AUTOMOBILITY IN TURKEY: A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF TURKISH AUTOMOBILE PRODUCTION IN THE 1960s AND THE 1970s

by

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Title: Automobility in Turkey: A Critical Evaluation of Turkish Automobile Production in the 1960s and the 1970s.

This thesis evaluates the diffusion of automobility as a system in terms of its economic, social and cultural aspects during the 1960s and the 1970s in the Turkish context. Turkey adapted to global domination character of automobility starting in the 1950s. The rapid enhancement of automobility boosted the demand for and interest in personal automobiles, which resulted in a serious foreign exchange crisis in the end of the 1950s. To deal with the problem, Turkey applied different measures until the transfer of mass production through joint ventures with foreign automobile firms. Hence, the solution of the problem permanently tied Turkey to global production and consumption relations as well as the system of automobility.

This thesis analyzes the diffusion of automobility from a perspective that combines the transformations of the economy and society in line with the changes in the daily life culture. The diffusion of automobility in the Turkish context was accelerated by two mutually exclusive factors. The first one was the decision to transfer the car-building technologies into the country and establishing the automobile industry for mass-production. And the second one was the changes in the public perception concerning automobility which directly affects the market formation and consumption patterns of the middle classes. These reasons are taken into account to underscore the formation and the development of the capitalist production and consumption patterns during the import substitution era, which is denoted as the preparatory background of the recent global integration.

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Başlık: Türkiye'de Otomobilli Hayata Geçiş: 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda Türkiye'de Otomobil Üretiminin Eleştirel Değerlendirilmesi

Bu çalışma, 1960'lı ve 1970'li yıllarda otomobilleşmenin (*automobility*) yayışılışını bu yayılışın ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel yönlerini dikkate alarak Türkiye bağlamında değerlendirir. Türkiye 1950'li yıllardan başlayarak otomobilleşmenin küresel nüfuz etme hakimiyetine uyum sağlamıştır. Hızlı otomobilleşme ile otomobil talebinin ve otomobile olan ilgininin aşırı artması 1950'lerin sonunda ciddi bir döviz krizine sebep olmuştur. Bu sorunun çözümü için Türkiye, yabancı firmalarla ortaklıklar sonucu otomobil üretiminin ülke içine transferine kadar, değişik çözüm yolları denemiştir. Sonuç olarak, seri üretim kararı ile sorunun çözümü, Türkiye'nin otomobilleşmiş sisteme olduğu kadar küresel üretim ve tüketim ilişkilerine de entegre olmasına neden olmuştur.

Bu çalışma, otomobilleşmenin yayılmasını, sosyo-ekonomik dönüşümleri gündelik yaşam kültüründe değişikliklerle birleştiren bir perspektiften inceleme yöntemini kullanmıştır. Türkiye bağlamında otomobilli hayatın yayılmasını hızlandıran iki etmen vardır. Bu etmenlerden birincisi, ülke içine otomobil-üretim teknolojilerini transfer etme kararı ve akabinde ülkede seri-üretim yapabilecek otomobil sanayinin kurulmasıdır. İkinci etmen ise pazar oluşumunu ve orta sınıfların tüketim alışkanlıklarını doğrudan etkileyen, otomobilleşme ile ilgili kamuoyu algısındaki değişikliklerdir. Bu etmenler ışığında Türkiye'de otomobilleşme incelendiğinde, ithal ikameci dönemde, kapitalist üretim ve tüketim kalıplarının oluşumu ve gelişimi günümüz global dönüşümünün arka planı olarak ifade edilmiştir.

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To My Grandparents
Mehmet-Nesibe ARDIÇ

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Post-Second World War era, particularly the 1960s and the 1970s, is known as the heyday of protectionism and declining international integration. In that respect, many scholars have started to use the term “globalization” which generally implies economic, social and cultural integration into the international capitalist system, in order to discuss recent transformations occurring since the second half of the 1970s. On the other hand, the 1980s “global revolution” was only an acceleration of the economic, social and cultural integration of the previous post-war decades. Therefore, in order to understand the economic integration processes and cultural changes of global economic relations today, it is fundamental to analyze the national border-crossing tendencies and transnational transfers of production modes in the 1960s and the 1970s.

Apparently, the American type of mass consumption, in other words, the Fordist consumption, was the most significant border-crossing tendency that took place since the end of the Second World War. The world was dominated and transformed by the Fordist consumption, which enhanced American-designed capitalist mode of daily life. This type of consumption also triggered the development of mass production of consumer goods, which of their demands critically increased. Accordingly, the Fordist consumption is directed by two types of commodities: the large scale of consumer durables, such as refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners, which standardized the everyday life in private spaces, particularly houses, and the automobile, which standardized and

individualized the everyday life in public spaces.[1] In this regard, the automobile, in terms of indicating a set of complex systems that have transformed and dominated the whole globe, and the automobile industry are outstanding cases intended for analyzing border crossing tendencies and transnational transfers of car-building technologies, sets of car brands and models, the organization of car production, and the cultural patterns of consumption.

Turkey has also been gradually integrated into the global capitalist system through applying the transnational capitalist strategies into the economic structure, production relations and social formation. By and large, many scholars narrate this integration process by starting from the January, 24 1980 reform package, which indicates the transition to a liberal economy. On the contrary, it is crucial to analyze the import substitution period (1960-1980) to make an accurate analysis of the 1980s integration.

Actually, the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, which are widely known as the import substitution period, are evaluated as a distinct period from the following 1980s and the 1990s in the Turkish historiography. The general literature concerning the 1960s and the 1970s includes economic history research on import substitution and development strategies and political research on leftist movements and political uprising. Since much has been written on the political and economic characteristics of the mentioned period, this study focuses on the formation and the development of the capitalist production and consumption patterns, and hopes to contribute to the historiography of modern Turkey through referring to the roots of the global integration of the 1980s.

In order to accomplish this aim, this thesis evaluates the automobilized

[1] Kristin Ross. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies. Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (The MIT Press, 1996), pp.4-5.

system and automobile production in Turkey during the 1960s and the 1970s. Referring to a complex system, the automobile is a global phenomenon comprising economic, social, technological and cultural aspects. Moreover, the automobile industry has been a remarkable case study to evaluate transfers of production techniques, technology, management organizations, and operation methods. Accordingly, relying on the conception of automobility, the diffusion of automobiles and establishment and development of the automobile industry are studied. In this respect, it is aimed to demonstrate the relations of the development in capitalist production and the capitalist mode of consumption during the 1960s and the 1970s. To this end, the thesis draws upon an analysis of various primary resources such as statistics, newspapers, magazines, advertisements, interviews as well as popular cultural goods such as songs and films. This is because we need more than simple economic analysis in order to be able to evaluate all the aspects of the automobilized system in the 1960s and the 1970s. Hence this thesis not only focuses on merely economic analysis but also takes into account various aspects including socio-cultural ones.

The thesis begins with an introductory chapter designed defining automobiles in reference the John Urry's automobility conception. John Urry, a sociology professor at Lancaster University, has made a ground breaking attempt to define the rarely discussed function and position of automobile in "globalization literature", indicating that automobile's "specific character of domination" is at least as worldwide as the other multifaceted technologies of the twentieth century such as the cinema, television and the computer.[2] The introduction limits its goals to providing a broad framework of this automobility conception and its development in the world,

[2] John Urry, "The System of Automobility," *Theory, Culture and Society* 21, nos.4/5 (2004), p.25.

while the Turkish context is analyzed in the later chapters.

In the second chapter, the development of automobility in Turkey is evaluated. Parallel to the evolution of automobility conception in Western Europe and the United States, early notions of automobility in Turkey are analyzed in the first part. In the second part, the development of automobility as a global system is examined in reference to highway improvement in the 1950s, and the consequent transformations in mobility, time and space conceptions. The main aim of the third section is to evaluate the diffusion of the automobility to daily urban life during the 1960s and the 1970 in collaboration with the establishment of mass automobile production in Turkey. In the final part of this chapter, the rising expectations of urban middle classes are investigated as a direct contributor to the diffusion of automobilized system in line with the other factors. In this respect, other significant consumption items, consumer durables, which were also diffused to daily life and transformed the middle class life-style in the same decades, is examined in order to underline the contribution of rising expectations of middle classes to Turkey's integration into the global system.

Subsequent to the evaluation of automobility in the world and in Turkey, the third and fourth chapters make up the main body of the thesis in reference to the various facets of the complex system of automobility, which accelerated its diffusion during the 1960s and the 1970s in the Turkish context. Accordingly, the third chapter examines the production side of the automobility account. The chapter is divided into three subsections which examine different stages of the automobile industry in order to highlight the economic and political *zeitgeist* of the mentioned period in line with the establishment and development of the automobile production. These sections are the decision stage (1960-1965), the establishment of mass production (1965-1971)

and the developmental period (1971-1980). Each stage is analyzed in reference to various aspects such as economic, social and cultural, in order to evaluate the development of the transnational production patterns in terms of automobile production.

The fourth chapter examines the consumption side of automobility. The emergence and intensification of the Turkish-branded automobile market and certain transformations in the public perception about being an automobile consumer are examined in order to evaluate the socio-cultural aspects of the diffusion of automobility. This chapter also aims to observe the evolution of consumer society in the import-substitution period through government policies of industrialization and complementary mechanisms of market formation by influencing public opinion through the mass media as it draws upon an examination of the automobile in the popular cultural products in the 1960s and the 1970s. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section aims to analyze the public perception about automobiles by observing mass cultural goods such as popular songs and movies. The second section aims to examine the transition to mass automobile consumption during the 1960s and the 1970s, when the first wave of the Turkish-branded automobiles was produced. Accordingly, the life-style and identity creating roles of automobile consumption will be examined through referring advertisements in daily newspapers (*Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*) and a popular magazine (*Hayat*) during the concerning period.

The concluding chapter systematically summarizes all the chapters above and analytically discusses the results of these chapters.

To sum up, the goal of this thesis is to highlight the irreversible transformations in Turkey which have gradually taken place through the diffusion

and enhancement of automobility as a multifaceted system since the 1950s. Nevertheless, the thesis is not designed as a simple economic analysis in order to identify the mere economic background of the Turkish automobile production. Instead, the economic analysis is used to evaluate one of the facets of the diffusion process of automobility, which directly transforms and controls the economy as wells as society and everyday culture.

In this respect, the other aspects of the diffusion process, in particularly the daily life transformation, are examined in line with economic and statistical analyses. For this aim, automobile consumption provides the key to identify the transformation of the middle classes' daily life during the 1960s and the 1970s. Actually, consumption is not a simple budgetary issue, which can only be defined by needs and requirements in modern societies. Hence, modern consumption practices are noteworthy research area which displays the penetration of certain life-style routines into daily life.

Thus, from Veblen to Bourdieu, various scholars have studied "modern" consumption in reference to the modern self creation of identity by referring different sociological consequences from the emergence of status displaying means to the differentiation of tastes resulted in divergence of life-styles. As mentioned, this thesis explores the consumption of automobiles in reference to daily life transformations occurred through the diffusion of automobility. Therefore it refers to the symbolic and cultural values of automobile consumption in order to demonstrate the changes in daily life experiences which resulted in the transformation of the middle classes' life styles and their future expectations. Thus, the thesis combines economic and statistical analyses with social and cultural investigations that thought to be acquired from popular cultural goods.

Despite the virtual reality conception, the close reading of the Turkish films and songs give us definite and significant clues about the daily life routines of the middle classes as well as their perceptional change concerning modern consumption practices, in particular about automobile consumption. On the one hand, seemed to narrate the bourgeoisie life-style, reading between the lines melodramas actually represented the changes in public perception about mass consumption as well as transformations in daily lives of urban middle classes. On the other hand, the realistic films offered a critique of rapid transformations in society in terms of enhancement of mass consumption and mass daily life culture. The songs also gave certain clues about transformations in consumer culture. Therefore, the thesis combines distinct methodologies in one pot to significantly underscore every aspect of the diffusion of automobility including its penetration to everyday lives. Accordingly, the thesis intends to contribute the social history of the modern Turkey from a different perspective to evaluate the micro transformations of daily life in line with macro transformations of economy and society.

Defining Automobiles: Automobility Conception

For many of us living in the twenty-first century it is a meaningless and time-wasting attempt to define automobiles. An automobile is a given part of everyday life in the sense that each person comes across one beginning from his/her birthday both in this century and in the previous one. On the other hand, an automobile is much more than the customary four-wheeled machine that has occupied the highways, roads, streets and other areas such as auto parks within public spaces. In other words, automobiles are not only material items that are used for transportation or personal

investment, as few people observe currently. Representing a considerable component of individual's social and cultural environment, motor cars are very much about meanings, values, identities and social relations. As stated by Miller, "the car today is associated with the aggregate vast of systems of transport and roadways that make the car's environment our environment, and yet at the same time there are the highly personal and intimate relationships which individuals have found their possessions and use of cars."[3]

Parallel to this view, automobiles are machines that have to be accurately identified in order to present the complex aspects of the "modern days" that they change, transform and accordingly create and recreate. In this respect, the automobile, a four-wheeled machine seen everyday, is a metaphor of complex systems that have transformed and dominated the globe since the twentieth century. Noticeably, the automobile disciplines and controls the world in multifaceted systems of production, consumption, transportation, and social and cultural transformation. Therefore, identifying automobiles in a system is essential and also required for this thesis, which analyzes the converting and catalyzing features of automobiles in the Turkish context by referring to various aspects.

In examining automobiles, which signify a complex system, some researchers point out a popular conception, "automobility" emphasizing a multifarious categorization including the integrity of the human-automobile relationship. Automobility is actually an American expression initially indicating mass motorization in the United States. Also, in daily life it is about buying and adapting a vehicle that is exactly right for your lifestyle and transportation needs. On the other hand, the term contemporarily indicates the positioning of society and everyday life

[3] Daniel Miller, "Driven Societies," in Miller (ed.) *Car Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p.2.

around automobiles and their spaces. In other words, the notion of automobility is used to conceptualize and naturalize the "modern" car system. Within this perspective, the notion of automobility was developed by some sociologists such as Mimi Sheller and John Urry who believe that "the automobile is more than just a status symbol or a neutral technology that permits patterns of life that would happen anyway; it has configured modern urban life through distinctive ways of dwelling, production, consumption, circulation and sociality to such an extent that civil society in the US, Western Europe, and increasingly global cities, are societies of automobility."[4]

In addition, the term automobility is self-explanative. The "auto" refers to both individuality and the capacity for movement, and "mobility" refers to the hybrid "car-driver," consisting of human activities, as well as technological objects, highways, urban planning, social values and mobility cultures. According to Urry, automobility incorporates "autonomous humans combined with machines with capacity for autonomous movement along the paths, lanes, streets and routeways of one society after another."[5]

Before the conception of automobility, the car was strangely absent from mainstream sociology and social theory. Miller states that there were three dominant academic literatures when the automobile is considered: "the conventions of car history as a story of production and destruction, car social history, and a car trope in generalization of modernity."[6] Also, there have been some studies on the sociology of

[4] Jason Henderson, "Secessionist Automobility: Racism, Anti-Urbanism, and the Politics of Automobility in Atlanta, Georgia," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30, no.2 (June 2006), p.293.

[5] Urry, p.26.

[6] Miller, p.12.

consumption signifying automobiles as ordinary consumption items shaping our culture; on urban sociology concerning automobile's role in public space, traffic and environment; and on industrial sociology identifying mass production of cars transforming social life. But generally the car is the independent and neutral technological variable of social and economic theory. Moreover, the automobile is the invisible item of modern daily life. Mike Michael precisely states that this neglect is very strange since automobiles played a major role in the modern world system. He writes that, "there has been no sustained attempt to integrate the car into general sociological accounts of postmodernity- at least not until Urry's notion of automobility"[7]

In order to comprehend automobiles accurately, Urry defines a social and technical system of automobiles compromising a multifarious combination, naming automobility, which continuously dominates and transforms the system of world. According to him, the automobility system has six major components "that in their combination generate and reproduce the 'specific character domination' that it exercises."[8] These components consist of the manufactured object, individual consumption, mechanic complex, quasi-private mobility, culture, and environmental resource-use. Thus, "automobility is:

1. the quintessential *manufactured object* produced by the leading industrial sectors and the iconic firms within twentieth century capitalism (Ford, GM, Rolls-Royce, Mercedes, Toyota, VW and so on); and the industry from which the definitive concepts such as Fordism and Post-Fordism have emerged;
2. the major item of *individual consumption* after housing, which provides status to its owner/user through the sign-values (such as

[7] Mike Michael, "The Invisible Car: The Cultural Purification of Road Rage," in Miller, D. (ed.) *Car Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p.61.

[8] Ibid.

speed, home, safety, sexual desire, career success, freedom, family, masculinity); through being easily anthropomorphized by being given names, having rebellious features, seen to age and so on; and which disproportionately preoccupies each country's criminal justice systems.

3. an extraordinarily powerful *complex* constituted through technical and social interlinkages with other industries, including car parts and accessories; petrol refining and distribution; road-building and maintenance; hotels, roadside service areas and motels; car sales and repair workshops; suburban house building; new retailing and leisure complexes; advertising and marketing, urban design and planning; various oil-rich nations;
4. the predominant global form of "quasi-private" *mobility* that subordinates other "public" mobilities of walking, cycling, traveling by rail and so on; and reorganizes how people negotiate the opportunities for, and constraints upon, work, family life, leisure and pleasure;
5. the *dominant culture* of that sustains major discourses of what constitutes the good life, what is necessary for an appropriate citizenship of mobility and which provides potent literary and artistic images and symbols;
6. the single most important cause of *environmental resource-use*. This results from the scale of material, space and power used in the manufacture of cars, roads and car-only environments, and in coping with the material, air quality, medical, social, ozone, visual, aural, spatial and temporal pollution of global automobility. Transport accounts for one third of CO2 emissions and is indirectly responsible for many twentieth century wars."[9]

Social and economic theories have neglected the major significance of this multifaceted system of automobility. This system with all its components reconfigures modern society, including alternative ways of accommodation, traveling

[9] Urry, pp.25-26.

and socializing through changing time, space and mobility options. In reality, modern everyday life is irreversibly tied up to the certain mobility style that automobile creates and preserves since the T-model of Ford began to be mass-produced a hundred years ago. In other words, modern-day societies are societies of automobility. This is neither simply a system of production nor of consumption, certainly it is both of these. Thus, while researching automobile's social history it is vital to take into account the conception of automobility in order to make accurate analysis about automobile-driven modern life referring to economic, political, social and cultural aspects as well as daily life features.

In this respect, the automobile is certainly a very modern phenomenon. Actually, the modern daily life scheme is nourished by changes in time, space and speed. Accordingly, by transforming time and space, automobility allows diverse alternatives of "modern" life-styles, family life, communication options, and leisure time activities. These new time-space variations and new mobility options of automobility resulted from two interdependent features of automobility: As Urry writes, "the car is immensely flexible and wholly coercive."[10]

Actually, mobility, the ability to get around, to move, to explore is a basic drive of human nature. James Johnston states that:

> Some Darwinians might say we started that way: germ cells, in order to fuse, had to move about to meet. Certainly, the lemurs and apes were foraging animals, moving about to find a better meal, or a mate, or to avoid predator. ...What ever the explanation, we know that the need to be mobile is deeply embedded in human nature, and as with all other drives or instincts, we will make afford to satisfy it.[11]

It is obvious that for our times private automobiles are the best and most

[10] Urry, p.28.

[11] James D. Johnston, *Driving America: Your Car, Your Government, Your Choice* (Washington, AEI Press, 1997), pp.7-8.

affordable devices for satisfying our mobility drive.

This natural mobility instinct of human beings is also related to the notion of freedom. People always want to be free, to choose how to move around in order to survive or have fun. The car is the chief item for permitting people to take the advantage of the new surviving and entertainment opportunities in where to work and how to live. Accordingly, car ownership is essential for the interplay between individual autonomy and the continuous dynamism of social relations. Moreover, the automobile is much more time-independent vehicle than other transportation means such as trains. A traveling by train constrains passengers to definite time-tables. On the other hand, the automobile driver is free to choose his/her individual time-tabling. Thus, automobility is a source of flexibility that "enables the car-driver to travel at speed, at any time in any direction along the complex road systems of western societies that link together most houses, workplaces and leisure sites."[12]

On the other hand, though automobility enables freedom of flexibility in mobility, automobile-driving is neither just a transportation mean nor a leisure activity in modern automobilized societies. Above all, inaccessibility to driving and possessing an automobile means partly social exclusion from crucially significant rights of modern life-style in Western countries, particularly in the North America. Moreover, automobility reduces choice. In most of the countries of the world no one could ever dream of an urban life exclusive of automobiles. Without system of automobility, each person's complex and physically separated communication and transportation network of workplaces, houses, leisure places and other public spaces would collapse. Thus, everyone has been locked in wholly coercive modern life-style of automobility. Urry noticed that:

[12] Urry, p.28.

> Automobility is thus a system that coerces people into an intense flexibility. It forces people to juggle fragments of time so as to deal with the temporal and spatial constraints that it itself generates. Automobility is a Frankenstein-created monster, extending the individual into realms of freedom and flexibility whereby inhabiting the car can be positively viewed and energetically campaigned and fought for, but also constraining car 'users' to live their lives in spatially stretched and time-compressed ways. The car is the literal 'iron cage' of modernity, motorized, moving and domestic.[13]

The History of Automobiles

Many scholars writing automobile history divide the concept into various periods based on major designs and technological shifts. On the other hand, in my opinion, it is more precise to evaluate automobile history within a perspective including the world's political and economic arena. Thus, while discussing this subject, I will depend on periodization that Volti defines in his book, *Car and Culture*. Volti organized his book in chronological order beginning from the invention of the first horseless carriages in the nineteenth century, then ending with environment-friendly cars of the twenty-first century. He presents his timeline in seven consecutive sections, namely, the dawn of the motor age (1886-1905), the automobile's adolescence (1905-1914), from battlefield to boulevard (1914-1929), hard years and heroic days (1929-1945), in high gear (1945-1965), second thoughts (1965-1990), at the turn of a new century (1990-).

One other reason for using this chronology is that Flink also evaluates the history of motor vehicles in his widely known book, *The Car Culture* by means of a similar periodization. Obviously, opposed to Volti's points concerning Western Europe, Flink puts his emphasis on US automobile history. Accordingly, he starts his periodization from the beginning of the twentieth century, and stresses mass

[13] Urry, p.28.

production and the rise of the Big Three oligopoly of the American automotive industry until the 1960s. Also, since he wrote this book at the beginning of the 1970s, his periodization is not adequate for the time following the first years of the 1970s. On the other hand, it is necessary to mention that this chapter is also concentrated on automobile's history since the mass production period only gives preliminary introduction about previous times. In other words, the early automobiles are mostly out of scope of this chapter.

The first idea of the self-driven road vehicles was as old as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as Leonardo da Vinci and Roger Bacon envisioned their possibilities. But obviously, mankind had to wait for another four centuries for the innovation of the first horseless carriage. With the extensional use of steam engines, by the late eighteenth century Swiss engineer, Nicholas Joseph Cugnot invented the first self-driven steam powered vehicle with a government fund aiming to use these vehicles in pulling artillery for the French army. Nevertheless, his steam-engine trucks were less efficient than horse carriages, and soon his fund was cut off stopping further innovations in France. On the other hand, this initiative was followed by many other experiments in England and the US in order to develop steam-powered vehicles for long distance transportation during the first half of the nineteenth century.[14]

However, steam-powered vehicles did not become popular since they were dangerous to operate and difficult to maintain. Also, rather than inadequate roads there was a superior, faster, cheaper and popular alternative for transportation: railways. On the other hand, since bicycles were gaining popularity during the mid-nineteenth century, expectations concerning individualized mobility expanded as

[14] James J. Flink, *The Car Culture* (The MIT Press, 1975), pp.5-6.

they allowed people to go anywhere at anytime. This notion of individualized transportation coincided with the implementation of the internal combustion engine in road vehicles. Since other power sources such as steam and electric were not suitable or practical for self-driven vehicles, automobiles could not be extended previously. As the gasoline-fueled internal combustion engine combined high speeds with efficiency and practicality, the decade 1885-1895 witnessed the expansion of automotive activity both in Western Europe and the US.[15]

On the continent, German inventors Gottlieb Daimler and Karl Benz put the internal combustion engine into automobiles, building what are regarded as the first modern cars in 1885 and 1886. Also in England, Herbert Austin was the first inventor to build the first all-British four wheeled car in 1899/1900.[16] Furthermore, the origins of the American automobile industry date to the 1890s, when several companies began producing horseless carriages on a commercial scale. The industry quickly attracted hundreds of entrants, but it also became concentrated economically and geographically at an early date. "By 1909, the year after the first Ford Model T and founding of General Motors, three companies – Ford, GM and the ancestor Studebaker – already controlled about 50 percent of the market. The largest automakers were located in southeastern Michigan, where existing railway carriage and metalworking industries mushrooming growth of auto manufacturing."[17]

During the dawn of the automobile, motor vehicles were produced separately by craftsmen who designed their mechanics and fixed their pieces until they fitted

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[15] Flink, p.11.

[16] Roy A. Church, *The Rise and Decline of the British Motor Industry* (Cambridge, 1995), p.3.

[17] Davis Dyer, Malcom S. Salter and Alan M. Webber, *Changing Alliances* (Harvard Business School, 1987), p.25.

them together perfectly. Thus, many scholars call this early period the age of craft production. According to famous best seller, *The Machine That Changed the World*, the craft production of automobiles had following characteristics:

> 1) A work force that was highly skilled in design, machine operations, and fitting. 2) Organizations that was extremely decentralized, although concentrated within a single city. Most parts and much of the vehicles design came from small machine shops. 3) The use of general-purpose machine tools performing drilling, grinding, and other operations on metal wood. 4) A very low production volume- 1000 or fewer automobiles a year, only a few of which were built to the same design. (Actually, no two were exactly same)[18]

Because of such low production volume only prosperous clientele could order these labor-intensive, uniquely designed cars to suit their specific requests. In addition to high prices, these craft-based produced automobiles were really difficult to operate without a chauffer or mechanic since they easily broken down. As a result, early automobile manufacturers had certain difficulties in finding potential customers. The poor conditions of roads and the urban hostility against the automobiles, which were believed to interrupt public spaces such as streets used for games, socializing, trading, and other activities, were the major reasons behind the clients' lack of interest in buying automobiles.[19]

As stated above, several automakers were producing cars with craft-based production techniques in the early 1900s until a man in the United States challenged the idea that only prosperous clients could afford these cars as he prospected the notion that everyone could own an automobile. This was Henry Ford, who invented Model T automobiles by means of particular production organization performing on an assembly line. "With his Model T, Ford finally archived two objectives. He had a

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[18] James P. Womack, Daniel T. Jones and Daniel Roos, *The Machine that Changed the World: The Story of Lean Production* (HarperPerennial, 1991), p.24.

[19] Rudi Volti, *Cars and Culture: The Life Story of a Technology* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), p.18.

car that was designed for manufacture, as we would say today, also in today's terms, user-friendly. Almost anyone could drive and repair the car without a chauffeur or mechanic."[20] Moreover, Ford also transformed automobile production from craft production to mass production by reducing costs, standardizing parts and reorganizing factory production in order to maximize efficiency and accomplish economies of scale. This discovery of building automobiles on massive scale was the first revolution in the automobile's history.

Obviously, this first revolution that occurred in the US was in production. There was a second revolution in automobile history that also occurred in the US. This second revolution was in marketing, namely the General Motors' strategy[21] to cover the market nationwide with products appealing to different segments of clients. In 1908, Durant merged a mass of automobile and supplier companies, including the Olds Motor Works, Cadillac, and Oakland into the GM Corporation. In the following decade, Durant added still more companies: Hyatt Roller Bearing, Chevrolet, Fisher Body, Delco and Remy, Frigidaire and many more. "Whereas Ford competed with a single product tailored to buyers with little cash to spare, GM potentially offered a line of cars for consumers of various incomes. Actually, following Durant, Alfred Sloan made this new marketing strategy explicit. The central elements of GM's plans were careful segmentation of the market in terms of cost and quality and annual model changes based on new styling."[22]

In fact, GM understood that as better roads were built around the country and per capita income climbed the principle advantage of the Model T (its durability and

[20] Womack, Jones and Roos, p.26.

[21] From now on I will refer the term as GM.

[22] Dyer, Salter, and Webber, p.25.

low price) became less important. Since GM could not compete with Ford in terms of costs, it turned the competition into one of models and changes in automobile fashions with a slogan to produce "a car for every purse and purpose". In this respect, GM attained noteworthy success with this revolutionary marketing strategy. For instance, in 1924 GM had about 19 percent of U.S. new-car sales and Ford had just over 50 percent. Just two years later GM cut Ford's lead down to 35 percent and raised GM's market share to 28 percent.[23]

In the later 1920s, Walter Chrysler, a former GM executive, set out to build his own company, successfully copying both strategies and entering the automobile oligopoly. As a result, these three automakers, known as the Big Threes, became an oligopoly in the late 1920s. Thus, in the US smaller craft-based companies could not compete since the capital investment in machinery, tools, and dies was greater than many of them could afford. For instance, "between 1920 and 1930, the number of automakers with local markets in the US plummeted from 160 to 23 – a drop of 86 percent."[24] Moreover, this oligopoly also dominated the world automobile production. For instance, in 1913 the European total automobile production was less than a quarter of the output in the US. Also, "in 1927, a year that the US had one car for every 5.3 persons, the ratio in England and France was one to 44."[25]

Despite the American dominance in the automobile market, European automakers were also growing within this new industry. For example, Fiat produced automobiles in Italy, and Daimler and Benz merged together in 1926 to begin production of the Mercedes-Benz line of automobiles. In 1928 the German

[23] Volti, p.52.

[24] Dyer, Salter, and Webber, p.28.

[25] Volti, p.56.

manufacturer BMW, also known as Bavarian Motor Works, began building automobiles. On the other hand, American producers maintained their global oligopoly position until the 1950s. In fact, one could have expected the mass production techniques transferred from the United States to the European countries much earlier, in the years immediately after World War I. "Even before the war, a steady stream of pilgrims, including Andre Citroen, Louis Renault, Givonni Angelli, Herbert Austin, and William Morris had visited Highland Park in Detroit. Henry Ford was remarkably open in discussing his techniques with them, and in the 1930s, he directly demonstrated every aspect of mass production in Europe with his Dagenham and Cologne factories."[26]

The basic ideas underlying mass production had therefore been freely available in Europe for years before World War II. At the end of the 1930s, German Volkswagen and Italian Fiat began ambitious plans for mass production. Germany was the leading figure in the idea of mass motorization within the continent with its Volkswagen (People's Car). Hitler regarded mass motorization as good political bait aimed at encouraging automobile manufacturers to produce cheaper cars.[27] In one of his speeches he proclaimed that: "it can only be said with profound sadness that, in the present age of civilization, the ordinary hard working citizen is still unable to afford a car, a means of up-to-date transport and a source of enjoyment in his leisure hours."[28] Other than these political reasons, constructing highways and autobahns were perfectly fitted to the Nazi's military targets, and also a brilliant way to provide a treatment for unemployment. But World War II soon put German and Italian

[26] Womack, Jones and Roos, pp.44-45.

[27] Kurt Bernard Hopfinger, *The Volkswagen Story* (Cambridge, 1971), p.68.

[28] Ibid., p.74.

production activities on hold.

For the other European countries the economic chaos during the 1920s and early 1930s, along with a strong attachment to the craft production traditions prevented them from spreading very far in automobile production. In addition, European governments adopted high tariffs on imported autos during the 1930s.

> Such policies led Ford to build fully integrated plants in England and Germany. GM entered the same market for similar reasons, but did so by acquiring foreign subsidiaries, Vauxhall and Opel, in 1925 and 1929, respectively. Elsewhere in Europe, French and Italian government policies restricted American direct investment, and the primitive development of the market in other countries discouraged the Big Three from setting up operations.[29]

Many European nations also adopted energy, tax, or road building policies that led consumers to prefer cars different from the ones favored in the US. As a result, in the late 1920s Ford and GM began to run their European subsidiaries as decentralized companies with minimal links to their North American factories.

There are several reasons that the American automobile production developed more rapidly in contrast to that of Europe. The levels and distribution of the real income were much higher in the US than in Europe. In addition, there was an absence of tariff barriers and energy taxes in the US. Moreover, social geography and lower rail density in the US were in stark contrast to Europe's close and efficient communication between towns and cities, which gave priority to the highway transportation. Thus the roads systems of the US were superior to move of anywhere, and the passion of the public for cars had no equivalent.[30] The American automobile market was also more attractive than the European market since it was enormous. "As late as 1955, nearly 80 percent of car registrations in the world occurred in North

[29] Dyer, Salter and Webber, p.32.

[30] Flink, p.11.

America. Per capita income was the highest in the world."[31] Nevertheless, the Depression of 1929 hit the American automobile industry with overwhelming strength. Between 1929 and 1932 vehicle production fell 75 percent, from over 5 million units to 1.3 million in the US.[32]

Following the hard years of the 1930s and the Second World War, automobile sales in the US still outranked those of the rest of the world. During the 1950s American automobiles increased in size and sported decorative features such as tail fins. GM built a strong sales lead during the 1950s when its cars included tail fins, automatic transmissions, and high-compression engines. However, by the end of the decade consumers began desiring smaller cars, and average sizes began to decrease. These preferences coincided with European automakers as they stepped forward to the American-style mass motorization process. "By the late 1950s, Wolsburg (VW), Flins (Renault) and Mirafiori (Fiat) were producing at a scale comparable to Detroit's major facilities. Furthermore, a number of the European craft-production firms, led by Daimler-Benz (Mercedes) also made the transition to mass production."[33]

All these companies offered products that were distinctly different from the standard-size American automobiles. During the 1960s, the Europeans specialized in two types of cars: compact, economy cars for families and sporty, fun-to-drive but also fuel saving cars for youth. Later, in the 1970s, they redefined the luxury car as a somewhat smaller vehicle with higher technology and more sporting road manners. These product variations competed with their big, more gasoline consuming American counterparts. Moreover, European innovations in the 1960s and the 1970s

[31] Dyer, Salter and Webber, p.32.

[32] Ibid., p.37.

[33] Womack, Jones, and Roos, p.46.

included vital product features such as front-wheel drive, disc brakes, fuel injection, unitized bodies, five-speed transmissions, and engines with high power-to-weight ratios. The Americans, by contrast, were concentrated on comfort features such as air conditioning, power steering, stereos, and automatic transmissions. American manufacturers had the problem that their comfort features, such as air conditioning and stereos, could easily be added to existing European cars. But it would take a total redesign of the American vehicles and new production tools to introduce European product features.[34] Accordingly, as young Americans wanted to drive sportier, speedy European cars, European automakers began to increase their share in the world automobile market during the 1960s.

Obviously, during the mid-1960s the mass motorization of the First World was nearly completed. On the other hand, it was understood that automobiles caused serious problems such as air pollution, and traffic accidents. The car producers had to invent new technologies to make automobiles safer and more environment-friendly. Air bags, seat bells, new fuel injection techniques, and reformulated gasoline turned out to be the most significant innovations of this period. Subsequently, because of the oil shock in the 1970s gasoline-saving cars began to be significant. Though the European cars were more fuel-friendly than American automobiles, European production systems, which were nothing more than copies of the US system, did not manage to control the world market in the 1970s because of increasing wages and steady recessions due to oil shocks. Accordingly, this period was marked by the enormous rise of Japan in the automotive sector. The true significance of this industry was that it was not simply another replica of the American approach to mass production. The Japanese were developing an entirely new way of making things,

[34] Womack, Jones, and Roos, pp.46-47.

namely lean production.

YEAR	Germany	France	Italy	England	US	Japan	Other	Total
1900	2	3	0	0	4	0	0	9
1905	16	22	0	0	25	0	0	63
1910	13	38	0	14	187	0	3	255
1915	0	0	15	0	970	0	30	1.015
1920	0	40	21	0	2.227	0	94	2.383
1930	71	230	46	237	3.363	1	186	4.133
1940	72	0	0	134	4.513	51	172	4.942
1950	306	358	128	784	8.006	82	914	10.577
1960	2.055	1.370	645	1.811	7.905	814	1.889	16.488
1970	3.842	2.750	1.854	2.099	8.284	5.289	5.301	29.419
1980	3.879	3.378	1.612	1.313	8.010	11.043	9.330	38.565
1990	4.977	3.769	2.121	1.566	9.783	13.487	12.852	48.554
1991	5.035	3.611	1.878	1.454	8.811	13.245	12.895	46.928
1992	5.194	3.768	1.687	1.540	9.702	12.499	13.699	48.088
1993	4.032	3.156	1.277	1.569	10.898	11.228	14.626	46.785
1994	4.356	3.558	1.535	1.695	12.263	10.554	15.540	49.500
1995	4.667	3.475	1.667	1.765	11.986	10.196	16.227	49.983
1996	4.843	3.589	1.545	1.924	11.799	10.346	17.286	51.332
1997	5.023	2.577	1.815	1.940	12.131	10.975	20.544	55.005
1998	5.727	2.954	1.693	1.981	12.003	10.050	19.191	53.599
1999	5.688	3.180	1.701	1.976	13.019	9.985	20.986	56.535
2000	5.198	3.351	1.738	1.817	12.810	10.145	22.479	57.539
2001	5.692	3.629	1.580	1.685	11.425	9.777	22.602	56.390

Figure 1: World Motor Vehicle Production, Selected Countries (Thousands)
Source: Bedir, A. *Türkiye'de Otomotiv Sanayi Gelişme Perspektifi*, DPT, Yayın No: 2660, 2002.

Since the 1980s, the Japanese rise in the automotive sector has been debated by many scholars, especially in the US. The more recent and popular debates about automobiles have included environmental problems. Volti states that "the concerns about safety, gasoline consumption, and air pollution that emerged with full force in the 1960s and 1970s seemed to portend a sharply diminished future for the automobile."[35]Although technological developments have created safer, cleaner, and efficient cars, the debate concerning global warming and air pollution might cause

[35] Volti, p.137.

the end of the personal vehicles' triumph. As a result, for the future of the globe many countries require more public transportation facilities rather than individual automobiles.

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to provide some statistical data concerning the automobile production. Figure 1 above demonstrates world motor vehicle production including some statistical data about various countries. According to these data, the US share in world automotive market was nearly 91% in 1940, 76% in 1950 and 48% in 1960. This share was reduced to 28 percent in 1970, 20% in 1980, and 19% in 1991 and this ratio approximately locked in 20% in 2000s. On the other hand, the Japanese contribution to global automobile market was below 1 % in 1950 and about 5% in 1960. This contribution steadily increased and reached its highest level of 28 % in 1991.

Development of Automobility

Referring to a complex system, this privatized iron-cage of modernity is a global phenomenon comprising economic, social, technologic and cultural aspects. In other words, automobility has diffused to the entire globe. Actually, the diffusion of automobility is double-sided. On the one hand, the automobile itself has easily transferred from one country to other also conveying its newly-designed motorized culture within these states. On the other hand, involving new possibilities concerning flows of people and goods along particular highways, automobility have diffused to each fragment of every country. Accordingly, automobility both integrated states to the motorized system and inter-connected separate districts within countries. Thus, the study of automobility might have provided a distinctive area to evaluate the

twentieth century's global transformation. In order to acknowledge this transformation, it is significant and crucial to seek the development of automobility conception highlighting a world-wide system since the beginning of mass automobile production.

At first glance, early self-driven vehicles were recreational technologic tools that were only accessible to the prosperous classes. Accordingly, during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries automobiles were ultra-conspicuous consumption items that displayed very high status. Moreover, these automobiles were generally used for leisure activities. Volti pointed that on those early motorized days, "few bought cars with the intention of using them only for quotidian tasks. Automobiles represented effortless speed, coupled with privacy and the ability to travel without being limited to the routes and schedules of public conveyances."[36] Thus, the first notion of automobility was speed. Since petroleum-fueled automobiles were able to reach high speed rates, automobility firstly was conceived as speed for rich people, in particular men. In fact, car-racing in North America dated as early as the 1890s.[37]

Accordingly, the second notion of automobility was touring. Interconnected with the notion of speed, early automobile-drivers –rich men– set out on adventurous motor tours. For instance, "in the summer of 1903, barely a decade after the emergence of the first American-built automobile, H. Nelson Jackson and his co-driver, Sewall K. Crocker, set out from San Francisco to the East Coast as their

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[36] Rudi Volti. "Automobiles and Leisure," *Encyclopedia of Recreation and Leisure in America,* p.49. Available [online]: http://www.gale.com/pdf/samples/sp312654.pdf [15 March 2008].

[37] For additional information; Randal L. Hall, "Before NASCAR: The Corporate and Civic Promotion of Automobile Racing in the American South, 1903-1927," *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no.3 (August 2002), pp. 629-668.

destination. Sixty-three days later their Winton arrived in the New York City."[38] Afterwards, between 1905 and 1913, various long-distance automobile touring activities were conducted in the North America and the Western Europe. On the other hand, when several uncertainties of motorized travel such as some defaults of petroleum-fueled automobiles, the putative adaptation of roads for automobiles, etc., had been overcome, leisurely long-distance automobile trips became a favored recreational activity of the prosperous urban classes. According to Volti, in the North America "no fewer than 20,000 cars traveled from coast to coast in 1921."[39] Moreover, seeing that automobile touring became widespread, many European touring clubs, which had been established as cycling clubs during the 1870s, were adapted to automobile touring activities as early as the 1890s.[40]

In the light of these early notions of speed and touring, many people recognized automobiles in a triangle of time, space and mobility. Accordingly, many scholars have written the history of automobiles assuming the technological advances associated with the automobile transformed the idea of mobility. It is obvious that motor vehicles, particularly automobiles transformed our notion of mobility because they allowed reaching far away places with no trouble. On the other hand, Miller criticized the conception of automobiles only from the perspective of mobility and speed. Referring to the US, he quotes from Wolf (1996) that:

> If we incorporate all of those changes into the estimates, we would have to conclude that there was actually very little increase in mobility. The workers go to and from work five times a week (previously six), while the students continue to go to and from school and university. The average householder goes shopping three or four times a week. At the weekend, the average citizen

[38] Volti, "Automobiles and Leisure," p.49.

[39] Ibid., p.50.

[40] For more information about European leisure traveling, see Rudy Koshar, *History of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg Publisher, 2002).

> makes a one or two trips to countryside or to visit friends and relatives during the week, may go out again, for instance to the cinema. This was how it was in 1929, in 1950; it is not essentially different in 1995.[41]

Obviously, these observations are accurate for a typical Western family but there is at least one thing to criticize. As I argued before, the automobile changed the conception of mobility in terms of capabilities of traveling far-off. As a result of the chance in the mobility conception, the notion of suburbia became to gain popularity in the US as early as the 1930s. In tandem with the widespread construction of highways, people moved to suburban areas reaching their jobs in city centers easily by using personal mobility. Though, Miller thinks that the car was not the cause of the growth of suburbia since "the desire for this compromise between town and countryside is clear from Victorian times"[42] one might again point out that more people had the ability to move to suburbia through the personal mobility option that automobiles provided. In reality, there was an exponential expansion in personal mobility during the twentieth century. For instance, Johnston states that:

> In the mid-1990s, we Americans were driving our vehicles nearly two-and-a-half trillion miles a year. We use our cars for almost 90 % of our commuting, but only about 35 % of the miles we drive are to get to and from work. The rest we drive to shop, visit friends, go to church, see the doctor, take the kids to day care, and accomplish other family or personal business and pleasure, including more than 70 % of our vacations.[43]

Moreover, the scale of world-wide mobility has risen enormously since the post-World War period. "In 2004 there were a record of 760 million legal international tourist arrivals, compared to 25 million in 1950 and a predicted 1.6 billion in 2020. 'Travel and tourism' is the largest industry in the world, accounting

[41] Miller, p.10.

[42] Miller, p.11.

[43] Johnston, p.12.

for 11.7 per cent of world GDP, 8 per cent of world exports and 8 per cent of employment. Side-by-side with global travelers are 31 million refugees and 100 million international migrants worldwide."[44]

This immense increase in human mobility is related to infrastructural development as well as technological developments, production renovations, transfer alternatives and progressing consumption options of automobiles. In fact, infrastructural advancement, particularly the evolution of linkages through inland, international, and cross-national highways, is one of the biggest factors for the maturation, proliferation and world-wide diffusion of automobility.

In this respect, during the 1890s there was a rising expectation about the existing roads, which actually had been paved for horse-driven vehicles, to be adapted to automobiles in North America and the Western Europe. For instance, European touring clubs "established a transnational organization as early as 1897, mainly to resolve problems of frontier crossing for touring members. In 1904, automobile clubs also formed an international association, again for the purpose of accommodating international tourism."[45] In fact, there were significant developments, particularly in North American highways, before the Second World War. For instance, between 1904 and 1930, the roads in the US that were suitable for automobiles increased 50%.[46] On the other hand, the outstanding progress concerning the inter-state highways both in the US and in the Western Europe occurred just after the war. In the 1950s, President Eisenhower recognized the

[44] Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, "Visuality, Mobility and the Cosmopolitan Inhabiting the World from Afar," *The British Journal of Sociology* 57 (2006), p.116.

[45] Gijs Mom, "Roads without Rails: European Highway-Network Building and the Desire for Long-Range Motorized Mobility," *Technology and Culture* 46, no.4 (October 2005), pp.750-751.

[46] Ibid., p.752.

significance of a well-organized, reliable and competent highway system. Accordingly, in the year 1956 the Federal-Aid Highway Act was signed to establish huge investment funds to the Eisenhower Interstate System.[47] Moreover, European International Traffic Arteries (E-roads) began to be constructed in the 1950s through the establishment of the Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program). The objective of the plan was to interconnect and integrate Europe's roads in a network in order to increase trade and commerce as well as integrate markets to prevent future wars that might interrupt the global development of capitalist system.[48]

As argued, the development of inter-state linked highways regenerated and sustained the world-wide diffusion and domination of automobility. For instance, the registered passenger cars for use on EU-15 roads reached more than 170 million in 2000, increasing 185 % in three decades. Moreover, car density in European Union countries has doubled in the last 25 years reaching 469 units per 1000 inhabitants in 2000, but it is still far from the US's 771 unit per 1000 inhabitants.[49] There were approximately 695 million automobiles in the world in 2007 and it is expected that this number will exceed a billion in 2015.[50] Thus, it is apparent that automobility was and remains the dominant system of the previous and the ongoing centuries.

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[47] For additional information about the Eisenhower Interstate System, see http://www.fhwa.dot.gov.

[48] For additional information about development of E-roads, see Schipper, Frank "All Roads Lead to Europe: The E-road network 1950-1975," T2M Conference, Paris, September 28-October 1 2006; Mom, Gijs "Roads without Rails: European Highway-Network Building and the Desire for Long-Range Motorized Mobility," *Technology and Culture* 46, no.4 (Oct. 2005), pp.745-772; Blomkvist, Par "Transferring Technology – Shaping Ideology: American Traffic Engineering and Commercial Interests in the Establishment of a Swedish Car Society, 1945–1965," *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 2, no. 3 (December 2004), pp. 273–302.

[49] For detailed information, see http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu.

[50] "2007 Yılı Otomobil ve Toplam Motorlu Araç Parkı: Dünya ve Türkiye," Otomotiv Sanayi Derneği, Rapor 2008/1, Şubat 2008, p.1.

CHAPTER II

AUTOMOBILITY IN TURKEY: TRANSITION TO THE NEW SYSTEM

As has been emphasized so far, automobility has been the world's dominant and diffusible system since the end of the nineteenth century. The system of automobility has gradually generated and reproduced its "specific character domination" through affecting various economic and social indicators. Several governments have considered this system of automobility as one of the chief opportunities for national economic growth, industrial development, the enlargement of the transportation infrastructure, the expansion of international trade as well as the transition to the capitalist mode of consumption. For instance, the automobile industry has been a remarkable starting point of pioneering management organizations, technology transfers, and production and operation methods' developments. Furthermore, concerning automobile's economic significance, cars are the second largest expenditure item for households following houses. Additionally, automobility as a complex system affects highway development, urban planning, personal mobility options, social relations, and everyday cultures. Accordingly, many developing countries, in particular Turkey, trying to catch up core Western economies were eager to adopt the multifaceted system of automobility during the post-World War period.

The diffusion of automobility within Turkey and the transformation of multifarious phases of Turkish modern life have gone in collaboration with the evolution of automobility around the world. For instance, the first notions of automobility in Turkey, just like in other countries, were speed, adventure travel and mobility alternatives for the prosperous classes. Afterwards, through the development

of highways in conjunction with the Western European countries, automobility transformed the general idea of personal mobility by means of accessible alternatives during the 1950s and the early 1960s. Along with the expansion of automobile-driving and the establishment of the system of automobility, the expectations among the urban middle classes owning automobiles rose enormously during the 1960s. Accordingly, Turkey transferred the automobile industry from the Western European countries, which in turn resulted in more accessibility to automobility for the urban middle classes.

Thus, beginning from the 1950s and the 1960s, Turkey, like many other countries, accepted the domination of automobility and became locked into this irreversible complex system. For instance, the automobile park[51] in Turkey increased 364% between 1965-1975, 143% between 1975-1985, 163% between 1985-1995, and 89% between 1995-2005. In 2007, the Turkish automobile park reached 6.5 million, of which 37% was in the Marmara, 21% in the Central Anatolia, 15.5 % in the Aegean, 11.5 % in the Mediterranean, 7% in the Black Sea region, 4.5 % in the South East Anatolia and 3.5 % in the East Anatolia.[52]

This part of the thesis analyzes the pathway to automobility within the Turkish context. As a result, first, early notions of automobility referring to automobile's history before the domestic production period are evaluated. In the second stage the development of automobility as a system is investigated in reference to the highway revolution in the 1950s, the consequential changes in mobility options, and the time-space conception during the 1960s and the 1970s. Afterwards,

[51] Automobile park statistically means the total number of registered automobiles in one country or one region.

[52] 2007 Yılı Otomobil ve Toplam Motorlu Araç Parkı: "Dünya ve Türkiye," Otomotiv Sanayi Derneği, Rapor 2008/1, Şubat 2008, p.3.

in order to present the diffusion of automobility to daily urban life during the concerned period, automobile parks and the motorization rate are evaluated in line with the diffusion process of consumer goods. Finally, in accordance with all these factors, the rising expectations of urban middle classes in terms of automobility are explored.

The First Notions of Automobility: Automobile's Early History in Turkey

The traditional transportation device of the Ottoman Empire was horse carriages from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries. Accordingly, different models of carriages were designed for various uses such as moving people and carrying different types of goods. According to Küçükerman, the traditional of carriage making in Anatolia formed a considerable basis for the Turkish Automotive Sector.[53] Accordingly, I argue that these horse carriages also provided significant roots for the idea of mobility. Thus, in the beginning of the twentieth century, at approximately the same time as most of the European countries, the first car was seen in Istanbul, with the permission of Sultan Abdulhamit II.[54] Subsequently, the military staff realized the importance of motorized vehicles as early as 1909, and soon afterwards automobiles were imported during the period 1909-1914. Automobiles that were bought from Western Europe or America attracted the prosperous upper-class Turks in terms of early notions of automobility transforming speed, time and space. On the other hand, since automobiles remained relatively rare they were also ultra status-conferring

[53] Önder Küçükerman, *Anadolu Tasarım Mirasının Ayak İzlerinde Türk Otomotiv Sanayii ve TOFAŞ* (İstanbul: Türk Otomobil Fabrikaları A.Ş, 1997), p.13.

[54] Eser Tutel, "Otomobille 103 yıl önce tanıştık," *75 Yılda Değişen Yaşan Değişen İnsan: Cumhuriyet Modaları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1999).

leisure items. For instance, each Ottoman minister had one official automobile before the First World War period.[55] Among these limited number of automobiles, which was approximately 100–150 units, there were various brands presented such as Mercedes, Daimler, Benz, Puch (Germany), De Dion Bouton, Delahey, Deloney-Belleville, Delage, Panhard le Vaseur, Hotchkis, Renault (France), Rolls-Royce and Rapier (England), and FIAT (Italy).[56] Mainly they were used in Istanbul; however, there were also a few automobiles in Izmir, Adana, Cairo, Beirut and Baghdad.

Subsequent to the dark days of the First World War and its aftermath, the National Struggle, Turkey entered a new period, which Boratav calls "reconstruction on open-economy conditions."[57] During the early Republican period of 1923-1929, the gross national product (GNP) at constant producers' prices increased approximately 80% and the gross national product (GNP) by kind of economic activity at 1948 prices increased approximately 108%.[58] Accordingly, the GNP per capita at constant producers' prices increased at about 58%.[59] As a result, one could expect that purchasing power also rose, triggering a demand for automobiles. For instance, in the year 1928, with the intention of "Law on the Encouragement of

[55] For instance, the supporters of *Hurriyet ve İtilaf* Party assassinated the grand vizier, Mahmut Şevket Pasha on 11 June 1913 in his automobile. Pasha had left the Ministry of War and he was going to the Sublime Port. On the route, in Çarşıkapı when a funeral cortege had blocked the street, the murderers shot Mahmut Şevket Pasha in his open-roofed official automobile. Today, his automobile is in the collection of Askeri Müze. (See the picture of this automobile in the appendix part) For additional information see Cemal Paşa'nın Hatıralarından, *Yakın Tarihimiz Dergisi*, Cilt 4, Sayı 42, 1962, s.67 and Erol Mütercimler, *Kadınlar, Gemiler, Otomobille*r, Alfa Yayınları, 2004, p.45.

[56] Küçükerman, *Anadolu Tasarım Mirasının Ayak İzlerinde Türk Otomotiv Sanayii ve TOFAŞ*, p.194.

[57] For details, see Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi, 1908-2002* (İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003), pp.39-57.

[58] These calculation is based in table 22.4 and 22.7 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006).

[59] Ibid, table 22.7.

Industry" (*Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu)* of 1927, the Ford Motor Company established a free zone to assemble motor vehicles and automobiles. However, this free zone initiative was closed because of the Great Depression and because of the subsequent government policy.[60]

In this respect, reconstructing the country's economic conditions, Turkish governments considered private personal vehicles as luxury items. Thus, there was no attempt toward establishing an assembly automotive industry. Additionally, the official transportation policy relied on building railroads. Moreover, there were hardly any sufficient and adequate roads for automobiles in Anatolia. As a result, the Turkish automobile park remained limited despite an increase in the interest in these new technological instruments. In Istanbul there were approximately 200 automobiles in 1927-1928, and sales agents which could sell 10-12 vehicles per year were considered to be successful.[61] Istanbul's automobile trade was held generally by non-Muslim merchants, while in Anatolia Muslim bourgeoisie took this role. Obviously, the clients of these imported automobiles were from upper classes since they were extraordinarily costly and restricted in number. For instance, during 1928 there were around 800 cars and taxis in various cities, such as Izmir, Ankara, Adana, Bursa, Samsun, and Trabzon. It was projected that the total number of automobiles in Turkey was approximately 1,500. In addition to these numbers, there were nearly 1,000 minibuses and 3,000 trucks. It is estimated that there were nearly 5,500 vehicles in Turkey in the year 1928.[62]

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[60] For additional information of the first Ford initiative in Turkey, see Aslı Odman, "A Premature Attempt at Global Capitalism. Ford Motor Company's Assembly Plant in Tophane/Istanbul. 1927-1944" (Ph.D. dissertation, Bogaziçi University, September 2003).

[61] Yılmaz Çetiner, *Otomobilin Öyküsü: Türkiye'de Otomotiv Sanayi Nasıl Kuruldu? Anılar-Belgeler-Fotoğraflar* (İstanbul: *Milliyet* Yayınları, 1996), p.24.

[62] Bernar Nahum, Koç*'ta 44 Yılım: Bir Otomotiv Sanayi Kuruluyor* (İstanbul:

Despite these restricted numbers, as argued, the first notions of automobility were also speed, adventure travel and mobility alternatives for prosperous classes in the Turkish context. For instance, as early as 1923, the Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey was founded. The first name of the Club was "The Turkish Travel Association" (*Türk Seyyahin Cemiyeti*), and then its name was changed to "Touring Club Turc" (*Türkiye Turing Klübü*).[63] The Club, similar to its counterparts in Europe, was established to support automobile trips and tourism. Through international alliance with other touring clubs in Europe, the Club advocated automobile tourism, generating Turkey's first prospectuses, posters, tourist guides and road maps. Moreover, the Club was established by a group of intellectuals headed by the diplomat Reşit Saffet Atabinen. Accordingly, the system of automobility in Turkey took its first steps through the leisurely long-distance automobile trips of the urban upper classes during the early Republican period.

As mentioned, the end of the Second World War was a turning point for the diffusion of automobility in the West through highway development. Considering this "highway revolution," Turkey also experienced the same trend as in the case of the European countries. Within the context of the Truman Doctrine, the US Congress adopted a foreign aid program for Turkey and Greece in 22 May 1947. On 20 April 1948, according to an agreement between the Turkish Ministry of Public Works and the American Relief Agency Highway Administration, 5 million dollars among the total 100 million dollars of US aid would be allocated to road building programs in Turkey.[64] This was the milestone in Turkey's transportation policy shifting to

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Milliyet Yayınları, 1988), p.25.

[63] For additional information, see http://www.turing.org.tr/tr/tarihcemiz.asp.

[64] İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "Türkiye'de Demiryolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasından Karayolları Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasına Geçiş," in *Cumhuriyetin Harcı*

highways rather than railways.

In this regard, the Turkish system of automobility gradually began to be developed since the 1950s. In these decades the total vehicle park grew, mainly supplied by imports. For instance, the total automobile pool in the year 1950 was about 13405, and this rose about 124% between 1950 and 1955.[65] Accordingly, with the expansion of the number of cars in use, infrastructural investments such as roads, highways developed rapidly. But in my opinion, there was a mutual relation among extensive road construction and the expanding automotive sector. For instance, in Turkey the developments in infrastructure, especially the construction of roads instead of railways, stimulated motorization, boosting the vehicle pool and encouraging economic agents such as domestic entrepreneurs, foreign firms, and the government in terms of establishing automotive industry following the 1950s.

As stated above, the demand for automobiles in the 1950s was provided through imports by means of the support of mounting agricultural export incomes and accumulated foreign exchange reserves. However, this import policy was rather disruptive. After the Marshall Plan ended, Turkey entered into a harsh foreign exchange crisis that affected automotive imports. According to Ansal, though the demand for automobiles continued to grow because of the boost in per capita gross domestic product in the first half of the 1950s, automobile imports were sharply diminished in the second half due to a critical balance of payments crisis. Also, it is important to note that due to the ancillary parts requirements of the existing vehicle

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Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004), p.401.

[65] İzzet Pekarun, *Research on Automotive Industry: Supply and Demand in Automotive Products* (İstanbul: Türkiye Sanayi Kalkınma Bankası A.Ş., Publication No: 11, 1977), p.6.

pool, it was almost impossible to import new vehicles.[66] Therefore private actors and also government agencies saw the urgency of establishing manufacturing companies in order to reduce foreign currency requirements.

As a result, Turkey followed the same first steps of automobility as the other automobile-dominant countries. Though not producing automobiles inside the country, the system of automobility irreversibly settled during the 1950s. For that reason, I argue that although there were ideological controversies concerning whether the automobile was a luxury or necessary item for Turks at the beginning of the 1960s; the system of automobility had already secured its position. So, the diffusion of automobility continued at an exponential rate during the 1960s and the 1970s. In the next sections, the development of automobility in the Turkish context is analyzed.

The Development of Automobility in Turkey

Subsequent to the war, Turkey entered a new stage in terms of economic and political developments. Zürcher labels the five year period of 1945-1950 as a "transition to democracy" because of the emergence of the multi-party system.[67] The country was introduced to multi-party democracy in 1946, and in 1950 the Democrat Party came to power. This change in politics was followed by a transformation to a more flexible economic regime, as can be seen in the relaxation of certain trade restrictions. Moreover, the USA used economic assistance to intervene in Turkey

[66] Hacer Ansal, "Lokomotif Sektörlerden: Otomotiv," in Baydar (ed.) *75 Yılda Çarklardan Chiplere* (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), pp.159–160.

[66] Eric Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 206-218.

without dismantling the nation-state in order to expand its free-market oriented economic policy. As well as the labeling political reform of the period, economic policies also signaled a transition to a more liberal phase.

Among many other transformations, the 1950s were characterized by huge projects on state highways. This infrastructural development coinciding with the favorable environment for importation of foreign, particularly American, automobiles triggered the irreversible development and diffusion of automobility in Turkey. In order to acknowledge the development of automobility referring to its various facets, some statistical indicators suggest comprehensible analytical explanations. For that reason, in this section, these indicators concerning the extension of automobilized system agglomerating certain factors will be investigated in two sub-sections. In the first sub-section, the so-called highway revolution is indicated. In the second sub-section, changing time, space and mobility options referring to interrelated statistical indicators are evaluated.

Highway Revolution

The transportation facilities in Turkey are strictly dependent on transformation of the international relations in reference to changes in economic integration to the world system. Accordingly, in the nineteenth century, the Western European countries generally constructed railways in order to integrate the Ottoman port cities to their market zones. For full-integration and maximum profitability it was crucial to move from traditional caravan-transportation (*kervan)* to railway transport. Thus, railways had economic superiority over highways during the nineteenth century. On the other hand, railways were constructed like tree-shaped

configurations, since this configuration was consistent with the market interests of core countries.[68] Thus, in order to establish a centrally-controlled state, it was crucial to build roadways that interconnected the railway map of the country. In the light of this, *Turuk-u Maabir Nizamnamesii* (Regulations on Roads and Bridges) was issued in 1866 to build proper roadways for horse-driven cars rather than traditional caravans.[69] Nevertheless, highway construction had second-term importance compared to railway construction in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the Republic took over merely 18335 km of roads from the Empire, 6943 km of which was passable in all seasons.[70]

In the early Republican years the official transportation policy relied on railway transportation since expanding the railroad network throughout the country was accepted as the first-drive of national integration and modernity. In accordance with this official policy, highways were considered as complementary facilities to the railways and they were used to connect regions that railroads could not.[71] Moreover, compared to the centralized railway projects, highway construction was coordinated by municipalities. Thus, the Republican highway objectives indicated several continuities with the Ottoman road policy measures.[72] In view of that, between 1923-1940, allocating approximately 294 million TL, 3277 km of railways were constructed. In comparison, during the same period, allocating a budget of

[68] Tekeli and Ilkin, pp. 372-373.

[69] Tekeli and İlkin, p. 373.

[70] Ibid., p. 377.

[71] Ibid., p.381.

[72] Ibid., p.382.

approximately 138 million TL, 23247 km of roads were constructed.[73] Though these roads were constructed at low standard, a 127% increase was considerable. Many of these roads were improved during the "highway revolution" of the 1950s.

Subsequent to the Second World War, highway transportation turned into the chief development strategy of Turkey. The indicator of the transition from railways to highways was the support and economic aid of America and the implication of the machines provided through Marshall Aid used for the construction, development, and maintenance of highways. In this respect, according to the agreement between the Turkish Ministry of Public Works and the American Relief Agency Highway Administration, 5 million dollar among the total 100 million dollar US aid were allocated to road building programs in Turkey.[74] The construction of those highways was delegated to the American Federal Bureau. This delegation carried out a study concerning the road structure of Turkey and prepared a report, known as the Hilts Report. Consequently, the plan, which included the construction of 23000 kilometers of national highways in a period of nine years, was endorsed by the Council of Ministers in 1948 and began to be implemented in 1949.[75] The initiation of this program was carried out by the General Directorate of Highways (*Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü)*, which was established in 1950.[76]

The 1950s were years in which Turkey was integrated into the world economic system as a net exporter of agricultural products. For that reason, the transition in transportation policy from railways to highways had to be accomplished

[73] Tekeli and İlkin, p.382.

[74] Ibid., p.401.

[75] *Highway Transportation in Turkey* (Ankara: Ministry of Public Works General Directorate of Highways Planning Division, 1966), p. 4.

[76] Tekeli and İlkin, p. 443.

to transform the etatist development policy based on the public sector, and industrialization to support its liberal policy based on private sector and agricultural production. Accordingly, the highway policy of Turkey gradually developed during the following decade. Thus, the implementation of foreign-aided highway projects and the establishment of direct government control of highway construction affected and prepared the way for the development of automobility in Turkey.

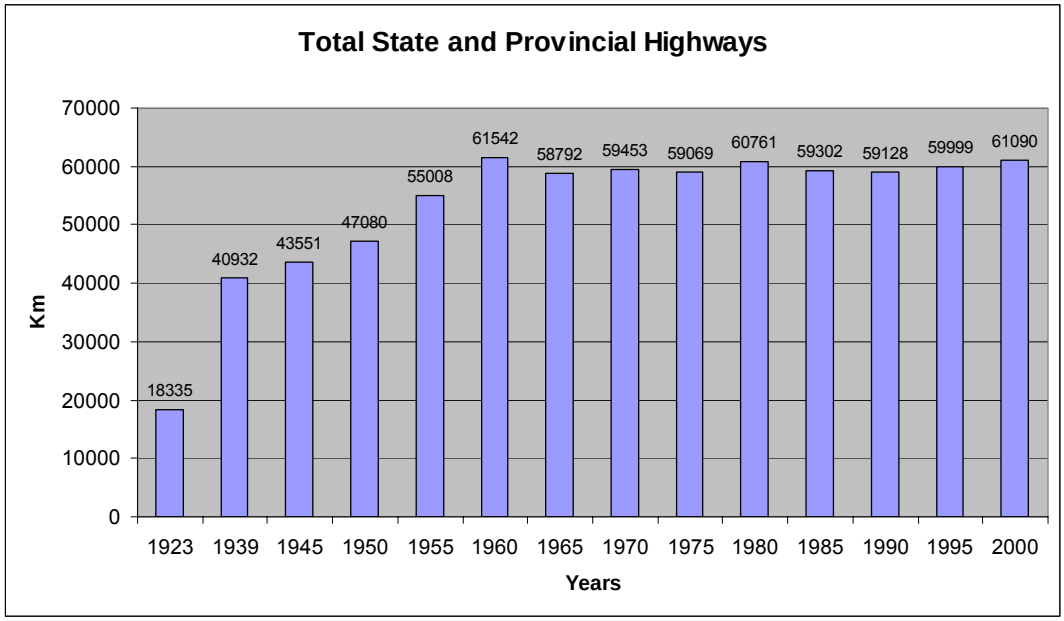


Figure 2: Total Length of Highways in Turkey (excluding village roads)
Source: Appendix A, Table 1

Actually, the 1950s were the most progressive period for highway development in Turkey. Accordingly, this development may be called a "highway revolution." As it is shown in the Figure 2, before the implementation of the American-aided highway scheme, the length of highways was raised nearly 6.4 % in the period of 1939-1945. Including the early years of the scheme, during the period of 1945-1950, this amount was increased at a rate of 8.1%. Subsequently, there was revolutionary progress in the length of highways, with an increase of 16.8% and 11.9% in the periods of 1950-1955 and 1955-1960, respectively. Furthermore, in

1950, when the General Directorate of Highways was established, the length of asphalt-paved roads amounted to only 1425 km. This amount increased to 19000 km in the period between 1950 and 1970, signifying the success of the General Directorate of Highways and the striking improvement in highway construction.[77] There were inconsiderable changes in length of highways after the 1960s. Accordingly, I argue that the "highway revolution" of the 1950s tied up Turkey to the system of automobility.

Obviously, visualizing the big jump in the length of highways between 1923-1939, one may criticize the appellation of the 1950s highway development as a "highway revolution." Actually, there was a considerable rise of 123% in the length of highways during these early Republican years. Comparing such substantial percentage, it seems that a 50% increase in length during the period of 1939-1960 was fractional. On the other hand, these early highways of the 1923-1939 periods were substandard roads, which were not suitable for automobile-driving for the most part. Moreover, as stated above, before the 1950s there was no central administration for highway construction. The revolutionary attempt at highways was certainly related to the centralization drive, and related to the development of the system of automobility. Accordingly, most of the putative roads of early Republican period were renovated through maintenance and repair operations.

Furthermore, in order to observe the actual scope of the "highway revolution" of the 1950s, it is crucial to examine the budgetary funds that were allocated for highway investments. The increasing budget allocation for highway construction underlined the ground-breaking development of highways that were suitable for motorized transportation. In the period between 1948 and 1957, half of the

[77] Ali Türel, "Kent ve Ulaşım" in *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), p. 158.

investments of the governments was allocated for transportation and communication, while 28 % was allocated for agriculture, 13 % for public works other than transportation and 7 % was allocated for the industry, energy, and mining sectors.[78] Moreover, the budget of the General Directorate of Highways, which was established as an annexed budget institution, enormously increased during the 1950-1960 period. Figure 3 indicates the budget rates of the General Directorate of Highways in terms of general budget. As is observed, the budget of the Directorate in terms of general budget was 4.1 %, 11% and 13%, respectively in 1950, 1955 and 1960. Afterwards this ratio was decreased and reached an average of 6.2% between 1960 and 1980, am average of 2.7% between 1980 and 2000. Remarkably, highway investments in terms of the general budget decreased more rapidly after the 1950s. For instance, in 1950 the Directorate allocated nearly 89.8% of its budget for investment. This ratio increased to 96.7% and 97.1%, respectively in 1955 and 1960, and decreased afterwards. The ratio reached 56.6% in 1980 and 24.8% in 2000.

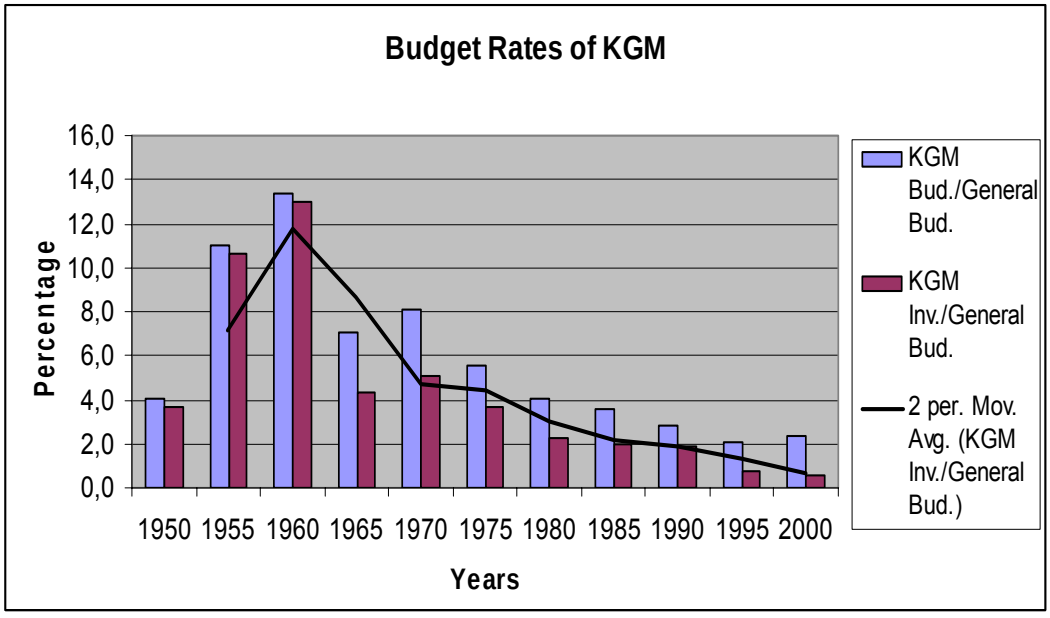


Figure 3: Budget of General Directorate of Highways
Source: Appendix Table 2

[78] Tekeli and İlkin, p. 403.

These indicators demonstrate that the 1950s were the crossroads of the highway expansion in Turkey. The development of appropriate infrastructural facilities in the 1950s was the primary catalyzer of the maturation, proliferation and diffusion of automobility in Turkey. On the other hand, it is obvious that the highway development in Turkey also caused other significant results, such as integration of villages to cities, the connection of different sectors of the economy, the development of agriculture, the enlargement of commercial activities, and the transformation of urbanization, internal migration, and social mobility. For the intention of the thesis the main emphasis is evidently given to the particular results concerning the enhancement of automobility. But it is significant to underline that all of the other impacts of highway development were also the direct results of the system of automobility. Accordingly, because of the "highway revolution" of the 1950s, in the following decades Turkey came to rely on automobility.

Changing Time, Space and Mobility

Consistent with the development of highways in the 1950s, the system of automobility gradually began to transform time, space and mobility notions in Turkey. As argued, automobility modifies the intention of distance. The diffusion of automobility including its perceptional transitions in time and space depends on the interconnection of each and every part of the country. Thus, the highway expansion of the 1950s maturated outstretching transformation in the public perception in terms of time and space. Accordingly, as argued, this perceptional transformation enhanced the system of automobility since the 1950s.

In order to observe the spatial change that evolves through "highway

revolution" and consecutive enhancement of automobility, it is useful to analyze the distance of highways that were passable in every season. Tekeli and İlkin demonstrate a development index for highways passable in every season. As observed in Figure 4, the development index reached 228 in 1957, given that it was 100 in 1948. Obviously, this spatial integration during the 1950s facilitated the expansion of the system of automobility throughout the country.

Years	**1948**	**1950**	**1952**	**1954**	**1956**	**1957**
Development Index	100	147	187	199	221	228

Figure 4: Highways Passable in Every Season
Source: İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "Türkiye'de Demiryolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasından Karayolları Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasına Geçiş" in *Cumhuriyetin Harcı Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, p. 423.

The renovation of existent roads as well as construction of highways appropriate for motorized vehicles transformed the time perception convenient with the system of automobility. Accordingly, automobility transformed the personal mobility capability connecting places inaccessible before the improvement and enlargement of highways. As demonstrated in Figure 5, the travel times between some cities considerably declined during the 1950s. For instance, in 1948 a passenger used to spend 15 hours to reach from Ankara to İstanbul. This was reduced 50% to only 7.5 hours in 1957. Moreover, during the period of 1948-1957, the travel time from Ankara to İskenderun decreased 52%, from Ankara to Mersin 53%, from Ankara to Bursa 22%, from Bursa to İzmir 14%, from Ulukışla to Konya 61%, from İskenderun to Maraş 65% and from İskenderun to Elazığ 68%. According to these sample cities, the average journey time across the major districts of the country diminished more than 40%. Thus, consistent with the governmental slogans of the 1950s such as "Let the wheel turn around" ("*tekerlek dönsün*") and "The place you

cannot go is not yours" ("*Gidemediğin yer senin değildir*") the country was interconnected through the system of automobility, both in terms of spatial and temporal transformation.

	Journey Time (hours)	
Highways	**1948**	**1957**
Ankara-İstanbul	15	7.5
Ankara-İskenderun	21	10
Ankara-Mersin	16	7.5
Ankara-Bursa	8	6.25
Bursa-İzmir	7	6
Ulukışla-Konya	7	2.75
İskenderun-Maraş	8.5	3
İskenderun-Elazığ	25	8

Figure 5: Changing Journey Times in Highways of Between Some Cities
Source: İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "Türkiye'de Demiryolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasından Karayolları Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasına Geçiş" in *Cumhuriyetin Harcı Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, p. 424.

The development of automobility in Turkey, consistent with the infrastructural adjustments, transformed the means of passenger and freight transportation. As argued above, automobility provided additional and extensive alternatives in favor of personal mobility in addition to commercial transportation. Accordingly, the entire transportation system of the country shifted to the system of automobility in the course of highway transport rather than railway transport since the 1950s. Figure 6 demonstrates the passenger and freight transportation rates in Turkey since the year 1950. As visualized in the graph, in 1950 only half of the passenger transportation operated through highways. This ratio enormously increased, reaching 80% in 1963, 90% in 1973 and exceeding 95% during the 1990s. The ratios of highways in freight transportation was slightly lower, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, but following the same trend as passenger transportation.

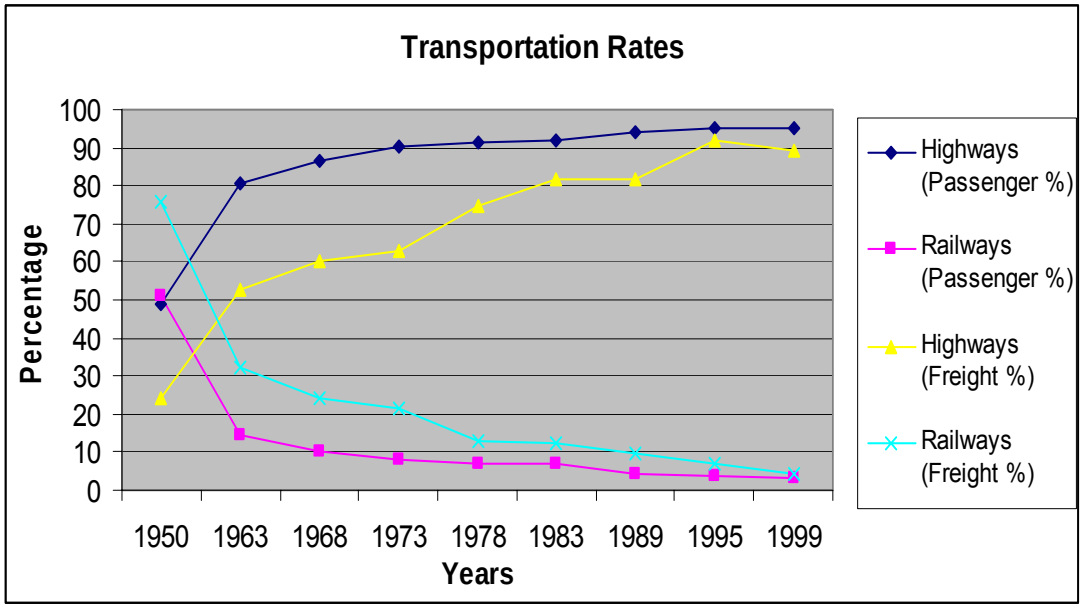


Figure 6: Transportation Rates in Turkey
Source: Appendix A, Table 3.

As a consequence, this huge boost in highway transportation proves that the system of automobility enhanced through the 1950s. The "highway revolution," compensated with the irreversible development of the system of automobility, integrated villages to cities and secured the necessary conditions for safe and fast traveling by reducing the journey times between small Anatolian cities to big cities such as Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir.

Diffusion of the Automobilized System in Daily Life

It was obvious in the previous part that the 1950s were a decade of development of automobility in Turkey. Accordingly, it will be shown that the 1960s and the 1970s were decades in which auto-mobilized system irrevocably extended in Turkish daily life. In other words, the system of automobility took its roots in economic systems in terms of production and consumption during these mentioned decades. Additionally, through diffusing everyday life, the system of automobility

embedded further social meanings and values. For instance, being able to afford a car and also its quality characteristics such as brand-names, models, etc. began to indicate customer's preferences, lifestyles and more notably his/her symbolic socio-cultural status. Hence, these dominant social and cultural impacts of automobility also diffused during the 1960s and the 1970s in Turkey. Accordingly, since the mentioned period, "the identification of persons by their associated cars is then not the exception but the norm of daily social discourse" in the Turkish context.[79]

On the contrary, many scholars date the proliferation of the auto-mobilized system to 1980s and the 1990s. Obviously, the numerical increase of total automobile park dates to these decades. On the other hand, the wide acceptance and considerable proliferation of the system of automobility were established during the 1960s and the 1970s. In order to observe the diffusion process of automobility during the 1960s and the 1970s, it may possibly be supportive to underline some statistical indicators. I prefer to agglomerate these indicators in three headlines to demonstrate the suggested diffusion argument analytically. These are freight, passenger and vehicle transportation ratios on highways; highway, vehicle and automobile statistics in proportion to population; and motorization rates. By methodical examination of these indicators, I aim to prove my arguments about the diffusion of automobility during the 1960s and the 1970s.

First, Figure 7 demonstrates the freight, passenger and vehicle transportation ratios on highways during the period of 1950-2000. The ratio of total number of motorized vehicles per total distance of highways considerably increased from the 1950s. For instance, vehicle per km rose about 116 % in the period of 1950-1955 because of the expansion of highways and augmentation of motorized vehicle

[79] Miller, p.19.

imports. There was an enormous cut-back in the increase of vehicle/km during the next five years because of an economic crisis and diminishing imports. Afterwards, the vehicle/km ratio boosted at a rate of 117%, 90% and 107%, respectively, in the periods of 1960-1965, 1965-1970 and 1970-1975. These huge ratios verified that the diffusion of automobility took place during the decades of 1960s and the 1970s. Moreover, this ratio never rose at such huge rates during the post-1980s period. In fact, the vehicle/km ratio only reached 61% increase in the period of 1995-2000.

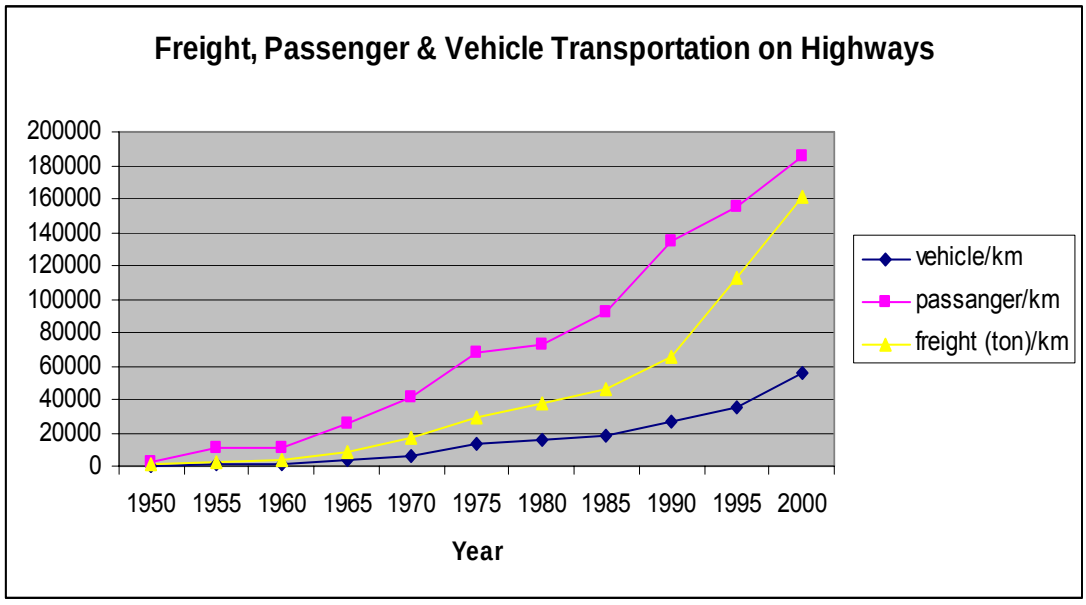


Figure 7: Freight, Passenger and Vehicle Transportation on Highways
Source: Appendix Table 4

The other ratio, total number of passengers in proportion to total distance of highways demonstrates the same result. For instance, in the mentioned decades of the 1960s and the 1970s, the ratio passenger/km increased more than the post-1980 decades. Accordingly, passenger/km rose about 129%, 66% and 65%, respectively, in the periods of the 1960-1965, 1965-1970 and 1970-1975. The ratio of total tons of freight in proportion to total distance of roads also demonstrates the same trend as the ratios of vehicle/km and passenger/km. I argue that these ratios underline the

enhancement of the system of automobility during the 1960s and the 1970s.

Second, in order to highlight the diffusion of automobility during the 1960s and the 1970s, I calculated three statistical indicators: population per 1 km highways, population per 1 motor vehicle and population per 1 automobile. I call these estimates "automobility ratios." Figure 8 demonstrates these automobility ratios. Accordingly, population per 1 motor vehicle and population per 1 automobile decreased mostly during the 1970s when the domestic production was established. For instance, population per 1 motor vehicle was about 243 units in 1960, this ratio decreased to approximately 60 units in 1975. Accordingly, population per 1 automobile was 606 units in 1960; this ratio also decreased at a considerable rate and reached nearly 100 units in 1975. These automobility ratios verify my argument concerning the dating of diffusion of automobility in Turkey before the 1980s liberalization drive.

Years	Population per 1 km Highways	Population per 1 Motor Vehicle	Population per 1 Automobile
1945	431.45	1828.02	5149.40
1950	444.93	643.26	1562.64
1955	437.48	337.77	802.96
1960	450.99	243.02	606.44
1965	533.94	166.20	358.42
1970	598.88	119.66	258.44
1975	683.06	59.78	99.98
1980	736.28	38.22	60.27
1985	854.35	32.97	51.52
1990	955.10	23.93	34.23
2000	1109.90	11.37	15.33

Figure 8: Automobility Ratios in Turkey
Source: Calculation is based on Tables 1.2 and 15.4 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006).

Lastly, the motorization rate highlights the diffusion of automobility during the 1960s and the 1970s. The motorization rate, calculated as units of automobile per

1000 inhabitants, demonstrates both the extensiveness and penetration of automobility and the motorized-modernized life-standards of countries. Figure 9 below demonstrates the estimates concerning the motorization rate in Turkey. As visualized in Figure 9, the motorization rate amplified particularly in the 1970s as soon as the domestic automobile production was extended. The estimated rate of increase in the motorization rate was 69% in the period of 1960-1965, 39% in the period of 1965-1970, 158% in the period of 1970-1975, 66% in the period of 1975-1980, 17% in the period of 1980-1985, 51% in the period of 1985-1990, and 123% in the period of 1990-2000. Accordingly, the motorization rate increased at a rate of 158% in the period of 1970-1975. This huge increase in the five-year period was much more than the considerable increase of 123% in the ten-year period of 1990-2000. So again this indicator proves that the dispersion of automobility took place during the 1960s and the 1970s in Turkey.

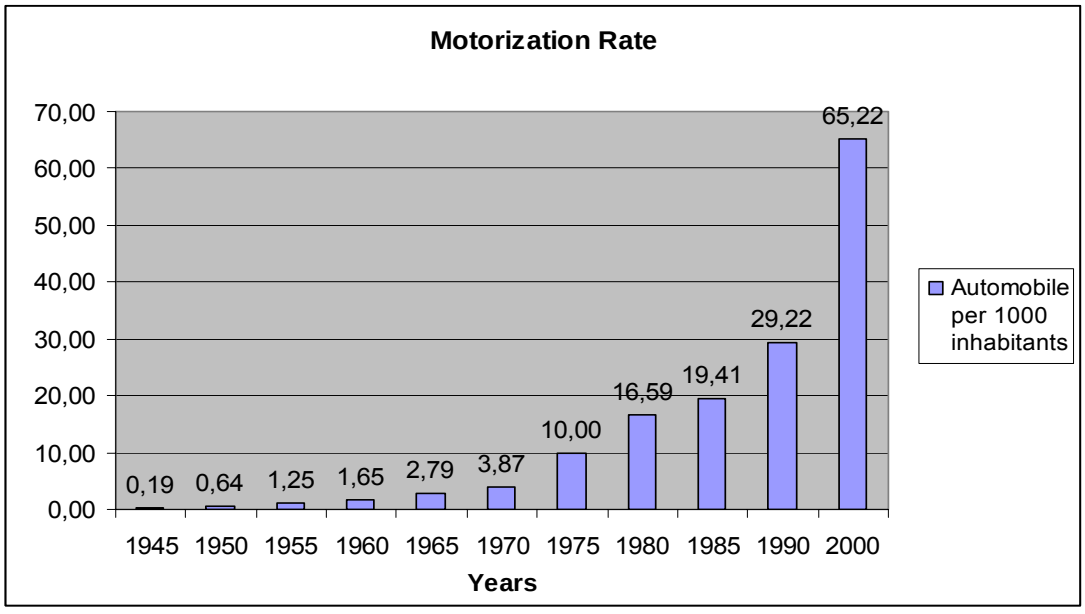


Figure 9: Motorization Rate in Turkey

Source: Calculation is based on table 1.2 and 15.4 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006).

All estimated indicators obviously highlight that Turkey was tied up to the system of automobility during the 1960s and the 1970s just after the improvement and expansion of the highway network. Indeed, the beginning of domestic automobile production dated to the mid-1960s. Afterwards, the indicators demonstrate that the expansion of domestic production deepened the diffusion of automobility in Turkey during the 1970s.

Rising Expectations: Demand for Automobility

Up to this section, the development and diffusion of automobility has been analyzed in reference to infrastructural progress and production side's development. These were macro-factors that considerably affected the expansion and diffusion of automobility. Last but not the least, there is another factor, the consumer-side, which has directly influenced the proliferation of automobility in Turkey since the 1950s. Accordingly, this section examines how automobility is also a very individual system in terms of human-machine hybridization. All other factors being constant, it is obvious that individuals choose whether to purchase an automobile. Actually, automobiles are the one of the largest expenditure items for households, following houses. In the light of this, it is crucial to clarify that the rising expectations of individuals, in particular the expectations of the middle classes, in the 1960s and the 1970s directly contributed to the diffusion of automobility in Turkey.

The post-world war period was the "golden years" of consumerism throughout the world. Turkish dynamics were also adapted to the post-war period economic developments, socio-cultural ideologies and consumption patterns starting the 1950s. On the other hand, the economic environment of the 1960s, which

transformed the development strategy from agricultural-based production to industrial-based production, had a significant impact on mode of consumption in Turkey. The domestic production of consumer goods was initiated through the adaptation of import substitution industrialization policies. According to these policy measures, states generated favorable conditions for industrialization without competition with foreign goods through subsidizing investment goods, and applying restrictive measures in foreign trade. Accordingly, from the beginning of the 1960s, a variety of consumer durables and motorized vehicles began to be produced domestically. The domestic production stimulated consumerism through rising expectations since the prices of previously imported consumer goods were reduced and became affordable for the middle classes. Moreover, the boost in urbanization rate through internal migration, the rise in industrialization resulting in the enlargement of employment opportunities and job-security, and the increase in real-wages in addition to the per-capita GDP transformed the daily lives of individuals through contributing to the rising expectations of middle classes during the 1960s.

The considerable growth of domestic industry, particularly manufacturing industry, was the key marker of the 1960s and the 1970s. For instance, the average annual growth rate of the industrial sector was about 9.6% in the period of 1962-1976, while the average annual growth rate of the agricultural sector was only 3.9%.[80] The growth of industrialization, particularly in the big cities, during the 1960s caused the development of a new urban middle class. This urban middle class, growing wealthier, was the direct actor of the rising expectations experience. By rising expectations, is meant, the affordability of industrial goods such as consumer durables and automobiles. In other words, because of the favorable economic

[80] Boratav, p.130.

environment and optimistic atmosphere concerning the future the actual and expected demands of individuals increased. In view of that, firstly it is crucial to show the rising expectations phenomenon in the 1960s and in the first half the 1970s. Second, it is fundamental to prove that these rising expectations of middle classes directly contributed to the diffusion of automobility through affecting automobile demand.

During the 1960s, the import substitution policies for industrialized-growth were stimulated economic growth. For instance, the average annual growth rate of per capita GNP was 4.3% during 1963-1977. The average growth rate of manufacturing industry was much higher, reaching an annual 10%.[81] Moreover, the real wages during the mentioned period increased enormously. According to Boratav, when 1963 is taken as 100, the index of real wages increased approximately 120%, reaching 220 in 1976.[82] As a result, the domestic demand expansion was greater during the 1960s. Kemal Derviş and Sherman Robinson's study claims that the import substitution strategy for industrialization contributed to the domestic demand expansion at an average rate of 83.6% during the period of 1963-1968 and 81.8% during the period of 1968-1973.[83] This demand boost indicates that the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s were years of rising expectations.

In the light of the rising expectations phenomenon, the demand for automobility, particularly from the urban middle classes, increased enormously from the beginning of domestic automobile production in the second half of the 1960s.

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[81] Şevket Pamuk, "Economic Change in Twentieth Century Turkey: Is the Glass More than Half Full?" in R. Kasaba (ed.), *Cambridge History of Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.284.

[82] Boratav, p.137.

[83] Henri J. Barkey, *The State and the Industrialization Crisis in Turkey* (Westview Press,1990), p.81.

Figure 10 demonstrates the relation between per capita GNP at 1987 prices and total automobile park in Turkey in the period of 1960-1980. The growth rate of total automobile park was enormous, reaching 193% in the period of 1970-1975 and 84% in the period of 1975-1980. Obviously, the relation between these two indicators was indirect, but gave a significant notion of the rising expectations because while the total automobile park extremely rose through domestic production during the 1970s, the per capita GNP was also improving at a notable rate.

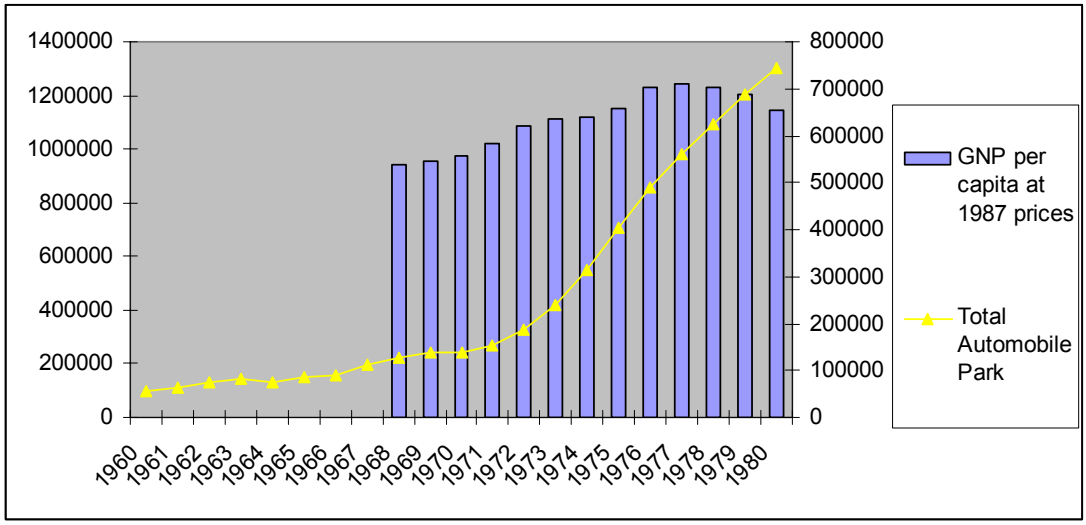


Figure 10: GNP per capita and Total Automobile Park (1960-1980)
Source: Calculation is based on table 22.7 and 15.4 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006).

There is a more direct relationship between total automobile park and the real wage index. Figure 11 indicates this relationship, which also demonstrates the impact of rising expectations on the diffusion of automobility in the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s. According to the graph, the real wage index increased at an average rate of 51% between 1970 and 1975. This increase in real wages directly contributed to the automobile park which climbed dramatically at an average rate exceeding 200% in the same period. Accordingly, it is obvious that coinciding with the domestic production increasing purchasing power capacity of individuals resulted

in a boost in automobile demand. Thus the positive projections for expectations had a direct effect on the diffusion and proliferation of automobility during the 1960s and the 1970s

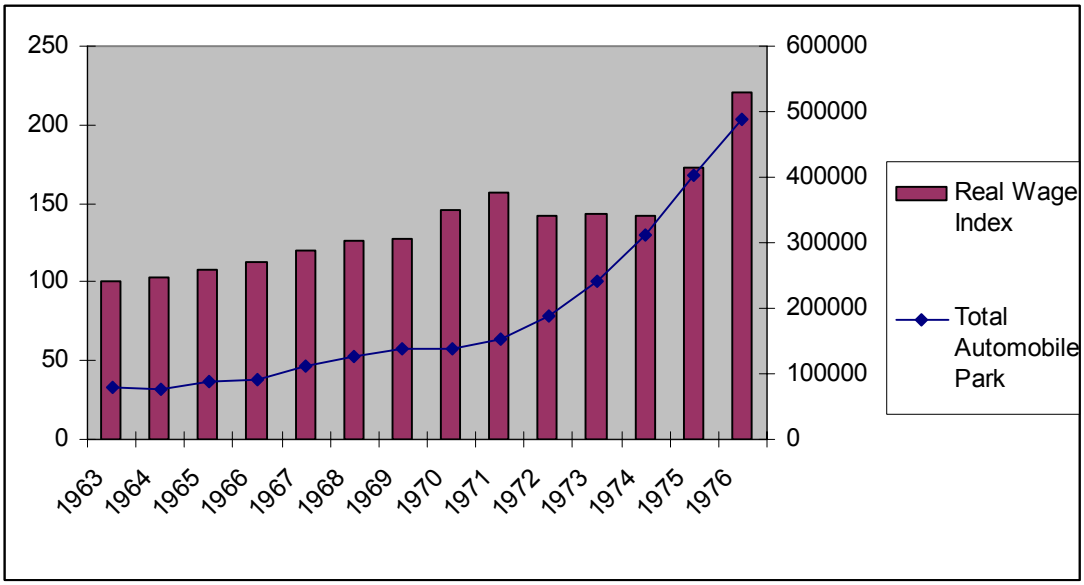


Figure 11: Real Wage Index and Total Automobile Park (1963-1976)
Source: Boratav, Tablo VI, p.137 and Table 15.4 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006).

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The Demand for Household Durables

The post-war consumer culture was directed by two types of commodities: large scale of household durables, such as refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners, which standardized the everyday life in private spaces, particularly houses, and the automobile, which standardized and individualized the everyday life in public spaces.[84] Like automobiles, household durables were luxurious and inaccessible items which were limited to the use of the prosperous classes before the 1950s. The global proliferation and diffusion of these commodities were experienced

[84] Kristin Ross. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies. Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (The MIT Press, 1996), pp.4-5.

in the post war decades. Accordingly, household durables have started to be considered as ordinary and required consumption items rather than luxury items. For instance, refrigerators, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners became the symbols of the global consumerism as well as automobiles. These household durables have widely diffused to everyday life and turned out to be essential and indispensable components of the mass consumption once they have been affordable for the larger segments of the society.

As mentioned previously, the consumption possibilities began to change in tandem with the transformation in perceptions about mass consumption since the beginning of the post-war years in Turkey as part of the world-wide transformation. For instance, in the early 1950s Turkey was described as "the country of earnings and abundances."[85] With the help of favorable economic environment, the huge numbers of household durables as well as automobiles were imported.[86] But the second half of the 1950s gave halt to the importation. Despite the non-affordability of the imported goods for the middle classes, these new introduced items gradually changed the public perception. Accordingly, household durables, representing the gradual change in patterns of mass consumption, were transformed from luxurious consumption items to indispensable needs of middle class houses.

In the 1960s, domestic production expanded consumerism in the aftermath of the rising expectations of the middle classes since prices of the hitherto imported consumer goods declined and hence became affordable for these people. The domestic private household durables sector emerged with the establishment of Arçelik in the late 1950s. Afterwards, the washing machine production started in

[85] Erkan Kumcu and Şevket Pamuk, *Artık Herkes Milyoner: Hürriyet Sayfalarından Ekonominin 50 Yılı* (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2001), p.9.

[86] Ibid., p.23.

1958[87] and the refrigerator production started in 1960.[88] Since then, the diffusion and the proliferation of household durables accelerated. The rising expectations of the middle classes as well as their improving real incomes also directly contributed to this diffusion.

Obviously, it is difficult to evaluate the actual number household durables during the 1960s and the 1970s since no one had to register his/her washing machine or refrigerator as his/her automobile. There were hardly standardized consumption surveys for the mentioned decades. Furthermore, it was impossible to find a publication about time series of production statistics for household durables for the beginning of the 1960s.[89] But it is available that Arçelik sold 1916 washing machines in 1959, while the number increased up to 18378 in 1966 and 93194 in 1975. In 1960, Arçelik sold 1450 refrigerators and multiplied it almost by forty with 44443 refrigerators in 1966. In 1975, 208406 refrigerators were sold by Arçelik.[90]

In this respect, the diffusion and the proliferation of household durables, in particular refrigerators were accelerated and reached levels even beyond the projections. It seemed that no one had a refrigerator in the urban places[91] before the

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[87] *Mamulattan Markaya: Arçelik Kurum Tarihi 1955-2000*. Edited by VTR Araştırma Yapım Yönetim (İstanbul: Mepa, 2001), p.40.

[88] *Mamulattan Markaya: Arçelik Kurum Tarihi 1955-2000*, p.58.

[89] Ibid., p.96.

[90] Ibid., p.73.

[91] This analysis is constrained for cities because of the availability of electricity. In 1965, electricity was available for the 75.43 % of the urban population. See, Ayşe Buğra, "Piyasa Oluşturmanın Piyasa Dışı Mekanizmaları: Türkiye'de Dayanıklı Tüketim Malları Sektörünün Gelişimi," in Buğra, *Devlet-Piyasa Karşıtlığının Ötesinde* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), p.70.

[91] See for the detailed analysis of the institutionalization of Arçelik's network of dealers; Ayşe Buğra, "Piyasa Oluşturmanın Piyasa Dışı Mekanizmaları: Türkiye'de Dayanıklı Tüketim Malları Sektörünün Gelişimi," in Buğra, *Devlet-Piyasa Karşıtlığının Ötesinde* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), pp.73-88.

1960s, however, this situation totally altered a decade later and it seemed that everyone had a refrigerator. Figure 12 compared the annual production of the high-demanded consumption goods, particularly refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and automobiles since the end of the 1960s. According to the graph, the annual production of refrigerators was far more than the other three items during the 1970s. This situation is directly related with rising expectations of the urban middle classes. Urban middle classes demanded refrigerators at first place, in accordance with the increase in their real wages and their rising expectations.

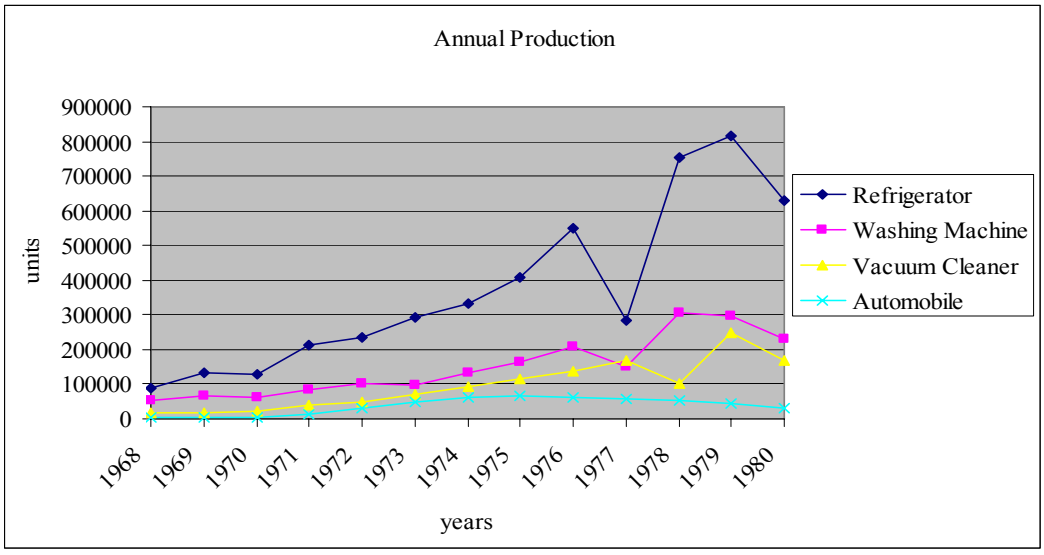


Figure 12: The Annual Production of Consumption Goods
Source: Calculation is based on table 13.27 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006) and Appendix A, Table 6.

It is significant to underline that the purchasing power was still low during the 1960s.[92] The demand for refrigerators as well as the other household durables was met through informal installment and credit facilities provided by network of

[92] See that in the early 1960s prices of export refrigerators ranged between 10000 and 15000 TL. On the other hand first domestically produced refrigerator cost 4.425 TL. But this is still expensive for the majority since the average annual income in 1960 was only 5198. (Buğra, p.70.)

dealers.[93] Middle classes firstly preferred to purchase a refrigerator by installments in an environment, which is favorable for their future expectations. Figure 13 demonstrated the annual production of most-demanded consumer goods per 1000 inhabitants. According to the figure it is also evaluated that the first and the most purchased consumer goods were refrigerators. Afterwards, the rising expectations pulled the demand of the other household durables as well as automobiles.

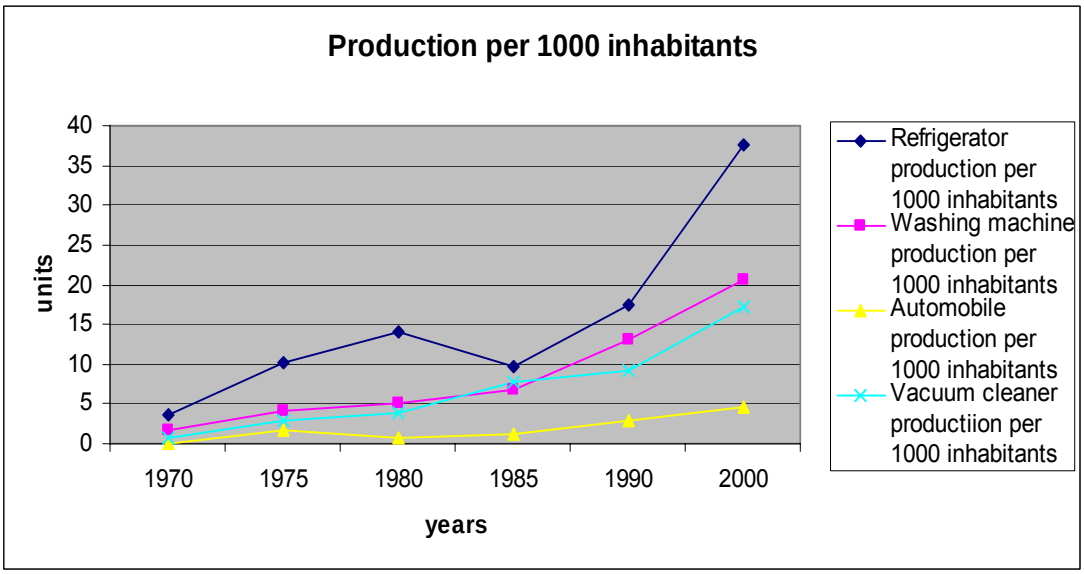


Figure 13: Production of Consumer Goods per 1000 inhabitants
Source: Calculation is based on table 1.2 and 13.27 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006) and Appendix A, Table 6.

Additionally, surveys of consumer expenditure in major cities gave certain clues concerning the diffusion of household durables. For instance, in Ankara distribution percentage of households by certain durable goods ownership demonstrated that 28.95% of households had a refrigerator, 29.15% had a washing

[93] Tansı Şenyapılı, "Enformel Sektör: Durağanlıktan Devingenliğe/ Gecekondulaşmadan Apartmanlaşmaya," in *Yoksulluk: Bölgesel Gelişme Ve Kırsal Yoksulluk, Kent Yoksulluğu* edited by Halis Akder and Murat Güvenç (İstanbul: TESEV, 2000), pp.165-168.

machine and 14.57% had a vacuum cleaner in 1965.[94] From the medium group of households whose monthly incomes were between 1001 and 1500 lira, 19.79% owned a refrigerator.[95] In Izmir, 25.26% of households owned a refrigerator, 13.41% owned a washing machine, and 8.14% owned a vacuum cleaner in 1966.[96] Moreover, 32.74% of households had a refrigerator, 24.62% had a washing machine, and 10.54% had a vacuum cleaner in the end of the 1960s in Istanbul[97] Within medium income groups of 1001-1500 lira and 1501-2000 lira, the refrigerator owners were 33.56% and 48.09% respectively.[98] It is significant to note that the internal migrants living in squatter towns of the big cities, particularly in Istanbul, also contributed to the boosting demand for household durables, in particular refrigerators because these household applicants created an opportunity for them in terms of integration to the urban life.[99] For instance, in Samsun only 13.07% of households had a refrigerator, 10.13% had a washing machine, and 3.47% had a vacuum cleaner in 1968.[100] The situation in Erzurum was much worse. Only 5.57% of households owned a refrigerator, 8.80% owned a washing machine, and 2.93% owned a vacuum cleaner.[101]

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[94] *Results of the Survey of Consumer Expenditures in Ankara* (Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara,1965), p.12.

[95] Ibid.

[96] *Results of the Survey of Consumer Expenditures in İzmir* (Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1966), p.19.

[97] *Results of the Survey of Consumer Expenditures in İstanbul* (Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara,1968), p.19.

[98] Ibid.

[100] *Results of the Survey of Consumer Expenditures in Samsun* (Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara,1968), p.18.

[101] *Results of the Survey of Consumer Expenditures in Erzurum* (Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara,1968), p.18.

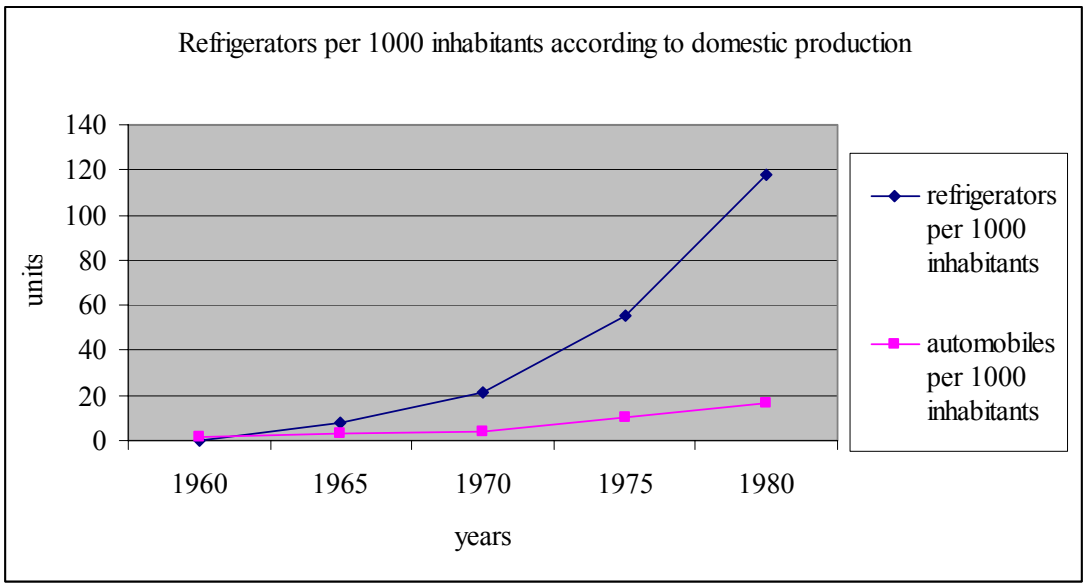


Figure 14: Refrigerators per 1000 inhabitants and automobile per 1000 inhabitants (1960-1980)

Sources: Buğra, p.75. *Ortak Pazar ve Türkiye'de Dayanıklı Tüketim Malları Sanayi* (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları, No.11, Nisan 1971), p.4. Table 13.27 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006* (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006.)

Lastly, Figure 14 compares the number of refrigerators per 1000 inhabitants with the number of automobiles per 1000 inhabitants. As mentioned, it is almost impossible to calculate the exact number of refrigerators since no legal registration is required to purchase household durables. On the other hand, for analytical purposes one may have calculated the number of domestically produced refrigerators through defining certain assumptions.[102] Accordingly, the graph below demonstrates the number of domestically produced refrigerators for the period between 1960 and 1980 and does not take into account the imported items with the assumption that their percentage was negligible for the mentioned period. For sure, the accurate number of refrigerators were much more than the calculated ones. But the graph significantly indicates that the diffusion of refrigerators was much more than the diffusion of

[102] My calculations here based on these assumptions. 1) The calculations take only account of domestically produced refrigerators. The imported ones before 1960 and after 1960 were neglected. 2) The number of refrigerators is calculated by adding annual production values. 3) There was no accurate production statistics until 1963. So for the period 1960-1962 the approximate domestic sales were used.

automobiles during the 1970s.

To sum up, household durables as well as automobiles were also diffused during the 1960s and the 1970s. One of the main contributors of this diffusion was the rising expectations of the urban middle classes. Additionally, the diffusion of household durables, particularly refrigerators underlines the formation and the development of the capitalist production and consumption patterns in Turkey during the import substitution period. Therefore, the diffusion and the proliferation of household durables also prove the main argument of this thesis, which underlines that Turkey's integration to the capitalist world with regards to its production and consumption patterns occurred prior to the "global turn" of the 1980s.

Concluding Remarks

The automobile as a machine was just the visible part of an iceberg. Behind this machine lay a complex system that generated and preserved a new way of living through transforming economy, society, and modern daily life. This system of automobility was a global phenomenon that was gradually transferred to Turkey. Accordingly, in this chapter of the thesis the Turkish route to the system of automobility was analyzed. The route began with early notions of automobility in terms of a leisure providing item for the prosperous classes in the pre-world war period. Subsequent to the war, the system of automobility began to develop in Turkey through a highway revolution in the 1950s, and consequential changes in mobility options, and time-space conceptions. Following this infrastructural development of automobility, I argue that the diffusion and proliferation of this system took place in the 1960s and the 1970s. The statistical indicators of freight,

passenger and vehicle transportation ratios on highways; highway, vehicle and automobile statistics in proportion to population; and motorization rates verified this claim. Obviously, the establishment of domestic production facilities boosted automobile park from the second half of the 1960s. Moreover, the increasing purchasing power of the urban middle classes in accordance with rising expectations directly contributed to the irreversible diffusion and proliferation of automobility in Turkey during the 1960s and the 1970s. Thus Turkey became tied up to the system of automobility since the 1950s.

CHAPTER III

AUTOMOBILE PRODUCTION IN TURKEY DURING THE IMPORT SUBSTITUTION PERIOD

The global system of automobility spread to most of the countries after the end of the world war. This system triggered the demand for all motor vehicles, particularly personal automobiles. In this respect, developing countries, which promptly adapted to this system, had two alternatives for meeting the rising demand. The first alternative was to import motor vehicles and their ancillary parts from developed countries. The second alternative was to import car-building technologies into the country. Apparently, the global diffusion of automobility by and large resulted in the internationalization of automobile production. In other words, developing countries began to transfer assembly automobile industries through joint-venture agreements with big foreign automobile companies. Accordingly, the automobile production also diffused globally in a manner similar to that of automobile consumption. For instance, the US share in the world automotive market was nearly 91% in 1940, 76% in 1950, 48% in 1960, and reduced to 20% of world production since the 1980s. On the other hand, the share of developing countries in the world automotive production has rapidly increased since the 1960s, culminating in 40% of the world production today.[103]

Turkey, which started out as an automobilized developing country, had to choose domestic automobile production because of a harsh foreign exchange crisis triggered by rising imports from the second half of the 1950s. Favoring an import substitution development policy, Turkey also considered a domestic automotive

[103] Attilla Bedir, *Türkiye'de Otomotiv Sanayii Gelişme Perspektifi* (Ankara: DPT, Yayın no: 2660, Kasım 2002), p.3.

industry as a development engine for industrialization. Noticeably, the automotive industry was a remarkable starting point of pioneering management organizations, technology transfers, and production and operation methods' developments. Accordingly, the Turkish automotive industry was born with the adaptation of import substitution industrialization policy in the 1960s.

On the other hand, Turkish planners prioritized the production of other motor vehicles, such as trucks and buses. In the beginning of the 1960s, there were political and ideological controversies concerning personal automobile production as well as consumption since the automobile was still considered a luxury item by government agencies. Nevertheless the public perception of automobile consumption gradually changed through the diffusion of automobility. Particularly, the urban middle classes began to consider automobiles as one of their required expenditure items. Thus, despite the protectionist measures, automobile imports continued to increase. Therefore, government agents had to change their approach toward domestic automobile production in order to control foreign exchange allocation.

In this respect, the Turkish automobile production of the 1960s and the 1970s can be divided into three stages: the decision stage (1960-1965), the establishment of mass production (1965-1971) and the developmental period (1971-1980). I aim to analyze each period in reference to different perspectives.

The Decision Stage: Debates on Automobile Production

The economic policy of the 1950s was defined as agricultural-led growth. Despite the harsh foreign exchange crisis in the second half of the 1950s, the Democrat Party (DP) government did not revolutionize its development policies

continuing to subsidize agricultural output.[104] Furthermore, despite the considerable growth in private investment, the private sector was pathetic in the 1950s. The enterprises were regularly small-scale assembly workshops producing light consumer goods with inefficient conditions of production techniques, managerial objectives or technological means.[105] In the end of the decade, there was strong criticism and pressure upon the DP government to establish a suitable development plan since it was obvious that sustainable economic growth could not be managed through short-term policies.[106]

Subsequent to the military coup of the 1960, the new military government came with an agenda of establishing long-term development plans in order to portray and reform the developmental route of the country. In this way, the development strategy shifted to import-substituted industrialization. Despite the general consensus on planned industrialization, there were divergent priorities and conflicting ideological perceptions among the supporters, who were composed of statist developmentalists, bureaucrats, big industrialists and international agencies.[107]

In this respect, the decision process of domestic automobile production (1960-1965) was also controversial stage in reference to divergent views concerning route for industrial development. This section aims to evaluate this contentious decision process. It is argued that there were three major views, the idea of *statist industrialization* in favor of the establishment of national production, the idea of *industrial planners* in opposition to domestic automobile production, and the idea of

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[104] Zürcher, p. 239.

[105] Gürel Tüzün, "1950-60 Döneminde Sanayileşme," in Oya Baydar (ed.), *75 Yilda Çarklarda Çiplere* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi, 1999), p. 161.

[106] Pamuk, p.283.

[107] Vedat Milor, "The Genesis of Planning in Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 4 (1990). Cited from Pamuk, p.283.

leftist developmentalists in favor of national automobile production on the one hand, and in opposition to the development of automobility on the other hand. In order to evaluate the decision process analytically, these views are categorized within the framework of "Statist Industrialization" and "Developmentalist Views," referring to both the industrial planners and leftist developmentalists. In the end, it is verified that because of increasing customer interest towards personal automobiles during the considered period (1960-1965), automobility secured its place and this in turn resulted in the establishment of mass production.

Statist Industrialization: An Initiative to Produce a Turkish Automobile

The National Unity Committee (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*) government of 1960, believed in a statist industrialization scheme which intended development and industrialization through utilizing domestic input, labor and technology. Given the main emphasis to praise of domestic products (*yerli malı*), producing an entirely national automobile was the first symbolic attempt to prove they were serious about modernization and industrialization. In other words, the military government intended to prove that Turks could produce automobiles as well as the developed countries. Because of the discourses of underdevelopment, and resulted fate of agricultural-led growth in the previous decade, this attempt also had considerable symbolic connotations. Cemal Gürsel, the president, declared in 1961 that those who insisted on the Turks inability to produce a national automobile were pessimistic.[108] Thus, with the demand of the military government, the initiative to produce the first

[108] "*Yerli otomobil yapılamaz diyenler, kara düşüncelilerdir. Bir vapur dolusu pamuk verip on otomobil alıyoruz.*" Önder Küçükerman, *Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl* (İstanbul: Rahmi M. Koç Müzesi, 2004), p.17.

Turkish automobile was started.

Accordingly, on May 15, 1961 a three-day seminar entitled "the Automobile Industry Conference" was held in Ankara. As a conclusion of this conference, it was stated that it was possible to produce an automobile with nearly 60-75% local content in Turkey.[109] Afterwards, the Planning Department started a project to produce a Turkish car in Eskişehir. The car, named the *Devrim* (Revolution), was to be almost totally composed of domestic components intended to be finished by October 29, 1961.[110] Four prototypes of the Devrim were produced by Turkish engineers and workers with 80% of local content except carburetor, tires, and electronics in the period of approximately 120 days.[111] The total cost of the four cars was 900,000 TL, which was a significantly higher price compared to the prices of imported automobiles in 1960. [112] For instance, a Volkswagen was about 28,095 TL, an Opel Olympia Record 33,135, and a Dodge 55,000 TL.[113]

Two of the cars were transferred to Ankara. A black one was given to President Cemal Gürsel as a gift during the October 29 celebrations. During the ceremony, Gürsel congratulated the engineers and workers who had been involved in the production of the Devrim. The President declared that "because of an inferiority complex, it was said that we could not produce an automobile. We have produced an

[109] Hanip Münipoğlu, *Türk Otomotiv Sanayinin Gelişimi ve Dünya Pazarlarındaki Yeri.* (Bursa, 1992), p.9.

[110] H. Aktunç, H. Mesçi, A. Engin and Y. Erten, "Türk'ün Otomobille İmtihanı," *Cogito* 24 (Fall 2000).

[111] *Milliyet*, 30 October 1961.

[112] *Milliyet*, 1 November 1961.

[113] See, "Otomobilerin Fiatı Belli Oldu," in *Milliyet*, 1 January 1960.

automobile. This is the example."[114] As the newspaper stated, Gürsel indicated that the Devrim marked a turning point in the history of Turkish industry, but this attempt would have been more meaningful if it had resulted in mass production at a reasonable cost.[115] On the other hand, when Gürsel tried to drive the Devrim, an exceptionally unfortunate event had happened. The car stopped after few hundred meters because it had run out of gasoline. Gürsel, getting out of the car, criticized that "we have produced an automobile with a Western mind, but we forgot to refuel it with an Eastern mind."[116]



Figure 12: The President Cemal Gürsel getting out off Devrim
Source: *Milliyet*, 30 October 1961.

Nevertheless, the supporters of statist industrialization did not lose their hopes of mass producing the Devrim. For instance, Erdoğan Bayraktar wrote that despite the high cost, the Devrim proved that an automobile could be produced in Turkey. He

[114] "*Bir aşağılık duygusu ile bizde otomobil yapılamayacağı iddia ediliyordu. Bizde otomobil yapılmıştır. Işte örneği.*" *Milliyet*, 30 October 1961.

[115] "*Bu yapılan otomobil, sanayi tarihimizde yeni bir hamle olarak kaydedilecektir. Fakat bir-iki otomobil birşey ifade etmez, seri imalata gitmek lazım*." *Milliyet*, 30 October 1961.

[116] "*Arabayı yaptık Avrupa kafasıyla, benzini ikmal etmedik şark kafasıyla.*" *Milliyet*, 30 October, 1961.

optimistically added that through mass production the high cost would be decreased.[117] Moreover, the Transportation Minister, Orhan Mersinli, declared that the production expenditure of four prototypes was research and development costs. These prototypes needed to be tested for one year and the price of Turkish-branded automobiles would be cheaper than foreign counterparts when they were mass-produced.[118] On the other hand, Mersinli accepted that the government should have allocated 100 million dollar in order to produce the needed transportation and communication vehicles domestically.[119]Moreover, Gürsel was determined to continue this prestigious symbolic project of 27 May. He met with the American Chrysler Company in order to make a joint venture agreement to put the Devrim initiative into practice.

This initiative did not continue since it was insignificant and unprofitable to manufacture automobiles produced through labor intensive craft-based methods compared with the Western mass production techniques. Nevertheless, the Devrim symbolizes the desire of the May 27 regime to return to statist industrialization. It underlined the self-sufficiency, national economy and industrialization through domestic labor and technology. It was also a signifier of modernization and national ability, indicating that domestic industry could achieve the success of the developed countries without being dependent on foreign resources, management, and

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[117] Erdoğan Bayraktar, "Türkiye'de Otomobil Yapılamaz İddası Devrim'le Çürütüldü," *Milliyet*, 30 October 1961.

[118] "*Türk malı otomobil piyasaya çıktığı zaman mutlaka kendi ayarındaki yabancı mamulatından çok daha ucuza satılacaktır." Milliyet*, 1 November 1961.

[119] "*Ulaştırma ve haberleşme konusunda ihtiyacımız olan vasıtaların memleketimizde temin edilmesi için 100 milyon dolarlık yatırım yapmamız lazımdır*." *Milliyet*, 1 November 1961.

technology.[120] On the other hand, developmentalist views had certain influence on the decision process for domestic automobile production, which resulted in Turkey having to wait for another five years for the establishment of the mass production of personal automobiles.

Developmentalist Views: Luxuriousness vs. Dependency

As indicated in the previous part, there was a general consensus for developmental projects in the 1960s. Divergent groups favoring etatist policy, private initiative or mixed approach, all desired development. Generally for these divergent groups the concept of development meant economic growth. But in this section, I will refer to two different groups as developmentalists. The first one of them was bureaucrats, namely industrial planners, who favored a mixed economic model of import substitution strategy, which depended on the cooperation of the public and the private sectors.[121] The second one was leftist developmentalists, who inherited the

[120] Today, the Devrim, as a first Turkish automobile, has similar connotations for those who believe in a national economy. Accordingly, a nationalist literature has begun to be developed referring to the Devrim as an example and a symbol. See Şimşek, Muhittin. *Yarım Kalan Devrim Rüyası Cumhuriyet Dönemi Endüstrileşme Maceramız* (Istanbul: Alfa Basım Yayım Dağıtım, 2006). Moreover, Tolga Örnek, who is a director of documentaries such as *Hititler*, *Gelibolu*, has started a new documentary project about the production story of the Devrim. Örnek, declared that: "*Nedense biz toplum olarak olumlu hikayeleri de birtakım olumsuzluklarla hatırlıyoruz. Bizim için hep bardak boş. Hiç kimse Türkiye'nin ilk yerli otomobilini 129 günde üreterek imkansızı başarmış mühendisleri hatırlamıyor ama arabanın mecliste durmasını anımsıyor. Oysa araba durduktan sonra tekrar çalışıyor, ayrıca ikinci araba hiç durmuyor. O gün Ankara sokaklarını dolaşıyor. Bir tanesi de Eskişehir'de hala çalışıyor.*" See, "Bu Atölyede Devrim Yapılıyor," in *Radikal*, 22 July 2008. Available [online]: http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=Detay&ArticleID=889648 [23 July 2008].

[121] Actually, the early planners aimed to transform the Turkish economy also by controlling the private sector. But the private sector did not want to be constrained and politicians could not bear the consequences of such constraints. As a result, the plan was designed as a binding scheme for the public sector and an advisory scheme for the private sector. For detail information, see Milor, Vedat. "The Genesis of Planning in Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 4 (Fall 1990); and Özden, Barış Alp. *Turkey's Experience with*

Kemalist etatist development strategy.

First of all, industrial planners, favoring a mixed economy for Turkish economic development, considered automobiles as luxury goods. For instance, even before putting the industrial plan into action, the importation of automobiles was prohibited together with other luxury consumption items for the year 1961.[122] One year later, in 1962, the government issued a stabilization fund for imported automobiles. The payment for the fund was calculated in proportion to the dollar cost of an automobile, at a rate of 9TL per dollar. Each payment was not to be below 10,000 TL and was not to exceed three months maturity.[123] These precautions were taken to restrict the demand according to the perception of luxuriousness of personal automobiles.

Industrial planners placed the main emphasis on transportation and communication investments. For instance, the newspapers announced that these sectors took first place among total public investment according to the first plan.[124] But noticeably, industrial planners did not want to waste funds for the establishment of an infant industry for producing luxurious goods, such as personal automobiles. They indicated that the automobile industry could not reach economies of scale as it required too much national investment, and there was too little domestic demand to compensate such an investment. Thus, the planners gave priority to the domestic production of trucks and buses in order to solve the problem of foreign dependency

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Planning in the 1960s (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, MA thesis, 2004).

[122] "Otomobil ve Lüks Eşya İthali Yasak Ediliyor," in *Milliyet*, 26 November 1960.

[123] "Otomobil İthalinde İstikrar Fonu 9 Lira Olacak," in *Milliyet*, 21 December 1962.

[124] "*Radyo, deniz, kara, hava yolları ve PTT hizmetleri için iktisadi devlet teşekküllerinden 399 milyon 800 bin, genel ve katma bütçeden de 1 milyar 19 milyon 200 bin, mahalli idarelerden de 130 milyon liralık yatırım yapılması uygun görülmüştür.*" *Milliyet*, 29 November 1962.

for transportation vehicles. Accordingly, in the first industrial plan (1963-1967) the major principles concerning motor vehicles industry stated that the personal automobile was a luxury consumption item. Therefore, the plan did not project the establishment of the domestic automobile industry. To save foreign exchange, planners attempted to restrict the demand through controlling foreign exchange allocation intended for imported automobiles.[125] Accordingly, the first plan suggested various precautions such as abolishing unpaid import quotas for personal automobiles and allowing importation of only cheap and light automobiles.[126]

As a result, subsequent to the First Five-Year Development Plan, the government published the "Regulations of Assembly Industry" (*Montaj Sanayi Talimatı*) on April 14, 1964, into order to reorganize the production of the automotive sector. The main target of this regulation was to improve local parts and components production aimed of reallocating foreign exchange efficiently. Through this regulation the government established local content requirements for various motor vehicles excluding automobiles and initiated import restrictions on locally produced parts and components.[127] Thus, foreign companies that had a market share in the Turkish automotive market had to set up factories in Turkey, or to formulate joint ventures with domestic partners. Also because of this regulation, all existing vehicle importers and multinational companies were apprehensive of losing their existing market share and interested in establishing assembly plants. Between 1960 and 1965,

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[125] "*Binek otomobili daha çok lüks bir dayanıkh tüketim malı olduğundan plân döneminde yurt içinde imal edilen kısımların yüzdesi belirli bir değere yükselmedikçe talebin en az sayıda karşılanması esas alınmıştır.*" T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *I. Kalkınma Planı (1963-1967)*, Ocak 1963, p.348.

[126] "*Gerekli olan hallerde binek otomobili bedelsiz ithalden çıkarılabilecektir. Sadece ucuz ve hafif binek otomobilinin ithaline müsaade edilecektir.*" T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *I. Kalkınma Planı (1963-1967)*, Ocak 1963, p.351.

[127] Necla Ünsal, *Otomotiv Sanayinde Kapasite Kullanımı ve Verimlilik* (Ankara: Milli Prodüktivite Merkezi Yayınları, 392, 1989), p.40.

8 assembly factories producing tractors, trucks, vans, and buses were established.[128] "High profitability was almost guaranteed since entrepreneurs were protected against foreign competition by high tariff barriers and encouraged by tax exemptions and preferential exchange rates for imported technology."[129] But there was hardly any initiative for establishing an automobile factory during the mentioned five years due to the conception of the luxuriousness of personal automobiles.

On the other hand, the leftist developmentalists, mostly gathered around the journal *Yön*, did not stress only the luxuriousness of personal automobiles. Their main emphasis was on the underdevelopment-dependency phenomena. In other words, advocating the modernization rhetoric of the Kemalist era, they favored self-sufficient nationalist-statist development for rapid sustainable industrialization without foreign dependency on resources, technology or labor. In this respect, they by and large opposed the enhancement of automobility as a system in Turkey. For instance, Doğan Avcıoğlu seriously criticized the highway development considering highway investments as a total waste. In relation to the highway development Avcıoğlu declared that:

> The highway expansion scheme caused wastefulness since it did not exercised in coordination with railways, which constructed by expending billions. Even rich capitalist countries laid significant emphasis on highway transportation and therefore, in England, the state nationalized the highway transportation. On the contrary, Turkey, a country which mostly imported road vehicles, their ancillary parts and gasoline, extensively developed highways against of railways.[130]

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[128] Pekarun, p.6.

[129] Hacer Ansal, "Technical Change and Industrial Policy: The Case of Truck Manufacturing in Turkey," *World Development* 18, no: 11 (1990), p.1514.

[130] "*Bu gelişme, milyarlar harcanarak inşa edilen demiryolları ile koordine biçimde yürütülmediği için büyük israflara yol açmıştır. ... Zengin kapitalist ülkeler dahi karayolu nakliyesinin üzerinde önemle dururken ve bu yüzden İngiltere'de hükümetler karayolu nakliyesini devletleştirirken, karayolu taşıtlarını, yedek parçalarını ve benzini dışardan ithal eden Türkiye, demiryolları aleyhine karayolu nakliyesini alabildiğine geliştirmiştir.*" Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*, (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1973), Vol. 2, p. 730.

Obviously, leftist developmentalists supported independence and self sufficiency in economic development. Railway transportation was a symbol of a self-sufficient national economy since the railways used national resources and railway transportation directly institutionalized by the state. Automobility was a system of dependency since Turkey could not produce motor vehicles as well as had no adequate petroleum resources. Thus it was an unreasonable mistake for the leftist developmentalists to be locked into the foreign-dependent system in transportation.

On the other hand, the highway development of Turkey was irreversible. A great deal of resources and funds had already been invested in highways. Despite their criticisms, the leftist developmentalists were also aware of this irreversible development. Thus they attempted to reduce the rate of dependency within the system of automobility. Therefore, they were opposed to the importation of motor vehicles as well as the private sector's initiatives on assemble manufacturing through joint ventures with foreign firms. In other words, they desired the establishment of national automobile production by using national resources, labor and technology.

For instance, in 1964, in the first column of the *Yön*, "Bakış", Avcıoğlu, indicated that the Turkish economy had already been extensively opened to exploitative foreign investments. He stated:

> Our industrialists have become advocates of foreign firms and our governments are not troubled with opening our doors to foreign investors, who are generally aiming to restrain national industries through privileged exportations. The development plan suggested to stop motor vehicles importation and to prohibit foreign firms that are willing to establish assemblage manufacturing in this sector. The imports have already stopped, but opposing to the plan assembly manufacturing allowances has given way to huge foreign automotive firms. Now, planners are complaining that apart from foreign exchange wastage these foreign assembly firms are constraining the establishment of national automobile industry.[131]

[131] "*Sanayicilerimiz, yabancı firmaların avukatlığını yapmakta, Hükümetler de, çoğunlukla sanayilerimizi engelleme ve imtiyazlı şekilde ihracat yapma amacını güden yabancı yatırımlara kapılarımızı açmakta mahzur görmemektedir. Kalkınma planı, karayolu*

Two weeks later, in the same column, in honor of National Products' Week (*Yerli Malı Haftası*), Avcıoğlu call youth to boycott foreign consumption goods. He declared that:

> Foreign capital is exploiting our national resources and preventing establishment of national industry. … In Turkey, the establishment of actual automobile and truck industries is prevented because of invading foreign assembly companies. Additionally in many fields, because of foreign assembly and packaging industries, national industry has died before birth.[132]

Leftist developmentalists, particularly the intellectuals around *Yön*, continued their emphasis on the establishment of a national automobile industry by utilizing self-sufficiency/modernization rhetoric. Yet subsequent to the beginning of mass production, launched by Koç Group, they still were a considered automobile industry as an assembly industry referring high amounts of imported ancillary parts.[133] Accordingly, Avcıoğlu, defined Turkish automotive industry as the chief example of wastefulness and anarchism in industrialization.[134] He criticized that despite the Regulations of Assembly Industry, most of the parts of motor vehicles were still

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taşıtları ithali durdurulsun ve bu alanda montaj tesisleri kurmak isteyen yabancı firmalara izin verilmesin, demiştir. İthalat durdurulmuş, fakat plana aykırı dev otomobil firmalarının montaj sanayi kurmasına müsade edilmiştir. Plancılar şimdi, döviz israfı bir yana, bu yabancı montaj firmaları bir otomobil sanayi kurmamızı engellemektedir, diye yakınmaktadırlar." Avcıoğlu, Kapitalist Gelişmeler, *Yön,* Yıl:3, Sayı: 88, 4 December 1964, p.3.

[132] "*Yabancı sermaye öz kaynaklarımızı sömürmekte ve milli sanayinin gelişmesini engellemektedir. ... Türkiye'de gerçek bir otomobil ve kamyon sanayinin kurulması, memleketimizi istila eden yabancı montaj fabrikaları yüzünden engellenmektedir. Daha bir çok alanda, yabancı montaj ve ambalaj tesisleri dolayısıyla, milli sanayi doğmadan ölmektedir.*"Avcıoğlu, Gençliğe Çağrı, *Yön* 4, no: 91 (25 December 1964), p.3.

[133] "*Montajcılara tahsis olunan döviz miktarı sınırlı olduğu için, az miktarda dövizle çok sayıda imalat yapmak ve Montaj Talimatı hükümlerine uymak amacıyla, firmalar, biraz önce de belirttiğimiz üzere, parçaların önemli kısmını liberasyondan ve başka yollardan ithal etmekte, bu gayrimeşru ithalata yerli imalat adını vermektedirler! Tabi ki bu dalavere sayesinde, 'yerli imalat oranını arttırdık' diye yetkililere övünme fırsatı da çıkmaktadır*.", Montaj Sanayi, *Yön* 6, no: 178 (2 Haziran 1967), p.16.

[134] "*Yılda 5 milyar liranın üstünde üretim yapan Karayolu Taşıtları İmalat Sanayi, bir israf ve anarşi örneğidir.*" Avcıoğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*, p.876. For additional information about automobile industry see Ibid., pp.876-880.

imported. The targeted increase in terms of local parts and components aiming to save foreign exchange could not be achieved.[135] In some respect Avcıoğlu's analysis was accurate. For instance, the prices of domestic automobiles were twice as high as those of imported automobiles.[136] Moreover, the infant assembly industries, protected through high tariffs on imported goods and strictly controlled foreign exchange regime, had increased the foreign dependency.

Actually, these were the intrinsic problems of import substitution industrialization (ISI) policies in the 1960s. The main rhetoric of ISI policies was sustaining the protection of infant industries from foreign competition until they were sufficiently strengthened. On the other hand, this rhetoric of protectionism might have become a burden at later stages. As long as the initial industrialists were protected within the domestic market through tariffs, quotas and through artificially overvalued exchange rate enabling them to import more easily, they do not want to leave the profits they had already gained. In regards to their resistance, one also needs to take into consideration "the difficulty of moving into export markets on the side of initial industrialists and sequential, tightly staged character of late, late industrialization."[137]

The domestic automobile industry also suffered from these intrinsic problems of ISI policies. Thus at the first stage, automobile assemblers also took advantage of

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[135] "*Taşıt sanayi, yerli imalat payının büyük ölçüde arttığı ve yüzde 70'i aştığı iddalarına rağmen, ithalata dayalı bir sanayidir. DPT Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporuna göre, birim taşıt için 12 500 liralık malzeme ithali gerekmektedir. Bu taşıtın Avrupa FOB değeri ise 20 bin lira dolayındadır. Eğer kullanılan yerli malzeme Avrupa fiyatlarıyla imal ediliyorsa, 20 bim liralık birim taşıt,12 bin 500 liralık ithalat gerektirdiğine göre, ithalat oranının yüzde 60'ın üstünde, yerli imalat oranının ise yüzde 40'ın altında olduğunu Kabul etmek gerekecektir*." Avcıoğlu, p.876.

[136] For instance, the price of Anadol was approximately 43 500 TL. On the other hand, it is counterpart, Cortina costed 21 000 TL.

[137] Albert O. Hirschman, "The Political Economy of Import Substituting Industrialization in Latin America," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (1968), p.22.

the protected internal market, but in the second stage they were locked into foreign intermediate goods and technology. Therefore the system of automobility gradually extended dependency both in consumption and production. In this respect, the decision stage of domestic automobile production underlined by two divergent but mutually exclusive views of luxuriousness and dependency. But despite this ideologically controversial decision process, Turkey had to pass on to the next stage of mass production because of rising sympathy and concern for personal automobiles.

Rising Interest in Automobiles

As was stated in the previous part, the Turkish developmentalists, particularly the industrial planners, regarded automobiles as luxury durable goods targeting to compensate the demand for them through imports at the first glance. However, as the gross domestic product of the country certainly increased in the first planning period (1963-1967) the demand for automobile exceeded the predictions, causing serious difficulties in foreign exchange allocations. For instance, although the expected demand for automobiles in 1967 was about 8,000, the new entrances to the automobile pool exceeded 21,000 cars during the same year.[138] Additionally, in the first plan the industrial planners had predicted that the total automobile park of Turkey would not exceed 65,300 in 1967.[139] The actual automobile park in the same year had significantly exceeded that prediction, reaching 112,367. In this respect, one

[138] T.C. Sanayi ve Ticaret Bakanlığı, *I. Sanayi Şurası Otomotiv Sanayi Raporu* (Ankara: T.C. Sanayi ve Ticaret Bakanlığı 1- 4 September 1987), p. 27.

[139] T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *I. Kalkınma Planı (1963-1967)*, Ocak 1963, p.349.

may argue that the precautions of the first industrial plan on restricting demand for automobiles were not achieved. In fact, the interest in personal automobiles continued to increase during the first half of the 1960s.

In regard to this expanding interest in automobiles, there was also other evidence. Mostly in the big cities, particularly in Istanbul, automobiles were becoming more ordinary objects that be seen on streets. For instance, as visualized in Figure 13 at the beginning of the 1960s, American cars filled the streets of Istanbul and began to diffuse into the daily life. Also, Figure 14 displays cars on the Istiklal Boulevard in Istanbul in 1962. Because of the rising numbers of automobiles, the municipality took precautions to maintain traffic flow in the street. An automobile was an inaccessible consumption good for the majority. This inaccessibility going along with the diffusion of automobility and the routinization of automobiles in modern daily life attracted additional interest in automobiles.



Figure 13: A Ceremony during the early 1960s in Istanbul and the Expansion of American automobiles in the Taksim Square
Source: Önder Küçükerman Arşivi, Küçükerman, *Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl* (İstanbul: Rahmi M. Koç Müzesi, 2004).



Figure 14: Automobile Mass on the Istiklal Boulevard, Istanbul
Source: *Milliyet*, 14 August 1962.

Obviously, this rising interest was reflected in the newspapers. Even ordinary news related to automobiles, which most of us may consider non-newsworthy today, was given in the first pages of popular newspapers. For instance, reports of simple car accidents, which resulted generally without loss of lives, were regularly placed on the first page. In one popular newspaper, *Milliyet*, there was news in the first page about an automobile that fell into a pit next to the road. There was a big picture of the automobile and below that, four sentences describing the event. Interestingly, in this piece of news there was no reference to the driver. The car was considered something like an individual object, which had a more fundamental position than its driver.[140] This was the general trend of automobile-related news. Usually, there was an oversized picture of the car mentioned in the news and under the picture there was a little piece of information. Additionally, there was a general trend on underlining the car itself as an object without mentioning the driver of the car.

[140] "*Dün sabah Nişantaşı'nda Emlak caddesinde hususi ve 950 model bir araba kaldırıma çıkmak isterken yol kenarındaki sahanlığa düşmüştür. Otomobil öğleden sonra çukurdan çıkarılmıştır. Araba şayanı hayret şekilde hasara uğramamıştır.*" *Milliyet*, 3 March, 1960.


12 KAZA OLDU

Figure 15: News concerning Automobile Accidents
Source: *Milliyet*, 9 August 1960

For instance, in another report on automobile accidents the same trend is visible. A jeep and a small van had crashed into each other because of a brake failure. The news only put emphasis on the overturned jeep by showing its picture after the crash.[141] Additionally, Figure 15 demonstrates similar news which was actually about the twelve accidents that occurred on one day in Istanbul.[142] As is seen, the news aimed to attract readers with the enormous picture demonstrating the automobile rather than details about accidents. Actually, these examples were symbolized the analogous news broadcasts related to nonfatal automobile accidents,

[141] "*Pendik istikametinden gelen 197004 plaka sayılı jeep ile aksi istikametten gelmekte olan 72877 plaka sayılı pikap dün frenlerin tutmaması yüzünden çarpışmışlardır. Resimde takla atan jeep*." *Milliyet*, 3 January 1960.

[142] "*Şehrimizde dün 12 trafik kazası olmuştur. Bu kazalarda iki çocuk ölmüş, iki kişi de ağır surette yaralanmıştır. Resimde Laleli'de bir trafik kazasına sebep olan otomobil.*" *Milliyet*, 9 August 1960.

which were placed on the first page with considerably-sized pictures, in the early 1960s.[143]

On the other hand, fatal automobile accidents were as newsworthy during the early 1960s as they are today. Considered more noteworthy, these events were placed near the headline through giving more details about the incident. For instance, in one headline news related to fatal automobile accidents stated that two young people had died because of alcohol and speed. Giving many details about the event such as names of the people, the place where the accident had happened, and the points concerning how the accident had happened, the news also stated that the other two young people in the car were badly injured.[144] There were several examples of reports of such fatal automobile accidents on the front pages of newspapers.[145] All these giving various details concerning the accident generally mentioned the driver and other passengers in the car rather than considering the car as an individual object. By and large, a picture of the event was also displayed in such types of news.

On the other hand, the rising interest in automobiles during the early 1960s can not have been analyzed underlining automobile accident news. There was several additional news items related to automobiles placed in newspapers. For instance, automobile news concerning new models and new technologies also attracted

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[143] For instance, see similar news in *Milliyet*: "Takla Attı," *Milliyet*, 13 April, 1960; "İki Kazada Altı Yaralı," *Milliyet*, 18 April, 1960; "Devrilen Oto," *Milliyet*, 14 December, 1962.

[144] "*Evvelki gece Sarıyer, Sultansuyu mevkiindeki bir trafik kazasında iki kişi ölmüş ve iki kişi de ağır yaralanmıştır. Kazaya fazla sürat ve alkol sebep olmuştur. Özkan İlber isimli bir gencin kullandığı 31010 plaka sayılı hususi otomobil bentlerden aşağı büyük bir süratle inerken, Sultansuyu mevkiinde bir ağaca çarpmış ve ağacı kökünden sökmüştür. Çarpma sonucu otomobilin arka kısmında bulunan 24 yaşındaki Yüksel Akbatur ile kız arkadaşı 26 yaşındaki Zehra Özen derhal ölmüşlerdir.*" *Milliyet*, 20 June, 1960.

[145] For additional examples, see: "Bir Otomobil Esrarlı Şekilde Denize Uçtu," *Milliyet*, 14 April, 1960; "Bir Ölü Bir Yaralı Var," *Milliyet*, 10 August, 1960; "Bir Otomobil Kazasında 5 Kişi Öldü," *Milliyet*, 10 April 1961; "Beş Lise Öğrencisi Oto Kazasında Öldü," *Milliyet,* 3 May 1964.

readers' attention. By and large, this type of news was about upcoming technologies designed for future automobiles. For instance, one of the stories introduced the readers the first automobile powered by solar energy.[146] The other one noticed that American companies had begun to work on a gearless automobile which used an electric energy.[147] In this regard, another article related to a project about a science fiction-like technology regarding the innovation of an automobile functioning without a driver.[148] Another article mentioned an automobile which could be driven both on land and in sea, and was displayed in the Paris International Automobile Exhibition.[149] Moreover, some news items introduced new automobile models, particularly luxurious ones, through large, attractive pictures. For instance, an announcement of the Turin Motor Exhibition was displayed under a huge picture of a car from the luxurious Italian automobile brand, Ferrari.[150] Furthermore, the newly designed American automobile, Mustang, was presented to readers, making use of almost the whole page, with a headline of "Brand-New Automobile."[151]

Furthermore, during the early 1960s the newspapers put emphasis on the concept of chauffeur. Professional drivers, chauffeurs regularly found their places on front page as objects of various events. For instance, an event about a chauffeur who

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[146] "Güneş Enerjisiyle İşleyen İlk Otomobil," *Milliyet*, 27 April, 1960.

[147] "Elektrik Enerjisiyle Çalışan Vitessiz Otomobil," *Milliyet*, 16 June, 1960.

[148] "Şoförsüz Otomobil," *Milliyet*, 20 June, 1960.

[149] "Hem Karada Hem Denizde," *Milliyet*, 1 November, 1960. For further examples see also "İşte Geleceğin Otomobili," *Milliyet*, 27 September, 1962; "En Küçük Araba," *Milliyet*, 11 November, 1962; "Geleceğin Arabaları," *Milliyet*, 1 May 1964.

[150] The piece of information behind the picture was: "*Turin Motor Sergisinde en yeni İtalyan arabaları teşhir edilmektedir. Resimde görülen Ferrai 1000 markalı otomobil saatte 200 km hız yapabilecek kudrettedir*." *Milliyet*, 3 October, 1961.

[151] "Yepyeni Bir Otomobil: Mustang'ın Önü Arkası Birbirinden Farksız," *Milliyet*, 3 May 1962.

had killed his wife's lover was given in the first column.[152] Another article reported that forty professional taxi drivers had badly beaten by other chauffeurs because of their discount in transportation prices.[153] Also, other news declared that chauffeurs had collected ten thousand signatures to protest the new regulation concerning the differentiation of *dolmuş*[154] and taxi.[155] Newspapers, also, directly concerned about the new regulations in relation to drivers. For instance, the paper announced the new regulation about requirements for obtaining a driving license through a headline of "One Who Not Graduated from Primary School Could Not Be a Driver."[156] In this respect, one may state that drivers, particularly professional drivers, had an exclusive position during the 1960s.

According to this evidence, one may argue that automobiles were diffusing to the urban daily life through triggering pioneering interest in the early 1960s. But since the automobile demand was met through imports the number of automobiles remained limited. Also, the automobile prices were so high they were inaccessible consumer goods for the majority. This inaccessibility, accompanied by diffusion of automobility and the routinization of automobiles in urban daily life, attracted additional demand for automobiles. As a result, the government was obliged to support the domestic production of automobiles during the Second Five-Year Development Plan.

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[152] "Bir Şoför Karısının Dostunu Öldürdü," *Milliyet*, 8 November, 1961.

[153] "40 Şoför Dövüldü," *Milliyet*, 4 April, 1962.

[154] A shared taxi which departs as soon as all seats are full.

[155] "Şoförler 10 bin İmza Topladı," *Milliyet*, 4 August 1965.

[156] "İlk Okulu Bitiremeyen Şoför Olamayacak," *Milliyet*, 8 December, 1960.

The Establishment of Mass Production: Technifying the Process

It is the general truth that automotive industries are considered engines of industrialization in developing countries because of their stimulating affects on employment and subsidiary industries. In this regard, the previous section discussed how this view was prevalent in Turkey from the 1960s through five-year development plans. Accordingly, the first plan (1963-1967) stated the aim of "benefiting from the driving power of automotive industry for industrialization."[157] Moreover, through the Regulations of Assembly Industry decree (1964), the government set gradually increasing targets of locally produced parts in the industry as well as taking harsher precautions against imports and foreign exchange allowances. On the other hand, concerning personal automobile production in Turkey, there was an ideological debate on the issue of the luxuriousness and/or dependency of automobiles in the early 1960s. But through the diffusion of automobility as a system into daily life, automobiles attracted ground-breaking interest during the mentioned period. As a result, the governmental strategy to control the demand of automobiles was transformed into the establishment of mass automobile production in the Second Five-Year Development Plan.

İlhan Kesimgil, the International Director of Development of the Oyak-Renult Company, identified the second half of the 1960s as the searching period for Turkish automobile industry. He stated that the government and private agents gradually began to seek the most efficient and suitable automobile for Turkey during

[157] T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *I. Kalkınma Planı (1963-1967)*, Ocak 1963, p.348.

this period.[158] In this respect, it was argued that this searching and establishment process was the first step of mass automobile production in Turkey. On the other hand, as mentioned, the ideological controversies of the previous years were still on the agenda. Therefore, I argued that the solution for establishing an automobile industry was found by technifying this controversial issue. Thus, through this technification process, the first mass produced Turkish-branded automobile, the Anadol, was produced by Otosan, Koç Holding, in December 1966 in collaboration with the English Reliant Company in design, and with the Ford Motor Company for parts like engines and transmissions.[159] The strategy of technifying the automobile production issue in Turkey was successful in getting the necessary foreign exchange allotments and bringing in the production process through next stages.

The Koç Gorup, particularly Vehbi Koç and his partner Bernar Nahum, perceived the rising interest on personal automobiles in Turkey and decided to set up an assembly industry manufacturing automobiles. Koç had been a distributor and representative of Ford vehicles since the late 1920s. Afterwards, in 1959 the Group established the Otosan in cooperation with the Ford Motor Company. The firm began to assemble four "Ford Consul" automobiles per day. [160] It is essential to note that all parts of these automobiles were imported from the Ford Company and Otosan only put these pieces together. In other words, this operation could not be considered to have been an accurate production process. On the other hand, the major aim of Vehbi Koç was to mass produce personal automobiles in Turkey. In a letter to Bernar Nahum in September, 14, 1963, he predicted that there would be immense demand

[158] Kesimgil, İlhan, interview by the author of the thesis with M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, tape recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 22 November 2007.

[159] For the full technical details of first series of Anadol, see *Otomobil Yıllığı* 2, no.7 (August 1967).

[160] Küçükerman, *Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl*, p.14.

for automobiles in the following years. Therefore, it was necessary to establish a domestic automobile factory as soon as possible. He emphasized that the Ford had accepted their application because they predicted restricted automobile demand in the Turkish market.[161] Moreover, Koç and Nahum were also aware of the ideological controversies and non-encouraging scheme in relation to automobile production in the first five-year development plan. However, the political environment had been changing gradually. The Justice Party (JP) government, which declared themselves the heirs of the Democrat Party, came to power in 1965. Actually, the JP government was relatively more tolerable and even encouraging in terms of automobile production.

Accordingly, to persuade the more eager JP government, the solution came by submitting technical reports concerning the plans on automobile production in Turkey. For that reason, Vehbi Koç himself requested to meet with Prime Minister Demirel in order to explain their intention to produce personal automobiles. At first glance, Demirel found the project favorable, as was expected. In his reportage with Yılmaz Çetiner, Demirel stated that considering automotive as the pulling sector of industrialization he was principally eager for the establishment of an automobile industry during the 1960s.[162] Thus he was assigned the Industry Minister to analyze the report of the Koç Group about automobile projects. In December 14, 1965, a report entitled, "Projects of the Koç Group on the Automobile Industry," submitted to the Industry Minister, Mehmet Turgut, pointed out the Group's intentions to produce a new automobile with a fiberglass chassis imported from the UK.[163] Having

[161] Çetiner, p. 275.

[162] Ibid., p. 237.

[163] Ibid., p.239.

avoided indicating the self-interests of the Koç Group, the report was cautiously prepared in order to display the apparently its objective and technical character conferred by advancement of industrialization in collaboration with development conception, improvement in science and technology, and preserving foreign exchange.[164]

This technification also highlighted the general style of the relationship between industrialist bourgeoisie and governments during the planned economy period. The industrialist bourgeoisie applied analogous developmentalist discourses, which the five-year development plans had already indicated, to obtain the needed foreign exchange allotment from the political power. Accordingly, the report of the Koç Group concerning automobile production technically was calculated to alleviate the developmentalists' apprehensions. The technification of the project through a detailed, technically improved and developmentalist-styled report convinced the JP government to give the permission and required foreign exchange allotments to the Koç Group. As soon as the government had fixed the price of the new automobile at 26,800 lira, the preparations for mass-production began.

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[164] The details about the Anadol project in the report exemplified my argument. "*Birinci projemiz en kısa zamanda tahakkuk edecek olandır, dış yatırmı çok mahduttur. İç yatırımı 10-15 milyon lira tutmaktadır. Bu yatırım şirketimiz tarafından yüzde 100 karşılanacaktır. Yabancı sermayeye ihtiyacımız yoktur. Araba başına gayet cüz'i bir royalite ödenecektir. Memleketimizde imal etmek istediğimiz otomobil, iki kapılı olup Volkwagen'den gerek motor kudreti, gerekse karoseri ebadı bakımından hayli büyüktür. İngiliz Ford'un Cortina Motor, şansıman ve diferansiyeli ile mücehhez. Buna mukabil boyut itibariyle Consül otomobiline yakın, çok modern, fiberglas bir karoseri ile geliştilmiştir. İki buçuk senelik bir çalışma neticesinde prototip hazırlanmıştır, prototip halen memleketimizde bulunmaktadır. CF takriben: 500 sterlin veya 1400 dolar kıymetinde bulunan nümasi bir otomobilin memleketimizde yerli olarak ve imalata geçerken derhal şaseye bağlantıları, makaslar, lastikler, akümülatör ve bütün karoseri, iç tezyinatiyle birlikte yan camlar yerli olarak yapılacaktır. Bidayette dışarıdan motor, şanzıman, diferansiyel, ön takım, fren, direksiyon, tekerlekler, elektrik tertibatı ve bazı mevadı iptidaiye ithal edilecektir. Başlangıçta asgari yüzde 45-50 arasında bir döviz tassarrufu sağlayacaktır. Bir otomobil sanayi için gayet kısa bir zaman addedilebilen iki senelik bir süre zarfında ihtiyacımız olabilecek, umumi kıymeti takriben 150 bin dolara inhisar edebilecek, prodüksiyon makinaları sayesinde mevzu bahis yüzde 45-50 döviz tasarrufu, poryalar, kampanyalar, akslar ve şanzıman yerli yapılmak şartıyla yüzde 60-65'e kadar yükseltilebilecektir*." Çetiner, pp. 239-240.

Yet, the presentation of the first mass-produced Turkish car was also in collaboration with the technification of the process in terms of favoring developmentalist-nationalist discourses. For instance, the Koç Group organized a competition to name the new automobile-brand. The invitation advertisements were published with headlines "What Will Be Its Name?" The sub-heading declared that "one who suggests the most proper name for the first Turkish automobile, which recently will be produced by the Koç Group, will win 10,000 lira prize."[165] The candidate names would be evaluated by an elite jury.[166]

Consequently, the name *Anadol* was chosen. The first Anadol was manufactured in December 1966 and introduced with a ceremony as the product of Turkish technology, labor, and capital.[167] During the ceremony, Vehbi Koç made a speech concerning the advantages of the domestic automobile industry, citing the preservation of foreign exchange, the improvement of local subsidiary industries and the enlargement of employment facilities. He also stated that,

> My being is standing with the Turkish Republic. My greatest aim is to serve the development of my country. … I consider that a small personal automobile is very advantageous for the economy of our country.[168]

The Anadol project was the first steps of mass automobile production in

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[165] "*İsmi ne olsun? Koç Grubu tarafından yakında piyasaya çıkarılacak olan ilk Türk otomobili için en uygun ismi bulana 10 000 lira mükafat verilecektir.*" *Hürriyet*, 10 August, 1966.

[166] The jury members were: Ord. Prof. Bedri Karafakioğlu (İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Rektörü), Memduh Yaşa (İktisat Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi), Yük. Müh. Necmettin Erbakan (Ticaret ve Sanayi Odaları Birliği Sanayi Dairesi Başkanı), Burhan Felek (İstanbul Gazeteciler Cemiyeti Başkanı), Cevat Fehmi Başkut (*Muharrir*), *Hürriyet*, 10 August, 1966.

[167] *Milliyet*, 20 December, 1966; *Hürriyet*, 20 December, 1966. It is declared that there was a poem for Anadol: "*Yıllarca özledik seni, neredesin? / Sen Türk'ün tekniği, alın terisin! / Yakıştın yollara ne de güzelsin! / Ey Türk Anadol, Türk otomobili, / Süzül ceylân gibi yolların gülü.*" http://www.anadolclub.org/tarihce.htm.

[168] "*Varlığım, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin varlığı ile kaimdir. Memleketimizin yükselmesi en büyük gayemdir ... Ufak bir otomobilin memleketin ekonomisinde büyük faydalar sağlayacağı kanaatındayım.*" *Hürriyet*, 20 December, 1966.

Turkish context. Anadol was the first automobile which started the era of mass-manufactured automobiles in Turkey. It was a characteristic prototype of the Fordist techniques in terms of standardized mass production. Furthermore, the Anadol symbolized the ideal Turkish family car, elegant, aesthetic, strong, comfortable and economic. Despite various jokes (such as goats and cows ate its fiberglass body)[169] the Anadol transformed the middle class perception of and accessibility to automobiles. In other words, the potential demand for automobiles, which had already existed as a result of rising interests on automobiles through the diffusion of automobility, was boosted as soon as the mass production of the Anadol began. For instance, the first sales list of the Anadol was consisted of 76,000 enthusiastic customers.[170]

In the beginning the production capacity of the Otosan was three automobiles per day. After a year this capacity increased to ten automobiles per day. Hence, the production capacity of Otosan was not able to approach the actual demand. Until 1971, Otosan produced only 87,000 Anadols.[171] In consequence, there was a favorable, even compulsory environment for additional investments in personal automobile industry in the late 1960s. Accordingly, the second five-year development plan (1968-1972) directly targeted the domestic production of

[169] Interestingly, similar jokes were regular for the Yugos, the Yugoslavian counterpart of the Fiat 124 in the 1960s. (See the film of Emir Kusturica, Black Cat White Cat.) This showed that the transfer of automobile production from foreign companies may indicate similar cultural and symbolic transformations, but this comparative topic is out of the scope of the thesis.

[170] Çetiner, p.241.

[171] Çetiner, p.252. Afterwards, the production of the Anadol stopped in 1971 because of the establishment of two new automobile factories and increasing oil prices since the main substance of fiberglass was petroleum.

passenger cars.[172] In that respect, Kesimgil states that the political authorities had decided to support more sizeable investment projects on mass automobile production in order to transfer technologies, generate employment, as well as to answer the demand of middle class families.[173] So the establishment of mass automobile production in Turkey through the technification of the process during the second half of the 1960s resulted in the progression to another stage of the system of automobility. From then on, Turkey had to develop its personal automobile industry to maintain this complex production and consumption system, in which it was already involved.

The Developmental Period: Turkish Automobile Production during the 1970s

Following the Otosan, two integrated automobile factories were established in Bursa in the beginning of the 1970s. One of them was Oyak-Renault and the other one was Tofaş. Both were established by joint ventures with European partners, French Renault and Italian Fiat, respectively. Accordingly, the number of personal cars and the number of domestic automobiles began to rise remarkably during the 1970s. Yet Kesimgil denotes that the mentioned period was the apprenticeship stage for these two factories. As he emphasizes, both of the factories tried to adapt new mass production techniques in order to become skilled at the automobile production process.[174] The 1970s marked the developmental period of the Turkish automobile

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[172] "*İkinci Beş Yıllık Plan döneminde binek otomobilinde yerli imalat gerçekleştirilecektir.*", T.C. Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, *II. Kalkınma Planı (1968-1972)*, Ocak 1968, p.515.

[173] Kesimgil, interview by the author of the thesis, tape recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 25 December 2007.

[174] "*1972 yılında Türk otomobil sanayi aynı kalitede ürün üretmeye, yan sanayini*

industry.

Despite having started production in the same year, in 1971, the two automobile factories had seriously different structures. An example of the initiatives of the military as an economic actor, namely *"*mercantilist militarism*"*[175] Oyak-Renault was established through a joint venture between the Renault Company and the OYAK,[176] The Army Mutual Help Society (*Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu)*. OYAK previously had decided to sign a joint venture with the Volvo Company, but the expectations of the Turkish customers could not be managed through such production agreement since Volvos were too luxurious for middle class family cars. Accordingly, in order to compete with the Koç Group's economical car-brand, OYAK signed a contract with the Renault Company in order to produce the Renault 12. Thereby, the Oyak-Renault factory, which was launched in Bursa, began to produce Renault 12 TL in 1971. The production capacity of the factory was about 20,000 automobiles per year. Afterwards, the first station wagon model the Renault 12 TSW was produced in 1972.[177] Küçükerman indicates that this series of Renault 12 substantially satisfied the automobile demand of the public institutions.[178]

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geliştirmeye ve nitelikli iş gücü yetiştirmeye başlıyor. Bu süreç başlar başlamaz da otomobil sanayinde bir nevi öğrenme, çıraklık ve kopyalama dönemi başlıyor. Bunun en önemli nedeni bu iki fabrikada üretime başlayan yabancı ortaklardan otomobil üretmenin inceliklerini, tekniklerini kopyalayarak, çıraklık yaparak öğrenmenin zorunluluğudur." Kesimgil, interview by the author of the thesis, tape recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 25 December 2007.

[175] Taha Parla, "Türkiye'de Merkantilist Militarizm 1960-1998," in *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti: Türkiye'de Ordu*, A. İnsel and A. Bayramoğlu (eds.) (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004).

[176] One should note that automotive industry formed an important investment area for OYAK then both in terms of primary and supplier industries. Eight out of fourteen partnerships of OYAK in 1971 were concerning automotive sector. For further information see Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu, *Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu Raporu 1971*. Ankara: Doğuş Matbaacılık, 1972.

[177] Küçükerman, *Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl,* p.28.

[178] Ibid.

The other factory, Tofaş, was established by a private agency, the Koç Group, which already had experienced with automobile production because of the Anadol project. As mentioned, the Koç Group had begun to seek a foreign partner to set up an automobile factory during the 1960s. Before the Anadol initiative, Koç had already been in contact with the Fiat Group concerning the establishment of a domestic automobile factory by joint ventures. Subsequent to some negotiations in 1964, the Fiat Company decided to send a committee consisting of M. Vinea, M. Pedrana, M. Ziller and M. Raschia to Turkey in order to analyze the Turkish automotive sector and available investment capacities.[179] They declared in their report that there was hardly sufficient demand for personal automobiles so it was too early to establish a production facility in Turkey. Nevertheless, Vehbi Koç and his partner Nahum, insisting on their projects, traveled to Italy in order to visit Fiat's head manager, Prof. Valetta. Valetta promised to deal with this project. Afterwards, in June 1965 Nahum again went to Turin in order to discuss matters with the related FIAT managers. During this meeting, Nahum prepared a memorandum that both sides signed on June 9, 1965. This memorandum was the first written agreement between the Fiat and the Koç Groups. According to Nahum, this date was the initial step of the Tofaş Company.[180]

Afterwards, the dialogue between the two groups continued. Since the Fiat Group was acting slowly, on January 26, 1966 Vehbi Koç wrote a letter to Valetta in order to request his final decision concerning their joint venture agreement. In his reply on February, 9 1966, Valetta declared that Fiat intended to approve this project,

[179] Nahum, p.161.

[180] Ibid.

and they were ready to start on the necessary preparatory steps.[181] Then, in March 1966, the Koç Group sent a request letter to the Turkish Ministry of Industry to apply for a commission in order to investigate this project. Also, the Fiat Company sent a letter of intent to the Ministry in June 1966 to confirm their seriousness about this project.

In 1966, the conversations between two groups slowed down since the Koç Corporation was busy with the Anadol project. In the meantime, Nahum called experts from the Fiat Company in order to analyze possibilities of the Turkish automobile sector. After a one and half month's investigation, these experts, headed by Mr. Brizio, submitted their reports in December 27, 1966. According to this report, the potential demand for personal automobiles in Turkey was approximately 20,000 units annually.[182] Moreover, the Fiat Group determined that 14,000 was the break-even point for the factory. In other words this amount of cars had to be sold in order to compensate factories costs. On February 22-23, 1967 Bernar Nahum and Can Kıraç met with the Italian Fiat Group in Turin. The mutual report was signed by two groups considering the initial plans of the factory designed to produce the Fiat 124 model at an annual capacity of 20,000 cars.[183] Also, they came to a decision that the mechanical parts of the automobiles would to be imported, and the metal bodies would be domestically produced.

Nevertheless in the same year OYAK declared that they would set up an automobile factory in Bursa. Accordingly, the Fiat managers became anxious since they supposed that the Turkish market could not absorb automobile demand

[181] Nahum p.162.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Çetiner, p.282.

exceeding 20,000. Bernar Nahum gave them a strange guarantee by saying, "If we can't sell the cars we will throw them into the sea from Sarayburnu."[184] This assurance seemed to relieve the Fiat Group as they witnessed the determinacy of the Koç Group. Thus, in July 1967, Mr. Vinea came to Ankara in order to a make formal application to the Ministry of Industry. Finally, the Tofaş Company was set up as a joint venture agreement with the Fiat Group on July, 23 1968, with a ceremony in the Grand Ankara Hotel.[185]Afterwards, the conversation about the establishment process began among the Koç Group, the Fiat Group and the Turkish government. According to main agreement among the agents in September 1968,Fiat got about 41.5% of the total capital, the share of 22.5% was in hands of the partner, the Koç Group, and the remaining part of the capital was distributed to the Mechanical and Chemical Industry Corporation (*Makina Kimya Endüstrisi Kurumu,* 25%) and the Bussiness Bank (*İş Bankası,* 10%).[186]

At that time, partners began to seek a suitable city for the establishment of the factory. Çetiner explains that since the Minister of Industry of the time, Mehmet Turgut, was a deputy of Bursa the factory was established there with his persistence.[187] Also, the representative of Fiat, Mr. Martinotti, traveled around Istanbul, Izmit, Adapazarı, and Bursa in order to find a suitable place. Nahum states that since Martinotti loved skiing he was attracted by Uludağ and chose the Bursa region.[188] After a while, it was decided to build the factory in the village Demirtaş, 10 km away from Bursa. The Secretariat General of the Bursa Chamber of

[184] Nahum, p.170.

[185] Çetiner, 285.

[186] Nahum, p.176.

[187] Çetiner, p.317.

[188] Nahum, p.177.

Commerce and Industry, Abdi Biçen, and the Associate Secretariat General of the Bursa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ergun Kağıtçıbaşı, helped the group to buy the essential lands that were separately held by the peasants of Demirtaş. As the Koç Group promised to give these peasants jobs in the factory, the land was sold for the project. The factory was built in Bursa during the next 22 months and it started serial production on 12 February 1971. It began its production with the brand Murat 124 originally designed like its Fiat counterpart, the Fiat 124. Subsequently this model was replaced by brands based on the Fiat 131 from 1976.

In this respect, it is necessary to state one additional point. It was no accident that Bursa was chosen as the site for both factories. The former Associate Secretariat General of the Bursa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ergun Kağıtçıbaşı, Ergun Kağıtçıbaşı, stated that there were serious reasons behind preferring Bursa for automobile industry. He indicated the special conditions of Bursa played a crucial role in their decision.

> When we look at the geographical location of Bursa, it is one of the Western doors of Anatolia. Since the historical Silk Road, Bursa has been on the most important trade roads. Bursa is also at the intersection of Ankara-İstanbul-İzmir transportation route. Accordingly, this geographical location was the first factor for the establishment of automobile industry. On the other hand, traditionally there is a qualified workforce, in particular consisting of Balkan immigrants in Bursa which is vital for automobile factories. In addition, Bursa, which has been a trade and manufacturing center since the fourteenth century, had attained the essential capital accumulation and entrepreneurship for establishment of subsidiary industries.[189]

[189] "*Bursa'nın coğrafi konumuna baktığınız zaman bir Anadolu yarımadasının Batıya açılan kapılarından birisidir. Nitekim ipek yolu zamanından bu yana Bursa en önemli ticaret yollarının üzerinde olmuştur. Ankara-İstanbul- İzmir ulaşım hatlarının kesiştiği bir noktadadır Yani coğrafi konumu otomobil sanayinin kurulması için çok elverişlidir. Ayrıca, Bursa'nın geleneksel olarak var olan ve özellikle de Balkanlardan göç ile artan yetişmiş iş gücü potansiyeli otomobil sanayi için hayati öncem taşır. Bunun yanısıra Bursa'nın 14. yüzyıldan beri geleneksel ticaret merkezi olması otomobil yan sanayinin kurulması için ihtiyaç duyulan sermaye birikimine ve girişimcilere sahip olduğunu gösterir*." Kağıtçıbaşı, Ergun. interview by the author of the thesis, tape recording, Bursa, Turkey, 26 October 2007.

For sure, the geographical location of Bursa was very important for such factory because of its transportation possibilities. Furthermore, Küçükerman emphasizes that the development in motor vehicle production in Turkey was intensely affected by the carriage manufacturers of Bursa who had enormous experience with design and production. In fact, due to carriage manufacturing, workers in Bursa were masters of "wooden coachwork, metal piece and spring production." These production methods were also useful in the production of motor vehicles and as much, these carriage masters were already prepared for the automotive industry. Accordingly, the simple vehicles imported in the 1950s went through some significant industrial modifications in Bursa. For instance, small trucks were converted into minibuses. This fact also revealed that there was an existing, experienced labor force in Bursa for the automotive sector.[190]

As mentioned above, the 1970s were the developmental stages of the Turkish automobile industry. Of course, there were only three domestic brands, Tofaş, Renault, and Anadol, but the demand for these domestic cars was immense. Savaş Arıkan, the former Associate General Management Director of Tofaş, indicated that the demand for domestic automobiles were so high that they could easily sell their products despite of their inexperience in production techniques, which resulted in some quality problems.[191] He added that the Murat 124 was the most popular model among the urban middle classes during the 1970s because of its box-shaped attractive body.[192] Kesimgil also admitted that they had no difficulty in finding

[190] Küçükerman, *Anadolu Tasarım Mirasının Ayak İzlerinde Türk Otomotiv Sanayii ve TOFAŞ*, pp.228-229.

[191] Arıkan, Savaş. interview by the author of the thesis, tape recording, Bursa, Turkey, 30 October 2007.

[192] Arıkan, Savaş. interview by the author of the thesis, tape recording, Bursa, Turkey, 30 October 2007.

customers since there was a growing demand for domestic automobiles during the 1970s. He accepted the advantageous design of the Murat 124 since Turkish buyers decided to purchase cars by looking their design during the 1970s.[193] He added that Renault 12 had a firmer, stronger body than the Murat 124 but the design of the latter attracted Turkish customers at first glance. On the other hand, after three or four years passed, the quality of the Renault 12 was understood by the people. He also stated that, particularly in rural areas the Renault 12 was the preferred model during the 1970s.[194]

On the other hand, it may be a possible argument that at the early stages of their career, the Murat 124 substantially outsold the Renault 12 because of the successful Turkification it represented in addition to its design advantage. On the contrary, I argued that the real reason lay behind consumer's budget restraints, since the Murat automobiles were relatively cheaper than their Renault complements. Besides Murat 124 had more advantageous sale terms such as low installment payments per month. Additionally, its spare parts were more economical and the repair services for the Murat were more accessible. Also, Kesimgil stated that despite the foreign name, Turkish clients considered the Renaults as domestic automobiles.[195] Moreover, in his M.S thesis, Büyükkurt evaluated the buyer behavior in the market for domestic cars in Turkey during the first half of the 1970s. He states that "relatively an important percentage of Murat buyers regarded themselves as

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[193] Kesimgil, interview by the author of the thesis, tape recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 25 December 2007.

[194] Kesimgil, İlhan, interview by the author of the thesis with M. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, tape recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 22 November 2007.

[195] Kesimgil, interview by the author of the thesis, tape recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 25 December 2007.

underprivileged in terms of their income and aspiration."[196] He added that "Murat buyers, evaluating their brand as economical yet non-durable and unsafe, tend to shift to Renault for interior comfort and attractive design."[197] Thus, Turkish automobile clients preferred the Tofaş brand not just because their domestication and Turkification, but because of their own budget restraints and tastes.

On the other hand, compared to the Western European countries and the US, the number of automobiles in Turkey still remained limited during the 1970s. Of course, there was a considerable increase in the total automobile park in the developmental period of the automobile production. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the 1970s were the heyday of the automobile pool and accordingly, in the period of 1970-1975, the motorcar growth rate achieved its highest point increasing approximately 192.91%. On the other hand, during the next five-year period the growth rate of the automobile pool decreased to 83.93% as the sector suffered production cutbacks because of the oil crisis and economic crisis of the second half of the 1970s.[198] Thus, I argue that the development of automobile production during the 1970s enhanced the diffusion of automobility in Turkey.

Accordingly, Figure 16 shows the automobile production in Turkey from the establishment of mass production in 1966. Above all, since the beginning of the 1970s automobile production predominantly improved as two new automobile factories (Tofaş and Oyak-Renault) began to operate and produced domestic cars in 1971. The automobile manufacturing became the leading sector among the other motor vehicle industries from the 1970s with a percentage over 60. Among this

[196] Büyükkurt, Büyükkurt, K. *An Inquiry into Some Variables of Buyer Behavior in the Market for Domestic Cars in Turkey* (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, M.A thesis, 1976), p. 75.

[197] Ibid., p.81.

[198] See table 15.4 in *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006*.

period the total automobile production increased, reaching its peak in the 1975. Afterwards, during the next five years, the domestic automobile production decreased nearly 53.14%. Particularly, in 1978 the production rate decreased about 19% in one year because of the economic depression and foreign exchange crisis affecting the supply side. This crisis hit the production side harshly in 1979 at about 28% decrease per year. Thus, motorcar factories could not use their potential production capacities, leading to sharp supply deficits in domestic cars. Nevertheless, in 1980 the Turkish economic policy was transformed from an import substitution planning model to an export-led liberal model. This policy transformation decreased the money supply which also suppressed the public automobile demand.

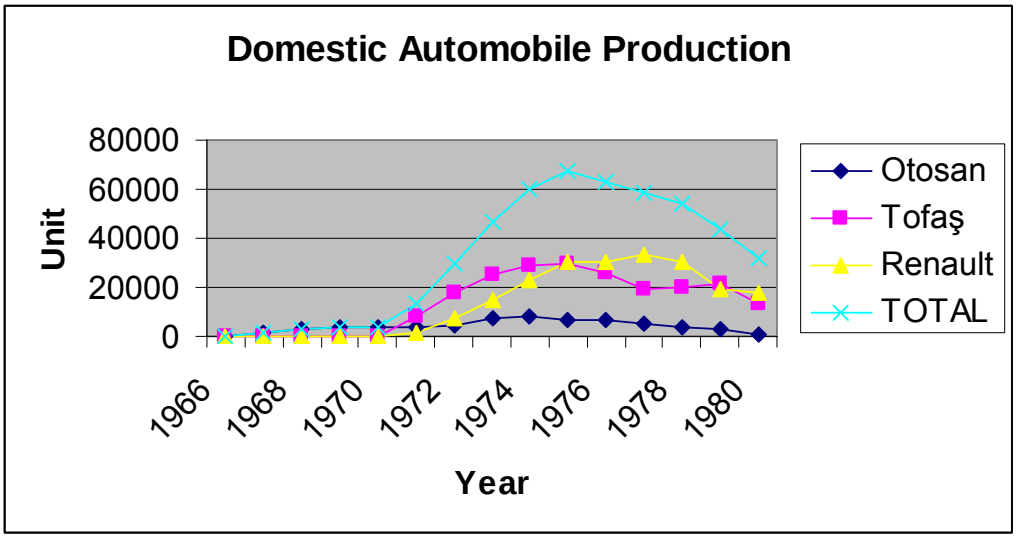


Figure 16: Domestic Automobile Production (1966-1980)
Source: Appendix A, Table 5.

On the other hand, automobile producers had specific problems concerning the government policies of import substitution in the 1970s. As stated by Ansal, assembly regulations overlapping with policy provisions had three main deficits.

> First, no concrete measures were taken for the development of the ancillary sector (parts, components) in coordination with the main assembly sector. Second, there was no concern about exploiting economies of scale, and therefore no restrictions on the number of assemblers in spite of the limited

> market. Third, there was no concern about the development of technological capabilities, either to ensure the quality of local parts and components or to ensure post-investment technological development of the main assembly sector.[199]

Also, the prices of the final products were determined by the government, though no price controls existed for inputs and ancillary parts. This caused production cutbacks for factories since they could not manage to accumulate the required profits for new investments, and also grounded a black market with extremely higher prices since they were not arranged by the government.[200] Nevertheless, the automobile industry in Turkey continued its path to reach the maturity stage in collaboration with the 1980s liberalization and export-led growth policies.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, it was argued that the establishment of the automobile production during the 1960s and the development of the automobile production during the 1970s supported the improvement, enhancement and diffusion of the automobility in Turkey. Furthermore, the automobile factories which were established during the mentioned decades exemplified the transnational foreign capital transfer in terms of financial capital as well as car-building technologies, know-how, set of car brands and models, organization of car production, and cultural patterns of consumption during the closed-economy conditions of the import-substitution period.

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[199] Ansal, p.1514.

[200] Nazmi Yavuzalp, *Türkiye'de Otomotiv Endüstrisi'nin Durumu ve Güncel Sorunları* (İstanbul Universitesi Yayınları, 1978), p.11.

This transnational transfer phenomenon during the Cold War years highlighted extremely important and interconnected episodes of border-crossing tendencies before the “global revolution” of our day. This chapter evaluated the production-sided story of this transfer, principally stressing the Turkish context. On the other hand, concerning the automobile industry case, such transnational transfers also occurred in various countries during the 1960s and the 1970s. For instance, the Fiat Company was one of the initiators of large scale projects concerning personal car production in a number of foreign countries. Firms such as the Spanish SEAT, the Yugoslavian Zavodi Crvena Zastava, the Polish Fabryka Samochodów Osobowych, the Soviet Volzhskii Avtomobil'nyi Zavod and the Turkish Tofaş came to turn out an increasing number of personal automobiles through joint ventures with the Fiat Company. Thus, these border-crossing tendencies of automobile industry may have displayed the chronological phases of the evolution of our days’ transnational globe.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSITION TO CONSUMER SOCIETY: AUTOMOBILE CONSUMPTION IN TURKEY BEFORE THE "LIBERAL TURN"

Though mass production techniques (Fordist production) started at the beginning of the twentieth century, the post-world war II era is special in world history because of the global intrusion of mass production, mass consumption, and the mass media. Actually, mass production without mass consumption and the mass media could not diffuse to the individual's everyday practices, and accordingly could not have transformed and integrated societies into the world capitalist system. It is argued that consumption itself provides the key medium to identify modernity as expressed in the experience of people because "consumption is a particular field of practice in everyday sociality, which combines the satisfaction of needs with the expression of identity."[201] Accordingly, studying consumption creates opportunities to comprehend the modern self-creation of identity, as well as modern transitions and problems such as industrialization, urbanization, and migration.

Before the "cultural turn" in the 1980s in the social sciences, consumption studies were seen as the field economics, which defined consumers as passive agents who had to choose from a variety of goods and services in the market. In fact, the neoclassical consumption theory also defined consumers with utility functions and budget restraints without taking into consideration the social and cultural conditions.[202] On the other hand, by overspreading the lean production techniques as

[201] Bente Halkier, "Routinisation or Reflexivity? Consumers and Normative Claims for Environmental Consideration" in Jukka Gronow and Alan Warde (eds.) *Ordinary Consumption* (London, New York: Routledge, 2001), p.30.

[202] As one of the microeconomics text books refer: "Economics posits that people's desires are virtually unlimited, while their resources are finite.... The theory of consumer

an alternative to mass production coinciding with the appearance of the cultural studies in the 1980s, sociologists and anthropologists began to be interested in the everyday practices of mass consumption and its cultural and symbolic value to identify modernity and post-modernity. As Buğra points out, since the "cultural turn" in the social studies, historians also began to study modern consumption practices following the industrial revolution and their penetration to daily routines from then on.

> These historians, albeit from different angles, have suggested that the industrial revolution was accompanied by a consumption revolution without which the post-eighteenth century industrial developments that have transformed economy and society extensively explored and documented ways could not possibly have taken place.[203]

With the influence of these studies, cultural and social factors as well as economic ones began to be researched to identify consumption and modern consumer societies.

As mentioned, this study focuses, and hopes to contribute to, the social history of modern Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s by investigating Turkish-branded automobiles. Obviously, the consumption of these automobiles is one of its central themes. Accordingly, in this chapter of the thesis, the emergence and intensification of the Turkish-branded automobile market and certain transformations in the public perception about being an automobile consumer are examined. This part also aims to underline the enhancement of consumer society in the import-substitution period

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choice examines how a person makes sensible decisions in the presence of such scarcity... An important implication of this framework is that the theory of choice shows how an individual makes a decision, given her particular tastes." (Katz, Rosen, 1998, pp.21-22.)

[203] Ayşe Buğra, "Non-Market Mechanisms of Market Formation: The development of the Consumer Durables Industry in Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 19 (Fall 1998), p.1. (Most well-known studies about consumption revolution in the eighteenth century are: Colin Campell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* , Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and John Harold Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England*, and Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800*)

through government policies of industrialization and complementing mechanisms of market formation by influencing public opinion through the mass media, drawing upon an examination of automobile in popular cultural products in the 1960s and the 1970s.

This chapter is composed of two sections, each of which aims at seeking conditions concerning the evolution to modern consumer society by investigating the dynamics of Turkish automobile consumption during the 1960s and the 1970s. In the first section, the variations in the public perception about automobiles and their consumers will be traced through mass cultural goods such as popular songs and cinema films for the period of the twentieth century. In the second section, the transition to mass automobile consumption during the 1960s and the 1970s, when the first wave of the Turkish-branded automobiles was produced, will be observed. Accordingly, in highlighting the life-style and identity creating roles, advertisements in the daily newspapers (*Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*) and a popular magazine (*Hayat*) during the concerning period will be used.

Public Perception Concerning Automobility: Mass Culture

Material culture is indispensable part of our everyday practices, by which socio-cultural ways of life are experienced. In particular, popular culture – thanks to mass cultural goods – creates and enhances perceptions by generating new forms of public images. This image-creating process of modernity enables material culture's penetration to the routines of everydayness. In other words, public perception has been produced and reproduced by cultural products throughout the "modern times." Accordingly, the continuous process of cultural change occurs in the name of

modernity project that is predominantly supported through cultural patterns of consumption. Hence, the power of modernity comes not only from its developmentalism in the economic, political, and technical fields, but also in producing strategies and cultural forms that transform everyday routines through infiltrating the mass culture.

From the time when the automobile industry emerged and began to take shape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, automobiles have symbolized significant features of modern culture. Accordingly, automobile culture is one of the most well-known cultural projects of modern times. Through penetration to popular culture, the meaning of automobiles in everyday life serves various social functions and causes serious cultural transformations. Even in the early twentieth century, the symbolization of the automobile as a "machine of modernity" can be traced in popular perception. For example, one of the Chrysler advertisements from the year 1939 used the slogan "Be Modern, Buy Chrysler."[204]



Figure 17: Chrysler Advertisement, 1939
Source: Volti, "Automobiles and Leisure", p.50. Available:[online] http://www.gale.com/pdf/samples/sp312654.pdf.

[204] Volti, "Automobiles and Leisure," p.50.

In the advertisement, a cheerful couple gazes at their Chrysler automobile. They are pleased since they have purchased an automobile – of course, the advertised brand – as a means of individual transportation, and additionally joyful given that they possess an extremely modern symbolic machine of the time. Modernity offers people freedom by means of change in the conception of time and space. More freedom in the name of more mobility – shifting to a further opportunity in time and space – signals being more modern, and accordingly being happier in daily life. The couple in the advertisement has the opportunity to live better as they "have wonderful time" with their car. This modern machine offers them mobility, speed and adventure.

Hence, the automobile is a very symbol of modern society. Accordingly, "the automobile deserves at least much attention as do other topics recently favored in cultural studies scholarship, such as cinema or popular music, cultural productions that also have deep social resonance in modernity."[205] According to Lefebvre, the "king-object" of the designed modern daily life is the automobile. From economy to discourse, the automobile organizes and transforms behaviors in various fields of everydayness.[206]

As expressed above, automobile's penetration to daily life was enhanced through mass culture. Cultural products, such as songs, films, books, advertisements, etc., include various automobile images that have changed public opinion concerning the

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[205] Rudy Koshar, *History of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg Publisher, 2002), p.145.

[206] Henri Lefebvre, *Modern Dünyada Gündelik Hayat* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1998), p.104. Moreover Lefebvre added that: "*Gerçekte ve hakikatte, Otomobil'in ele geçirdiği ve 'yapılandırdığı' şey toplum değil, gündelik hayattır. Otomobil gündelik hayata kendi yasasını dayatır. Onu sağlamlaştırmaya, bir düzlem üzerine oturtmaya, düzenlemeye katkıda bulunur. Bugün, gündelik hayat büyük ölçüde, motorların gürültüsü, onların 'akılcı' kullanımı, arabaların üretiminin ve dağıtımının gerekleridir.*" Ibid., p.106.

automobile, automobile driving and accordingly, automobile consumption. Hence, to observe the transition of public perception in relation to automobile consumption by investigating popular cultural products such as songs and films through the early Republican period to the 1980s reinterprets the economic, politic and ideological transformation of Turkey.

The early Republican policies of the 1930s discouraged highway transportation and automobile importation since huge railway projects were implemented throughout the period. Hence, automobile consumption in these decades' overlapped with Veblen's conceptualizing of "conspicuous consumption" since the wealthier social classes could display their possessions and wealth in order to distinguish themselves from the other segments of society and establish certain respect. In Veblen's terms, the "conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure."[207] The statistical data prove that Veblen's conceptualization holds for early automobile consumption since automobiles were a luxury – moreover discouraged – consumption items during the early Republican period. For instance, according to the statistical indicators of the Turkish Statistical Institute, the number of cars in the year 1933 was 4,257, this number increased slightly to 10,071 in 1950.[208]

On the other hand, the economic, political and ideological decision of the early Republican era concerning transportation facilities and the industrialization scheme can also be traced from the popular perception in cultural terms. For instance, a popular operetta of the 1930s named *Lüküs Hayat*[209] (Life of Luxury) and

[207] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of the Institutions* (reprinted by Augustus M. Kelley Publisher, 1991), p.75.

[208] *Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006*, p.371.

[209] *Lüküs Hayat*, was written and composed by Cemal and Ekrem Reşit Rey brothers

its favorite, popularized song, sung by Hazım Körmükçü, also signified popular perception of automobiles as conspicuous consumption items. The operetta criticizes the exaggeration of Westernization through imitating "modern" life styles, such as living in apartments and driving automobiles in the 1930s. The family in the *Lüküs Hayat*, belonging to the upper class is still unwisely trying to show off their possessions and wealth through continuing their conspicuous consumption and leisure activities although the family has entered into financial problems. In addition to strengthening the ongoing theme of the operetta, the lyrics of its popular song, also named as *Lüküs Hayat*, underline the popular perception concerning automobiles as luxury – also unnecessary, useless – goods.[210]

Seen from these lyrics, living in an apartment and also driving an automobile were signified as luxurious, "modernized" – meaning to imitate the West in the name of modern – everyday practices such as possessing certain types of furniture, art collections, or having servants for housework, or practicing certain festivity activities. Moreover, there is also the theme of possessing two automobiles – one was a convertible and the other a hard top – in the song which was too ostentatious in that specific period. Open-roof automobiles were more customary in the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, the Ford's Model T, which was mass produced and imported in that period, was also an open-roof automobile. On the other hand, open-

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in the year 1933, was staged in the period between 1933 to 1946. The operetta became so popular that, in the 1950 Lütfi Akad directed a cinema film of *Lüküs Hayat*.

[210] The lyrics of the song is as follows:
"*Şişli'de bir apartıman yoksa eğer halin yaman*
nikel-kübik mobilyalar, duvarda yağlı boyalar
iki tane otomobil, biri açık, biri değil
aşçı, uşak, hizmetçiler, dolu mutfak, dolu kiler
hanım gider, sen gidersin, gündüzleri çaydan çaya
gece olur, davetlisin, ya dine'ye ya baloya
Hey, lüküs hayat, lüküs hayat, bak keyfine yan gel de yat
ne güzel şey, oh ne rahat, yoktur eşin lüküs hayat"

roof automobiles seemed to be used for more recreational activities – and also displayed a more prosperous status – rather than business usage in terms of necessity. In the light of the song, the family is described as being doubly ostentatious since they purchased both open and closed-roof automobiles.

This song and operate were not the only examples to show the attitude towards automobiles during the early Republican era. One of the most popular films, *Allahın Cenneti* (God's Heaven)[211] gives clues about the negative attitude for automobiles. The film is about a very rich family living along the Bosporus. Can be seen from its banner, the wealth of the family was signaled by their European fashion clothes and their open-roof automobiles. Accordingly, it was obvious that the mass cultural products generated and enhanced the public opinion that automobiles were unnecessary luxury items which were only purchased for ostentatious reasons.



Figure 18: The Banner of *Allahın Cenneti*
Source: http://www.sinematurk.com.

This cultural conception coincided with the early Republican environment that configured consumption in a hostile way. During the first half of the 1920s,

[211] *Allah'ın Cenneti* was directed by Muhsin Ertuğrul in 1939. It was the first singer-actor film, which would become so regular in proceeding periods. The actors of the film are Münir Nurettin Selçuk, Hazım Körmükçü, and the actress was the first beauty queen, Feriha Tevfik.

because of the harsh war conditions – the First World War and its aftermath, the National War – total purchasing power was degraded. Subsequent to the slight improvement of purchasing power during the second half of the 1920s, Turkey encountered the 1929 Great Depression; the economic recession lasted through most of the 1930s. The depression had serious outcomes for Turkey, such as the deterioration of foreign trade, and devaluation of the Turkish Lira. Furthermore, prominently agricultural prices, in particular, fell sharply compared to non-agricultural prices. In other words, the purchasing power of the agricultural goods became less than that of other consumer goods, especially imported industrial commodities. The government had to take serious measure including closing the borders of the country to products that were produced or could have been produced domestically. Moreover, compulsory imports were to be balanced by exported commodities.[212]

In this respect, Tevfik Çavdar highlights the early Republican discourse that characterized the 1930s via highlighting campaigns for promoting domestic products and savings as well as limiting the consumption of luxurious items such as automobiles.[213] On the one hand, it is obvious that automobiles were not unique in this respect. The hegemonic ideology also treated unsympathetically other "modern", "comfortable", and "European" – meaning imported – facilities. On the other hand, automobiles were seen as one of the most unnecessary and most luxurious items to be imported. Since there was a slight increase – nearly negligible in economic terms and in terms of mass usage – in automobile imports, which could be traced by the regularity of automobile advertisements – especially the advertisements of Ford –

[212] İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Cumhuriyetin Harcı: Köktenci Modernitenin Ekonomik Politikasının Gelişimi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2003), p.165.

[213] Tevfik Çavdar, *Türkiye Ekonomisinin Tarihi, 1900-1960* (Ankara: İmge, 2003), p.384.

during that period, their usage was strictly discouraged.

For instance, in one of the newspaper there is a full-page analysis about automobile importation and its deteriorating effects on the national economy.[214] The head of the news was: "Automobile-imports, automobile-imports! We purchased automobiles which are valued at eighteen million lira in six years time."[215] The author of the news highlighted the railway-highway transportation debates, and gave certain numbers concerning prices of all motorized vehicles to prove his heading. He emphasized that motor vehicles were worsening the value of the national money because of "huge" imports costs. Accordingly, one should choose not to buy an automobile that made the country dependent economically on foreign countries; instead the country should depend on railways – its own strength.

Obviously, during the Second World War, purchasing abilities diminished dramatically. However, the ongoing debate about which goods were luxuries, useless, and wasteful and which goods were just comfortable, modern, and necessary, continued.[216] On the other hand, the post-war years witnessed a global turning point in terms of mass consumption. At the end of the Second World War, Turkey turned its face to the West and especially to the USA in the Cold War environment. As a result of the Marshall Plan, the government's transportation policy shifted from railway transport to motorization. As mentioned, this was the turning point for automobilized system in Turkey.

The following decade, the 1950s, marked the crossroads of this transition by means of the full implementation of liberal policies, with other transformations such

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[214] *Cumhuriyet*, 6 June 1933 (taken from Gökhan Akçura, *Unutma Beni: Ivır Zıvır Tarihi 1*, İstanbul:Om Yayınevi, 2001, p.144.)

[215] *Otomobilat, otomobilat! Altı senede 18 milyon liralık otomobil aldık*.

[216] See, Gökhan Akçura, "Konfor Modern" in *Unutma Beni*, pp.37-50.

as the mechanization of agriculture, the enhancement of commercial activities, the proliferation of infrastructural projects and the consequent wave of rural to urban migration, which resulted in the integration and incorporation of the villages into the cities. This transition was followed by a more prevailing social transformation in the 1960s by means of augmented rates of urbanization with extended potentials for social mobility and the diffusion of automobility through the emergence of certain industrial sectors with the help of the governments' import substitution policies.

Accordingly, it is argued that in many respects, the arrival of new material facilities and images such as consumer durables, and motor vehicles in the 1950s, and the idea of producing these inside the country in the 1960s were employed to complete certain ideological projects. For instance, the DP government in the 1950s, following the footprints of the American vision of developmentalism and modernization, enabled the arrival of such new materials through import mechanisms in the favorable environment of the Marshall Funds. Subsequent to the military coup of 1960, the economic policy turned to the import-substitute protected market formulation, and accordingly producing these imported goods inside the country became the motto of the state. On the other hand, still close to the Western bloc, Turkey was bound to modernization – catching the modernized, developed Western countries – as an ideological project behind the emergence of consumer society.

It can be asserted that in the post-world war period, the progress in highway networks was enhanced by political slogans such as "Let the wheel turn around" (*Tekerlek dönsün*) and "the place you cannot go is not yours" (*Gidemediğin yer senin değildir*). Within the context of these slogans, the public perception in relation to automobile consumption started to change. Automobiles, rather than ostentatious, extra-ordinary items – such as diamonds – became more regular, ordinary objects of

"modern" daily life in popular culture. These steps to normalization in the conception can also be traced from popular cultural goods even before the Second World War. For instance, the popular song, *Otomobil Uçar Gider* (Automobile Passes like Flying), composed by one of the most popular compositors of classical Turkish music, Munir Nurettin Selçuk at the end of the 1930s – the song was composed for a film named *Cevhere* – reflected the first steps of the transition in public perception concerning automobiles and driving.[217]

The lyrics of the song show relatively positive attitudes to automobiles in the popular perception since the main emphasis of the song was given to the mobility opportunities presented by the automobile, rather than its luxuriousness. The automobile, changing time, speed and mobility conception, invited both the driver and the passenger to adventurous travels. This lyric showed that, the image of automobile driving had been created and begun to diffuse into the everyday conceptualization of the ordinary people as a modernized life-style identical to the Chrysler image in the 1930s (*have an automobile, be modern, have wonderful time*).

The song certainly was not the only example that created and reflected the slightly positive public perception concerning automobile images. Since the beginning of the 1950s, Yeşilçam movies[218] began to use automobile figures both reflecting the perceptional transitions and regenerating them. A film, directed by Ö.

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[217] The lyrics of the song was written by Vecdi Bingöl.
"*Otomobil uçar gider gönlüm gibi geçer gider*
ben talihin peşindeyim talih benden kaçar gider
yar yar güzel yolcu güle güle
otomobil tuttu yolu bu yolda macera dolu
direksiyon yar elinde gönlüm ardına koşulu
yar yar güzel yolcu güle güle"

[218] Turkish films, which were produced in Istanbul.

Lütfi Akad, *Kanun Namına* (In the Name of the Law),[219] was one of the first examples of the process of normalization the automobile-person relationship, especially in urban areas, mainly Istanbul. For instance, the actor Ayhan Işık, who reached his fame after the film, was an automobile mechanic. In the outside scenes there were automobiles in the roads, and the most action-packed episodes, the pursuit scenes, also were directed within automobiles.

On the other hand, the automobile remained an unattainable item for the middle classes since it was still an unreachable item for the middle classes during the 1950s. In these decades, compared to the previous period, the total vehicle park obviously was growing because of increased import opportunities. For instance, the total automobile pool in the year 1950 was about 13,405, and this rose about 124% between the years 1950 and 1955.[220] The new prospering classes were interested in automobiles as they sought to display their rising social status. Thus, automobile consumption, in the 1950s, was also conspicuous consumption, in Veblenian terms, and became prominent in the determination of social prestige. The shift in public perception was not because of mass consumption, but because of the normalization and familiarity of automobile driving – also other motor vehicle usage – in terms of dominant transportation policies. On the other hand, having an automobile still displayed class and social status during the 1950s and early 1960s.

This status-displaying feature of automobiles during the 1960s can also be

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[219] *II. Dünya Savaşı'nı izleyen yıllarda İstanbul'da meydana gelen gerçek bir olaydan yola çıkılarak bu film gerçekleştirilmiştir. Nazım Usta (Ayhan Işık), motor tamircisidir. Ayten'e aşıktır (Gülistan Güzey), onunla evlenir. Oysa Ayten'in kız kardeşi Nezahat (Neşe Yulaç), Nazım'ı sevmekte, kirli işler çeviren Halil ise (Muzaffer Tema) Ayten'i ele geçirmeyi planlamaktadır. İkisi bir olup, Perihan'ı (Pola Morelli) Nazım'la tanıştırırlar. Nazım kadının bu çekiciliğine dayanamaz. Bundan yararlanan Halil, Ayten'i eline düşürür. Bunu öğrenen Nazım, Halil ve Nevzat'ı öldürür, eşini de yaralar. Polisten kaçan Nazım, tamirci atölyesine sığınır ve orada polise karşı koyarsa da Ayten'in araya girmesiyle polise teslim olur*.

[220] Pekarun, p.6.

followed in Turkish films. Yeşilçam movies were usually dichotomic in the 1960s. "Similar to a Turkish film"[221] is an idiom in daily usage – in contemporary Turkish – and refers to not being logical, to being unrealistically romantic and unrealistically tragic. However, close reading of a piece of work, such as a novel, a film or a newspaper article even in the most unrealistic state of being, tells about the times at which it was produced. The 1960s are referred as the "golden period" of Turkish film production. The number of films produced in Turkey during the 1960s was more than the earlier and later periods combined. This difference can be explained with the different approach of the audience to cinema and the encouragement of the state by decreasing the taxes for film producers. Television broadcasting in Turkey started in 1968, and until then, the cinema was one of the most important leisure activities.[222] The number of films that are produced in 1960 was 81 and by 1966 this number reached 239.[223] Accordingly, the number of cinema tickets sold in Istanbul in 1960 was 26,885,069, and this number nearly doubled in 1966, reaching 41,606,506. This rapid growth of film production and the emergence of Yeşilçam made film making a profession.[224]

The binary oppositions of good and bad, rich and poor that were the narrative features of Yeşilçam were central in films during the 1960s. Films were generally based on stories of rich-poor opposition, displaying poorness and wealth with certain images, a phenomenon that can be observed replicated in every scenario. For instance, prosperous characters signaled their wealth with their automobiles, as well

[221] "Türk filmi gibi!"

[222] Serpil Kırel, *Yeşilçam Öykü Sineması*. (Istanbul: Babil Yayınları 2005), p.39.

[223] Agah Özgüç , *Türk Filmleri Sözlüğü*, p.32, cited in Kırel, p.41.

[224] Aslı Daldal, *1960 Darbesi ve Türk Sinemasında Toplumsal Gerçekçilik*. (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2005), p.64.

as their houses and recreational activities. This means a theme colored by a romantic narrative, particularly surrounded by a poor chauffeur – rich girl love story.[225] Within these dualistic films, automobiles were also conceived in dualistic perceptions. On the one hand, they were modernized, more ordinary images for mobilization purposes and personal human-machine relationship in urban fields, on the other hand as status-displaying objects they were inaccessible but dreamed items of provocation for the middle classes.

For instance, in one popular melodrama, *Sevinç Gözyaşları* (Weeping for Joy)[226] (1965) automobiles were regularly observed as status-differing objects. Ayhan (Ayhan Işık) is a poor boy, studying hard to enter university. After becoming a very successful engineer, he earns a great deal of money. In a fascinating way, the audience notes his richness through monitoring his big, luxurious, new automobile – of course it was an imported one. The other interesting setting concerning automobiles can be seen in the Selma's (Filiz Akın) suicide scene. There are numerous automobiles, and also other motorized vehicles – buses for public transportation, trucks, etc. – on the road. It is important to emphasize that these films took place in Istanbul. Accordingly, it is possible to highlight that the automobile was an urban phenomenon in the 1960s, particularly identified with Istanbul, the commerce and industry capital in the mentioned period.

There was an interesting series in the 1960s entitled *Şoför Nebahat* (Nebahat, the Driver). "*Şoför Nebahat*"[227] (1960) was the first of the *Şoför Nebahat* film series,

[225] See films with Belgin Doruk and Ayhan Işık (Küçük Hanımefendi, Küçük Hanım'ın Şöförü, etc.)

[226] Sevinç Gözyaşları, based on scenario of Osman F. Seden, directed by Zafer Davutoğlu. In the cast, Ayhan Işık and Filiz Akın draw attention.

[227] This film was directed by Metin Erksan, and written by Metin Erksan, Atilla İlhan and Atıf Yılmaz.

and set the characters and the context in which they lived in. The second film, *"Şoför Nebahat ve Kızı"* (Nebahat, the Driver and her Daughter)[228] (1964) was considered as the continuation of the first film, with the same characters and made frequent references. In 1965 with the same director of "*Şoför Nebahat ve Kızı,*" Süreyya Duru, "*Şoför Nebahat Bizde Kabahat*" (Nebahat, the Driver, It is Our Fault)[229] was produced. Unlike the second film of the series, this film did not make as much reference to the previous two, as the earlier film, and the genre of the film can be classified as comedy. In 1970 a re-production of the first film was shown in the cinemas; *Şoför Nebahat* was acted by Fatma Girik and her fiancé Kemal by İzzet Günay instead of Sezer Sezin and Kenan Pars, respectively. Apart from the change in the actors and actresses, this film had the same plot.



Figure 19: The banner of Şöför Nebahat
Source: http://www.sinematurk.com.

The theme of the first film is summarized in one sentence in the Turkish Film

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[228] This film was directed by Süreyya Duru and written by Erdoğan Tünaş.

[229] The scenario was written by Suavi Sualp.

Database; "story of a girl who is not getting along with her environment."[230] This remark is worthy of attention. The question is whether the young girl cannot get along with her environment or the environment is not willing to accept the changes.[231] The first film starts with the death of Nuri Baba, a driver of dolmuş between Emirgan and Taksim, after a heart attack. The wife, daughter Nebahat (Sezer Sezin) and son, Çetin remains behind in a very difficult economic situation after his death.[232] Therefore, Nebahat has to be a dolmuş driver despite what neighbours and her ex-fiancé thinks. In the end she marries with a rich lawyer, and leaves the wedding place in her own car. During this final scene, in the background there is a song[233] of the film and the audience sees all dolmuş's in the bride's procession.

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[230] http://www.sinematurk.com/film.php?6166.

[231] For detailed analysis, see Ayşecan Kartal, "Şoför Nebahat: Driving Through the 60s," **(**unpublished paper**,** 2007).

[232] The story of the film goes as follows: Nuri Baba has just bought a car and is paying the debts; the car is not fully theirs yet. Nebahat is in her early 20s, and has a fiancé, Seyfi works in a bank. Nuri Baba's car is given to *Gececi Neşet* (Neşet the Night-Worker, Talat Gözbak), so that the debts of the car can be paid to *Ateşoğlu*, the owner of the garage where Nuri Baba bought the car. Nebahat wants to work due to her family's economic situation; however she receives very sharp opposition from Seyfi and Seyfi's mother. But with the presence of all these difficulties Nebahat is unable to stay at home, and decides to be the driver of her his father's car, despite what Seyfi thinks. His father's friend, Salim, shows her how to make her way as a dolmuş driver. Seyfi and Seyfi's mother opposes her occupation as a driver in a man's world. Moreover, the people in Emirgan, the neighborhood in which she lives in, starts suspecting whether she is a girl with honor (*namus)*. Despite all this, Nebahat resists, Seyfi leaves her. One of her customers, a wealthy lawyer, Kenan (Kenan Pars), falls in love with Nebahat, and leaves his fiancée to marry her. The ex-fiancée of Kenan wants to take revenge by having her shot by Ateşoğlu, but Nebahat does not die.

[233] Lyrics of the song composed by Sami Hazinses for the film.

"Şoför Nebahat Abla
Doç arabana atla
Dümenimiz yolunda
Gazla ablacım gazla
Taksim, Şişli, Sarıyer
Durmadan hemen gider
Ablacım ne olur
İstinye'de duruver
Saçları dalga dalga
Canım Nebahat abla
Sevdiğim İstinye'de

In the second film, *Şoför Nebahat ve Kızı*, Nebahat gets divorced from his husband and again begins to work as a driver. On the other hand, her daughter, Hülya (Filiz Akın) harshly criticizes her because of her manly, underclass occupation. The third film, *Şoför Nebahat Bizde Kabahat*, is a comedy film. By having similar elements of being a woman among the drivers, the story is centered on the comedy instead of the discussion concerning a woman can be a driver or not as in the first film. Nebahat is already an idol in this film and has won an "honorable" reputation of being an "*erkek kız*" (tomboy) "*harbi şoför*" (genuine driver) among her "colleagues." But the elements of her in-between situation, being a woman in a man's world, the tensions that it created were still present, between him and the competitor driver, Polip (Münir Özkul) this time.

The most distinguishing feature of the *Şoför Nebahat* series is Nebahat's instance on remaining in the work life as a dolmuş driver despite the severe opposition of her fiancé, and the cruel criticisms and reactions of the neighborhood, the Bosporus village in which that she lived. According to Altıner, *Şoför Nebahat* cannot be regarded as a symbol of working woman, but only as a woman who can adapt very well to the man's world.[234] In one of the dialogues of the film, a person from neighborhood says, "I got used to women working, but being driver is not the same as being a teacher or a nurse"[235] The woman as a nurse or a teacher represented a continuity between her house duties as wife and mother, a continuity which made these jobs acceptable. On the other hand, driving was an action of the man's world. The automobile was an engendered phenomenon, and also being a dolmuş driver was

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Gazla ablacım gazla"

[234] Birsen Altıner, *Metin Erksan Sineması* (İstanbul, Pan Yayıncılık, 2005), pp.34-36.

[235] "*Kadınların çalışmasına alıştık ama şoförlük muallimelik, hemşirelik gibi değil ki."*

an occupation suitable for a man. (For instance, it was more tolerable for a prosperous girl to drive for recreational purposes, but a middle class woman could not choose a job as a driver.) In other words, this was the world of men. Nebahat also copes with difficulties by adapting to this world through changing her way of life as well as her appearance. She changes her clothing, wearing her father's jacket. She also wears the cap in such a way that all her hair remains inside. The way she speaks and the frequency in using slang changes with the clothes. This transformation is appreciated by her "colleagues" as well. Moreover, throughout the film there are scenes in which Nebahat participates with her driver friends in masculine leisure time activities such as playing backgammon, going to a *meyhane* and using violence, beating passengers who do not want to pay.

In the second and third films she is definitely accepted by her friends. She becomes even the leader of a group of drivers in the third film. But still whenever her rival Polip makes fun of her, he refers to the fact that she is a woman, and whatever she does, does not change this fact. Womanhood is the first disadvantage for her in her struggle to exist as a driver. On the other hand, throughout the film, one can visualize the internal, close relationship between ordinary Turkish people – in particular urban inhabitants – and automobiles during the 1960s.

Consequently, there was a remarkable change in the middle of the 1960s; the first mass-produced automobile Anadol entered the Turkish automobile market. In particular, the Anadol broke the urban middle classes perception concerning inaccessibleness of the automobile. Yet, it was not effortlessly purchased by everybody since the price of the Anadol was 26,800 TL in the 1966 – its first entrance year to the market.[236] On the other hand, it shifted extreme dreams of

[236] See that in the year 1963 the average annual wage 5198,4 in 1963, the wage

possessing an automobile to accessible ones for the urban middle classes. Accordingly, though consumption statistics are limited for the period, the Anadol became the symbol of urban middle-classes modernization – modern mobility opportunities – in the second half of the 1960s.

On the other hand, new foreign-branded automobiles still showed the status and class variations among the middle classes and upper ones, which can be observed in the movies. For instance, Orhan Aksoy's film, *Samanyolu* (The Milkyway)[237] was one such melodrama. It was also a dualistic film in terms of the poor boy (Ediz Hun - Nejat) loving the rich girl (Hülya Koçyiğit - Zülal). The important point was that the prosperity of the family was signaled by their big house, *yalı* (a villa located near the sea), where automobiles were parked in front of the house and other houses in the neighborhood. Moreover, the audience encountered a boy (Önder Somer - Namık), who later got married with Zülal, inside his car – a rich boy as understood from his open-roofed, foreign-branded white automobile with its reddish leather seats. In one of the conversations passing inside the automobile, Nejat notes what a wonderful automobile Namık has. Namık replies he has brought it from the USA, where he finished his education. The American automobile and having graduated from an American school signal that Namık belongs to the upper classes. In another scene Zülal, gazing at Namık inside his open roofed-foreign car, is impressed by him and his displayed social position.

The automobile as a status-displaying object in terms of emphasizing social class was more acute in social realistic films. Here, one can also observe that foreign-branded automobiles signaled the upper classes. For instance, one of the top films of

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earnings of a coal miner was 3909,6 and the wage earnings of textile worker was 4832,2. (Buğra, p.6.)

[237] The story was taken from Kerime Nadir's novel.

the box office, *Baba* (Father)[238] (1971) highlighted this image. Cemal (Yılmaz Güney) is a poor servant of a very rich family. Here, the families' prosperity is observed in the foreign-branded big automobile of their son, as well as their house and their seaside villa. On the other hand, when Cemal comes out of prison, he also gets into one of his prison-friends' car. Interestingly, this guy is a member of the mafia, thus the automobile here also displays some kind of status in terms of power.

Another example of these social-realistic films that is also popular in the mentioned period was *Otobüs* (The Autobus).[239] Based on a real story, the film narrates a dramatic episode of Turkish workers in Stockholm. The chauffeur of their bus, which has driven them to Stockholm to work, tricks them, steals their passports and money, and leaves them in the old bus in front of a shopping mall. Encountering a consumer society, the poor workers are shocked when they get off from the bus because of hunger. There is an interesting part in the film, which totally shows the characteristic of Western consumer societies' identity creation through automobiles. A homosexual Swedish guy takes Tunç Okan to a bar on New Years Eve. Okan is deadly hungry, observing that five Swedish guys, nearly naked, enter the year's playboy competition. Each boy, with a picture of their automobiles in his underwear, tells his car's name and model. The guy winning the competition begins to have sex with a girl in front of the bar audience. Okan loses his temper, gobbles chicken down in the table. The audience calls him a "barbarian" and then he is beaten and killed by body-guards outside the bar. The film illustrates the massive difference concerning

[238] Directed by Yılmaz Güney. Here is the theme: *İş bulma kurumunun sağlık muayenesinde dişlerinin eksik çıkması nedeniyle Almanya'ya işçi olarak gidemeyip, ailesinin geçimi için başkasının cinayetini üzerine alan kayıkçı Cemal'in dramı. Cemal hapisten çıktıktan sonra kızını randevuevinde, oğlunu da kumarhanede bulur.*

[239] The film was directed by Tunç Okan in the year 1974. Tuncel Kurtis and Tunç Okan were in the cast. Though firstly censored, it attracted intense attention when the Danıştay unbanned it. The film also won six different prices in abroad.

the conception of automobiles in terms of sexual symbols and self-identity creating objects in the name of civilization in the Western consumer societies.

Another genre, namely arabesque films, also used automobiles as symbols of the upper classes. For instance, in one popular films of Orhan Gencebay, *Dertler Benim Olsun* (Troubles Shall Be Mine),[240] the classic theme of the rich girl-poor boy love affair is narrated. The rich girl, Ayşe (Perihan Savaş), loving the poor boy Sebahattin (Orhan Gencebay), has to marry to a rich boy since her fathers' company is bankrupt. The prosperity of the boy is displayed by his foreign-branded open-roofed red automobile, and also by his house and yacht. One more significant piece in the film is the views of the Bosporus Bridge, which was the newly-opened modern constructional wonder of the city. The other interesting aspect of the movie is that in the backgrounds of the outdoor scenes, Turkish-branded automobiles are regularly visible on the roads, though they are not used as prosperity symbols like foreign-branded cars.

On the other hand, the Turkish-branded automobiles were status-displaying objects in the eyes of the working class, since they were still unreachable for them. Actually, the working classes were used to automobiles as a means of transportation in their daily routines. Moreover, many were employed in occupations in the service sector, in jobs such as chauffeuring, automobile mechanic, or salesman in a service station. But still automobiles were fantasy items, which could not be possessed in terms of their social position. For instance, according to wage statistics, the minimum annual wage in 1974 was 14,400 TL. The price of Turkish branded automobiles was about 27,000 TL to 55,000 TL. Even the campaign for the Murat 124, the daily payment of which required about 11 TL, was too high for a wage-earner, with just 40

[240] The film was directed by Safa Önal, in the year 1974.

TL daily.[241] This class inaccessibility to automobile possession is also reflected in the popular culture as mass perception about automobiles in a relatively comprehensive structure. For instance, Cem Karaca, a famous rock singer of the 1970s, had a very popular song in the 1975 called *Tamirci Çırağı* (Mechanic Apprentice).[242]

The lyrics of the song narrated a story of a poor mechanic apprentice who falls in love with a rich girl. The girl comes to the repair shop, in which the apprentice boy is working, to fix her luxurious automobile. The boy tries to attract her but dramatically she does not care, even calls him a *serseri* (dawdler). Interestingly, according to the song, automobiles were not extra-ordinary items in everyday practices as they had been in the 1930s *Lüküs Hayat*. In fact, they constituted an ordinary, routinized part of modern life that could be encountered

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[241] Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, Available: [online] http://www.csgb.gov.tr/articles.php?category_id=50.

[242] Here are the lyrics of the song:
"*Gönlüme bir ateş düştü yanar ha yanar yanar*
Ümit gönlümün ekmeği kumar ha kumar kumar
Elleri ak yumuk yumuk ojeli tırnakları
Nerelere gizlesin şu avcum nasırları
Otomobili tamire geldi dun bizim tamirhaneye
Görür görmez vurularak başladım sevmeye
Ayağında uzun etek dalga dalga saçları
Ustam seslendı uzaktan oğlum al takımları
Bir romanda okumuştum buna benzer bir seyi
Killi parlak kağıt kaplı pahalı bır kıtaptı
Ne olmuş nasıl olmuşsa aşık olmuştu genç kız
Yine böyle bir durumda tamirci cırağına
Ustama dedim ki bugün giymeyim tulumları
Arkası puslu aynamda taradım saclarımı
Gelecekti bugün geri arabayı almaya
O romandaki hayali belki gercek yapmaya
Durdu zaman durdu dünya girdi içeri kapıdan
Öylece bakakaldım gözümü ayırmadan
Arabanın kapısını açtım açtım girsin içeri
Kalktı hilal kaşları sordu kim bu serseri
Çekti gitti arabayla eksozuna boğuldum
Gözümde tomurcuk yaşlar ağar ağar doğruldum
Ustam geldi sırtıma vurdu unut dedi romanları
*İşcisin sen işçi kal giy dedi tulumla*rı"

anywhere and anytime in different situations and means. On the other hand, automobile and automobile driving were still displaying social class and status within symbolic values inside life-styles. (Also nail-polish symbolized the life-style of the girl in the song but it was a more attainable good, not as unique as the automobile) Obviously, the apprentice could not manage to say his feelings to the driver-girl not just because of the girl's social position, but also the presentation of her distinct perception of life. For this girl, the automobile is more than a vehicle – necessity for mobilization – but an object that shows her modernized life-style based on upper class consumption. Moreover, possessing an automobile signaled being a member of the upper social classes, which separated her from the working classes – she defined one of them as *serseri* when he attempts to come close to her. (Here it is important to note that the driver was female. Popular perception concerning female drivers was apart from mobilization or necessity. There was also more realism in the song than in the Yeşilçam melodramas since in real life rich girls did not normally fall in love with poor boys as in Belgin Doruk- Ayhan Işık films.)

The popularity of the song was enhanced since the leftist movements of the time were very powerful. The leftist themes – chiefly labor strikes – even entered into romantic comedies. One such example was the film, *Oh Olsun* (It Serves Him Right) (1974).[243] In the film, the rich owner of the company (Hulisi Kentmen) drives his big, foreign branded car to the strike area. This automobile signals the distinction of the upper class from the working class. On the other hand, one can also see many motorized vehicles, particularly automobiles on the roads, in outdoor scenes of the film.

The other impressive thing in the 1960s and the 1970s films is that

[243] Directed by Ertem Eğilmez. The cast: Tarık Akan, Hale Soygazi.

automobiles are identified with big cities, in particular with Istanbul, as mentioned above concerning melodramas. Istanbul was the most prosperous city in the country with its colorful upper middle class life. Obviously, consumerism in Istanbul was far more distinctive from that of other cities since the 1950s. On the other hand, the automobile was becoming regular in most of the urban areas during the 1970s. For instance, one of the most popular films of Yılmaz Güney, *Umut* (Hope)[244] (1970), takes place in Adana. Despite there was much less automobile than Istanbul, the number of automobiles was also increasing in Adana in 1970. Instead, there still were horse carriages. In the background of the film, there was a debate about the announcement of the municipality which decided to ban traditional horse carriages, faytons. (Both faytons and automobiles are visible on the roads – there was dispute between them – traditional carriages and modernized ones) Cabbar (Yılmaz Güney), who is extremely poor, is one of the *fayton* drivers. The story begins when an automobile hits his *fayton* and kills his horse. The dialogue between automobile driver and Cabbar, and aftermath the dialogue between the police officer and Cabbar signals the class-based perceptions of automobiles.[245]

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[244] *Özel bir otomobilin çiğnediği atının ölümüyle dünyası yıkılan, parası olmadığı için yeni bir ot alamayan Cabbar, yaşamındaki son umudunu bir hocanın peşine takılmakta bulur. Ama aradıkları meçhul define bulunmaz.*

[245] "*Cabbar: Ulen araba gitti.*
Driver: Beğendin mi ulan yaptığını? Mahfettin arabayı. Boyasını katiyen tutturamazlar. Ulan araba başıboş bıra kılır mı?
Cabbar: Ne diyon ulen sen? Atı öldürdün hala boyadan mı bahsediyorsun? (and Cabbar attacked to the driver – the scene passed. In the next screen they were seen in the police station) Cabbar: Komiser Bey…
Officer: Kes ulan ben bilirim arabacı milletini, bütün kazaların sebebi bunlar.
Cabbar: Bir dakika Komiser…
Officer: Kes ulan. Kabahat sizde değil, belediyede. Kaza sizde, pislik sizde, kaldırmadılar ki kurtulalım.
Cabbar: İyi ama Komiser Bey, benim atım öldü.
Officer: Arabanı boş bırakırsan tabi ölür. Park yeri miydi orası?
Cabbar: Değildi, gölgeydi.
Officer: Her gölgede durulur mu ulan? Bak beyefendi acıdı da sana davadan vazgeçti.

Here, it can be observed that possessing an automobile still showed that one was a member of the high social classes and upward movement in the social hierarchy. Cabbar symbolizes a traditional working class man who also losses his privileges relative to automobile chauffeurs and mechanics. Accordingly, he has a *double* disadvantage, one demonstrated by the inaccessibility to automobile consumption, the other demonstrated by disjunction to a socially-compatible job in terms of the automobile-person relationship. In that sense, he is an old-fashioned man, who has to be changed and integrated into modern society. The discourse of the police officer displays social intolerance to Cabbar's and also the *fayton* drivers' traditionalism. They are defined as dirty individuals who are totally responsible for whatever accidents might befall them. Furthermore, it is vital to highlight that the police officer is an urban middle class man. Before the 1960s, he used the *faytons* for transportation since automobiles were unreachable to him as well. Explained above, with the production of Turkish-branded automobiles, the perception of automobile within the urban middle classes shifted from inaccessible dreams to reachable aims – a certain possibility to upward social movement. This also has transformed the view of the officer; from then on he can not bear *faytons,* desiring prohibition of them.

Obviously, the two companies Tofaş and Renault, starting mass production in 1971 affected automobile consumption remarkably during the 1970s. The statistics show increases in automobile consumption, particularly for the Turkish-branded cars. In other words, this period is highlighted as a transition to the mass consumption of automobiles as well as other industrial goods, pioneering the enhancement of

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Cabbar: Ben davacıyım…
Officer: Kes ulanç Zaten size iyilik yaramaz. Adamın arabası ne hale gelmiş görmedin mi? Bir defa park edilmeyecek yerde arabanı bırakıp kazaya sebebiyet verdiğin için suçlusun. Adamın boğazına da sarılmışsın, bunların hepsi suç.
Cabbar: Benim atım öldü Komiser Bey.
Officer: Hala konuşuyor be, atın şunu dışarı çabuk." Umut, 1970.

consumer society. In particular, the films in the second half of the 1970s, internalized automobile images on the roads of the urban areas, particularly in Istanbul. In the romantic comedies of Tarık Akan, who became very famous in those years, such as *Ah Nerede* (Oh Where) (1975), *Delisin* (You are Crazy) (1975), automobiles were regularly seen on roads. Also in one of the famous films of Kemal Sunal, *Çöpçüler Kralı* (The King of the Street Cleaners) (1978), automobiles parking in front of an apartment are visible even in the poster of the film. Thus, as automobiles became an indispensable part of urban everyday life, the movies also normalized and internalized their images.



Figure 20: The Banner of *Çöpçüler Kralı*
Source: www.sinematurk.com.

In the light of these examples, it should be noted that the popular perception concerning automobiles changed from luxurious, unnecessary items in the 1930s into ordinary necessity tools of everyday practices starting from the 1950s and enhancing this image with Turkish-branded automobiles in the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s. Regarding automobile possession, the popular perception shifted from negative attitudes in the 1930s to the inaccessible dreams in the 1950s. The inaccessibility had become to accessibility for the middle classes through Turkish-branded automobiles during the second half the 1960s and the 1970s. Nevertheless,

automobile consumption continued to be "conspicuous consumption" in one way or the other. Until the production of Turkish-branded automobiles, automobiles were conspicuous consumption items in Veblenian terms, signaling social class and status by displaying pecuniary property. Subsequent to Turkish automobile production, there occurred a noteworthy change in this theorization. As being more ordinary goods, automobiles created distinctions through different life-styles. On the one hand, there was middle class life-style highlighting necessity representation – automobile as a mobility requirement of modern life – and self-image creating in terms of upward mobilization opportunities through the consumption of Turkish-branded automobiles. Note that automobiles signaled a horizontal status-display within middle classes. Having an automobile meant that you increased your status within middle-class families. On the other hand, there were the highest life-styles displayed by imported, foreign cars. In this sense, the automobile consumption during the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s was conspicuous – apart from necessity – expressing not only expensiveness – and so wealth – but also uniqueness, distinction in taste and aesthetics different from that of the mass consumed Turkish-branded cars. It is important to assert that being able to consume imported automobiles was symbolically perceived as being a part of a higher life-style.[246]

Bourdieu underlines this distinction by using a Weberian concept, "stylization of life," to emphasize the hierarchical nature of status-displaying in a modern consumer society by means of acquiring symbolic capital through "aesthetic perception" constituted by the social origin and/or educational level of a consumer. He writes,

Objective distance from necessity and from those trapped within it combines

[246] Note: Emigrated workers, *Almancılar*, who brought foreign cars, were perceived to have higher life-styles in accordance with their higher life standards.

> wit a conscious distance which doubles freedom by exhibiting it. As the objective distance from necessity grows, life style increasingly becomes the product what Weber calls a "stylization of life", a systematic commitment which orients and organizes the most diverse practices.[247]

On the other hand, the cultural perception of automobiles as life-stylization items continued in the following decades of the 1980s and the 1990s. For instance in the 1990s, Mustafa Sandal, a famous young singer, sang a very popular song, named *Araba* (The Car), The lyrics of the song have symbolic meaning of automobile – though turned to mass consumption item in these decades – that the distanced life-styles of social classes.[248]

Note that, in the video-clip, Mustafa Sandal acts as two different boys loving the same girl. One of the boys is rich, displaying his status with his new foreign-branded sports car. The other boy is poor, and has no car. They both try to get the girl, the rich one with his sports car, the poor one by sailing, relying on his own strength. Their ways also signal their life-styles, and their distinctive social classes. It the end, the poor boy becomes the first one; as a result he wins the "race" with his soul. Notice, the higher life-style again displayed with a foreign car – this time also sports model. Moreover, the lyrics also emphasized this higher life-style referring to a private driver. Obviously, there is a critique similar to the lyrics of Karaca because of social class differences. (The theme of poor but honored young people winning at

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[247] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 1986), pp. 55-56.

[248] Here is the lyrics of the song:
"*Gönül ister aradığını hep mi bekler hep mi bulamaz*
Gönül ister tanıdığını hiç mi bilmez hiç mi soramaz
Beni alsa nafile nafile yerime bir şey koyamaz
Yalvarsam da kal diye kal diye O yerinde hiç duramaz
Onun arabası var güzelmi güzel şöförü de var özel mi özel
Bastı mı gaza gidermi gider maalesef ruhu yok
Onun için hiç mi hiç şansı yok"

the last resort will obviously continue in popular cultural goods since distinctive life-styles, and social classes, persist.)

Transition to Mass Consumption: Turkish Brand Automobiles

In the previous section, it was observed that the popular perception of automobiles passed through certain stages that changed the conception of automobility in Turkey. As a matter of fact, the production side is not irrelevant to the consumption side since producers have active role in constituting popular perceptions about certain goods. In this sense, advertisements signify the relation between the two complementing agents of the production process by conveying messages from producers to consumers. On the other hand, advertisements are not just commercial goods but also form of popular culture products since they construct and amplify popular perceptions of certain images and representations of life styles.

According to Bocock, the modern consumption phenomenon is not a utilitarian economic process, but rather a socio-cultural mechanism consisting of signs and symbols. In other words, with the intensification of mass-produced goods in terms of the capitalist mode of production, consumption underlined the new life-style, creating implications rather than economy-politic meaning during the post-world war period. Hence, many sociologists have noticed that consumption shifted from a utilitarian form to a hedonistic form referring to the creation of desired objects in order to symbolize a daily way of living. In these terms, Bocock defined modern consumption practices as a new means of social relations and communications in terms of designing life-styles in the name of consumerism. These new life-styles were adapted to the daily life of each individual through mass media

and advertisements, as well as cultural goods and social relations in terms of emulative processes. [249]

The mass media and advertisements display hedonistic desires for consumerism, and through these desires create social identities within new forms of everydayness. This determination of social identities consists of symbolic capital in terms of aesthetic and creating new images of necessities in terms of conveniences shaping "advanced", "modern", and "integrated" lives. These symbolic connotations refer to sign-values of commodities, in Baudrillard's term rather than the Marxist use and exchange values. Thus, in modern consumer society signs and symbols are also consumed with goods. According to Lefebvre, advertisements with their symbolic denotations, their rhetoric, and their meta-language create perfect lingo-cultural texts where symbolic meanings and sign values are created.[250] Accordingly, the automobile advertisements in the 1960s and the 1970s in Turkish newspapers and magazines served to introduce and maintain new cultural images referring to symbolic-sign values in terms of stylizing modern lives.

Before evaluating automobile advertisements in the mentioned period, it is vital to give some clues about the history of advertisement in the Turkish context. According to Eldem, the first modern advertisement example in the Ottoman Empire was a Venetian flier – probably from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century – introducing a kind of pacificator gum (*macun*) named *tiryak* (treacle).[251] On the

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[249] Robert Bocock, *Tüketim* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 1997). To quote from Bocock: **"***Modern tüketim toplumu, sosyal ve kültürel uygulamalardan etkilendikten sonra, filmlerde, yazılı basında ve televizyonda sergilenen malları satın almaya, ekonomik güçleri yeterli olmasa bile, o mallara sahip olmayı arzu edebilirler ve etmektedirler de*." Ibid., p.13

[250] Lefebvre, p.106.

[251] Ethem Eldem, "Bir İlaç Reklamı Üzerine: Venedik'ten İthal Altınbaş Tiryakı," *Toplumsal Tarih* 2 (February, 1994), pp. 13-16.

other hand, the first examples of modern advertising began to be observed in the printed press in the nineteenth century. Advertisements in foreign languages – particularly in French – were the early examples. It is important to note that the nineteenth century saw the integration of the Ottoman Empire into the world capitalist system. Thus, advertisements also played a significant role in building up potential consumers inside the country to integrate country into the global mode of consumption as well as the global production system. Çakır notes that, until the 1908 revolution advertisements usually were about Western imported goods. After 1908, with the nationalization of economic goals, the emphasis shifted to home products in the advertisements. Some slogans such as "*hakiki vatan malı*" (real national product), "*bütün levazımını müslüman evladına yaptır ki, bu ayrıca takdire layıktır*" (It is praiseworthy to have Muslims to make your all equipments.) could be observed in newspapers.[252]

The war years brought depression to the advertisement sector. Following the proclamation of the Republic the sector again began to develop. In the early Republican years the state was the biggest institution giving advertisements. Accordingly, advertisements for banks, spirits, and lotteries[253] were regularly seen in the papers. In terms of private sector, İş Bankası, Burla Biraderler, Çapa Marka, Hacı Bekir, Nestle, Mabel, Ford, Fiat, Renault, Chevrolet, Nivea, and Tokalon gave significant numbers of advertisements in the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s.[254] Conversely, the Turkish advertising sector was boosted during the 1950s

[252] Hamza Çakır, *Osmanlı Basınında Reklam (1828-1864)* (Ankara: Elit Reklamcılık, 1997), p.23.

[253] *Ziraat Bankası, Sümerbank, Etibank, Tekel and Türk Hava Kurumu Piyangosu*.

[254] Gökhan Akçura, *Uzun Metin Sevenlerden misiniz? Ivır Zıvır Tarihi 3* (İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 2002), pp.25-43.

through the arrival of variety of imported goods. For instance, the advertising revenue of 1949 was about 1.5 million TL. This revenue increased to 3.6 million in 1951, and 8.5 million TL in 1955.[255] This augmentation was not abnormal during the mentioned period when we take into account the new economic policies of the period. On the one hand, private companies had to compete with each other; on the other hand, they had to create images to introduce these new imported goods to Turkish customers in order to penetrate their everyday life styles. This upward trend in the sector also continued during the 1960s and the 1970s.

Accordingly, through the advertisements published in Turkey during the post war period, the transition to mass consumer society by manipulating the customers' preferences can be evaluated. In this section, these transitional steps are evaluated in terms of Turkish-branded automobiles. Aiming to identify the relation between the popular perceptions of automobiles created by the producers, and the role of these perceptions in the daily routines of consumers, advertisements gave certain suggestions concerning the construction of Turkish-branded automobiles from conspicuous consumption items to necessary elements of everyday life, but also as items designed to display modern life-styles.

In an unpublished paper, Helin Burkay, studying the advertisement of household durables in the 1960s, notes that early advertisements of household durables contained long texts rather than images. Interestingly, she observes that:

> Conveying the message through a text rather than an image in order to equip the consumer with the knowledge of previously unfamiliar product, attempting to penetrate the consumption practices of the ordinary consumer by persuading him with the considerably unnecessary details can be seen as first and a very successful strategy for appealing to the consumer with an impact impossible to create by a single image.[256]

[255] Gökhan Akçura, *Uzun Metin Sevenlerden misiniz? Ivır Zıvır Tarihi 3*, p. 24.

[256] Helin Burkay, "Consumption of Household Durables in the 1960s Turkey: Strategies of Representation and Power of Routines," **(**unpublished paper**,** 2006), p.18.

However, in my opinion, although early Turkish branded automobile advertisements contained considerably long texts, they did not aim to familiarize the product to consumers as ordinary people already had had images and perceptions in relation to automobiles in their daily practices since the early Republican times.

Conversely, these advertisements in the mentioned were period intended to create images to persuade Turkish customers in various terms. Observing the advertisements in the newspapers *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet*, and in the magazine *Hayat,* the main life-style creating themes can be summarized in five categories: 1) Turkishness- Westerness 2) Function- Technical Characteristics 3) Family 4) Gender 5) Style and Aesthetics. These categories were designed to include identical – sometimes opposite – themes in order to compare and contrast certain consumption features. Of course, these themes were also integrated with each other since all advertisements aimed to penetrate the customers' everyday practices. On the other hand, this grouping may be significant to understand the transitional consumption stages in the whole society in terms of new-modern life images, namely life stylization processes during the mentioned period.

Turkishness - Westernness

This contrasting thematic approach concerning where, how and in what ways the automobile was produced was almost the most used one in Turkish-branded automobile advertisements during the 1960s and 1970s. Particularly, the early advertisements that introduced clients to the new brand used these concepts of Turkishness - Westernness consecutively in one text. The producers, on the one hand, tried to persuade potential customers – the urban middle class families – that these

automobiles were produced inside the country through modern technologies, and that they were "Turkish" products. On the other hand, they tried to gain trust by referring to their products as Western, in terms of using the reliability of the donor brand or total applicability of Western technologies.

For instance, in one of the first advertisements of the Anadol, the first Turkish branded automobile, it is proudly presented as the first Turkish automobile which symbolized the ultimate point of progressive attempts of the country. Moreover, the Anadol is defined by giving an opportunity to reach family dreams of owning a car. In addition to its elegance, strength and economical price, its technical characteristics such as motor, suspension and fiberglass body has introduced to customers.[257] This advertisement showed that Turkish customers had already known certain features of automobiles such as motors and suspension. This coincides with the findings of the previous section about the popular perception of automobiles developing since the 1930s. On the other hand, the text aimed to introduce the material of the vehicle body, fiberglass, which was new to Turkish customers. Also, the emphasis of the text was the Turkishness of the Anadol, and the objective of the text was to persuade consumers that it was as a trustworthy product as its foreign substitutes. At the end of the advertisement, then purchasing conditions, the price and sales agencies of the Anadol were stated in order to inform consumers.

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[257] "*İşte Anadol: İşte, Memleketimizi ileriye doğru hamlesinde, yıllardır gözlediği dönüm noktasına ulaştıran ilk Türk otomobili…Milletçe yeni bir merhaleye daha vardık: Dünya otomobil sanayinin son buluşlarını, Türkiye'nin özel şartlarına gore geliştirip Türk zevkine en uygun hatlarla şekillendiren Türk otomobili… Türk tekniğinin ve Türk işçilğinin ortak eseri ANADOL, bugünden itibaren satışa arzedilmiş bulunuyor. Ailenizle birlikte yıllar yılı kurduğunuz hayalleri bir anda hakikat yapacak ve ufuklarınızı alabildiğine genişletecek eşsiz bir araba: ANADOL. Sizin otomobiliniz… Zarif, sağlam, rahat ve ekonomik! ANADOL… Kudretli bir motor. Tesirli bir süspansiyon. Çelikten sağlam "Fiberglass"tan yapılmış gövde. Uzun veya kısa her çeşit yolculuk için 5 kişilik ideal bir otomobil. ANADOL… Yılların hayalini hakikat yapan Türk otomobili!*" *Hürriyet*, 23 December, 1966.

This trend continued in the early advertisements of the Murat 124 and the Renault 12. There is a big image of the automobile at the top, and then there is a textual explanation below the image to persuade consumers in regards to the Turkishness and strength of the product. This can be observed through first advertisement campaign of the Murat 124 consists of consecutive newspaper advertisements published in two days.[258]

These advertisements aimed to introduce the new product by referring to its Turkishness, but at the same time tried to persuade potential customers in terms of its quality by referring to the similarity of the automobile to its counterpart product, the Fiat 124. The usage of two opposite concepts within one text was common in other advertisement examples. The other advertisement that was published in 1972, also pointed this resemblance. The slogan of the advertisement was "Ali Veli- Veli Ali". The main emphasis given by the picture was that the Murat 124 was al twin of its

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[258] "*Tofaş Sunar: MURAT 124. Bursa'da, Tofaş Türk Otomobil Fabrikası'nda imal edilen Murat 124, en son Torino Uluslararası Otomobil Sergisinde teşhir edilen 1971 model Fiat 124'ün eşidir. Şimdiye kadar 2 milyondan fazla imal edilen Fiat 124, çöllerden kutuplara kadar iklimde, her türlü yolda denenmiş, gerek dış görünüşüyle, gerek konforuyla, gerek çekişiyle, gerek sağlamlığıyla günümüz insanının ihtiyaçlarına cevap veren bir otomobildir.Tofaş işte böylesine ünlü, böylesine sınanmış bir otomobilin eşini, Murat 124'ü sunuyor size. Murat 124'ün özellikleri ve satış şartlarıyla ilgili tamamlayıcı bilgiler yarın bu gazetede." Milliyet, 1 February 1971.*

"MURAT 124 Bütün Özellikleriyle: MURAT 124, sahiplerini mutlu etmek için yaratılmış bir arabadır. Teknik özellikleriyle, güzelliğiyle, sunduğu konfor ve rahatlıkla, ekonomik oluşuyla MURAT 124, günümüz arabasıdır.

- *65 beygir (SAE) gücünde motoru*
- *Saatte 140 km'yi aşan sürati*
- *Dört disk freni, servofren tertibatı*
- *Çelik "monoblok" gövdesi*
- *Özel, koruyucu boyası*
- *Her tekerleğin bağımsız olarak yaylanabildiği süspansiyon sistemi, ve içine ilk girenleri şaşırtacak kadar ferah oluşuyla MURAT 124 modern otomobil anlayışının en seçkin örneğidir.*

MURAT 124'e Nasıl Sahip Olacaksınız? Aşağıda listede göreceğiniz gibi, şimdiden yurdumuzun 24 şehrinde 25 bayi, MURAT 124 siparişi almak için hizmetinizdedir. Yakında tam 40 şehrimizde MURAT 124 bayii olacak. Size en yakın MURAT 124 bayiine uğrayın. Bayiniz siparişinizi müracaat tarihinize gore kaydedecek ve size satış şartlarını açıklayacaktır." *Milliyet*, 2 February 1971.

donor foreign brand, the Fiat 124. The text behind the image states that the Fiat 124 was chosen as the automobile of the year when it was first produced in Italy. And also, it was the most purchased automobile 1971 throughout Europe. Hence, the Murat 124 was the identical twin of this reliable automobile brand.[259] Consequently, Turkish clients could be confident when choosing the Murat 124.



Figure 21: Murat124 Advertisement

As a result, these advertisements showed that Fiat's Italianness and "Westernness" were assets and the producer company wished to emphasize these when staging and introducing its own variant, the Murat on the Turkish market. On the other hand, producing this automobile inside the country with very modern techniques was as important as its Western originality. For instance, the advertisement that Tofaş gave for the Republics 50th year celebrations emphasized these Turkish-produced and Turkish-branded characteristics of the product. In order to create Turkish-production the picture from inside of the company was used with a

[259] *Hürriyet*, 20 January 1972.

slogan of "Tofaşın *İçinden*" (Inside the Tofaş)[260] In the text below, the emphasis was given to the Turkishness of production with brand-new technological advances, but also pointing to the Western reliability of the donor brand, Fiat.



Figure 22: Murat 124 Advertisement

Interestingly, the Oyak-Renault Company hardly used the Westerness in advertisements. Perhaps was because the name Renault-12 referred to its identical characteristics with its Western counterpart. On the other hand, Turkish success in producing Renault automobiles was proudly used when introducing a new product, Renault 12 Station Wagon. The advertisements slogan was "*Türkiye'de ilk defa*" (The First Time in Turkey).[261] According to the text below the picture, the Renault 12 Station Wagon was a big step in the Turkish automobile industry. Afterwards, the characteristics of the automobile were described within subtitles as powerful, safe, economic, and aesthetic. Oyak-Renault was extremely interested in the theme

[260] *Hayat*, 1 November 1973.

[261] *Hayat*, 8 June 1973.

concerning the production of high technological automobiles inside the country. For instance, the other advertisement using the heading "*Kaliteye Gösterilen Özenin Zaferi Sınırları Aştı*" (The Quality of the Renault Crossed Borders)[262] described the success of Turkish production, referring the exports to Lebanon.[263] Here, one can observe that Turkishness was also an asset for Renault, since its Westerness was reflected by its name.



Figure 23: Renault 12 Advertisement

Obviously, the Turkishness- Westerness theme in these automobile advertisements was related to the political and economic climate of the mentioned period. As Zürcher explains:

> The development policies of the governments of the second republic, almost until the very end, were aimed at the substitution of imports through industrialization. Turkey was still dependent on imports for almost all industrial goods apart from processed foodstuff, textiles and iron and steel: almost all consumer durables had come from abroad. On the other hand, the growing wealth of the population during the 1950s had created increased demand for precisely these consumer durables. A greater awareness of the outside world and Western (especially American) life-styles had given status to the possession of goods like cars, refrigerators and vacuum cleaners.[264]

Accordingly, the Turkishness theme coincided with the states economic

[262] *Hayat*, 13 June 1974.

[263] The first sentence said: "*Türk işçisi, teknisyeni, mühendisi, yönetmeni kıvanç içinde. İlk Türk otomobili ihraç edildi. Renault şimdi Lübnan'da."*

[264] Zürcher, p.265.

policy. Moreover, in the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s, the leftist movement, which emphasized independence from the capitalist system, was on the rise. Imported brands, particularly Western ones, were discouraged under the rubric of this ideological framework. As a result, the Turkishness of automobiles produced inside the country became an asset for producers. On the other hand, as analyzed in the previous section, the imported products, particularly foreign- branded automobiles signaled higher social status and class. As a result, the middle classes regarded Western brands as being more reliable, unique, and qualified items on the basis of this perception. Accordingly, the Westernness of automobiles produced in Turkey became an asset as well. Thus, producers used both themes in one context to persuade their clients.

Function – Technical Characteristics

The second chief themes in the Turkish-branded automobile advertisements during the 1960s and the 1970s were their functional and technical characteristics and sales terms. These themes were used to persuade clients through introducing new and easy usage properties reflecting the technical advantage of each brand. For instance, in one of the Renault 12 advertisements, the title was a question: "*Niçin Önden Çekiş?"* (Why Front-Wheel Drive?). The answer was related to simple driving benefits and security.[265] The very same theme was given in another advertisement, using the slogan *"Arabadan Anlayanlar İçin."* (For whom Knowing

[265] "*Çekiş gücü çok üstün, tırmanma kabiliyeti eşsiz. Virajlarda savrulmaz. Yan rüzgarlardan etkilenmez, yolu iyi tutar… Sürat anında kaygan ve yumuşak zeminlerde 'burnu gezmez.' Patinaj yapmaz. Önden çekişli Renault güvenliğiniz içindir*." *Hayat*, 10 May 1973.

Cars).[266] Here the emphasis was also given to technical advantages and the security of the mentioned brand. On the other hand, this advertisement helped to create a potential client image as a self-differentiating object. In other words, consuming this brand made clients distinct through displaying their technical knowledge about automobile brands.



Figure 24: Advertisements of the Murat 124 and the Renault 12

The Tofaş Company used the same themes referring to the technical-functional characteristics of the Murat 124. The advertisement with the heading *"Kimi Bekliyor?"* (Who does it wait for) described the technical advantage of the *Murat*, in the name of disk brakes.[267] The technical advantage of the product in terms of providing security and easy driving was emphasized in this advertisement, as in the case of the Renault advertisements. The other example of the Anadol 71 advertisement referred to the other technical-functional advantage of the brand. For

[266] *Hayat*, 19 October 1972.

[267] "*Dört tekerleğine de disk fren konmuş. En güvenli duruşu tam istenen yerde sağlasın diye.*" *Hayat*, 7 Aralık 1972. For the same theme see *Hayat*, 11 January 1973.

instance, the slogan of the advertisement was "Designed for six passengers… The biggest, the broadest, the most spacious and the most comfortable automobile w produced in our country"[268] Here the asset of the brand was the broad internal design.

As a result, Turkish automobile producers regularly used their brands' technical-functional advantages in advertisements to persuade potential clients. The images of easy driving, security and broad internal design were the main themes.[269]

Family

Following the introduction of the Turkish branded automobiles, advertisements also began to concentrate on identity-creation through images in order to conceptualize modern life-styles through driving automobiles. For instance, advertisements on the back cover of the *Hayat* magazine in the 1970s displayed such life-style creation images in terms of using family values. Automobiles were objects that changed the family's everyday practices as well as economic decisions. Knowing these aspects, producers used images of modern – and very happy – families with their cars.

For instance, in the Murat 124 advertisements this theme was regularly used with different concepts because the Murat 124 was introduced with the slogan, "every family's wish,"[270] in order to attract middle class families. In the advertisement entitled "*Araba Sevdası*" (Car Passion), one can first see the very

[268] "*Tam altı kişilik… Yurdumuzda yapılan otomobillerin en büyüğü, en genişi, en rahatı, en ferahı.*" *Milliyet*, 13 March 1971.

[269] For other examples, see *Milliyet*, 2 February 1971 and 8 April 1971.

[270] *Her ailenin muradı.*

modern dressed family with their children gazing at Murat 124.[271] The long text narrated their story, which was nearly identical to other examples, as well as creating new ways of life for modern, urban middle class families.[272]



Figure 25: Advertisement of Murat 124

According to this story, the image of modern life was defined in reference to American automobilized life-styles with living in suburbs, giving children a lift to school and recreational activities such as vocations. The story highlighted the happiness theme in terms of the modern motorized way of life. Moreover, purchasing a Murat 124 created the modern family's self-expression. In accordance with those images, this family emulated these "new", "modern" and "advanced" forms of

[271] *Hayat*, 13 April 1972.

[272] Here is the text: "*Genç bir çift. Okul çağında bir yavruları var. Ve bir de ortak sevdaları: Murat 124. Biliyorlar Murat'la daha hesaplı daha mutlu yepyeni bir Hayata başlayabilecekler. Şehir dışında daha konforlu bir eve taşınıp daha ucuza oturabilecekler. Sabahları yavrularını okula elleriyle bırakıp işe yürek rahatlığıyla gidecekler. Akşamları dolmuş, otobüs peşinde koşmadan evlerine mutlulukla dönecekler. Geceleri masrafsız gezmelere, mehtap sefalarına çıkacaklar. Hafta sonunda şehirden kaçacaklar. Kırlara, yakın köylere gidecekler. Dinlenip eğlenecekler. Yıllık tatilde kızgın kumsallara uzanacaklar. Hayatın tadını Murat'la çıkaracaklar. Biliyorlar. Murat'la yılda 15000 kilometre yaparlarsa bu 15000 kilometre mutluluk, bütün masraflar dahil, günde ortalama 11 liraya gelir kendilerine. Uğruyolar sık sık Tofaş bayine. Bilgi alıyorlar. Taksit kolaylıklarını öğreniyorlar. Tassarruflarını Murat 124'e yatırmaya hazırlanıyorlar.*"

consumption practices and life-styles. This life-style designed images that would certainly be emulated by other urban middle class families. On the other hand, this style also obtained social conformity from the other urban middle classes with automobiles.[273]

Gender

Automobile driving is always a gendered phenomenon. Automobiles were considered to be designed for males when they were first introduced. On the other hand, women drivers have come a long way since the early decades of the twentieth century. Affluence underwrote mass consumerism after the post-war period and automobiles were at the top of most women's shopping lists in the US and European countries. In Turkey, also upper class women began to drive cars from the early Republican times. But of course women's driving in Turkey was an extreme phenomenon even in the 1960s.



Figure 26: Advertisement of Murat 124

[273] See other examples. "Sevgi Bağı" in *Hayat*, 18 January 1973 and "Dünya Evi" *Hayat*, 25 January 1973.

The Turkish producers used gender-biased themes in the advertisements of their brands. The traditional acceptance of driving as a masculine phenomenon was dominant in these advertisements. In pictures, men can be seen in the driver's seat of a Turkish-branded car. Moreover, there are thematic approaches that automobiles are a part of man's natural desires for displaying power and masculinity. For instance, the advertisement titled "'ya *ben, ya Murat' dedim…Şimdi yalnızım*!" (I asked "me or the Murat"... Now I am alone) used such a theme.[274] The young sad woman was unsurprisingly left by her boy friend since she gave him an ultimatum to choose her or the car. The text below the picture declares that the Murat might agitate some girls, but it brought happiness to many families. Here, the traditional conception of gender roles was regenerated in the context of automobile consumption. (Girls should respect their boy friends as well as their power-displaying toys, such as automobiles.)



Figure 27: Advertisement of Murat 124

The other advertisement with gendered themes used the slogan of *"Bayan*

[274] *Hayat*, 12 September 1973.

Murat" (Mrs. Murat).[275] Here, a woman driving a Murat 124 is shown. The main emphasis of the text is that the Murat 124 is easy to drive. Driving this automobile was so simple that a woman could manage to drive it. Here, the traditional view of women's incapability of driving was regenerated in order to affect male clients. On the other hand, how easy it was to drive has stated in order to impress female client. For instance, in the end, the text declares that everybody should congratulate Bayan Murat on being so modern by driving this car.

Style- Aesthetic

The themes of style and aesthetics were regularly used in advertisements of the Murat 124. Kesimgil emphasizes that, the Renault 12's amorphous design did not appeal to Turkish clients at first glance. On the other hand, the box-shaped Murat 124 attracted many customers since Turkish buyers decided to purchase cars by looking its design during the 1970s.[276] The Murat 124 producers continuously used this design advantage and highlighted this feature in various advertisements. In the above examples, using slogans "*İçi Geniş İçi Güneş"* (Inside is Wide Like a House)[277]*, "Sinerama"* (Like a Cinema Screen)[278] and other examples titled like "*Murat Salonu"* (The Saloon of the Murat)[279]*, "Camlı Köşk"* (Glassed Manor)[280]*, "İçeri*

[275] "*Ehliyetini üç hafta önce aldı Bayan Murat. Ama kolayca sıyrılıyor trafikte. Tatlı fren yapmayı beceriyor. Murat'ını dar yerlere park edipi kolayca çıkıyor. Bayan Murat çok mu usta şoför olduğundan? Değil. Murat, usta bir otomobil olduğundan*." *Hayat*, 7 September 1972.

[276] Interview with Ilhan Kesimgil, 2007.

[277] *Hayat*, 8 November 1973.

[278] *Hayat*, 30 March 1972.

[279] *Hayat*, 13 December 1973 and 28 February 1974.

Buyurmaz mısınız" (Would You Like to Get Inside)[281] and *"Alıp Götüren Konfor"* (Extreme Comfort)[282] highlighted this shape-design benefit of the Murat 124. These advertisements represented modern, comfortable, distinctive life-styles with Murat's interior design.



Figure 28: Advertisement of Murat 124

Concluding Remarks: Buying an Automobile? Utopia or Plan?

As was analyzed in this chapter, the image of automobile consumption passed through certain stages from the early Republican era. Still, automobiles were utopian machines even for the middle classes as late as the mid-1960s. They remained as a dream to the working classes even in the 1970s. Nevertheless, the production of Turkish branded automobiles caused remarkable changes in this utopist popular conception. When automobiles became common in the streets of the big cities since the 1950s, people developed closer relations in terms of using these modern machines at least as a means of transportation. Consequently, the Turkish-branded

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[280] *Hayat*, 26 April 1973.

[281] *Hayat*, 1 January 1974.

[282] *Hayat*, 17 January 1974.

automobiles opened a new road for potential middle-class drivers. Automobiles began to be conceived as more reachable objects rather than ostentatious, inaccessible machines for the urban middle classes, in particular urban professionals. Thus automobile became a realizable plan for middle class families after domestic production started during the mid-1960s and the 1970s. Accordingly, Turkish-branded automobiles were constructed as necessary functional elements of families' everyday practices that reflecting also their modern distinctive life-styles. Even for middle classes, automobiles remained expensive and the intense mass consumption of automobiles can be dated to the 1990s. Accordingly, the 1960s and the 1970s could be seen as a transition to the mass consumption of the automobile. Moreover, automobile consumption during the mentioned period accurately exemplifies Turkey's transition to a "consumer society" by full integration to the global capitalist system before the 1980s "liberal turn."

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The thesis demonstrated the formation and the development of capitalist production and consumption patterns, and contributed to the historiography of the modern Turkey through referring to the historical background of the global integration of the 1980s. In doing so, it evaluated the automobilized system and automobile production in Turkey during the 1960s and the 1970s. It is critical to point out that an automobile displayed complex systems which gradually transformed and conquered the entire world. Accordingly, the automobile industry is a noteworthy case study to evaluate global integration tendencies and transnational transfers of car-building technologies, sets of car brands and models, organization of car production, and cultural patterns of consumption. Thus, the diffusion of the automobilized system into the daily urban life and the establishment of the automobile industry displayed the development of the capitalist mode of production and consumption relations in the protectionist import-substitution era.

It should be noted that Urry's notion of automobility, which explains the function and position of automobile through its specific character domination, was endorsed to the point that served to examine the diffusion of the automobilized system in Turkey by referring to multifaceted aspects, which are particularly categorized as production-side and consumption-side. The main contribution of the automobility conception for the aim of this study is the evolution of the diffusion of automobiles in Turkey in reference to various aspects, including economic, social and cultural ones. First of all, the factors which directly contributed to the diffusion process were evaluated separately. This was because the diffusion and proliferation

of automobility in Turkey depended on the infrastructural development that occurred during the 1950s and this development transformed the conceptions in mobility, time and space as well as the rising expectations of the middle classes since the purchasing power of this group increased in accordance with their optimistic projections throughout the period.

In order to observe the depth of the system of automobility, one needs more than the contributing factors. The thesis argued that the establishment of the automobile industry during the 1960s and the development of the automobile industry during the 1970s supported the improvement, proliferation, and diffusion of the automobility in Turkey. The evidence demonstrated that despite the ideological controversies of the early 1960s concerning the luxuriousness and/or dependency dichotomies on automobiles, automobiles attracted ground-breaking interest as a result of they were speedily diffusing into daily life. Thus the governmental strategy to limit demand without giving permission for automobile production was interchanged with the strategy of technifying the automobile production issue in Turkey. Through the technification process, private agents acquired the crucial foreign exchange allocations in order to establish automobile factories. It is significant to underline that the technification process also highlighted the general style of relationship between industrialist bourgeoisie and governments during the planned economy period. The industrialist bourgeoisie applied analogous developmentalist discourses, which had already been mentioned in the five year development plans, with the objective of acquiring the essential foreign exchange allocation from the political power.

Furthermore, the automobile factories which were established during the 1960s and the 1970s, exemplified the transnational foreign capital transfer in terms

of financial capital as well as car-building technologies, know-how, sets of car brands and models, organization of car production, and cultural patterns of consumption during the closed-economy conditions of the import substitution period.

The thesis also evaluated the stages of automobile consumption in reference to the public perception of automobiles. For this aim, popular cultural goods such as films, songs and advertisements emerged as good media to observe perceptional transformation occurred by the system of automobility. Accordingly, the thesis evaluated automobiles as utopia consumption items for middle classes until the mid-1960s. Through the intensification of Turkish branded automobiles, there was a remarkable change in this inaccessible conception of automobiles. In accordance with this change, there was a notable transformation in the mode of consumption indicating integration to global consumerism in the import-substitution period. Accordingly, automobiles obtained a significant place in consumption baskets of the urban middle classes as well as other mass consumption goods, such as household durables. Thus, the transition in automobile consumption also demonstrates Turkey's transition to a consumer society during the 1960s and the 1970s.

On the whole, the thesis aimed to contribute the social history of the 1960s and the 1970s in reference to the production and consumption relations by building its evaluation on the notions of automobility. The chapter on the conception of automobility aimed to redefine automobiles as fundamental vehicles of twentieth century modernization, and global integration. Beyond their materiality, automobiles were considered as a symbol of complex systems, which transformed and controlled economies as well as societies and everyday lives of ordinary people. Accordingly, automobiles in terms of the diffusion of automobility was defined through respective

stages of conspicuous consumption, transformations on public representations by means of advertising, popular culture, etc., production, and ordinary consumption.

The second chapter evaluated the development of automobility in Turkey. Turkey has gradually adapted to this new system since the early 1950s. The change in the official transportation policy from railways to highways was the first step to the development of automobility. The statistical analyses disclosed that the conception of mobility-time-space triangle of automobility was remarkably revolutionized consequent to the 1950s' "highway revolution." This also coincided with the rising expectations of urban middle classes, whose average real incomes were also rising to afford new consumer goods, such as automobiles and household durables. Therefore, Turkey turned out to be a consumer society before the 1980s through the diffusion of mass consumption possibilities in line with the protectionist production.

The third chapter examined the automobile production in Turkey during the import substitution period because "in the middle of this century, the automobile industry, more than any other, becomes exemplary and indicative; its presence or absence in a national economy tells us the level and power of the economy."[283] Moreover, the thesis held that automobile industry gave certain clues concerning the industrial relations and the development of capitalist industrialization in a closed economy. Thus, the chapter evaluated stages of the establishment and the development of automobile industry, and aimed to identify the economic and political *zeitgeist* of the 1960s and the 1970s. Here, the notion of technification was the key to analyze these industrial relations.

[283] Kristin Ross. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies. Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (The MIT Press, 1996), p.19.

The final chapter of the thesis evaluated the consumption side of automobility. In the first part of this chapter, the transformation in public perception concerning automobiles and changes in discourse through popular culture indicated the Turkish automobile consumption had passed from various stages. The close-reading of the popular Turkish movies and songs pointed out that the popular perception concerning automobiles changed from luxurious, unnecessary items in the 1930s into ordinary necessity tools of everyday practices starting from the 1950s and enhancing this image with the Turkish-branded automobiles in the second half of the 1960s and the 1970s. Moreover, the automobile consumption was defined by the Veblen's notion of conspicuous consumption, which signaled wealth, prestige and social-positioning, before the establishment of the automobile production inside the country. On the other hand, in line with the development of the Turkish automobile production in the 1970s, automobile consumption was defined by Bourdieu's notion of distinction, which referred to diverse tastes and choices by means of acquiring symbolic capital that reflected different social classes. In this respect, the urban middle classes considered their possibilities for upward social mobility through purchasing Turkish-branded automobiles.

In general, the thesis can be criticized on the grounds that it uses movies and songs to evaluate the perceptional changes and the daily transformations, while these movies and songs may be considered as virtual reality. On the contrary, the centrality of automobiles in movies and songs underlined the automobile's becoming commonplace in the Turkish daily life. For instance, close reading of the Turkish melodramas displayed the changes in public perception about mass consumption as well as transformations in daily lives of urban middle classes, realistic films criticized these changes and songs reflected everyday concerns of the majority.

Accordingly, the evaluations of popular cultural goods solidified the economic and discourse analysis, which particularly relied on newspapers and advertisements. As a result the thesis found out an interdisciplinary perspective for a critical evaluation of automobility to underscore the micro changes in daily life in line with macro transformations in economy and society.

To conclude, it is crucial to note that the transnational transfer phenomenon during the Cold War years highlighted extremely important and interconnected episodes of border-crossing tendencies before the "global revolution" of our days. The thesis partly confined itself to the analysis of the evolutions in the Turkish context. On the other hand, transnational transfer of automobile industry case also took place in various countries during the 1960s and the 1970s. The border-crossing tendencies of automobile industry provide crucial answers in the analysis of recent economic integration processes and cultural changes in the world.

APPENDIX A

Table 1: Total Length of Highways in Turkey

Years	Total (km) State and Province Roads
1923*	18335
1939*	40932
1945*	43551
1950**	47080
1955**	55008
1960***	61542
1965***	58792
1970***	59453
1975***	59069
1980***	60761
1985***	59302
1990***	59128
1995***	59999
2000***	61090

Sources: *Suleyman Barda, Münakale Ekonomisi (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Pub., 1958), p.281
**İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "Türkiye'de Demiryolu Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasından Karayolları Öncelikli Ulaşım Politikasına Geçiş" in Cumhuriyetin Harcı Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken, p. 417-418
***Based on table 15.1 on Statistical Indicators, 1923-2006, Turkish Statistical Institute, 2006, p.368

Table 2: The Budget of Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü

Years	Budget of KGM (1000TL)		General Budget (1000TL)
	Investment	Total	
1950	54140	60303	1487000
1955	311998	322600	2941000
1960	942630	971135	7282000
1965	629000	1021224	14421000
1970	1478631	2335821	28860265
1975	3935000	5983403	106888231
1980	17395000	30707527	756687182
1985	105490000	191589270	5412082049
1990	1209000000	1819109000	63925354000
1995	10493000000	27735900000	1335978053000
2000	272615000000	1099041505000	46702436000000

Source: Stratejik Plan (2006-2010), T.C Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Ağustos 2005, p.30

Table 3: Transportation Rates (1950-1999)

		1950	1963	1968	1973	1978	1983	1989	1995	1999
Passenger %	Highways	49	80,6	86,3	90,5	91,5	92,2	94,2	95	94,9
	Railways	51	14,3	10,0	8,2	7,2	6,9	4,3	4	3,1
	Seaways	--	4,6	3,1	0,2	0,3	0,1	0,1	0,4	0,3
	Airways	--	0,5	0,6	1,1	1,0	0,8	0,8	0,63	1,7
Freight %	Highways	24	52,8	60	63,1	75	81,9	81,6	92	89,1
	Railways	76	32,3	24,2	21,5	12,9	12,3	9,5	7	4,5
	Seaways	--	14,9	15,8	15,2	12	5,7	8,8	0,81	4,7
	Airways	--	--	--	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,19	0,1

Source: Aydemir C. Cumhuriyet Dönemi Demiryolu Ulaştırması ve Bu Konuda İzlenen Politikalar, M.Ü. Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, İstanbul-1993
Ekonomik Rapor, TOBB, 1999.

Table 4: Freight, Passenger and Vehicle Transportation on Highways

Years	Vehicle/km	Freight(ton)/km	Passenger/km (million)
1950	558	957	2597
1955	1204	2406	10831
1960	1563	3678	10880
1965	3394	8415	24931
1970	6477	17447	41311
1975	13432	29424	68395
1980	15343	37507	73127
1985	18667	45634	91566
1990	27041	65710	134991
1995	34833	112515	155202
2000	56151	161552	185681

Source: www.kgm.gov.tr

Table 5: Domestic Automobile Production (1966-1980)

	OTOSAN	TOFAŞ	OYAK-RENAULT	TOPLAM
1966	18	0	0	18
1967	1760	0	0	1760
1968	2852	0	0	2852
1969	3902	0	0	3902
1970	3660	0	0	3660
1971	3838	7835	1514	13187
1972	4489	17609	7529	29627
1973	7143	24918	14795	46856
1974	8034	28839	23035	59908
1975	6891	29715	30675	67281
1976	7001	25931	30060	62992
1977	5366	19212	33668	58246
1978	3534	19912	30638	54084
1979	2986	21597	19225	43808
1980	629	13300	17600	31529

Source: SPI and AMA

Table 6: Number of Motor Vehicles and Automobiles in Turkey (1975-1980)

	Total Motor Vehicle	Total Automobile	Anadol	Murat	Renault
1975	674892	403546	38523	99210	70347
1976	714037	488894	44775	124092	99165
1977	840295	560424	50115	143711	130870
1978	937065	624438	52932	161744	157158
1979	1029041	688687	55355	181139	177537
1980	1170456	742252	57075	199095	196747

Source: SIS, Road Motor Vehicles Statistics, 1975-1980

APPENDIX B

15.4 Cinslerine göre motorlu kara taşıtları sayısı

Number of road motor vehicles by type

Yıl Year	Otomobil Car	Otobüs Bus	Kamyon Truck	Kamyonet[1] Small truck[1]	Minibüs[1] Minibus[1]	Motosiklet Motorcycle	Özel amaçlı taşıtlar Special purpose vehicles	Yol ve iş makineleri Road construction and work machinery
1933	4 257	315	2 561	-	-	442	-	-
1934	4 280	572	2 460	-	-	-	-	-
1935	4 349	747	2 514	-	-	-	-	-
1936	3 815	812	2 909	-	-	-	-	-
1937	4 573	1 044	3 882	-	-	-	-	-
1938	5 713	1 297	4 352	-	-	779	-	-
1939	4 795	1 457	4 432	-	-	-	-	-
1940	4 343	1 237	3 520	-	-	-	-	-
1941	3 905	1 110	3 432	-	-	-	-	-
1942	3 574	985	3 848	-	-	-	-	-
1943	3 561	980	4 413	-	-	1 107	-	-
1944	3 406	988	4 479	-	-	754	-	-
1945	3 649	1 213	5 417	-	-	736	-	-
1946	4 676	1 615	8 251	-	-	767	-	-
1947	5 798	2 198	10 596	-	-	1 371	-	-
1948	8 001	2 622	11 470	-	-	1 634	-	-
1949	10 071	3 185	13 201	-	-	2 281	-	-
1950	13 405	3 755	15 404	-	-	2 661	-	-
1951	16 427	4 569	18 356	-	-	3 464	-	-
1952	23 938	5 510	24 722	-	-	4 528	-	-
1953	27 692	5 933	27 549	-	-	6 587	-	-
1954	28 599	6 671	30 250	-	-	8 345	-	-
1955	29 970	6 848	34 429	-	-	9 510	-	-
1956	33 377	7 914	35 070	-	-	10 135	-	-
1957	36 755	8 291	36 919	-	-	9 743	-	-
1958	34 244	8 065	39 721	-	-	7 329	-	-
1959	37 616	8 881	48 094	-	-	8 215	-	-
1960	45 767	10 981	57 460	-	-	9 380	-	-
1961	52 381	13 956	64 706	-	-	11 076	-	-
1962	60 731	16 437	73 323	-	-	12 816	-	-
1963	72 034	19 269	80 695	-	-	15 055	-	-
1964	79 449	20 412	75 379	-	-	20 575	-	-
1965	87 584	22 169	79 121	-	-	26 094	-	-
1966	91 469	12 041	47 931	31 462	10 913	32 099	3 610	2 452
1967	112 367	13 332	56 889	39 927	16 008	39 647	3 641	2 383
1968	125 375	13 948	62 616	43 441	18 967	47 062	4 033	3 326
1969	137 345	15 529	69 478	48 655	20 540	52 959	4 568	5 324
1970	137 771	15 980	70 730	52 152	20 916	60 994	5 070	6 195
1971	153 676	17 140	73 433	57 011	22 380	68 417	5 349	6 474
1972	187 272	18 504	78 920	62 796	25 559	74 402	5 747	6 887

(1) Kamyonet ve minibüs sayıları 1966 yılına kadar, otobüs ile birlikte değerlendirildiğinden, ayrılmamıştır.

(1) Since the number of small trucks and minibuses are treated together with those of trucks and buses until the year 1966, these figures could not be given separetely in the table.

15.4 Cinslerine göre motorlu kara taşıtları sayısı (devam)

Number of road motor vehicles by type (continued)

Yıl Year	Otomobil Car	Otobüs Bus	Kamyon Truck	Kamyonet[2] Small truck[2]	Minibüs[2] Minibus[2]	Motosiklet Motorcycle	Özel amaçlı taşıtlar Special purpose vehicles	Yol ve iş makineleri Road construction and work machinery
1973	240 360	20 011	86 780	71 043	30 055	80 860	6 420	7 789
1974	313 160	21 404	95 309	81 025	34 122	86 028	7 338	9 561
1975	403 546	23 763	108 381	98 579	40 623	91 421	8 450	11 157
1976	488 894	25 388	122 176	116 861	46 066	96 984	9 224	14 548
1977	560 424	27 096	138 093	134 213	51 999	102 127	10 137	18 150
1978	624 438	28 559	146 551	144 695	56 836	109 890	10 698	20 894
1979	688 687	30 634	157 095	155 278	61 596	120 378	11 291	22 875
1980	742 252	32 783	164 893	165 821	64 707	137 931	11 777	24 090
1981	776 432	33 839	172 372	172 269	66 514	160 557	12 459	26 246
1982	811 465	35 432	180 772	178 762	69 598	182 795	13 386	30 160
1983	856 350	38 478	190 277	186 427	73 585	217 327	14 705	33 532
1984	919 577	43 638	197 721	198 106	80 697	256 338	16 312	39 445
1985	983 444	47 119	205 496	212 505	87 951	289 052	17 639	45 561
1986	1 087 234	50 798	217 111	224 755	97 917	327 326	19 448	50 819
1987	1 193 021	53 554	225 872	233 480	106 314	369 894	21 236	55 129
1988	1 310 257	56 172	234 166	240 718	112 885	420 889	23 301	58 300
1989	1 434 830	58 859	241 392	248 567	118 026	472 853	25 060	60 191
1990	1 649 879	63 700	257 353	263 407	125 399	531 941	26 519	63 024
1991	1 864 344	68 973	273 409	280 891	133 632	590 488	28 606	66 981
1992	2 181 388	75 592	287 160	308 180	145 312	655 347	31 158	72 000
1993	2 619 852	84 254	305 511	354 290	159 900	743 320	33 703	79 233
1994	2 861 640	87 545	313 771	374 473	166 424	788 786	35 495	83 072
1995	3 058 511	90 197	321 421	397 743	173 051	819 922	37 274	87 214
1996	3 274 156	94 978	333 269	442 788	182 694	854 150	40 212	95 318
1997	3 570 105	101 896	353 586	529 838	197 057	905 121	45 327	107 151
1998	3 838 288	108 361	371 163	626 004	211 495	940 935	49 925	117 913
1999	4 072 326	112 186	378 967	692 935	221 683	975 746	52 105	120 937
2000	4 422 180	118 454	394 283	794 459	235 885	1 011 284	55 677	129 157
2001	4 534 803	119 306	396 493	833 175	239 381	1 031 221	57 490	131 019
2002	4 600 140	120 097	399 025	875 381	241 700	1 046 907	58 790	133 003
2003	4 700 343	123 500	405 034	973 457	245 394	1 073 415	60 511	137 933
2004[2]	5 400 440	152 712	647 420	1 259 867	318 954	1 218 677	28 004	-
2005[2]	5 772 745	163 390	676 929	1 475 057	338 539	1 441 066	30 333	-
2006[2]	6 140 992	175 949	709 535	1 695 624	357 523	1 822 831	34 260	-

(2) Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü veri tabanı kullanılarak elde edilmiştir. TÜİK istatistiklerinin revize edilmesi esnasında daha önce yayımlanan "Yol ve İş Makinaları" 2918 sayılı Karayolları Trafik Kanunu'na göre yeniden düzenlenmiştir. Buna göre; iş makinası türünden araçların, tarım kesiminde kullanılanları Ziraat Odalarınca, bunların dışında kalan iş makinaları da üyesi oldukları Ticaret ve Sanayi Odalarınca tescili yapıldığından EGM veri tabanında kapsanmamaktadır. Bu nedenle iş makinaları kapsamında yayımlanan taşıtlar, "Kamyon ve Özel Amaçlı Taşıtlar" başlığı altında yeniden revize edilmiştir.

(2) It is taken from General Directorate of Public Security database. While SIS revised the statistics, "Road and working machines" which is published before, prepared newly according to 2918 numbered Law of Highway Traffic. According to this law, because of the vehicles like working machine used in agricultural section registered by chamber of agriculture and the other working machines registered by chamber of commerce and industry which they are member, they are not included The General Directorate of Public Security's database. So vehicles published in the coverage of working machines, gathered in the headline of "Truck" in the headline of "Special purpose vehicles".

APPENDIX C

Figure 1: Mahmut Şevket Pasha's Official Automobile (He was assassinated in this automobile on 11 June 1913)



Source: http://www.tsk.mil.tr/askerimuze/mesrutiyet_salonu.htm

Figure 2: Empty Streets in İzmir in the 1940s



Source: Önder Küçükerman, Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl, p.8.

Figure 3: The Galata Bridge, Istanbul in the 1940s



Source: Önder Küçükerman, Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl, p.7.

Figure 4: The American Automobiles in Turkey (the 1950s)



Source: Önder Küçükerman, Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl, p.8.

Figure 5: Devrim, the First Domestic Automobile



Source: Ntvmsnbc, 14 October 2004. Available [online]: www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/291316.asp. [20 July 2008].

Figure 6: Devrim Automobile (from front and from behind)



Source: Önder Küçükerman, Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl, pp.68-69.

Figure 7: Anadol (1967)



Source: kayalik.blogcu.com/page151.



Source: Önder Küçükerman, Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl, p.74.

Figure 8: The First Murat 124 (1971)



Source: Bursa Tofaş Anadolu Arabaları Müzesi.

Figure 9: Murat 124 (1976)



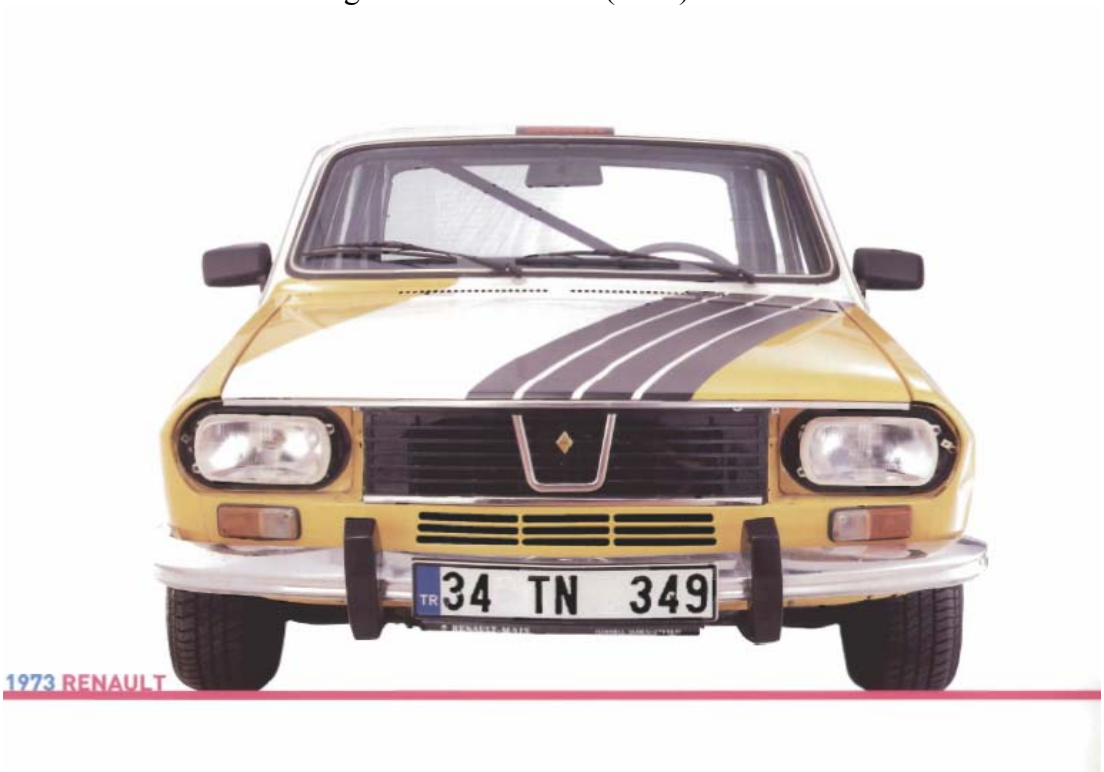
Source: Önder Küçükerman, Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl, p.80.

Figure 10: Renault 12



Source: nostaljik.blogcu.com/Otomobil/

Figure 11: Renault 12 (1973)



Source: Önder Küçükerman, Türk Otomobiliyle 50 Yıl, p.86.

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