers and workers resembled father and son’s, therefore, argued employers should have provided the ease as their companies allowed since they know a “faithful, hardworking, contented for the right given” working class works for the welfare of the capital. In parallel, Erkmen advised workers to respect for employers and the government knowing that their life depended on the sustainability of companies they work for.⁴⁹³

The address of Erkmen is notable in terms of some reasons in understanding the ideological, political, economical and cultural framework of the Marshall Plan introduced for the working class of the participating countries. First, it summarized the labour scheme based on the relation between the productivity of companies and efficiency of labour force based on the role casted by DP government in commitment to the Marshall Plan to the working class as the cogwheels of an industrializing country. Second, it recommended ensuring social security of workers for the capital interest of companies. And last, workers should respect for the welfare of thir employers for not going on strike but organizing in labour

⁴⁹² *Ayın Tarihi*, 29 June 1955.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

unions as a ‘democratic right’ and as part of the ‘free will’ to defend their occupational rights.

In order to create working class of “faithful, hardworking, contented for the right given” body, the Marshall Plan’s technical assistance took labour within the US-guided youth programs to seminars as well as organization in US-guided labour unions. In this regard, seminars especially covering unionism were realized. Social insurance and public assistance were part of the issues taken into consideration in those seminars next to cooperativism tackled with a particular course. Zadil noted that seminars on political economy, community knowledge, and international relations were also given in the USA in an article he focused the importance of the education of workers and labour union members.⁴⁹⁴

Ekmel Zadil, who was the director of the Labour Employment Agency founded in 1946 next to the Ministry of Labour and İSK, gave a conference on the condition of workers’ education in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and Turkey, where he noted attendees to workers’ training seminars were paid in Germany approximately 57 DMs for married couples, 30 DMs for singles, and 5 DMs for each child.⁴⁹⁵ Providing the distance between training center and workers’ place of residences was longer than 500 kilometers, 5 marks were paid additionally per day spent enroute, or travelling expenditures are paid in show of an invoice.

In Turkey, seminars covering five regions of the country including Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Adana and Zonguldak would be given in two formats, as mentioned by Zadil, seminars by American instructors, and seminars by Turkish professionals working in the Ministry of Labour and university professors.⁴⁹⁶ The first seminar was organized by the Ministry of Labour after making an agreement

⁴⁹⁴ Ekmel Zadil, “İşçi ve Sendikacıların Eğitimi,” *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* 7, (1955): 132.

⁴⁹⁵ Zadil, “İşçi ve Sendikacıların Eğitimi,” 139.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 146.

with the ICA in 1955. The issues to be discussed by the American specialists included unionism, union management, union and community relations to deal with the social aid institutions as part of the call for “responsibility to the society and participating in the community life,” differences between “the free union movements in the US” and “the unions under dominance of the Iron Curtain,” social and recreational activities appropriate for unions, and advantages provided to workers by the productivity of the profit margin and the history of collective bargaining as well as the ways of mediatorship and reconciliation.⁴⁹⁷

In this regard, Zâdîl mentioned Samet Ağaoğlu, the former Minister of Labour and also an effective politician during DP’s power, to declare the opening of an institution which would deal with the “labour question and affairs” to initiate developments in the quality of workers and labour force as a developing country, and that he agreed with university rectors for the foundation of a workers’ university in Turkey.⁴⁹⁸

The application of the American model in labour affairs for more industrial productivity was appraised by the government officials in relation to the condition of working and housing. In this sense, like the President of Republic Celâl Bayar become satisfied after hearing the labour management system in State Railways was based on the American model like it was also verbalized in a different manner by the Minister of Labour Haluk Şaman during an address of himself on the government’s policy of “Her İşçiye Bir Çatı.” (See Figure 4.36 and Figure 4.37) On Bayar’s question asking the condition of workers’ housing provided for the workers of State Railways in Adapazarı, the General Director of State Railways replied 1.000 houses for workers were laid foundations after indicating the industrial management system was of the American model.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Ekmel Zâdîl, “Mesleki Yetiştirme ve İşçi Akademileri,” *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* 6 (1954): 37-38.

⁴⁹⁹ *Aydın Tarihi*, 6 August 1953.



Figure 4.36. The propaganda poster of the Democratic Party in the general elections of 1954. Source: Milli Kütüphane Microfilm Archive.

“TÜRK İŞÇİSİ AMERİKAN İŞÇİSİNDEN FARKSIZDIR,,

Çalışma Bakanı Halûk Şaman “Her işçiye bir mesken parolamızda devam edeceğiz,, dedi

Kayseri, Husulî, Pazar içinin işirakiyle yapılmıştır. Kongrede söz alan DP milletvekillerinden Recep Kırım: «10 yıl evvel çalışmamız kapılar yüzümüze kapanırdı. Bugünkü hükümet, dâvamız dâva bilmektedir. Uzerelli isin hakkımız gerçekleşmiştir.

Bundan sonraki dilekleriniz de gerçeklecektir. Çok şükür, 10 yıl içinde Türk işçisinin kadrosı değişti. Bir Amerikan işçisinden neredir elakik? Niçin üstü de kapısında bir otomobilinin, evinizde bir bus dolabınız olmasın?» demıştır.

Federaayon Başkanı Celâl Beyaz ise, işçinin, büyük toprak sahiplerine,

(Devamı sa. 6. st. 1 de)

«Türk işçisi Amerikan işçisinden farksızdır»

(Baştarafı 1 inci sayfada) rinden çok vergi verdiğini belirtmiştir.

ŞAMAN KONUŞTU

Çalışma Bakanı Halûk Şaman, Türkiye Petrol İşçileri Sendikası Yapı Kooperatifinin temel atma töreninde, «Her işçiye bir mesken parolası ile yolunuza devam edeceğiz» demıştır.

Kooperatifin Eti'lerde inşa ettireceği, 663 dairelik 12 blok apartmanın temelî dün yapılan bir törenle atılmıştır.

Bir aile etten zehirlendi

Konya, Husulî, Pazar Sebrimizin Ocidiye mahallesinde bir aile, kasaptan aldıkları etten zehirlenmiş ve hastaneye kaldırılmıştır. Alleden dört kişi, yapılan tıbbî müdahale sonunda kurtarılmış, fakat aile reisi olan Cemal Tunmaz ölmüş tür.

BUGÜNGÜ HAVA

İSTANBUL'DA: Yağışlı 14-12 5 - 14 arası.

ANKARA'DA: Yağışlı. 12-10 10 - 17 arası.

İZMİR'DE: Yağışlı. 22 - 20 22 - 30 arası.

Figure 4.37 The Minister of Labour's address declaring the government's policy "Her İşçiye Bir Mesken" would continue. Source: *Akşam*, 18 April 1960.

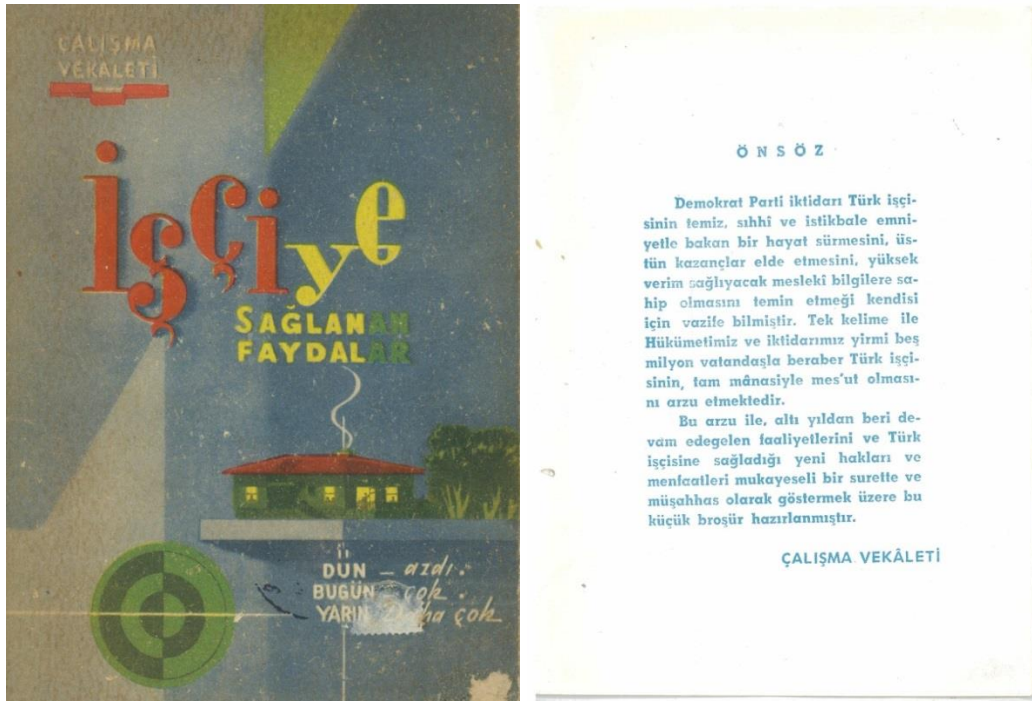


Figure 4.38 The cover and preface of the booklet prepared by Çalışma Vekaleti for propagating the Democratic Party's efforts for the welfare of workers. Source: Anon., *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*, (Ankara: Çalışma Vekaleti Yayınları, 1957).

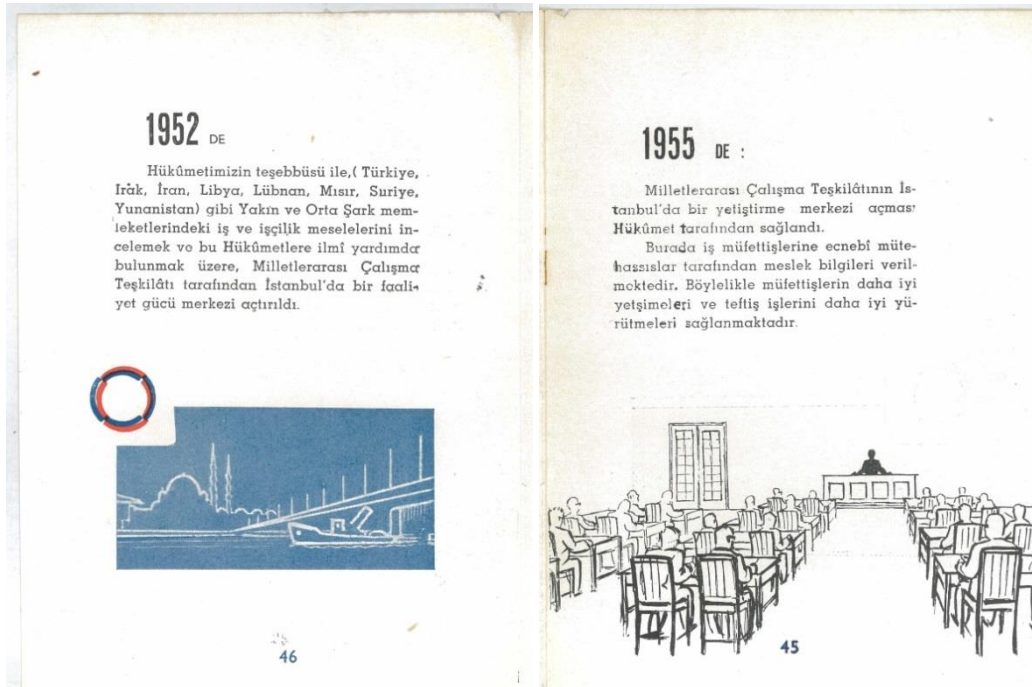


Figure 4.39 The sample pages from the booklet prepared by Çalışma Vekaleti. Source: Ibid.

In this regard, Zonguldak was chosen as the core region with its rich coal reserves where the Marshall Plan's policies regarding the rationalization of coal mining production in an American way to work for providing the energy required in the realization of the ERP based on the increasing of capital through mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption, the trilogy of which required great energy supply. In this sense, "the mechanization of underground transportation, the sinking of new shafts, provision of hoisting equipment and surface electrical and transportation facilities, construction of new coal washeries and improvement of the port of Zonguldak" was projected and initiated by the Marshall Plan in 1950 "to increase coal production by 38 per cent and cut back production costs by 20 per cent."

Concordantly, workers' housing question took its place in the programming of the Marshall Plan as the generator and catalyzer of the productivity of coal mining production in the region, which was paid 58 million dollars for its realization.⁵⁰⁰ Although investing on housing as to reduce the prices of life costs like clothing sector was aimed in the beginning of the Marshall Plan's program in Turkey,⁵⁰¹ financial assistance to the development of the housing sector was realized to some extent. Indeed, the program of the Marshall Plan regarding the workers' housing production especially in the case of Zonguldak was grounded upon technical assistance for the integration labour to the plan covering development programs next to labour education and organization with the aim of enhancing labour efficiency as Özeke summarized. In this sense, the amount for the financial assistance to construction of the workers' housing in the region was decreased to build "4.000 detached houses with gardens" instead of 14.400, which was projected before.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰⁰ Ahmet Ali Özeke, "Türkiye Sanayiinde İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* 3, (1950): 127-128.

⁵⁰¹ Tören, "Marshall Planı," 178-179.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 127-128.

Within this framework, the address of the Minister of Labour Hayrettin Erkmen on the mutual relationship between the social security of the workers and productivity of the coal-mining in Zonguldak mining region pointed out the significance of workers' housing as to provide workers' welfare:

Our aim is to provide citizens welfare regardless of their occupations. The most important issue here keeping us busy is the housing problem. Your government has addressed the workers' housing question. This year, 10,000 workers' houses will be built in the country. Zonguldak's share is 1,000 among these 10,000 houses. These 1,000 houses will be finished in spring next year. This number could be 1,500; however, 1,000 more will be built next year. It is subsistent that productivity will increase by attaching worker to his/her house. If the productivity of the firm you work for increases, it is for sure you will be rewarded. In this regard, it is our responsibility to arrange your salaries in accordance with today's living conditions. We believe that our policy of rapidly increasing our citizens' living conditions will also have positive influences in coal production.⁵⁰³

Within this context, rationalization of production and expansion of productivity as the most important themes of the Marshall Plan in economical development, as well it was for economical reconstruction in Europe, was instrumental in the formation of workers' housing question in Turkey. Not only the urge to house increasing masses of workers around production facilities but also providing decent housing for workers for the realization of the Fordist formula "the more labour efficiency, the more productivity," workers' housing question was taken into consideration governmentally in close commitment to the program and themes of the Marshall Plan in company with the intervention of the financial and technical assistance of the plan.

⁵⁰³ Translation of the quotation from Turkish to English belongs to me. The original quotation is: "Gayemiz vatanın her köşesinde işi ne olursa olsun her vatandaşı refaha ulaştırmaktır... Burada bizi meşgul eden en önemli mesele mesken davasıdır. Hükümetiniz işçi evleri meselesini ele almıştır. Bu yıl, yurttan on bin işçi evi yaptırılacaktır. Bu on bin evden Zonguldak'a düşen bin evdir. Gelecek yıl baharında bu bin ev bitmiş olacaktır. Bu miktar 1500 de olabilir, fakat müteakip yılda behemehal 1000 işçi evi yaptırılacaktır. İşçiyi meskenine bağlamak suretiyle randımanın artacağı da tabiidir... Çalıştığımız müessesenin verimi arttığından bunun maddî karşılığını göreceğiz tabiidir. Bu bakımdan ücretlerinizi bugünkü hayat şartlarına göre ayarlamak vazifemizdir... Vatandaşlarımızın hayat seviyelerinin süratle yükseltilmesi politikamızda mesnedini bulan bu ayarlamaların kömür istihsalinde de müspet tesir yapacağına inanıyoruz." Minister of Labour Hayrettin Erkmen in his meeting with labour representatives in Zonguldak. *Ayın Tarihi*, 24 August 1953.

4.2.2. From City to Country: Decentralization, Suburbanization and the Introduction of the Neighbourhood Unit

The rise of regional planning efforts at governmental level in Turkey dates to 1960s as mentioned in the previous chapter. With the acceleration of industrialization and the developments in public administration and local governance after the Marshall Plan financial and technical assistance accompanied by the UN technical assistance, regional planning was regarded as an inevitable field of application in economical development in terms of production and energy sources.

However, the favored issue of regional development also gave birth to the problem of migration, and hence, labour mobility. Regional disparities caused by the fattening of a region against sinking of others by the expansion of production facilities realized the problem of labour mobility at high levels.

As Hakan Koçak also puts forward, the problem of labour mobility, being one of the most popular topics regarding the social policy literature of the 1950s, had a close connection with workers' housing question.⁵⁰⁴ Koçak mentions the anxiety of DP about the growing percentage of labour mobility in industries, and refers to the party's politics to house workers near industrial plants with social facilities was proposed to prevent seasonal mobility of workers, and to provide "stability of workers' at workplace," in other words, "the spatial stabilization of workers."⁵⁰⁵ The spatial stabilization of workers could also help the construction of company unions instead of labour unions, which was manipulated by the government during the 1950s as a tool to control the working class movements in connection to the American intervention by the Marshall Plan.

⁵⁰⁴ Hakan Koçak, "Türkiye İşçi Sınıfının Oluşumunun Sessiz Yılları: 1950'ler," *Toplum ve Bilim* 113, (2008): 105.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

In this sense, what Koçak clarified is significant with regard to the Marshall Plan's program and themes regarding the relation between labour mobility and the construction of major workers' housing settlements next to the large industries. It is notable that workers' housing cooperatives of the 1950s were mostly composed of members who work at the same place. In search for the easy commuting distance between production facilities and workers' housing, housing settlements were promoted to be constructed next to industries like the state company towns of the single-party Republican period.

In this regard, it is notable that the British urban planner and architect Jan Jago, who visited Karabük Steel Factory and Turhal Sugar Factory before the official introduction of the Marshall Plan, emphasized the significance of housing workers at a short distance from work in order to provide the psychological satisfaction of the worker during his life.⁵⁰⁶ On this occasion, Jago mentioned the cases of Karabük and Turhal as "towns with an attractive landscape near factories," which actually were good examples to provide workers' satisfaction of life.⁵⁰⁷

Indeed, the physical connection of workers' housing and production facilities was regarded in terms not only of workers' psychological satisfaction of life, which would help the expansion of labour efficiency, and hence, productivity of companies, but of rationalization of time and space required for the productivity and expansion of profit maximization. Shortening the time required for a worker to commute between work and home, housing workers around production facilities helped gain much more time to rationalize the physical integration of workers' into production.

⁵⁰⁶ Jan Jago pointed out two pot stands of modern urban planning as providing rapid transportation for distribution of products and healthy housing in full sun and greenery. He also put forward some of the key concepts of the 1950s such as the location of housing at the rural periphery next to cities, the necessity to build individual houses settled free in the middle of greenery for a healthy life, and to create neighbourliness. The potentiality of building diversity in isolated housing was also taken into consideration in comparison to row houses of 19th century England. See Jan Jago, "İngiltere'de Şehir Plancılığı" *Arkitekt* 189-190, (1947): 211-227.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 227.

Actually, the issue of labour stabilization was a crucial element of the Fordist development since mass production, distribution and consumption could not be realized by a mobile labour. Noting the paradigmatic continuity between the statist economy-politics of the single-party Republican period and the liberal DP government in terms of their approach towards labour force and the role of workers' housing in the formation of a stable working class, was dealt in the same manner in between two periods in modern Turkish labour affairs. As an example, the German scholarship and expertise, which characterized and institutionalized the manner of the labour affairs of the single-party Republican period, also actively took part in the formation of the postwar labour affairs under the guidance of the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan. For instance, Gerhard Kessler who worked in the region with Ekmel Zaidil dealt with the issue of labour stabilization in terms of productivity. Kessler wrote the importance of decent housing around production facilities to provide labour stabilization for productivity of the firm in Zonguldak Subarea and Karabük after his examination of the condition of labour in situ.⁵⁰⁸

On the other hand, settling workers in single-family garden houses with their families was seen, not only for domestic workers but foreign workers in Turkey as well, as the best scheme for the psychological, economical and physical integration of workers into the factories and cities where they produce and consume, and which would help unfasten their ties with abroad.⁵⁰⁹

Likewise, labour stabilization was also aimed at unfastening workers' ties to country life and economy by stabilizing workers to shelter and work lifelong at the same place, therefore providing a permanent and qualified working class for more productivity.⁵¹⁰ Özeke mentions only an average of 40-50% permanence

⁵⁰⁸ “[T]he administrative body made efforts on creating a stable working class and servants mass since the first day of its foundation. The best way to ensure was and still is to construct decent houses.” See Gerhard Kessler, “Zonguldak ve Karabükteki Çalışma Şartları” *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları* 2, (1949): 25.

⁵⁰⁹ Özeke, “İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi,” 120.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

regarding same workplace and housing settlement was reached by workers of textile and iron-and-steel industries, which were the cogwheels of postwar industrial development of Turkey, whereas only 5-8% was reached in mineworkers. For even that small percentage of mineworkers, but effective in the economical development in the country, it was aimed at 80% for providing permanency via settling 55% around 35 kilometers periphery around mines, and connecting them and other worker villages to mines by developed highways and rapid transportation facilities in the case of Çatalağzı, a mining region in Zonguldak Subarea. On the other hand, 25% of workers would be settled in the region with their families in the tenancy houses to be constructed by the company.⁵¹¹ Indeed, the peripheral development of workers' housing was regarded cheaper than tenancy housing in factories and mines, and hence, was claimed to create a stronger condition for productivity accompanied by social and economical insurance. As Özeke noted, the workers' housing politics applied in Zonguldak Subarea was seen as the means of hope in the industrial development of Turkey after Karabük.⁵¹²

The significance of the stabilization of labour also took place in the architecture journals such as *Arkitekt* that published articles of foreign architects, planners and experts such as Jan Jago as mentioned. *Arkitekt* requested news and articles from the United States Information Service (USIS), which played a great role in shaping the American propaganda during the Marshall Plan in Europe and Turkey.⁵¹³ After the foundation of United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953 in order to inform countries in service for the national interests of the USA, USIS would serve

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 129.

⁵¹² Ibid., 130.

⁵¹³ For some of the articles requested by *Arkitekt* from the USIS section in İstanbul which indicates the American manner of housing production and culture see Anon., "Birleşik Amerika'da Endüstri Banliyölerine Taşındıkça Şehirdışı İnşaat Faaliyeti Çoğalmaktadır," *Arkitekt* 281, 136-137., Mary Davis Gillios, "Birleşik Amerika'da Modern Ev Mimarisi" *Arkitekt* 243-244, (1952): 69-70., Anon., "İnşaatta Yeni Bir Usul," *Arkitekt* 239-240, (1951): 220-222., Jane Jacobs, "Fakir Mahallelerin Ortadan Kaldırılması" *Arkitekt* 241-242, (1952): 90-92., Mary Kandy, "Beton Göklere Doğru Yayılıyor," *Arkitekt* 283, (1956): 16-18.

as an overseas section of USIA.⁵¹⁴ USIS was a news agency dealing with public affairs and working under Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USA not only providing news about economical, social and cultural issues about the USA covering planning and architecture culture as well but also providing scholarships for Turkish journalists such as Bülent Ecevit to visit the USA. News, radio broadcasts, films, prints, educational bulletins were among the propaganda materials of USIS.⁵¹⁵

Within this context, the American manner of workers' housing production and culture was propagated with reference to the location of workers' housing. An anonymous article published in *Arkitekt* reporting the merits of the physical proximity between industrial facilities and housing, for instance, advertised tax deductions supplied by the help of community facilities such as infrastructure and schools in workers' settlements provided by companies.⁵¹⁶

What is significant regarding the workers' housing cases in most of the industrializing cities of Turkey, which were forming their hinterlands characterizing the regional development like İstanbul, İzmit, Bursa, Eskişehir, Zonguldak and Adana is that workers' housing complexes were mostly settled on the peripheral countryside of the cities. This was, seemingly, a result of the increasing land speculation in city centers by rapid urbanization which prevented dense construction of low-cost workers' housing whereas there was a political manipulation to be searched under such a condition. Indeed, workers' housing

⁵¹⁴ Cangül Örnek, "1950'li Yıllarda ABD ile Buluşma: Anti-Komünizm, Modernleşmecilik ve Maneviyatçılık," Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010, 116.

⁵¹⁵ USIS also founded intermediary agencies to propagate the Marshall Plan. The *Amerika Haus* Program in Germany," provided centers to be operated by USIS for the purpose of disseminating the American culture abroad. For more information, see Jane C. Loeffler, "America Exports Democracy," *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies*, (New York, NY: The Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 89. See also Cangül Örnek, *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵¹⁶ "Şayet iş yeri şehir civarında oturanlara yakın olursa yol ve mektep gibi umuma şamil işlerde endüstrinin gösterdiği kolaylıklar dolayısıyla bu semtin gittikçe artan vergilerine kısmen yardım etmiş olacaktır." For more information see Anon., "Birleşik Amerika'da Endüstri."

production by the experience of workers' housing cooperatives offered the schemata of a suburban domesticity in garden suburbs.

Ahmet Ali Özeke, the business and management economist in İstanbul University, prescribes habiting as an initial measure for a regular, standing and qualified workers' mass. Indeed, he notes that wage regulations and social security precautions could not work for a rationalized production without a regular, standing and qualified mass of workers housed in healthy and comfortable homes providing that the location of workers' housing was to be in relation to the industrial location as below:

The first precaution to take for breeding a stable, permanent and qualified mass of workers is housing. However, high efficiency could only be expected from a worker who is settled with his/her family in healthy and humanitarian conditions in cities housing the factories they work for or in industrial sites at the countryside and around mines. Providing companies who employ workers settled by this means that reasonable results could be achieved from technical rationalization, wage regulations at a premium promoting eagerness and efforts for working, and what is more, from social security precautions.⁵¹⁷

On the other hand, Özeke proposes decentralization against the problem of how to house workers densely populated in cities as a result of migration from country to city.⁵¹⁸ Thereby, the population movements could be hindered by balancing the population difference between country and city. Decentralization of workers' housing next to industrial dispersion, thereby, appears as a crucial solution for the location of the workers' housing question. The garden city paradigm, in this sense, seems to respond to the bureaucratic and technocratic framework offered for the habitual scheme of the workers' housing question, described by Özeke as such:

⁵¹⁷ The translation of the quotation belongs to me. The original quotation is: "Daimî, devamlı ve kalifiye bir işçi kütlesi yetiştirmek yolunda alınacak ilk tedbir, barındırmadır: Ancak, çalıştıkları fabrikaların bulunduğu şehirlerde veya şehir dışı sanayi bölgelerinde, maden ocakları civarında, aileleriyle birlikte, sıhhi, insanî şartlar içinde, rahatça yerleşmiş olan işçiden yüksek randıman beklenebilir. Ancak, bu suretle yerleşmiş ve barınmış olan profesyonel işçilere sahip işletmelerdedir ki, teknik rasyonalizasyondan, çalışma şevk ve gayretini kamçılayan primli ücret sistemlerinden -ve hattâ çeşitli sosyal politika tedbirlerinden de bu vadede- hakkile netice alınabilir." Özeke, "İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," 108.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

To house 55% of workers with their families in small garden houses around mines!.. It was also thought that the worker families who would settle in houses with gardens would be productive and increase their living standards since they would cope with gardening and other small agricultural staff, and besides, through the handlooms which would be distributed to worker families especially in winter months.⁵¹⁹

However, the postwar tendency of the policy makers, economists and planners towards workers' housing was not providing tenancy housing around mines as it was the policy of company towns adopted in the single-party Republican period, which actually was more successful in physically fastening workers to companies.⁵²⁰ Instead of the tenancy model of the former period, the politically, economically and habitually approved model especially towards 1960s was linking worker masses living in workers' housing settlements in the peripheries of the production settlements.

This shift in direction could be explained by two reasons. First, infrastructural development in terms of interregional and intercity highways for the Marshall Plan's program on the flow of raw materials, food and goods also worked for commuting workers between work and home next to the promotion of automobile ownership within the working class. Second, the scheme of garden city could not characterize the general layout of the workers' housing settlements in industrial and mining sites since the peripheral development also went hand in hand with the the concentration in cities by uncontrolled migration and *gecekondus* that also increasing land rent resulting in the activity of property developers and real estate policies making housing a means of profit maximization. Together with the

⁵¹⁹ The translation of the quotation belongs to me. The original quotation is: "Bahçeli evlere yerleşecek olan işçi ailelerinin bir taraftan, bahçivanlık ve diğer küçük ziraat işleriyle meşgul olmaları, diğer taraftan, yine bu, ailelere dağıtılacak el tezgâhları bilhassa kış aylarında çalışmak suretile, müstahsil bir duruma geçmeleri, geçim seviyelerini yükseltmeleri de ayrıca, düşünülmüş bulunuyordu." Ibid., 126.

⁵²⁰ Karatosun and Arıtan interpret the withdrawal of the tenancy model in the form of workers' lodgments in state factories by the increasing opportunities for workers' housing after 1950s. See Müjgan Karatosun and Özlem Arıtan, "1950 Öncesi ve Sonrası Cumhuriyet Sanayileşmesi Işığında Aydın Tekstil Yerleşkesi," *Mimarlık* 355, no. Eylül-Ekim, 2010. <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=369&RecID=2485> (accessed June 6, 2015).



Figure 4.40 A workers' housing project composed of single-family houses in Merinos, Bursa. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*, (Ankara: İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Neşriyatı, Doğu Matbaası, 1954).



Figure 4.41 A workers' housing project composed of single-family houses in Zonguldak. Source: Anon, *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*.

fattening up cement industry next to other building materials by the financial assistance and the introduction of foreign capital regarding those industries with the Marshall Plan, the single-family garden house progressed towards multi-family housing block.

4.2.3. From Single Family Dwelling to Mass Housing: Prefabrication and Standardization of Low-Cost Workers' Housing

The favored themes of rationalization and productivity of the Marshall Plan regarding the efficiency of labour force was also in service for the manner of workers' housing production in terms of construction methods and building materials. The postwar discourse of low-cost housing, likewise, it was after the Great Depression of 1929, was produced in accordance with the political and economical framework of the Marshall Plan. In this regard, the rationalization of building construction through the American machines and expertise for its productivity by work organization was programmed by decreasing the labour force required to finish the buildings in a limited time whereas rapidness in building construction also meant mass production of workers' housing, which made housing an industrial product and commodity as well.

Indeed, the mass production of building materials, especially cement, took the greatest share in the technical and practical shift from the scheme of single-family dwelling to multi-family housing block. Not only since the Marshall Plan counterpart funds agreements urged import of cement, timber, aluminum and other building materials, but also the countrywide expansion in the opening of cement factories was effective in the morphological scale of workers' housing question.

Indeed, the International Style esported from the USA and became widespread in not only the participating countries but also in modernizing Middle East, Far East, Africa and Latin America, legitimized the morphological discourse of low-cost housing. For the case of Turkey, 1950s witnessed the predominance of the parcel block in the form of individual apartment in Turkey. The development of tunnel-frame construction or the block elevation system Youtz-Slick which was promoted

to eliminate the traditional moulding method⁵²¹ by the agency of the American companies saved time in constructing highrise blocks, and space against the increasing land value offering more housing for worker masses in cities.

An article originally published in the American periodical *Christian Science Monitor* but serviced by the USIS section in İstanbul to *Arkitekt* titled “Concrete sprawls towards the sky,” indicates well the favored construction method in housing construction.⁵²² Starting with a quote from the American modern architect Eero Saarinen, “Every age has to create an architecture based on its technology and which clarifies the spirit of time,” The author claims the modern technology not only utilized with steel and concrete as building materials but also modernized the manner of construction with those materials.⁵²³ Unlike the premodern way of construction by superposition of individual elements such as concrete brick to form a wall, the modern way of construction was to comprehend the construction process as an entire body. Indeed, not only the technical manner of building construction but also the economical part of building construction via emphasizing cheapness and rapidness achieved by prefabricated construction systems for reinforced concrete buildings was promoted in the 1950s. Therefore, the morphological shift regarding workers’ housing was the transformation of traditional building materials such as brick in exchange for modern and mass produced building materials such as concrete, steel and aluminum.

The construction of housing with low-cost materials such as concrete and steel and the prefabrication of structural elements of housing via the block elevation system, Youtz-Slick method and so forth, which was promoted as “the new method in construction,” to be applied in buildings higher than two floors up to ten floors,⁵²⁴ indeed, was the manifestation of low-cost housing as the prevailing manner of

⁵²¹ Anon., “İnşaatta Yeni Bir Usul,” 220.

⁵²² Kandy, “Beton Göklere Doğru Yayılıyor,” 16-18.

⁵²³ Ibid., 16.

⁵²⁴ Anon., “İnşaatta Yeni Bir Usul,” 220-222.

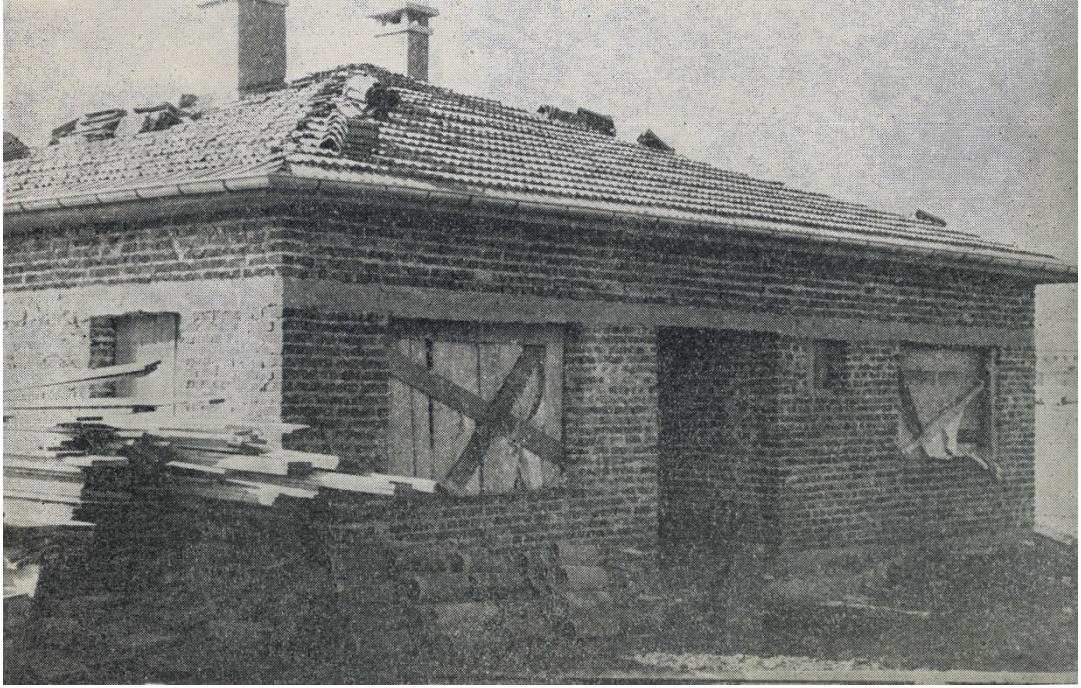


Figure 4.42 Workers' housing project in Bakırköy, İstanbul, Unknown date. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.



Figure 4.43 Workers' housing project in Kayseri, Unknown date. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.

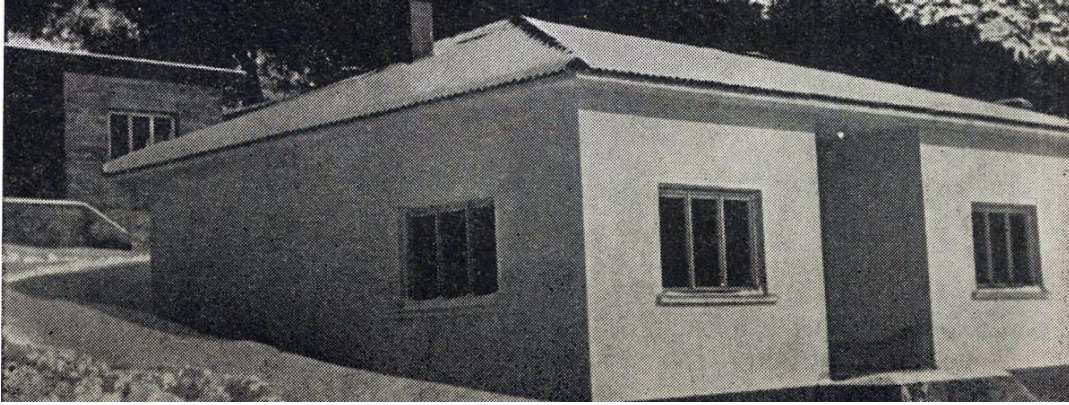


Figure 4.44 A reinforced concrete house in the workers' housing garden suburb in Hereke, Unknown date.
Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*, Ankara: İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Neşriyatı, Doğu Matbaası, 1954.



Figure 4.45 A reinforced concrete single-family workers' house in Mecidiyeköy, İstanbul, Unknown date.
Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.

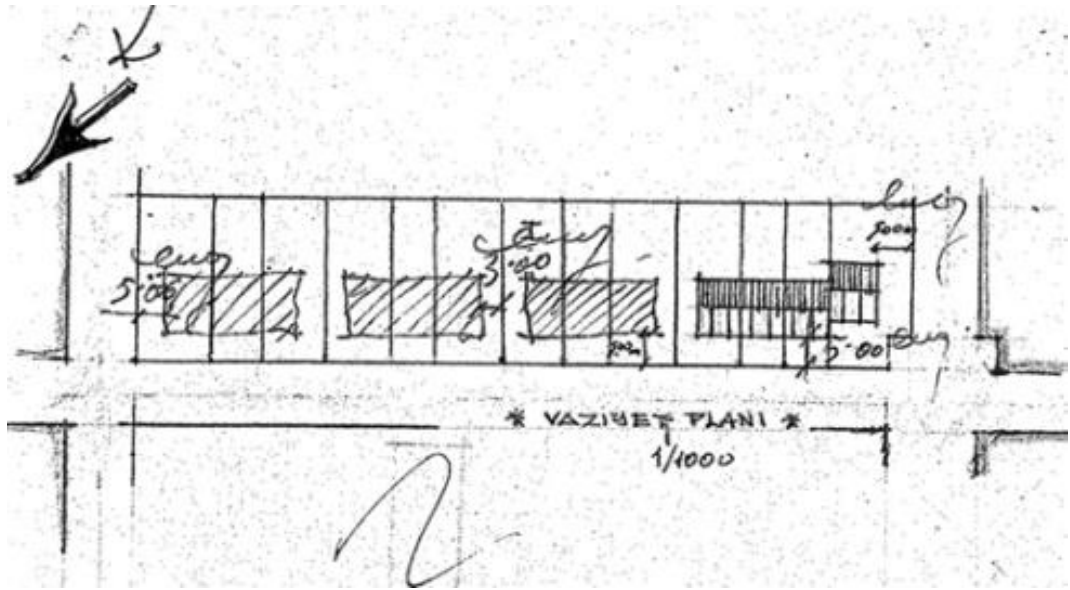


Figure 4.46 Elevation drawing of Koşuyolu Workers' Housing, 1955. Source: Reyhan Suoğlu, "Geçmişin Modern Mimarlığı-7: Koşuyolu," *Arkitera*, 18 August 2010. <http://v3.arkitera.com/h55850-gecmisin-modern-mimarligi---7-kosuyolu.html> (accessed August 12, 2015).

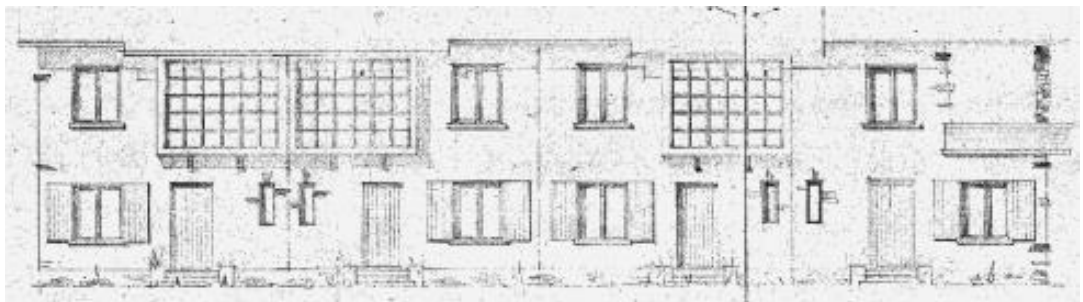


Figure 4.47 Elevation drawing of Koşuyolu Workers' Housing, 1955. Source: Ibid.



Figure 4.48 The Prime Minister Adnan Menderes at a sod-turning ceremony of the block apartment construction of a workers' housing settlement. Source: Anon., *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*, 59.

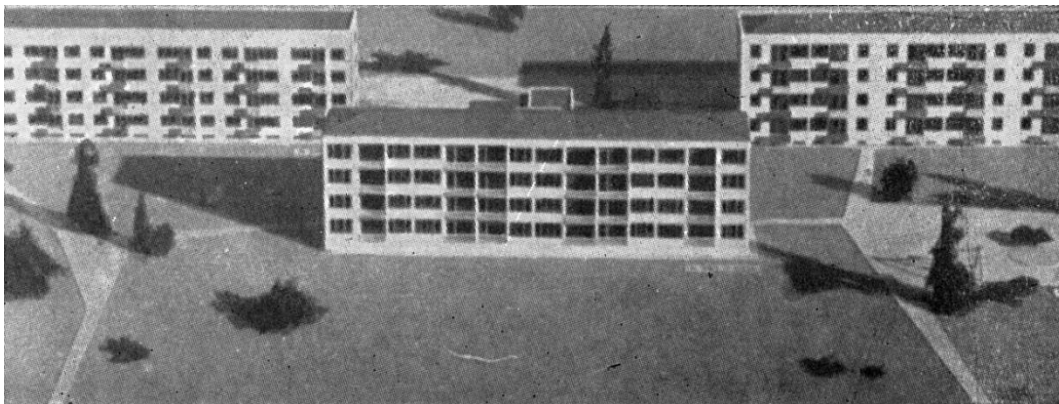


Figure 4.49 The model of the block apartments proposed for workers by İSK. Source: Anon., *İşçiye Sağlanan Faydalar*.

workers' housing too. The importance of low-cost housing for the workers' welfare was emphasized next to the cheapness and rapidness of low-cost housing construction in the form of multi-family blocks also by declaring in popular newspapers such as *Akşam* that workers wanted low-cost housing.⁵²⁵

Indeed, the shift from single-family dwelling to multi-family housing block, as mentioned in the former section, was part of the uncontrolled mass of workers settling in cities paving the way for the activity of property developers and real estate policies legitimized by the "housing crisis," as much as the modern construction and building materials industry as part of the Marshall Plan's economical program. Although company owners assisted workers living in *gecekondu*s to build their own homes handmade such as in the example of textile workers who was supplied cheap building materials by their company in Kazlıçeşme which buy materials cheaper by wholesale by cutting from their monthly salaries adding a specific interest.⁵²⁶ It is not because social policy makers and politicians such as Zamil who appreciated that private company's initiative in Kazlıçeşme offering a kind of self-help model in workers' housing construction by supplying good and cheap materials, but since low-cost housing for workers was an urgency in terms of the growing masses in peripheral sphere of cities turning into satellite cities condensed by housing and industries.

As the Minister of Labour Hayreddin Erkmen pointed out block construction to overcome workers' housing question in order to serve the highest number of worker families, the morphology permitting housing large masses of workers on a smaller land was the highrise housing block attached to the facilities engaged by prefabrication and standardization of the construction process. Therefore, Erkmen called the mass production of workers' housing required the apartment-block as a type, which also would lead to land saving which was important to save land rent alike. The most popular form of workers' housing settlement by the agency of

⁵²⁵ *Akşam*, 22 April 1959.

⁵²⁶ Ekmel Zamil, "İstanbul'da Mesken Meseleleri ve Gecekondu," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* 2, (1949): 85.

workers' housing cooperatives was the prototypical workers' apartment blocks on a defined land as a result of standardization. In this regard, Cengizkan noted that most of the settlements built by workers' housing cooperatives especially starting with 1950s, workers' housing in or around factories was abandoned in exchange for workers' apartments in any location in cities.⁵²⁷

However, the morphological transformation of the workers' housing from single-family garden house to row-house and lastly to multi-family urban block was not so sharp in the 1950s since many workers' housing settlements were formed of single-family houses as well as apartment blocks as in the example of the proposed housing settlement in 1955 for white-collar workers in İstanbul.⁵²⁸ On the other hand, as the General Director of Emlak ve Kredi Bankası, Medenî Berk, mentioned "low-cost" and "hygienic" housing projects were being realized in greater cities and provinces initiated by the financial credits of the Mortgage Loans Bank in a speech he gave to Ankara Radio in May 13, 1955, not only large scale mass housing projects such as Ataköy, Levent or Koşuyolu were being realized in greater cities of the country like İstanbul but also small scale projects was started like the high-rise building complex in İzmir-Karşıyaka, or small neighbourhoods in cities like Diyarbakır and Erzurum.⁵²⁹ In this regard, row-houses including 1700 detached single-family homes were designed in between 1954 and 1955 by Seyfi Arkan during his profession in the Housing Research Directorate at İstanbul Municipality next to the project design of the Automotive Craftsman Settlement in İstanbul. Arkan also took part in the planning of low-cost housing settlements at Koşuyolu, Selamsız, Nakkaşbaba, Florya, İstinye including Paşabahçe Low-Cost Housing Site for Paşabahçe workers during his profession in the Housing Planning Directorate at İstanbul Municipality (See Figure 4.46 and Figure 4.47).

⁵²⁷ Ali Cengizkan, "Workers Housing within Factory Grounds: The Case of Silahtaraga Electric Plant," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 20, no. 1-2, (2004): 31.

⁵²⁸ *Ayın Tarihi*, 30 April 1955.

⁵²⁹ *Ayın Tarihi*, 15 May 1955.

4.2.4. From Worker to Citizen: The Standardization of Living, Commonization and Consumerization

Daniel Lerner, an American sociologist studying o mass communication and public opinion, came to Turkey as part of the Point IV Program of Truman for a research project to be implemented in six Middle Eastern countries including analyses on the reception of broadcastings of radio program Voice of America on Turkish listeners.⁵³⁰ However, this study became the keystone document on the modernization of the Middle Eastern countries within the political, economical, social and cultural framework of the Cold War. Balgat, a preindustrial village in the countryside of Ankara was chosen as a case and research field by Lerner to indicate the installment of modernization at local scale from 1950 to 1954, the uprising years of DP as Eroğul periodizes.⁵³¹ Lerner produced those researches on Turkey for the Bureau of Applied Social Research, which was founded as an academic research unit on mass communication at Columbia University, and funded massively by governmental institutions as a Cold War academic institution.⁵³²

The control of public opinion was among the issues taken into consideration during the Cold War. The shaping of the public opinion of labour was taken effectively in Marshall Plan since labour was effective on the formation of public opinion as a massive body of organized workers. However, apart from the manipulation of the public opinion of labour for the installment of the American way of life within the *habitus* of the working class, habitat of the working class became the field of the installment of the American way of life from the

⁵³⁰ I express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Seriyse Sezen from TODAİE, who informed me about the aforementioned study of Daniel Lerner et al. For more information on Daniel Lerner's report on Turkey and other countries in the Middle East see Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*; Hemant Shah, *The Production of Modernization: Daniel Lerner, Mass Media, and The Passing of the Traditional Society*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011). For details on Lerner's Balgat Project see Seriyse Sezen, "Balgat: Modernleşme Kuramının 'Örnek' Köyünden Post-modern Karmaşaya," *İdealkent* 11, 300-324.

⁵³¹ Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti*, 85-146.

⁵³² Shah, *The Production of Modernization*, 79.

production of housing to community life, which was promoted as a spatial means of freedom and democracy in terms of much more spare time within a much larger space through housing.⁵³³

Hemant Shah quotes Lerner that “modernization began when a nation’s rural population started moving from the countryside to cities (“from farms to flats, from fields to factories).”⁵³⁴ This phrase is important to since it symbolized the postwar modernization of Turkey under the guidance of the economy-political framework of the Marshall Plan over the formation of workers’ housing question from farms to flats, from fields to factories, indeed, from fields to urban peripheries as a result of the industrialization assisted by the concretization of a Fordist economy-politics in Turkey causing the modern conflict between city and country. In this regard, the formation of the workers’ housing question at the habitual scale could not be separated from the issue of the modernization of Turkey based on the democracy and development discourse characterized at the popular level through the freedom of choice and buying. Therefore, the solution for the workers’ housing question at the habitual scale was to make housing a commodity which any worker could buy by his/her freedom of choice and initiative in any cooperative.

Ahmet Ali Özeken sorts the politics of housing workers in the 1950s as below:

- 1) Housing workers rent-free at employers’ properties
- 2) Housing workers in exchange for very low rents
- 3) Renting houses out to workers and officers by companies
- 4) Workers’ homeownership model
- 5) Repairing or building houses individually with the support of employers
- 6) Self-help model based on workers’ housing cooperatives or housing savings banks with the financial support and aiding of companies

⁵³³ Gillios, “Birleşik Amerika’da.”

⁵³⁴ Ibid., 3.

7) Municipal intervention and support for workers' housing⁵³⁵

However, the most influential politics in workers' housing production was the self-help model based on workers' housing cooperatives with the financial loans provided via the Mortgage Loans Bank. Erkmen noted that the interest rate regarding mortgage loans for workers' housing was between 2,5% and 5%. Lower interest rate, he argues, makes worker to pay for the home price for long time providing minimum 25 years, which he put as a must for a worker to get rid of lifelong rents for housing, or he should dispose of the house built for him.⁵³⁶

Indeed, making workers homeowners was the most important side of the habitual framework of the Marshall Plan in relation to the workers' housing question as indicated in Hulusi Köymen's speech on "the efforts and initiatives of the government to make worker citizens homeowners" in Bursa in a seremony celebrating the delivery of 108 workers' houses to the owners upon the acknowledgements of the leader of the Union of Workers of Textile Industry in terms of the government's efforts.⁵³⁷ Since workers as stakeholders joined the common enterprises since were regarded citizens as future homeowners, housing made by workers meant democracy from bottom to up as an individual freedom of citizens as also indicated in the quotation below:

The issue of healthy and low-cost housing is as well a problem of individual comfort but rather is a matter of the country. Even the boldest liberals appreciate the broad cultural and economical defects of letting things ride as beholders in terms of housing and low-cost housing question. Building cooperatives not only build houses and gardens but also establish solid and happy families, discipline them in terms of self-management, and state in terms of citizenship ideals.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ Özek, "İşçiyi Barındırma Problemi," 114-116.

⁵³⁶ Hayreddin Erkmen, "İşçi Meskenleri Politikası," *Akis*, 31 July 1954, 4.

⁵³⁷ *Ayın Tarihi*, 16 June 1955.

⁵³⁸ Translation from Turkish to English belongs to me. The original quote is: "Sihhi ve ucuz ev meselesi, ferdlerin rahatlığı meselesi olduğu kadar, bundan daha fazla bir memleket meselesidir. Liberallerin en koyuları bile iskan ve ucuz ev meselesinde seyirci olarak işleri olurlarına bırakmanın kültürel ve ekonomik çok büyük mahzurlarını takdir etmişlerdir... Yapı kooperatifleri yalnız ev ve bahçe yapmaz; sağlam, mes'ud aileler kurar, onlara kendilerini idare etmek, devlete vatandaşlık mefkuresi, terbiyesi verir." Celal Uzel, quoted in Cengizkan, "Discursive Formations," 77.

Likewise, Gerhard Kessler, who also contributed to the realization of Bahçelievler settlement as the first experience of cooperative housing in Turkey,⁵³⁹ proposed 15.000 workers' housing to be built in Zonguldak-Karabük region to create a "real coal miner-working class."⁵⁴⁰ The Minister of Labour Hayreddin Erkmen notes the importance of the creation of a real working class of coal miners like Kessler next to the homeownership by workers either as below.⁵⁴¹

Homeowner worker is free of his/her hostility of towards the property relations and the possible social and political dangers of that. The social issue to pay attention in the construction of workers' houses is settling and distributing them in varying districts of cities instead of great independent mass housing sites. Therefore, the worker citizen feels every day that the society embraced himself, not treated as the other and lower, and hence, is freed of running after a different awareness apart from the awareness of a citizen. I would like to express now and with gratitude that the Turkish worker is far away from falling into such kind of a complexness and his character of citizenship is over anything.⁵⁴²

Actually, the progression of worker to citizen did not occupy a greatest part in the domestic lifestyles of workers concretized through furniture choices, modern household equipments and so forth. Indeed, the working class of Turkey in the 1950s continued to live in the same manner as it lived in the single-party Republican period regarding the furniture and so on (See Figure 4.54), although the manner of everyday life was changed totally. The most important effect of the

⁵³⁹ İlhan Tekeli, "Almanca Konuşan Plancı ve Mimarların Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankara'sının Planlaması ve Konut Sorununun Çözümüne Katkıları Üzerine," retrieved from the online catalog of the exhibition *Bir Başkent'in Oluşumu -Avusturyalı, Alman ve İsviçreli Mimarların Ankara'daki İzleri*. <http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sie/trindex.htm> (accessed August 12, 2015).

⁵⁴⁰ Kessler, "Zonguldak ve Karabükteki Çalışma Şartları," 7-33.

⁵⁴¹ Erkmen, "İşçi Meskenleri Politikası," 4.

⁵⁴² Translation of the quotation belongs to me. The original quotation is: "Mülk sahibi olan işçinin, mülkiyet müessesesine düşmanlığı ve bu yüzden gelebilecek sosyal ve politik tehlikeler bertaraf edilmiş olur. İşçi evlerinin inşasında sosyal bakımdan dikkat edilecek husus, büyük ve müstakil işçi siteleri yerine, şehirlerin muhtelif semtlerine yerleştirilme ve serpiştirilme olmalıdır. Bu sayede işçi vatandaşı, kendisini cemiyetin kucakladığını, ayrı ve aşağı telakki etmediğini her gün kendi şuurunda hisseder ve vatandaş şuurundan ayrı bir şuurun arkasında koşmaktan kurtulur. Hemen ve şükranla belirtmek isterim ki, Türk işçisi böyle bir komplekse düşmekten çok uzaktır ve onun vatandaşlık vasfı her şeyin üstündedir." For more information see Hayreddin Erkmen, "İşçi Meskenleri Politikası," 4-5., The issue of property ownership was also mentioned by Koçak, "50'leri İşçi Sınıfı Oluşumunun," *Çalışma ve Toplum*, 3, (2008): 69-86.



Figure 4.50 The site of the workers' housing project in Hereke. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.



Figure 4.51 The site of the workers' housing project in Hereke. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*



Figure 4.52 Workers' housing project in Kayseri. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*, Ankara: İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Neşriyatı, Doğu Matbaası, 1954.

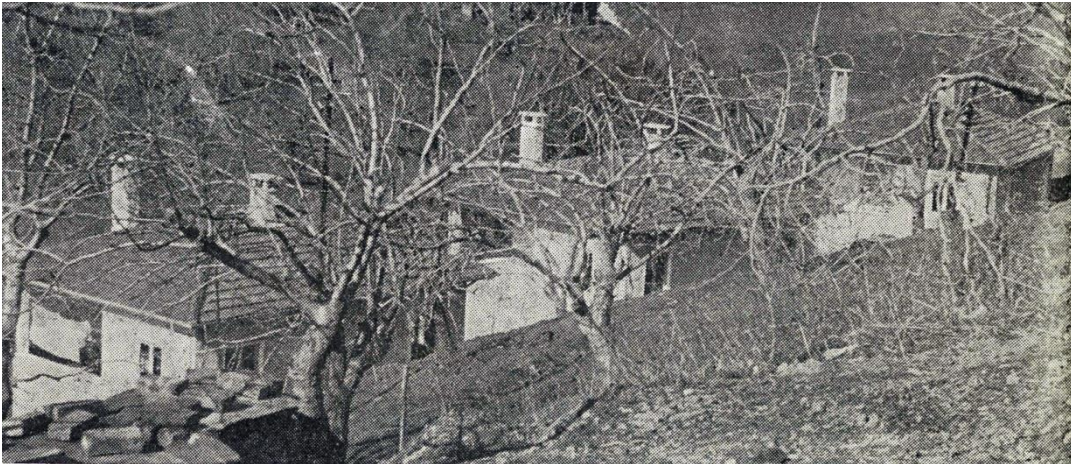


Figure 4.53 Workers' housing site in Mecidiyeköy, İstanbul. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.



Figure 4.54 Interior of a workers' family home in Merinos, Bursa. Source: Anon., *İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu Nasıl Çalışıyor?*.

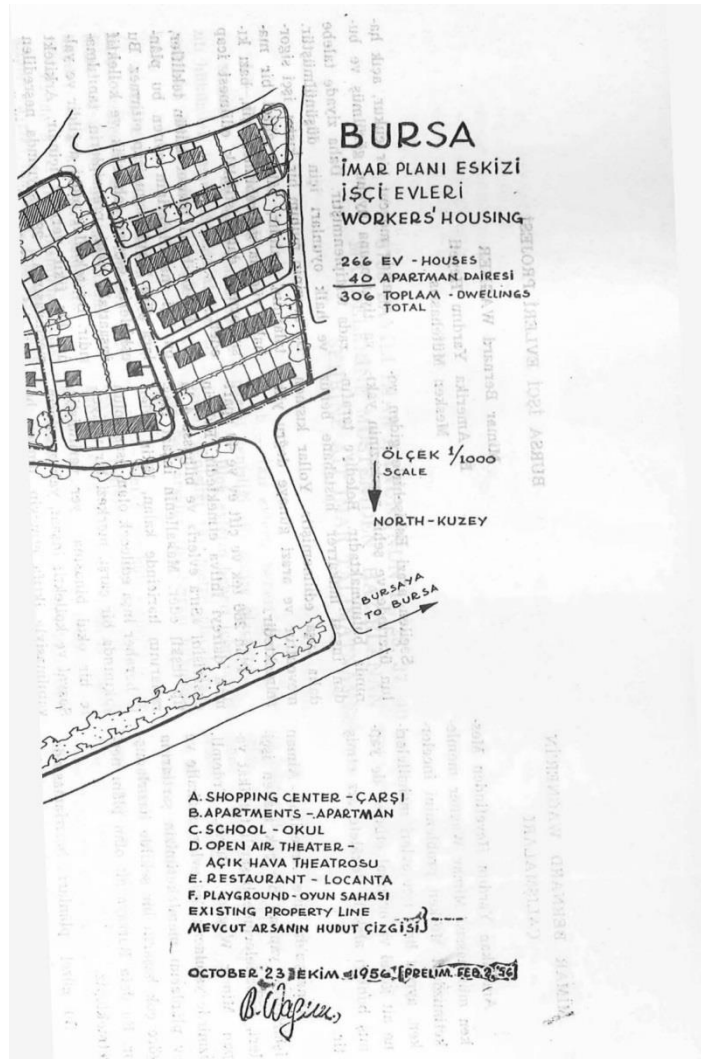


Figure 4.55 Bursa Master Plan, Workers' Housing, Bernard Wagner. Source: *Arkitekt* 286, no. 1, (1957): 35.

Marshall Plan on the habitual scale of the workers' housing question in Turkey was the commodification of housing in parallel to the ideological and economy-political program to make workers citizens as a necessity of the welfare state based on the Fordist formula of mass production for mass consumption. In this regard, it is important that Zamil repeated DP's slogan "Her İşçiye Bir Çatı" of 1954 elections with his latter phrase "her aileye bir ev temini."⁵⁴³ Workers of 1954 were now citizens with families requiring homes as a human right.

In this sense, the commonization and standardization of workers' housing was mostly realized in urban areas not the countryside at the peripheries of the metropolitan areas in the solid example of the apartment block became prevalent within the working class. The superblock of the early 1950s, which gave its place to the apartment block since it was easier to produce an apartment block with regard to the condition of urban planning in Turkey as a result of the land speculation and the massive activity of real-estate developers which killed the *raison d'être* of the workers' housing cooperatives making them instruments of a housing market accessible and operational by anyone. Indeed, the mass production of the apartment block resulting in the standardization of the morphology of workers' housing was realized especially in city centers where the masses of workers could settle in a typical apartment with their families at a standardized quality common for any worker family, and which actually was defined by the real-estate property developers. On the other hand, making workers homeowners through the agency of workers' housing cooperatives became popular giving birth to the formation of a trader and consumer worker not only settling at decent homes but also selling houses, the process of which participate workers into the real-estate market, and the economical condition of which would kill the social conflict for a potential uprising within the working class as one of DP deputies indicated below:

⁵⁴³ Zamil, "Yapı Kooperatifleri," 40.

The issue of cooperativism, for us, is a subject which will realize our economical, social and technical development together with the social harmony and reconciliation. We are in pursuit of realizing this matter to the total extent. By the way, I am waiting in passion for the initiatives regarding the supply of low-cost housing for workers.⁵⁴⁴

As Cengizkan put forward, the differences between housing for state officers and housing for workers, or any other differences were disappeared especially after 1950s whereas the policy of the promotion of workers' housing cooperatives and housing in and around production facilities was left.⁵⁴⁵ Rather, any class and group started to own a house in any place of cities where they find convenient for themselves, the situation of which was indeed the result of the development of social security by the increases in wages and so forth, as Cengizkan also argued.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁴ Anon., *Hükümetler, Programları, Genel Kurul Görüşmeleri*, vol. 2, 828. https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/yayinlar/hukümetler/hukümetler_cilt_2.pdf (accessed June 3, 2015).

⁵⁴⁵ Cengizkan, "Workers Housing," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 31.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

İlyaz Bingül mentions two news appeared side by side at the first page on İstanbul newspapers on 13 July 1947.⁵⁴⁷ Turkey's entering to the Marshall Plan was figured out next to the news about the construction of a *gecekondu* on an empty slot in İstanbul. Indeed, this was not a coincidence but an early indicator for the course of the Marshall Plan in the formation of the workers' housing question in Turkey, the material course of which introduced the notion of urban sprawl and metropolitan space next to regional development to the built environment though.

However, beyond the case of *gecekondu* related to the migration problem caused by the promotion of mechanization and industrialization by the Marshall Plan, which has actually been debated to a satisfactory level within the Turkish academic field, this thesis was an attempt to deal with the formation of the workers' housing question within the political, economical, social and cultural program of the Marshall Plan which offered a schemata for the workers' housing question in relation to the functional, morphological, topographical and habitual relationship of the working class to the built environment, of which its *habitus* and habitat was formed out as part of the greater ideological program of the Marshall Plan.

In this regard, apart from being casted a generator role in the ERP to supply manufactured products, food and certain raw materials to Western Europe

⁵⁴⁷ İlyaz Bingül, *Orhan Kemal Edebiyatında İşçi-Oluş ve Ücretli Hayat*, (İstanbul: Gram Yayınları, 2014), 292.

Robinson, a Marshall Plan assistance specialist served in Turkey also noted,⁵⁴⁸ Turkey received its share from the political, economical, social and cultural scenario of the Marshall Plan with the creation of a working class to serve the postwar capitalist production relations. Next to the development program based on intense mechanization and industrialization with the concretization of Fordism at production, distribution and consumption relations based on the themes of rationalization, productivity, standardization and prefabrication - which the country had not faced at that scale before - Turkey was subjected to realize “the welfare state” of the 1950s nourished by a neutralized and ‘classless’ working class with the promotion of cooperation, self-help and democracy under the guidance of the financial assistance of the Marshall Plan and the technical assistance of the the United Nations Technical Assistance Program with the promotion of low-cost housing programs and other measures of “social and economical reform” as Hogan noted as the praxis of the Marshall Planners.⁵⁴⁹

In this regard, the technical assistance programs for the development of industrial management and public administration next to the setting of Keynesian state policies like tax regulations, and the attachment of Turkey like the other participating countries in Europe to the Bretton Woods system of international free trade and monetary dependence, the political and economical modernization discourse was nourished over integration discourse. Therefore, like the other participating countries in Europe, the formation of working class in Turkey was essential as a political, economical and social generator in the postwar reconstruction and development scenario of the Marshall Plan. Workers’ housing question, within this framework, occupied a significant place in the formation of a generator class in Turkey as the cogwheel of agricultural and industrial development not paid the greatest attention financially and technically beside agricultural and industrial development though.

⁵⁴⁸ Robinson, *The First Turkish Republic*, 137-141.

⁵⁴⁹ Hogan, *The Marshall Plan*, 429.

Within this framework, mechanization played the greatest part in the formation of the workers' housing question in Turkey resulting in the creation of a working class, and hence, gave birth to the workers' housing question in the industrializing cities and their hinterlands in Turkey. The notion of productivity along with rationalization and standardization, in this regard, which became the motto of the Marshall Plan not only as part of labour efficiency but also for the postwar development planning through increased agricultural and industrial production, was advertised next to regional planning, neighbourhood and community planning. Workers' housing, in this sense, was an essential element of the Marshall Plan's program of rationalization and productivity since it was both a subject and an object of this program as a means of reproducing labour efficiency, uniting decentralization and suburbanization, industrializing building construction and consumerizing itself as a low-cost affordable shelter in healthy greenfields.

The program of the Marshall Plan in Turkey in the formation of workers' housing question especially was operated via financial assistance, but more than that based on technical assistance especially by the agency of the UN development programs. In this sense, the Marshall Plan operated on workers' housing question in the Turkey like the other participating countries introducing and advising the *habitus* and habitat of the working class through financial assistance to social security programs covering wage regulations, paid vacations, health insurance from birth to death, education and habitation but mostly concerned technical assistance for labour affairs from labour education programs to organization in unions and in the neighbourhood and community to housing planning via the promotion of cooperation and self-help.

Likewise the Assistant Information Officer of the ECA Mission to Germany verbalized the three words of the Marshall Plan that the participating countries look at as "productivity, integration, liberalization,"⁵⁵⁰ the Marshall Plan's

⁵⁵⁰ Lucien Agniel, "Midway with ERP," *Information Bulletin of the Office of the US High Commissioner for Germany*, April 1950, 24. <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=div&did=History.omg1950April.AgnielMidway&isize=text> (accessed January 18, 2015).

program regarding the workers' housing question was established upon the sustainability of industrial and agricultural productivity at manpower scale together with increasing productivity of the housing industry, the integration of labour to the physical and habitual framework in supply of the maximization of productivity as well as the integration of construction systems to the free trade market set by the plan's counterpart funds, and the liberalization of the postwar globe under the US-guidance at habitual scale. Within this context, the Marshall Plan's themes on labour affairs framing the program of the workers' housing question consisted of labour efficiency and industrial productivity at the manpower scale, labour mobility at the topographical scale, rationalization and construction productivity at the morphological scale, and the discourse of self-help and democracy next to standardization and consumerization at the habitual scale of workers' housing question.

In this framework, it was argued in this study that the task of sheltering the significant mass of the working class especially in cities was at issue of the Marshall Plan; on the one hand, for enhancing the productivity of labour as an essential entity of the efficiency in industrial production; on the other hand, as a means of providing the engagement of the working class to the capitalist production relations. Providing better living conditions aside with improving health and safety of the working class was at the agenda in the former's case; likewise, an affluent worker model with high purchasing power was aimed in the latter's case via improving social security conditions including paid-vacations, and motivating organization in labour unions for better wages. Additionally, homeownership within the working class was promoted suggesting the self-help model in workers' housing production based on lifetime loans, which subjected labour to work and shelter at the same place, not to strike and revolt.

Housing principally set with the UN Charter of Human Rights as an essential right for the social security of the working class, also helped elimination of the tension between class and politics in realm of the American postwar scenario based on the mass production, distribution and consumption of goods over the integrated

Europe and other continents, and the USA casting a role for Turkey as the generator in the production and distribution of food, goods and energy. In this sense, the condition of the workers' housing in the Marshall Plan countries shared some commonalities from the architectural and habitual responses in terms of material and structural choices to land use policies in general, which the case of workers' housing question in Turkey took its share from the initial efforts of regional planning to the problem of urban sprawl.

In this regard, individual single-family houses in the garden suburbs around industries, in this sense, set the scheme for the ideal environment in the expansion of labour efficiency as well as a spatial instrument of an affluent community life. This spatial scheme for the workers' housing for the subject period in Turkey was promoted governmentally with the support of industrial managers and planning professionals in relation to the academic circles in terms of concretizing neighbourhood unit and community planning. Moreover, the promotion of this architectural scheme by "low-cost house with garden" for the working class also helped the psychological integration of labour force to the habitual framework of the plan also by mimicking the agricultural origins of the Turkish working class able to produce its food in individual family allotments, which was also promoted during the workers' housing praxis by state-owned companies up to the 1950s.

As written in the preface of the bulletin by William C. Forster, the preparation of which was suggested by educators to the ECA for the domestic propaganda about the ECA program, the Marshall Plan also aimed at "helping to hold together the free peoples of the world in war and peace."⁵⁵¹ In this regard, the operations of Marshall Plan extended beyond the economical profit and integration scenario of the USA, but also targeted and resulted in the ideological shifting of the world order. Indeed, as proved Turkey's role within the Truman Plan, extending the US-dominated capitalist front against the Iron Curtain was at the core of the postwar foreign policy of the USA resulted in the introduction of the Marshall Plan.

⁵⁵¹ Todd, *The Marshall Plan*.

Truman's statement that the USA would be the "only country able to provide help" to assist "free peoples to work out their destinies in their own way," as in the case of Greece and Turkey, portrayed the US foreign policy on track of the Cold War to be characterized by the promotion of a "free world" discourse. Within this framework, 'the American way of life,' the essence of which was also put in the Truman Doctrine as "the will of the majority, distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression,"⁵⁵² was promoted as part of the US foreign policy. This set the "free world" discourse based on the American way of democracy produced by the US addressing to the Charter of the United Nations.

In this regard, the workers' housing cooperatives were seen as as advertising the notion of democracy and the individual freedom of workers by the promotion of cooperation and self-help through organization in workers' housing cooperatives as well as the instrument of making workers' homeowners for increasing labour efficiency, psychological satisfaction and better family life of workers for maximizing agricultural but especially industrial productivity. In this sense, the promotion of organization in labour unions supported the concretization of the Marshall Plan ideology instrumental in founding of workers' housing cooperatives as part of labour union movement.

The formation of workers housing question in Turkey in the 1950s, actually was instrumentalized on this free world discourse fed up by the cooperation and self-help discourse of the Marshall Plan, the contextual influence of which was also symbolized in the power of DP as the originator of democracy by introducing the multi-party system in Turkey. Promoting the generalizing of foreign capital to the former state controlled economy of Turkey and regulated the integration of Turkey to the postwar free trade and monetary system, DP initiated the geographical integration of Turkey to the postwar capitalist production relations via physical

⁵⁵² Compston and Seidman, *Our Documents*, 196.

development planning policies mostly focused on infrastructural development although the Marshall Plan was introduced to Turkey by the postwar liberalization of the statist economy-policies of CHP.

In this regard, the early steps of regional planning was taken during DP power with the Marshall Plan's financial and technical assistance. The physical development of Turkey was based on the nationwide construction of highways and motorways superseding the former railway-based transportation and distribution network next to the development of energy network and ports. With the introduction of region and regional integration as part of a greater economical scenario of the Marshall Plan, the agriculture-based built environment of non-industrialized Turkey faced transformation with industrialization resulting in the formation of metropolitan areas characterizing the economical activity of regions. Indeed, the decentralization of industries which led to suburbanization also generated urban sprawl as a result of the uncontrolled migration to the metropolitan areas. Thereby, the phenomenon of urbanization entered to the economical scene for the industrializing Turkey next to the phenomenon of *gecekondular* reproducing the workers' housing question anew.

Within this framework, workers' housing question took its share from the geographical framework of DP's development discourse. The breeding of cement industry with the financial assistance for the promotion of building materials and construction industries for a developing country attached to the discourse of infrastructural development, the building materials and construction trade was enhanced. In this regard, as a result of the building materials and construction prices next to the increasing land value and enhancement of, the scheme of low-cost detached house was transformed into apartment block since building single-family houses was found expensive in terms of location and construction costs, and blocks were preferred instead. The developments in prefabrication especially by the banded cement industry fed the formation of the block as a new scheme for the workers' housing.

However, the cooperative system in workers' housing question, as Ruşen Keleş noted, did not work for the part of the working class.⁵⁵³ Keleş pointed out that there was little participation of workers to the workers' housing cooperatives although the cooperative system essentially aimed at housing the working class. Instead, workers' housing cooperatives formed middle and upper-middle class participators displaying an economical average in professions and social status. The mostly referred cases as examples of social housing from the period, İstanbul-Ataköy and İstanbul-Levent settlements, in this regard, picture a middle-class formation of their participants.

Despite not directly taken part within the leading politics of DP power between 1950 and 1960, legal regulations regarding housing cooperatives started at the period with suggestions to leave luxury approaches in building sector.⁵⁵⁴ The fifth and last government of DP founded in 1957 mentioned the importance of industrial production of cement, iron, steel and other construction materials as important for the reconstruction and development of the country pointing to future legislations on the foundation of a Ministry of Public Works.⁵⁵⁵ After the foundation of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 1958, housing question took a great part in the governmental plans of DP but in relation to the squatter problem though.

The period after DP power based on planning on all scales from industry to housing, actually, inherited its legacy from the Marshall Plan's contextual framework also since the technical assistance to Turkey, as well as to other developing countries in the Far East, Africa and Latin America, continued with the agency of the MSA and the development programs of the UN in the planning period of 1960s. Indeed, regional planning gained a greater importance and regularized in the legal scale putting emphasis on regional and urban development

⁵⁵³ Ruşen Keleş, "Türkiye'de İşçi Konutları Sorunu," *Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi* 19, (1968), 32.

⁵⁵⁴ Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 110.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

covering industrial planning and housing planning. The practice of housing cooperatives in Turkey gradually increased in the 1960s up to the popularization of property development which popularized plot architecture with the introduction of apartment block to the social housing scene of Turkey as Cengizkan also argued⁵⁵⁶ in parallel to the increase in land value in the metropolitan areas, also which brought forth the death of the cooperative movement in Turkey. This mechanism also allied by the land use scheme, as described by Erhan Acar as a result of property relations in urban land, and therefore resulted by an act of rope-pulling for the land distribution which realized planning in the form of a gridiron pattern.⁵⁵⁷ In this regard, since all these experience were not realized as part of a greater planning effort in relation to the physical development of the country albeit taken into consideration as part of the postwar economy politics of development, the pattern of *gecekondu* characterized the social housing scheme of the period as a physical solution to the workers' housing question both providing the cheap labour that industrialization required and decreasing the budget of the country to spend on urbanization in exchange for more investment in industrialization.⁵⁵⁸

The building of workers' housing settlements in Turkey from the 1952 to the end of 1970s was realized by the agency of İSK. Apart from its formation as part of the cooperation and self-help discourse of the Marshall Plan-assisted postwar welfare state, the experience of workers' housing projects realized by the support of İSK is valuable in terms of constituting an important and original case in the course of the social housing experience of Turkey, thereby, deserves broader research from the field of architecture.

In conclusion, this thesis was, for this reason, an inquiry to the material and social history of workers' housing question in Turkey in the framework of the financial and technical assistance of the Marshall Plan and the related practice especially by

⁵⁵⁶ Cengizkan, "Discursive Formations," 93.

⁵⁵⁷ Erhan Acar, quoted in Ahmet Eyüce ed., "Ege'de Konut," *Ege Mimarlık* 2, (1994): 28.

⁵⁵⁸ Tekeli, *Konutun Öyküsü*, 110.

the agency of the UN development programs. As Cengizkan pointed, workers' housing which needs to occupy an original place within housing studies has not thoroughly been researched in Turkey, although available studies mostly covered analyses on workers housing in relation to the labouring standards in factories next to the workers' housing examples produced as part of architectural competitions.⁵⁵⁹ In this regard, attached to the original intention to study the formation of workers' housing in terms of the functional, topographical, morphological and habitual framework introduced and promoted by the Marshall Plan, this study aimed at a contribution to the field of workers' housing question in Turkey hoping to pave the way for future studies in the remained assets of workers' housing architecture culture in the country.

⁵⁵⁹ Cengizkan, "Workers Housing," 29.

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APPENDIX A

EXCERPTS FROM THE TELEGRAM TITLED "İSTANBUL LABOR DEVELOPMENTS," DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

Air Pouch **CONFIDENTIAL**
(Security Classification)

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : AmConGen, Istanbul, Turkey 321

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.

REF : CERP Section C.5, May 5, 1954

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882-06/2-955
March
February 9, 1955
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ACTION	DEPT.	REC'D	OTHER
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SUBJECT: Review of Istanbul Labor Events July through December 1954

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Summary

Labor highlights in Istanbul during the last half of 1954 included the establishment of several significant trade union organizations, a dispute involving an American company and a prominent trade unionist, and a growing unemployment problem. Other topics of interest were the FOA labor seminar, an anti-American labor article, the termination of a strike or near-strike, two minor international items, and complaints and demands from workers. A classified interpretative comment follows.

New Trade Union Organizations

Several new Istanbul trade union organizations have attracted increasing attention. Last summer a new textile workers' syndicate, Istanbul Mensucat Isleri Sendikasi, was formed, principally because of personal, and perhaps partisan, rivalries within the established Tekstil ve Orme Sanayi Iscileri Sendikasi (Textile and Knitting Industry Workers' Syndicate). The president of the new syndicate is Ali Aygen, who is known to have many friends in the Administration, but the organization's driving force is Saban Yildiz, a dynamic trade unionist on good terms with few people and with neither of the leading political parties. Estimates of membership in the new syndicate range from 700 to 3,000. The older syndicate, from which the Aygen-Yildiz group broke, has a membership of approximately 12,000.

A new union of five to seven syndicates, the Union of Independent Syndicates (Mustakil Sendikalar Birligi), received public notice and Government approval in October, and posed a direct challenge to the older Union of Istanbul Workers' Syndicates (Istanbul Isci Sendikalari Birligi), which claims to have member syndicates with almost 60,000 workers. As in the case of the new textile workers' syndicate, the new union of syndicates apparently was the outcome of personal, and perhaps partisan, friction. The new union is said to have between 700 and 2,500 workers, and is headed by Hasan Baskani, president, and Rahmi Ozdelierman, vice president, both virtual unknowns in organized labor.

Until recently, most observers believed there was little chance of success for

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VII WORKERS' INSURANCE AND HOUSING

The most important development in the social insurance field was the coverage of maritime personnel, effective January 1, 1953. It is estimated that about 30,000 maritime workers began to benefit from social insurance for the first time on that date.

Social insurance activities administered by the worker's insurance Administration continued to expand. This is shown in the following table:

Activity of the Workers' Insurance Administration

Years' Monthly Average	Establishments covered	Number of Insured Workers		
		Occupational Accident-Disease; Maternity*	Old Age	Sickness-Maternity
1951	10,361	347,986	204,055	90,502
1952	16,132**	383,593	217,424	118,990
1953	17,476**	434,575	243,743	202,258
1954(10 mos.)	10,412***	483,852	323,667	223,900

Indemnities and Grants (thousands of TL)

Years' Monthly Average	Occupational Accident-Disease	Maternity	Old Age	Sickness-Maternity	Total
1951	300	270	15	552	1,137
1952	386	274	64	891	1,615
1953	466	262	127	1,551	2,406
1954(11 mos.)	406	252	123	1,038	1,819

* Maternity insurance under this group is not applied if Sickness-maternity is in effect.

** End-of-year figures

*** Nov. 1954

Source: Central Statistical Office

The year-end averages for indemnities and grants in 1954 were probably higher than shown above for 11 months, inasmuch as substantial payments are usually made in the last month of the year.

Some labor groups have come out with statements requesting that unemployment insurance be instituted in Turkey. One of these was the Bursa Textile Industry Workers' Union, which had in mind the unemployment in textile mills ^{caused by} shortages of raw materials. In a circular to its member organizations in March 1955, the TCTU listed

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unemployment insurance and also life insurance for workers as measures which should be put into effect by the government. In a press interview last August, the Minister of Labor said that the question of unemployment insurance was under study but that the problem did not require action for the time being, issues such as the problem of unemployment was not important in Turkey.

The Ministry of Labor continued to stress the construction of low-cost housing for workers as one of the principal points in its labor program. In a press interview in January 1955, Minister of Labor Erkren stated that the shortage of construction materials has delayed the program, but that nevertheless 7,500 workers houses had been constructed in 1954 out of the target of 10,000. It is believed that the Minister may have been referring to construction under way rather than completed, since ceremonies for the laying of cornerstones of the new houses continued well through 1954. Early in March 1955, the Minister officially inaugurated a number of workers dwellings in Istanbul, heralded as the first to be completed under the 1954 program sponsored by the Ministry.

VIII. WORKERS' EDUCATION

Labor training seminars for trade unionists, sponsored jointly by the Ministry of Labor and FOA, continued in the period under review. These seminars, which began in June 1954, have now been held in Istanbul, Izmir, Adana and Ankara. The last scheduled eight-week course is to open in Zonguldak this month. The courses continue to be well received by trade union circles. From various comments made by participants, it is clear that these courses are making a valuable contribution to the development of more qualified and more responsible leadership in the Turkish labor movement.

Plans are now being made to bring the FOA labor training program directly to the trade unions. It is expected that the present labor training seminars will be followed by a program in which FOA technical assistance officers will work directly with trade unions on their own premises in helping to establish workers' education programs. FOA is expected to provide some equipment, such as movie projectors and mimeograph machines, to help the unions expand their educational activities. It is also possible that the labor training seminars now being conducted may be continued in some centers after the conclusion of the Zonguldak seminar, which is scheduled for completion in May 1955.

According to a radio broadcast by the Minister of Labor on March 21, 1955, the Employment Service offered courses for workers at 104 work sites during 1954. In addition, the Minister stated that the Employment Service had given courses for waiters at Izmir, for weaving at Bursa, for chauffeurs at Istanbul, for operation of motors at Kayseri, for textile weaving at Adana and for foreign languages at Mersin. According to the head of the Service, it has

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APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM THE TELEGRAM TITLED "LABOR DEVELOPMENTS IN İZMİR SINCE JANUARY 1954," DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

AIR POUCH		UNCLASSIFIED <i>(Security Classification)</i>	DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE 882.06/7-1854
FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH			
FROM :	İZMİR, TURKEY	DESP. NO. 4	
TO :	THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.	DATE July 18, 1954	
REF :	CERP (5/5/54) C (5)		
For Dept. Use Only	ACTION NEA-4 REC'D 10/26	DEPT. N 00/R-2 Rep-2 *Jli-6 *A-1 I 204 F OTHER LAB-5 Civ-5 *Com-4 PUA.10 Army-2 Navy-2	Antkara-6
SUBJECT: Labor Developments in Izmir since January, 1954			

I INTRODUCTION

Labor developments in the Izmir consular district have been relatively quiescent in the past six months; no eruptions or serious complaints (except possibly stevedores dispute currently active) have occurred. Employment has increased according to the best estimates available. Wage increases have been noted in a variety of industries or factories. The greatest percentage of these increases has been the result of appeals to the Labor Arbitration Committee of the Izmir Province. Minimum wages were again established for the tobacco workers and a plan to include textile employees is such an operation is under study by the Director of Labor in Izmir, although he does not believe that such an arrangement is suitable or in the best interests of the textile workers. The Aegean Syndicates Federation has been quietly extending its organization to the hinterland and to other industries and building itself up as the organ for the Aegean worker. Its present membership is about 20,000 workers, according to its President, Burhanettin ASUTAY. An inexperienced, but designful, Bakers Association was nipped in the bud by quick, forceful action on the part of the Governor as it attempted to force a bread price increase upon the city. Izmir Sgs Stevedores, who have been displeased for the last two years re the handling of their work, have at last taken the matter out into the open. A protest conference, partially directed against the Director of Labor, has been followed by a refusal to work amounting to a virtual strike. Considerable grumblings were, and are, heard concerning the government's decision to apply the old-age insurance deductions to seasonal workers. The tobacco workers noisily protested on the occasion of the first deductions in April. The employers are not pleased over the provisions whereby a separation bonus must be paid a fired employee based upon the total period of his labor, regardless of whether continuous or not and regardless of whether company records cover the period in question. (Provided of course in the latter case that the employee presents certified statements of co-workers that he worked there at the time in question.) Construction of low-cost workers houses is proceeding slowly but no complaints were made re its progress by either the Director of Labor or the Aegean Syndicates Federation. The Izmir Workers Syndicate is actively meeting the competition of the Aegean Federation.

II EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES

The Izmir labor force has increased to 125,000 according to the Director of Labor, İsmail KOCASOY. Of this number, about 75,000 are covered under the labor law and registered with his office. İsmail Bey estimates that wages have increased

William A. HELSETH/SB/wah
REPORTER

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Apparently made with little if any thought as to consequences. City authorities reportedly examined the bakers' books and confirmed that profits had been greatly reduced but established that the bakers were not operating in the red. The threatened stoppage of bread production and possible success in the Association demands very quickly brought the struggle to the attention of the Governor and government authorities in Ankara, with the result that the Association shortly announced its dissolution. It is now stated that the organization was mismanaged and was farmed by inexperienced men who produced a top-heavy, expensive association. There is a possibility, of course, that another association, based upon lessons learned in this abortive attempt, may be formed at a later date.

V IZMIR SEA STEVEDORES

The Izmir port stevedores, seething the past two years, have decided upon action to obtain higher wages. A protest conference in early July reiterated their complaint that the Denizcilik Bankasi refused to put work in their hands directly but insisted on using a contractor. (The previous contract between Osman Gurtan and the Bank for loading and offloading vessels in the harbor at 160 kuruş per ton having expired, a new contract was signed to be effective July 15, 1954.) It is the stevedores contention that their own wages are kept very low by this action; furthermore, they do not believe that the Director of Labor has supported their cause.

On July 15, many stevedores, without appealing to the appropriate government authorities for protection of their rights, failed to appear for work. Several were subsequently arrested but, reportedly, later released. The judge did not accept the public prosecutor's argument that their action constituted a strike. The Governor has the problem under study at present.

In the meantime, about 300 casual laborers and 100 stevedores who responded to the contractor's appeal to return, are handling loading and offloading, albeit inadequately and at considerably more expense to the Denizcilik Bankasi and to the contractor.

VI WORKERS HOUSING

Amid great fanfare in the month before the national elections, cornerstones were laid in Kizilgullu (near Izmir) for 100 of a projected 1000 low-cost workers houses. Snags developed, however, in the financial arrangements and construction has not proceeded. It is now reported that formalities in connection with financing by the Real Estate Bank (Emlak ve Kredi Bankasi) and the guarantee by the Workers Insurance Fund have been settled. It is anticipated that the houses will be completed in time to permit the workers to move in before winter. Upon completion of this pilot group, arrangements will allegedly be made for the other 900.

VII EXTENSION OF OLD-AGE INSURANCE TO SEASONAL WORKERS. INDEMNITY PROVISIONS:

The first deductions under the changed old-age insurance legislation were made by the tobacco companies in April. Although noisy, the workers were not unruly. They objected very much to this reduction in their take-home pay.

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APPENDIX C

SAMPLE NEWS REGARDING THE FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE OF THE MARSHALL PLAN FOR URBANIZATION AND HOUSING QUESTION FROM *ARKITEKT*

BİR KONGRE TOPLANACAK

Ankara (Anka) — Memleketin mesken dâvasını halletmek üzere, nûkûmetin alâkalı uzmanlarının iştirâkile büyük bir kongre yapılacaktır. Bu dâvanın halli için Marshall yardımından ve yabancı uzmanlardan da âzami şekilde faydalanabilmek imkânları aranacaktır.

AMERİKALI ŞEHİRCİLİK UZMANLARININ RAPORLARI

Mütehasıslar Türkiyede standart inşaat olmadığını söylüyorlar

Marshall Planı teknik yardım fasından Türkiyeye gelmiş olan 3 Amerikan şehircilik mütehasısı, memleketin muhtelif yerlerinde 3200 kilometrelik ve iki ay süren bir tetkik gezisi yapmışlar ve mufassal bir rapor hazırlayarak Amerika'ya dönmüşlerdir. Mütehasıslar bir çok şehir, kasaba ve köyleri gezerek buraların mevcut durumunu en ince teferruatına kadar incelemişler, tarımla meşgul nüfus nisbetini ve mevcut malzemeyi tesbit etmişlerdir. Bu tetkiklerde İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü ile ayrıca Sağlık, Millî Eğitim ve Maliye Bakanlıklarıyla da temas edilmiştir.

Mütehasıslar bu temasları müteakip ikinci defa Türkiye dahilinde bir geziye çıkmışlardır. Mütehasıslar, Türkiyede standart inşaat olmadığından, bunu temin etmek gerektiğinden, ucuz inşaat için gerekli tedbirler almakta, köylerde modern inşaatı önem vermekten bahsetmektedirler. Mütehasıslar bu ikinci tetkiklerini doğu illerine kadar götürmüşlerdir.

MARŞAL YARDIMINDAN 1951 DE İMAR HAREKETLE- Rİ İÇİN FAYDALANMA

Serbest bırakılan meblâğ, sanayi ve tarımı modernleştirecek projelerin tahakkuku ve bu sahalarda çalışacak elemanların yetiştirilmesi için sarfedilecektir.»

Mister Dorr'un verdiği izahata göre, bu paranın tahakkuku'na sarfedileceği projeler ve her işe tahsis olunan miktarlar şöyledir:

Bulgaristan göçmenlerinin müstahsil hale getirilmesi için 30 milyon, çiftçilere ikraz edilmek üzere 8 milyon, hastane inşa ve teçhizi için 7 milyon 300 bin, kuyu sondajları için hususî teşebbüslere 5 milyon, şehir su ve elektrik işleri için 5 milyon 900 bin, hususî sanayi geliştirilmesi için 12 milyon, Amerikan teknik uzmanlarının Türkiye'deki masrafları karşılığı olarak 1 milyon, İstanbulda yapılacak Hilton oteli için 4 milyon 500 bin, işlenmemiş arazinin ziraate açılması ve çiftçilerin eğitimi, hayvan ürtemez servisleri için 60 milyon 640 bin, enerji ve yakıt projeleriyle diğer sanayi projeleri için de 30 milyon 500 bin lira olarak yekûn 164 milyon 840 bin lirayı bulmaktadır.

ÇİMENTO

İnşaat mevsimi yaklaştıkça çimento buhranı ile karşılaşmak korkusu çoğalmaktadır. Mamafih bu yıl çimento buhranı olmayacağını zannediyoruz. Şimdiden Yunanistandan ve İtalyadan ithalâta başlanmıştır. Almanyadan da tekliflerin geldiğini öğreniyoruz, Alman fiyatlarının gayet ucuz olduğu söylenmekte ve yerli fiyat ile rekabet edecek kadar düştüğü işaret edilmektedir.

Ticaret Bakanlığı, Norm meselesinde, geçen sene olduğu gibi mânasız zorluklar çıkarmazsa bu sene çimento buhranı ile karşılaşmıyacağız.

Diğer taraftan Egede 200.000 ton kapasitesinde bir çimento fabrikası inşasına teşebbüs edildiğini memnuniyetle öğreniyoruz. «Marşal» plânı yardımından istifade suretile İzmirli müteşebbisler Danimarkadan çimento fabrikasının makinelerini temin etmektedirler.

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE PAGES FROM BERNARD WAGNER'S REPORT, "HOUSING IN TURKEY" PUBLISHED IN *ARKITEKT*

TÜRKİYEDE MESKEN MESELESİ

II

Raporu hazırlayan :
Mimar Bernard WAGNER A. I. A.
Birleşik Amerika Yardım Heyeti
Mesken Müşaviri

Önsöz :

Bu tavsiyeler, raporun birinci kısmı olan halihazır mesken durumunun analizine ve Zonguldak, İzmir, Kayseri, Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep, Antalya, Konya ve bu vilayetlerin köylerine yapılan gezilerden edinilen intibalara müstenit bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda Ekselâns Çalışma Vekili, Millet Meclisi âzaları, Sigorta Kurumunun Umum Müdür Vekili, Nafia Vekâleti İmar ve İskân Müdürü, Birleşmiş Milletler İskân Komitesi Türk delegesi, Emlâk Bankası ve İstatistik Genel Müdürlüleriyle müllakat ve müşaverele ve İşçi Sigortaları Kurumunun mesken programı dolayısıyla Ankara Merkez Şube Müdürleri ve taşra sube müdürlüleriyle, işçi başkanları, müteahhitler ve işçilerle konuşmalar yapılmıştır. Plan ve fotoğraflar dosyası tanzim edilmiştir. İstatistikî donelerin eksik bulunması yüzünden raporda dercedilmiş bulunan bazı rakamların yanlış olduğu taahhüt edilemez. Bu raporda yapılan tavsiyelerin tatbikatına geçildiğinde her sahada daha fazla işbirliği sağlanacağını ümit etmekteyim.

Bu rapor yeni neşredilen (İmar) Kanunundan önce hazırlanmış olduğundan bazı fikir ve teklifler eski Yapı ve Yollar Kanununun çerçevesi dahilinde de mütalea edilmiştir. Bu itibarla raporda, yeni İmar Kanunu ile bağdaşmayan noktalar bulunabileceğinden bu hususa okuyucunun dikkatini çekmek isterim.

HÜLÂSA :

İskân Politikası :

Munzam mesken inşaatı Türk İnşaat Sanayisinde halen mevcut bulunan enflasyon durumunun daha da ciddileşmesine âmil olacağına şüphe edilememekle beraber, iyi bir şekilde planlanıp kontrol edilen ucuz

maliyetli mesken inşaatı Millî Ekonomiye mutlak surette bir fayda temin edebilir. Türkiye'de hayatî mahiyette bulunan bölgelerde üretimi arttırmaya yardım edebilir. Ekonomik durumun islah maksadıyla umumiyetle ihraç malları imal etmeye veya ithal edilmesi lüzumlu malların üretimi arttırmaya âmil olan devlet ve hususî teşebbüslerde çalışan işçilerin mesken projelerinin terahhin ele alınması lüzumdur.

İnşaat malzemesinin mahdut bulunuşu hatırlanarak ve diğer memleketlerden ithal edilen kıtlik malzeme (*) miktarını azaltmaya çalışılmak suretiyle ucuz maliyetli ev inşaatına fazla yer verilerek üzere yapılacak çalışma aynı zamanda yüksek maliyetli ev inşaatını da fevkalâde bir inşaatmaya tâbi tutmakla muvazi yürütülmelidir.

Köy evleri için mümkün mertebe mahallen istihsal edilen malzeme ve mahallî işçiliğin kullanılması tavsiye olunur. Fakat bu «kendi - kendine yardım» metodu, teknik yardım vasıtasıyla - icabı halinde mahdut malî yardımlarla tekâmül ettirilmelidir. Köy evleri inşaatında tatbik edilecek olan himayeli «kendi kendine yardım» programı Türkiye'nin % 70 inden fazlasının ziraat istihsal ile uğraşan halkının hem istihsal kapasitesini ve hem de geçim ve hayat seviyesini ve sıhhatini arttırmaya yardım edecektir.

Mesken idaresi :

Hükümet, burada ana hatları tebarüz ettirilen bir mesken politikasını yürütmek için ve kontrol, koordinasyon ve teknik yardımla, lüzumlu fonksiyonları uy-

(*) Memlekette imal edilmeyen ve fakat kullanılmasına da mutlak surette lüzum olan malzeme.

gun bir mekanizma ile temin edilebilmek için bir mesken idaresi ihdas etmelidir. Kontrol metodları plânlı bir sanayî kalkınma programına uygun olarak, inşaat malzemesinin tevzi tâbi tutulmasını da içine almalıdır. Mesken sektörüne ayrılmış bulunan inşaat malzemesinin hemen hemen tamamı ucuz maliyetli ev inşaatına kullanılmalıdır. Yeni inşa edilen evlere taniyan on senelik vergi muafiyeti hakkında kanun gayrimenkullerin matrahları üzerinden vergi tahakkuk edilmesini mümkün kılacak bir kanunla tebdil edilmelidir. Metrekare maliyeti 200.— liradan fazla olan binalara tatbik edilmek üzere hususî bir vergi kanunu çıkarılmalıdır. Bu vergiden temin edilecek gelir kısmen veya tamamen ev yapı idaresinin senelik bütçesini karşılamak üzere kullanılabilir. Asgari ihtiyacı ve âzâmî tahsisatı tayin edecek olan yeni kanunlar çıkarılmalı, bölgeleştirme kararları ve standartları tesis edilmelidir. Bunlar düşük standartta mesken inşaatına mâni olmalı ve fakat inşaat malzemesinin fazla ve lüzumsuz olarak kullanılmasına imkân vermemelidir. Cari finansman metodlarına; inşaat kredisini tahdit etmek tasarruf plânları tesis etmek ve hattâ mecburî tasarruf plânları ihdas etmek suretiyle kontrolün teşmili lüzumdur.

Mesken idaresine kontrol tedbirleri toplamı, para ve malzemenin doğru mecralara sevk edilebilmesi ve hususî şekilde finansman suretiyle yapılan ev hacminin da daraltılabilmesi imkânını vermeyi mümkün kılacaktır. Bu gibi tedbirler ihdas edilmeden yılda yapılan ev miktarı nisbeten ehemmiyetsizdir ve bu ne hakikî ilerlemenin, ne de refahın bir müşîridir. İnşaat malzemesi sanayii memleket ihtiyacını daha iyi bir şekilde karşılamadan önce büyük öl-

çüde bir mesken programı ele alınmamalıdır. Buna lâzım olan zamanı kısaltmak, mesken standardını yükseltmek ve istikbalde daha iktisatlı ev temin etmek suretiyle müstehlik fertlere faydalı olmak şümüllü bir tetkik programının çok önemli bir değeri olacaktır. Nihayet millî mimariyi kalkındıracak bir tetkik programına el sanatlarının ve malzemesinin iyi bir şekilde kullanılması hususunda Üniversiteler, Teknik Enstitüler, mimar, tekniker ve sanatkar yetiştiren sanat okullarının pek fazla yardımcı dokunacak ve modern Türk mimarisinin inkişafına mesnet teşkil edecek bir esas temin edecektir.

İşçi Meskenleri :

Halihazır işçi kooperatifleri programı yeni baştan organize edilmeli ve doğrudan doğruya İşçi Sigortaları Kurumunun rehberliği ve mes'uliyetine tevdi edilmelidir. Bu Kurum, plân, inşaat ve işçi meskenleri projelerinin tahakkuku işlerini idare edecek bir merkez teşkilât olarak faaliyette bulunmalıdır. Ve tahakkuk ettirilen işçi meskenleri projelerini kira ile değil, satmak suretiyle işçiyi intikali hususuna bilhassa önem vermeli. Kredi tahditlerinin umumî prensibi faiz nisbetlerinin yükseltme noktasını aşmalıdır. Aksi takdirde Türk işçinin mahdut iştirak kabiliyeti bu programdaki ipotek şartlarını çok zor bir duruma sokar. İşçinin âzami tahammülü % 3 faiz ve 20 sene vadeli bir ipotektir. Sanayileşme uğrunda büyük sıkıntılara katlanan bir memlekette işçilere uzun vadeli mesken temini yalnız herhangi bir grubun vazifesi değil, aynı zamanda hükümetin de vazifesidir. Binaenaleyh istikbalde iktisadî durum daha pahalı mesken inşasına müsait bir kapasite gösterdiği zaman Devlet İşçi Sigortaları Kurumunun mesken fonlarını bu raporda teklif edilen kontrol tedbirleri dolayısıyla teraküm eden fonların bir kısmını transfer etmek suretiyle yükseltilebilir. Ancak kontrol tedbirleri realize edilmeden önce işçi meskenlerinde hiçbir fazılaştırmak düşünülmemelidir.

Ucuz ev plânları metodunun işçi ailelerinin ihtiyaçlarına ve adetlerine göre teriptenmesine dikkat edilmelidir. Mimarlar plânları çizmeden ve şartnameler hazırlanmadan önce istekler hakkında daha fazla malûmat sahibi olmalıdırlar. Bilmukabele, işçilerinde Kurum ile işbirliğini daha müdrik ve tesirli yapabilmeleri için bu mevzuda mündemîç bulunan teknik ve malî meseleler hakkında daha fazla bilgi sahibi olmalıdırlar. Bu gayeye anketler, sergiler ve seminerlerle vâsil olunabilir.

Netice :

Türkiye'nin mesken durumunda âcil ve zarurî bir tekâmül sağlamak bilhassa inşaat malzemesi ve döviz kıtlığı dolayısıyla oldukça güç görünmekle beraber, kontrol için uygun tedbirler alınması ve mevcut kaynakların programlaştırılması halinde nüfusun oldukça mühim bir kısmının yaşama şartlarının derhal ıslahı için pek çok şey yapılabilir.

Burada tavsiye edilen siyasetin semereleri konkre bir şekilde ölçülebileceği hissedilmeye başlanıncaya kadar bir zaman geçecektir.

Lâkin bu yöne doğru yapılacak herhangi bir gayret ve atılacak herhangi bir adımın istikbalde Türk milletinin saadetine ve refah içinde gelişmesine faydalı olacağı düşünülmektedir. 1955 yılı Nisan ayında Nafia Vekâleti himayesinde toplanmış bulunan Türkiye İmar ve İskân Kongresi Mesken Komitesinin başarılı vazifesi devam ettirilmelidir. Ve bu Komitenin hazırladığı raporun faydalı olacağı ümit edilmektedir.

Türkiye'de gerek şehir ve gerekse köy meskenleri meselesinde ümitsizliğe düşecek hiçbir unsur yoktur. Bunlar cesaretle ele alındığı ve realist esaslara istinat ettirildiği takdirde halledilebilir. Birkaç sene tatbik edilecek dikkatli bir program Türkiye'nin istikbaldeki mesken politikasına büyük bir tesir yapacaktır ki, o takdirde kontrol- ların kaldırılması ve memleketin kaynaklardan ve kudretlerinden ve halkından faydalanarak şümüllü bir plânlaştırma tahakkuk edecektir.

TÜRKİYEDE MESKEN

KISIM : II

TAVSİYELER

Başlangıç :

Bu raporun birinci kısmında belirtildiği veçhile, Türkiye biri şehir, diğeri köy olmak üzere iki türlü mesken meselesiyle karşı karşıya bulunmaktadır. Köy meskenleri uzun seneler devamlı bir tedaviye ihtiyaç gösterecek kronik hastalıklı bir bünyeye maliktir. Aynı zamanda şehir meskenleri meselesinin durumu köy evleri mevzuunda daha kritik olduğu cihetle mesken investisyonlarını uygun mecralara doğru sevkedelebilmek için âcil tedbirlerin tatbik edilmesi zarureti vardır. Bu iki mesken meselesinin esasındaki güçlükler yalnız malî bakımdan değil, fakat mesken politikası, teşkilât ve idare meselesi olarak da ehemmiyet alır.

Türk ekonomisinin bu iki meselenin gün geçtikçe mutlak surette çok ciddi bir hal alacak olan bu durumunu başıboş bırakması caiz değildir. Gerek yeni sanayi

merkezlerinin kurulması gerekse şehrin halkının devamlı bir şekilde tezayüdü bu sahalardaki mesken meselelerine daha ciddi ve fazla ehemmiyet verilmesini icap ettirmektedir. 1955 yılı nüfus sayımı son beş yıl içinde şehir nüfusunda % 5,5 ve köylerde ise % 2,2 bir artış kaydetmektedir. Genel nüfus 24 milyona varmıştır. Ve şehir nüfusunun köy nüfusu artış nisbeti % 28,5 a karşı % 71,5 dur. (5 sene evvelki nisbet ise % 25,5 a % 74,5 dur.)

Diğer memleketler, mesken mevzuu halledilmeden sağlam bir sanayi gelişmesinin mümkün olmayacağını tecrübe etmiş bulunmaktadırlar. Yeni işyerleri tesisi munzam ev inşasını icap ettirir. Bu vâkıa çok vazih olmakla beraber ekseriya ehemmiyetsiz telâkki edilir. Her memlekette sanayi istihsalinin müstahsillerin gayrikâfi mesken durumları dolayısıyla müşküllüğe düştüğü bir vâkıadır. Sanayileşmede gelişme ne kadar çabuk olursa ve istihsal metodları ne kadar girift bulunursa mesken meselesi o derece güçleşir. Vassıflı işçi yetiştirmek bir hayli zaman ve para ister. Bunların ailelerini münasip bir yerde oturtamaları yüzünden işlerini terketmeleri ve muhtemelen eğitime diğer bir yerde tekrar başlama- sına hiçbir milletin ekonomisinde göze alınacak bir hâdise değildir. Buna rağmen Birleşik Amerika dahi, birçok memleketlerde bu hal vukubulmuştur. Ve Türkiye'de de az bir mikyasta vukubulmaktadır.

Yardım siyaseti, Türkiye'de bazı devlet teşebbüslerinin tatbik ettiği ve bu suretle işçilerin hemen hemen kira vermeden evlerde oturmaları ne iktisadî bakımdan, ne de sosyal bakımdan teminatlı değildir. Bunun neticesi «Şirket şehirleri» denilen münferit şehirlerin doğmasını tevhit eder. Ve bu muhtelif sosyal grupların sağlam bir şekilde karışmasına mâni olur. Bu düşünce ile yapılan projelerin oldukça elverişli olmasına rağmen, bazıları fevkalâde caziptir. Fakat bir gün bu halin ferdi hüviyeti tahdit ettiği hissedilecektir. İşçi Sigortaları Kurumunun takip ettiği ve ev sahibi etmek politikası işçiyi bulunduğu işte devamlı olarak kalmasını çok daha iyi bir şekilde sağlamağa vesile olacak ve ona evinde ve cemiyette daha emin bir durum temin edecektir.

Bu izahat mesken inşaatının yalnız kıymet meselesi değil, aynı zamanda keyfiyet meselesi olduğunu da tebarüz ettirmektedir. Buna müşabih olarak bu raporun birinci kısmında mesken meselesinin finansmandan ziyade mümkün olduğu kadar fazla tiplerde ev plânlarının ve inşaat şekillerinin lüzumlu olduğunu göstermeğe çalışmıştır.

Mesken işleri malzeme ihtisali, iş kudreti, mevcut arsaların durumu belediye hizmetleri, fiat ve kira kontrolü ve diğer mali hukuki, ekonomik ve sosyal durumlar gibi daha birçok meseleleri de içine almaktadır.

Mesken siyaseti :

Bugün Türkiye'nin pek geniş bulunan mesken ihtiyacını karşılamak üzere bir plan hazırlamak eğer inşaat malzemesi sanayii bu programın talep ettireceği ihtiyacı karşılamaya kifayet edecek durumda değilse — ki bu müteaddit faktörlerden yalnız bir tanesidir — hiçbir fayda temin etmeyecektir. Ancak bir mesken siyaseti ihzar etmek çok lüzumludur. Böyle bir siyaseti başarmak için yapılacak herhangi bir mesken programının elde mevcut bulunan kaynaklara istinat ettirilmesi icap eder. Bu tahakkuk ettirilmeden her sene inşa edilen mesken adedinin fiilî miktarı buna nisbetle ehemmiyetsizdir. Ve ne bir inkişafın ne de bir rakamın müjdecisidir. İnşaat malzemesinin ihtisali azaltmak şartıyla uygun bir mesken politikasının benimsendiği takdirde mesken inşaatı miktarında otomatikman tedricî bir fazlalık husule gelecektir. Mesken siyaseti hazırlanırken umumiyetle mesken inşaatının memleketin bir bütün olarak ekonomisine faydalı olacak şekilde tedbirli bir tarzda kullanılması iktiza eder. Aynı zamanda bunun çok mühim bir ekonomik faaliyeti de temsil etmekte bulunduğuunun hatırdâ tutulması icap eder. Bugün daha fazla mesken inşası bizatihi çok ciddi bulunan mevcut ekonomik enflasyonu bir kat daha ağırlaştıracaktır. Herhangi bir şey yapılması icap ediyorsa o da ev inşaatını arttırmak değil, azaltmak yerinde olur. Maaşlar stratejik ve Türkiye ekonomisine hayati ehemmiyet sağlayan istihlak ve ihraç maddelerinin ihtisalinin artırmak için bir vasıta olacak şekilde plânlıştırıldığı takdirde, munzam mesken inşası mutlak surette fayda temin edilebilir. (Meselâ, Batı Avrupa memleketlerinden birinde bu tecrübe edilmiş ve 400 haneli bir mesken projesi sayesinde muayyen bir kömür madeni ocağında % 15 bir istihlal fazlası elde edilmiştir.) Türkiye'de buna benzeyen fırsatların mevcut bulunduğu pek haklı olarak tahmin edilebilir. Binaenaleyh yakın bir gelecek için hazırlanacak herhangi bir mesken inşaatı projesinin yalnız ucuz maliyetli olması için bir tahdit yapılmamalı aynı zamanda en mühim teşebbüslerin produktivitesini arttırmaya yardım edecek olan işlerdeki işçilere tevcih edilmesi lâzımdır.

Mesken idaresi :

Yukarıda ana hatları belirtilen bu siyaseti takip edebilmek ve mesken faaliyet-

lerini plânlamak, koordine etmek ve kontrol etmek için bir merkez mesken teşkilâtı kurulmasına lüzum vardır. Mesken meselesi çok muğlak bir vaziyet arzettiğinden bu fonksiyonları oldukça hususiyet kesbetmiş bulunan mevcut herhangi bir Vekâlet'in faaliyetine dahil etmek güçtür. Binaenaleyh Umum Müdürü doğrudan doğruya Başvekile bağlı bulunan müstakil bir müdürlük tesis edilmesi tavsiye edilebilir. Böyle bir idarenin tesisi Türk Hükümetinin yüksek maliyetli mesken inşaatını kontrol etmeğe gayret ettiğine ve mesken kredisinin memleket ekonomisi için yararlı olacak mecralara yöneltmeye çalıştığını halkta bir kanaat uyandırmış olacaktır. Kısaca, mesken idaresinin ihdası politik, ekonomik ve sosyal bakımlardan uygun bir projenin yapılmasına âmil olabilecektir. Bu organizasyonun teşkili aşağıdaki şemada beyan edildiği şekilde olabilir.

Mesken idaresi Türkiye için millî bir mesken siyaseti beyannamesi yayınlamalıdır. Böyle bir beyanname, Türkiye halkını idarenin kuruluşu gayesini ve müstakbel maksadını tenvir etmeğe yarayacaktır. Bu gayelerin bazıları tahakkuk ettikçe veyahut Türkiye ekonomisinde bazı değişiklikler vukua geldikçe adı geçen beyanname ona göre tadil edilmelidir. İlk beyanname ve tadilleri Umum Müdürlüğün müşavirleri tarafından ve mesken işinin muhtelif ehemmiyetli safhalarında bilfiil çalışan otoritelerden müteşekkil bir heyet tarafından hazırlanmalı ve Vekiller Heyetinin tasdikinden geçirilmelidir.

İdarenin büyük bir teşkilât olmasına lüzum yoktur. Hattâ personeli ne kadar az olursa o kadar verimli olacaktır. Adet itibarıyla ifade edilecek olursa başlangıçta 100-200 hizmetliye ihtiyaç olacağı tahmin edilebilir. Bu teşkilâtın ilk vazifesi bilfiil faaliyetten ziyade kontrol, koordine ve teknik yardım sağlamaktır. Bütçesi kısmen veya tamamen aşağıda izah olunduğu veçhile yüksek maliyetli binalardan alınacak olan ve belediyelerin tarhettikleri mutad bina vergisine ilâve edilmek suretiyle toplanacak vergiler ile karşılanabilir.

Bundan birkaç sene sonra mesken idaresi faaliyeti geçer bir teşkilât veyahut bir mesken vekâleti şeklinde inkişaf edebilir. Ve Nafia Vekâletinin tabii âfetler için tabii ettirdiği mesken programını, Ziraat Vekâletinin köy evleri programını, Toprak ve İskân İşleri Umum Müdürlüğünün göçmen evleri programını, Çalışma Vekâletinin işçi meskenleri programını ve diğer bütün resmî ve yarı resmî mesken inşası faaliyetini uhdesinde toplayabilir. Halen bunların derhal mesken idaresi tarafından ele alınması doğ-

ru olamaz. Çünkü (a) evvelâ koordinasyon ve kontrol işinin yapılması lâzımdır. (b) Hususî sermaye ile inşa edilmiş bulunan bina adedi umumî mesken kredisinden faydalanılarak inşa edilen mesken adedine nisbetle çok fazladır. (c) Lüzumlu olacak mütemmin personel muhtelif Vekâlet personelinin iki misline çıkartılmasını ihtaç ettirecektir. (d) Umumî mesken programlarının bir çoğu hakikaten program olarak hazırlanmamıştır. Binaenaleyh bu işler devralınmadan evvel münasip bir şekilde plânlıştırılmalıdır.

Mesken idaresinin fonksiyonları :

Yukarıda da temas edildiği gibi mesken idaresinin esas fonksiyonu kontrol ve teknik yardım olmalıdır. Bunlar aşağıdaki şekilde izah olunabilir:

1 — Bilümmün inşaat malzemesinin tahsisi, koordinasyonu ve kontrolü :

Hali hazır inşaat malzemesi kifayetsizliği yalnız muvakkat bir mesele değildir, aynı zamanda birçok seneler sürececek bir durum arz etmektedir. Cari tahsis sisteminde umumî olarak, hususî ve resmî diye iki inşaat faaliyeti ayırt edilmektedir. Fakat ağır sanayi, hafif sanayi, ticarî ve mesken inşaatı diye muhtelif inşaat tipleri sınıflandırılmamıştır. Binaenaleyh mevcut sistemin, inşaat malzemesinin (yerli veya ithal olsun) priorite esasına müsteniden dağıtılmak üzere her nevi inşaat faaliyeti için muayyen bir tevzi metodu ile tebdilî tavsiyeye şayandır. Her faaliyet kolunun kendi hakkı olan payı (veya «çöregün dilimini») almasını temin etmek pek güç bir iş değildir. Nafia Vekâleti diğer resmî ve hususî dairelerle işbirliği yapmak suretiyle payları en iyi şekilde taksim edebilecek bir durumdadır. Ancak, bu taksimin cari sarfiyat üzerinden değil, projelerin etkisi ve Türk ekonomisine fayda nisbeti esasına göre yapılması zaruridir. Bu tevzi sistemi mutlak surette bürokraside bir takım fazlalığı istilzam ettirecektir. Ancak hususî şekilde malzeme dağıtımından bu şeklin çok daha tesiri olduğuna inanılabilir. İşleme mekanizması cari sisteme müşâbih olabilir. Yalnız aralarındaki fark mevcut iki sınıf yerine dört veya beş sınıfa ayrılmış olmasıdır.

Mesken idaresi mesken sektöründeki inşaat malzemesinin münasip şekilde tahsisinden mes'ul bulunmalıdır. İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğünün 1954 yılı rakamlarına göre her nevi bina inşaatı için sarfedilen (bara), yollar ve demiryolu hariç fonların % 75 i mesken inşaatına sarfedilmiş bulunmaktadır. Bu rakama belediye hudutları haricinde yapılmış binalar dahil edilmiştir. Para olarak bu, senede takriben yarım milyar Türk liralık bir envestismanı temsil etmek-

APPENDIX E

BERNARD WAGNER'S STUDIES PUBLISHED IN *ARKITEKT* REGARDING HIS ASSISTANCE IN WORKERS HOUSING PROJECTS IN TURKEY

MİMAR BERNARD WAGNER'İN ÇALIŞMALARI

Amerikan Yardım Heyetinden Mesken mütehassısı Mimar Wagner memleketimizdeki Mesken problemini incelerken, ayrıca bazı işçi evleri mahallelerine ait güzel ve original etüdler de yapmış bunları alâkalı Vekâlete arz etmiştir.

Almanya'da yine Amerikan-Alman işbirliğiyle yapılan bir çok maden işçileri, mahallelerinde başarılı tatbikat yapan Mimar Wagner, Bursa, Erdemli, İzmirde yapılacak işçi evleri mahalle ve ev plânlarını memleketimizin şartlarına göre çok başarılı bir şekilde hazırlamıştır. Bu defa Bursaya ait olan plânı neşretmekteyiz.

Bu güzel plânları hazırlamasında kendisinin çok kıymetli bir şehirci olan babasıyla yurdumuzda geçirdiği uzun senelerin bilgisi büyük yardımı olmuştur. Kendisine teşekkür ederiz.

Amerika hükümeti Türkiye'deki yardım heyetine geçen sene bir üye daha göndermiştir. Bu yeni üyenin ismi Mimar Bernard Wagner'dir. Vazifesi Türkiye'de mesken inşaatını tetkik etmek ve bilhassa işçi evleri inşaatını organize etmektir. Bu bizim için hiç küçümsenmeyecek bir hâdisedir. Çünkü Okyanusun öbür tarafından bu sahada bize ilk defa olarak şefkatli bir el uzanmaktadır. Bu hareketlerinden dolayı Amerikalı dostlarımıza candan teşekkür etmek hepimiz için bir borçtur.

«Wagner» ismi bizim ve bilhassa mimar arkadaşlarımız için hiç te yabancı değildir. İkinci Dünya Harbinden evvel babası Martin Wagner memleketimizde evvelâ İstanbul Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğünde müşavir olarak iki sene çalışmış ve sonradan Ankarada Nafia Vekâletine tayin edilmiştir. Hatırladığıma göre burada bir sene kalmıştır. İşin ehemmiyetine nazaran çok kısa sayılan bu müddet içinde memleketimize kendi sahasında çok faydalı hizmetlerde bulunmuştur. Daha o zaman Türkiye için yeni bir yapı ve imar kanunu teklifi hazırlamış ve devrin Nafia Vekili olan Ali Çetinkaya'ya vermişti. İkinci Dünya Harbinden az evvel Amerikan hükümetinin daveti üzerine Harvard Üniversitesinin Şehirçilik Kürsüsüne Profesör olarak tayin edilmiş ve Türkiye'deki vazifesinden ayrılmıştır.

Oğlu Bernard Wagner'in bundan dolayı memleketimize ne gibi hislerle ve ne kadar büyük bir heyecan ve sevinçle gelmiş olduğunu anlamak bizim için pek zor olmasa gerek! Mimar Bernard Wagner mimarı tahsiline Zürich'te Technische Hochschule'de başlamış lakin harp içinde İsviçreden ayrılmak mecburiyetinde kaldığından tahsiline Amerika'da devam ederek Harvard Üniversitesinden mezun olmuştur. Harpten sonra ilk ve en mühim vazifelerinden biri tanınmış birçok Alman mimarlar ile birlikte ve yine Amerikan hükümetinin temsilcisi olarak Alman maden işçi evleri inşaatını Almanya'da organize ve inşa etmiş olmasıdır. Essen Dortmund ve Frankfurt gibi büyük sanayi merkezlerinde yeni işçi mahallelerinin plânlama işlerinde tamamen yeni ve modern görüşlerle çalışmış ve muvaffak olmuştur. Bu muvaffakiyetli çalışmalarından dolayı oradaki vazifesi bittikten sonra aynı gaye ile Amerikan hükümeti tarafından Türkiye'ye gönderilmiş bulunuyor.

Yazımın bazı sahifelerinde yer almış olan ve Almanya'ya ait resimler Wagner'in bu semereli çalışmasının bir delilidir. Daha ilk bakışta bu işçi mahallelerinin (Siedlungların) ne kadar geniş ve rahat bir şekilde yeşillikler içinde âdeta gömülerek inşa edildiği görülür. Büyük sıra evleri blokları şeklinde inşa edilen evlerin aralarında çocuk bahçeleri, oyun sahaları ve park halinde bırakılan büyük yeşil sahalardan oluşmaktadır.

Bütün ihtiyaçlar gözönünde tutularak hazırlanan ev

tipleri ve plânlarının da çok güzel bir şekilde araziye oturtulmuş olduğu resimlerden anlaşılmaktadır. Ev bloklarının arasında geniş boşlukların ve bahçe sahalalarının kalmasının «en büyük sırrı» işçi evlerinin birer «villâ» şeklinde inşa edilmemiş olmasındadır. Bütün bu yeni işçi mahallelerinde bundan dolayı «sıra evi» tipinin tercih edildiği görülmektedir. Tek ev şeklinde bir işçi evine ayrılacak arsa çok küçük kalacağı için evler gayet sıkışık olarak bir yol üzerinde askervari bir tarzda sıralanmış olacağından bu gibi mahallelerden hiçbir vakit iyi bir tesir bekenemez. Aynı zamanda böyle küçük parseller üzerinde inşa edilen tek evler daima pahalıya mal olmaktadır. Artık böyle mevzularda bu gibi pahalı inşaat sistemlerinin ancak hakiki villâlara terk etmek ve «yalancı villâlardan» uzaklaşarak daha sosyal olan «sıra evleri» tiplerine gitmek bizim için de daha doğru bir yoldur.

Bu yazıda gösterilen resimlerden gerek Almanya ve gerekse Amerika'ya ait olanlardan da görüldüğü veçhile, tek ev sisteminden tamamen vazgeçilmiş ve «sıra evler» şeklindeki blok evler tercih edilmiştir. Amerika ve Almanya gibi bizden çok zengin ve tahsisatları bol olan memleketler de bu yolu tercih ettikten sonra, bizim gibi fakir olan memleketlerde işçi mahallelerinin bu şekilde kurulması bir zaruretlerdir.

Bernard Wagner raporunun ikinci kısmında işçi evleri mevzuunda bu inşaat sisteminden daha mufassal olarak bahsedeceğinden burada bunun üzerinde daha fazla durmayacağım.

Raporun sonunda gösterilen işçi evleri plân tipleri Türkiye'de işçi Sigortaları tarafından ve bazıları kooperatifler yolu ile inşa edilmekte ve inşa edilmiştir. Kayserideki işçi mahallesi vaziyet plânı ise kooperatif tarafından «ismarlanarak» hazırlanmış bir plândır. Böyle bir vaziyet plânı ile inşa edilen bir mahalle işçi ailelerini «saadete doğru» götürmeyeceği muhakkaktır.

Bernard Wagner'in çalışmasının en iyi taraflarından biri, memleketimize geldikten sonra bir senesini halihazır durumun etüdüne hasretmiş olmasıdır. Birçok tetkik seyahatleri yapmış, ilgililerle görüşmelerde bulunmuş, bütün yürürlükte olan kanunları, inşaat sistemlerini, finansman metodlarını ve inşaat malzemesi membalarını iyice incelemiştir. Bundan dolayı raporunu iki kısma ayırmıştır. Birinci kısmı, halihazır duruma hasrederek ikinci kısmında faydalı tenkidler ve tavsiyelerde bulunmaktadır. Bütün bunlardan Wagner'in Türkiye'deki mesken inşaatı problemini ne kadar ciddiye aldığı görülmektedir. Raporunda şehir evi ile köy ve işçi evleri üzerinde ayrı ayrı durmakta ve hepsinin

ÖN SÖZ

«Türkiyede mesken inşaatı» hakkındaki raporum iki kısımdan ibarettir. Birinci kısımda halen mevcut şartlar incelenmiş olup Türkiyedeki inşaat hacmi, mesken ihtiyacı, inşaat malzeme membaaları, imâr kanunları ve finansman metodları ile yürürlükte bulunan inşaat kanunlarını ihtiva eder. İkinci kısımda merkezi bir mesken inşaat dairesinin kurulması, inşaat faaliyeti ile ilgili enflasyona mani olacak kanunların çıkarılması için tekliflerle mevcut yapı programlarının tahlili, işçi ve köylü evlerinin yapımının sosyal durumlarına göre bir programa bağlanması ve mesken yapılarında normların ihdası hususunda mufassal tavsiyeler bulunmaktadır.

Bu rapora evvelce çıkmış olan birçok yazılar, istatistik doneler, birçok toplantılar ve isimleri aşağıda yazılı olan müesseselerle daimi temasların esas teşkil etmiştir. (Nafia Vekâleti, Çalışma Vekâleti, İşçi Sigortaları Umum Müdürlüğü, Toprak ve İskân İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Emlâk ve Kredi Bankası, Eİ Bank, Sümerbank Şeker Şirketi, Ziraat Bankası, İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü, Ankara Üniversitesi, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, Mimarlar Odası, İstanbul ve Ankara Belediyeleri mes'ul teknik organları).

Bundan maada, İstanbul, Edirne, İzmir, Bursa, Zonguldak, Gerze, İzmir, Kayseri, Adana, Gaziantep, Mersin, Antalya ve Konya gibi şehirlere yapılan birçok seyahatler çok istifadeli olmuştur. Her defasında buralarda tertiplenen

serbest mimar ve mühendisler, müteahhitler, fabrika müdürleri, işçi kooperatifleri idare heyetleri ve sanayi müesseseleriyle kısa toplantılar sayesinde mesken yapıları durumunu mahallerinde ve direkt olarak incelemek, problemleri ve müşkülleri yerinde tesbit etmek imkânları elde edilmiştir.

Bazı yerlerde ve her defasında hakiki istatistik rakamlar bulunamadığından tahminlerle kifayet etmek mecburiyeti hasıl olduğundan bunların tam bir isabetle ifade edilemediğini arz ederim.

Bütün teşekküllerin yakın alâka ve yardımları sayesinde, bilhassa raporun ikinci kısmında ileri sürülen birçok fikirler münakaşa edilerek ortaya atıldığından realiteye yaklaşıldığı gibi bunlar yalnız bir kişinin değil birçok selâhiyetli kimselerin düşüncelerini ihtiva eder. Lâkin bu Türkiye mesken yapımı hakkında bir son söz olarak kabul edilmeli, bilâkis çalışmaya müsait ve üzerinde daha birçok fikirlerin bina edilmesine müsait bir zemin olarak telâki edilmelidir. İstatistik malûmatı toplamak ve birçok şantiyeleri tetkik etmeme yardım ettiklerinden dolayı burada. Y. Mimar Mehmet Aktan ve Y. Mimar Bülent Onaran'a teşekkür etmek benim için bir borçtur. Onların yardımları olmasaydı bu etüt hazırlanamazdı. Keza bu raporları İngilizce den türkçeye tercüme eden Bayan Meliha Kıranta da teşekkürlerimi arz ederim.

Bernard Wagner
Architect A.I.A.

plân, finansman ve inşaat sistemleri üzerinde çok faydalı tavsiyelerde bulunmaktadır.

Gerze imâr plânı: Bu yazıda Bernard Wagner'in çalışma sahasına giren ve yangın felâketine uğramış olan Gerze kasabasıdır. Maddî ve manevî her türlü yardımı göze alan Amerikan heyeti daha ilk felâket günlerinde kendisini mahalline göndererek tetkikler yaptırmıştır. Yalnız bir raporla iktifa etmeyip görüldüğü gibi şehrin müstakbel imâr plânını yeni duruma göre ve büyük bir titizlikle etüt etmiştir. Yangından sonra şehri ideal bir şekilde ve en modern şehircilik kaidelerine uygun olarak yeniden inşa etmek prensibini kabul eden Bernard Wagner olgun bir plân vücade getirmiştir. Plân yalnız estetik güzelliklere göre düzenlenmemiş, aynı zamanda masrafla ve bakımı her zaman pahalya mal

olan lüzumsuz caddelerden sarfınazar ederek daha ziyade yeşil yollara evleri ana caddelere bağlanmış ve böylelikle ekonomik bir plân vücade getirmiştir. Wagner bu plânı en son şekil olarak değil, üzerinde daha işlenmeye ve etüt etmeye esas teşkil edecek bir plân kabul etmektedir.

Hacmi dolayısıyla raporun her iki kısmını Arkitekt mecmuasının bir sayısında neşretmek mümkün olmadığından, raporun ikinci kısmı bundan sonraki sayıya neşredilecektir.

Bernard Wagnere Türkiyedeki çalışmalarının memleketimiz için faydalı olmasını temenni eder, kendisine başarılar dilerim.

Doçent Y. Mimar
A. Sabri ORAN

BURSA İŞÇİ EVLERİ PROJESİ

Mimar Bernard WAGNER

B. Amerika Yardım Heyeti
Mesken Mühassısı

Seçilen arazi Eskişehir'e giden yolun üzerinde ve şehir merkezinin yakınında bulunmaktadır. Belediye tarafından inşası mukarrer hastahane henüz daha inşa edilmemiştir. Yollar kısmen mevcuttur ve arazi güneye doğru yüklenmektedir.

Plân 266 tek ve çift ev ve 40 apartman daireyi ihtiva etmektedir. Evlerin ekserisini «Sıra evleri» ve bilhassa 4 lü tip teşkil eder. Mahallenin inşaat masraflarının haricinde kalan, lâkin evlerle beraber inşa edilecek olan, esas yolun yakınında bir çarşı, merkezi bir vaziyette bir okul binasına yer verilmiştir. Sosyal ve kollektif inşaat, yalnız evlerin yapılmasıyla iktifa etmeyip, umumî binaların yapılmasını da derpiş eder. Arazinin çok dik ve inşaata elverişli olmayan kısımları, yeşil saha olarak bırakılmıştır.

Arazide mevcut bir çukur, açık hava tiyatrosuna uygun görülmüş ve burada tertiplenmiştir. Daha ziyade talebe ve halk oyunları için düşünülmüştür. Bu arazinin mühim bir kısmı, işçi sigortalarının malıdır, lâkin güzel bir mahalle vücuda getirebilmek için, bazı kısımların daha istimlak edilmesi icap eder.

Bu ve buna benzer bütün teklifler, bu işçi mahallelerinin aynen bu plânlara göre kurulmasını icap ettirmez. Bu eskizlerin gayesi, şehircilik ve kollektif inşaatın yeni prensiplerini tanıtmaktır. Bu teklifler nihai değildir ve yalnız bir fikir vermek içindir. Arkitekt mecmuasının 284 sayısında neşredilen «Gerze İmar Plânı» da aynı düşüncelerle hazırlanmıştır. Bunları kıymetlendirmek ve bazı pratik neticeler elde etmek, daha ziyade mimarlara ve idare organlarına düşen vazifedir.

APPENDIX F

SOME NEWS AND COLUMNS REGARDING WORKERS' HOUSING QUESTION AND HOUSING PROJECTS FROM THE NEWSPAPER *AKŞAM* BETWEEN 1949-1962



APPENDIX G

LIST OF CITIES WHERE THE MORTGAGE LOANS BANK SUPPLIED LOANS FOR HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IN 1952, *ARKITEKT*

TÜRKİYE EMLÂK KREDİ BANKASI HANGİ ŞEHİRLERİMİZDE FAALİYETTE BULUNUYOR

Merkez: ANKARA Kaza merkezleri: Polatlı - Haymana - Kırıkkale - Kızılcahamam - Yerköy - Ayaş - Nallıhan - Beypazarı - Güdül - Çubuk.	Merkez: Hatay Kaza merkezleri: Dörtöyl - İskenderun - Kırıkhan - Reyhaniye.	Burhaniye - Gönen - Bandırma - Suldırgı - Erdek - Susurluk - Manyas. Merkez: Çanakkale
Merkez: Bolu Kaza merkezleri:	Merkez: Samsun Kaza merkezleri: Bafra - Alaçam - Çarşamba - Terme - Havza.	Merkez: Aydın Kaza merkezleri: Nazilli - Söke - Germencik - Bozdağ - Çine - Koçarlı - Karacasu
Merkez: Zonguldak Kaza merkezleri: Bartın - Kozlu.	Merkez: Ordu Kaza merkezleri: Fatsa - Ünye.	Merkez: Muğla
Merkez: Kastamonu Merkez: Çorum Kaza merkezleri:	Merkez: Giresun Kaza merkezleri: Bulancık - Görele - Tirebolu.	Merkez: Denizli Kaza merkezleri: Sarayköy - Tavas - Acıpayam - Çivril - Buldan - Çal - Güney
Merkez: Çankırı Kaza merkezleri:	Merkez: Amasya Kaza merkezleri: Merzifon - Gümüşhacıköy.	Merkez: Afyon Kaza merkezleri: Dinar - Sandıklı.
Merkez: İstanbul Kaza merkezi: Yalova.	Merkez: Trabzon Merkez: Rize Merkez: Sinop Merkez: Eskişehir Kaza merkezleri: Mihalıççık - Sivrihisar	Merkez: Isparta Kaza merkezi: Uluborlu
Merkez: Edirne	Merkez: Bilecik Kaza merkezi: Bozüyük	Merkez: Antalya Kaza merkezleri: Elmalı - Alanya - Serik - Manavgat - Korkuteli - Finike
Merkez: Tekirdağ Kaza merkezi: Çorlu	Merkez: Afyon Kaza merkezleri: Şuhut - Emirdağ - Bolvadin	Merkez: Burdur Kaza merkezleri: Bucak - Tefenni - Yeşilova
Merkez: Kırklareli Kaza merkezleri:	Merkez: Kütahya Kaza merkezleri: Tavşanlı - Gediz - Simav	Merkez: Isparta Kaza merkezleri: Eğridir - Yalvağ - Şarkikaraağaç
Merkez: İzmit Kaza merkezleri: Gölcük - Kandıra - Adapazarı.	Merkez: Malatya - Elâzığ. Merkez: Gaziantep Kaza merkezleri: İslâhiye - Kilis - Nizip	Merkez: Manisa Kaza merkezleri: Turgutlu - Demirci - Salihli - Alaşehir - Akhisar - Kırkağaç - Soma.
Merkez: İzmir Kaza merkezleri: Ödemiş - Tire - Menemen - Bayındır - Kiraz - Kemalpaşa - Bergama - Çeşme - Seferihisar - Armutlu - Dikili - Urla - Kuşadası - Torbalı.	Merkez: Urfa Kaza merkezi: Birecik	Merkez: Kütahya Kaza merkezi: Uşak
Merkez: Bursa Kaza merkezleri: Mudanya - Gemlik - Orhangazi - M. Kemalpaşa - Karacabey - Yenişehir - İznik.	Merkez: Maraş Merkez: Sivas Kaza merkezleri: Zara, Şarkışla.	Merkez: Kayseri Kaza merkezi: Talas
Merkez: Adana Kaza merkezleri: Ceyhan - Kozan.	Merkez: Tokat Kaza merkezleri: Erbağ - Niksar - Turhal - Zile	Merkez: Kırşehir Kaza merkezleri:
Merkez: İçel Kaza merkezi: Tarsus	Merkez: Erzurum Kaza merkezi: Hasankale	Merkez: Niğde Kaza merkezleri: Nevşehir
	Merkez: Balıkesir Kaza merkezleri: Edremit - Ayvalık -	Merkez: Konya Kaza merkezleri: Karaman - K. Ereğlisi - Akhisar - Çumra.
		Merkez: Niğde Kaza merkezi: Aksaray
		Merkez: Yenişehir Merkez: Diyarbakır