MAPPING THE SPATIAL IDEOLOGIES: THE CASE OF HEKIMHAN MINING SETTLEMENT, MALATYA

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ABSTRACT

MAPPING THE SPATIAL IDEOLOGIES: THE CASE OF HEKIMHAN MINING SETTLEMENT, MALATYA

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This thesis follows the spatial traces of iron mining in Hekimhan district of Malatya, aiming to make its dialectical relationship to the history of political-economy of Turkey and ideological framework visible. Within this scope, it examines how the iron and steel industry has been linked to political-economic relations throughout the history of the Republic and approaches ideological superstructure elements regarding their reflections on space. By focusing on social facilities of Hekimhan Mining Institutions, it seeks out the results of the establishment process corresponding to the neoliberal transformation processes taking place after 1980. While trying to reveal complex relations implicit in the case study area, it aims to visualize the overlapping of the space with its socio-political background through conceptual mapping. By doing this, the study examines the potential of mapping to associate the physical one with the conceptual and ultimately, aims to open up new discussions about the collective production process and the limits of the production of space through the current state of the case studies area.

Keywords: Mapping, Political Economy, Ideology, Space, Hekimhan, Malatya

MEKANSAL İDEOLOJİLERİN HARİTALANMASI: HEKİMHAN MADEN YERLEŞKESİ ÖRNEĞİ, MALATYA

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Bu tez, Malatya'nın Hekimhan ilçesindeki demir madenciliğinin mekânsal izlerini takip ederek, Türkiye'nin siyasi iktisadi tarihi ve ideolojik çerçevesi ile kurduğu diyalektik ilişkileri görünür kılmayı amaçlar. Cumhuriyet tarihi boyunca, demir çelik sektörünün ekonomi politik ilişkilerle ve ideolojik üstyapı öğeleri ile nasıl bağlantılar kurduğunu ve bunun mekâna yansımalarını inceleyen tez, kuruluş yıllarının Türkiye'de 1980 sonrası yaşanan neoliberal dönüşüm sürecine denk düşmesi nedeniyle diğer tesislerden ayrışan Hekimhan Maden Müesseseleri sosyal tesislerine odaklanır. Odak alan hakkında özgün ilişkileri açığa çıkarmayı denerken, yerin, sosyo-politik arka planı ile çakışmasını kavramsal haritalama ile görselleştirmeyi amaçlar. Haritalamanın fiziksel olan ile kavramsal olanı ilişkilendirme potansiyelini test eden çalışma, sonucunda alanın güncel durumu üzerinden kolektif üretim süreci ve mekansal üretimin sınırları hakkında yeni tartışmalara yol açmayı hedefler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Haritalama, Politik İktisat, İdeoloji, Mekân, Hekimhan, Malatya

To the memory of piece of my heart; my father

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Final say: Dad, thanks for everything!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AKP:	Justice and Development Party
ANAP:	Motherland Party
Birleşik Metal-İş:	United Metalworkers' Union (affiliated to DİSK)
BİLSAM:	Center for Information, Education and Culture and Social Research
ÇEKÜL:	Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage
CHP:	People's Republican Party
CSULB :	California State University at Long Beach
DAP:	Eastern Anatolian Project
Dev Maden-Sen:	Revolutionary Mining Workers Union
DİSK:	Revolutionary Labor Union Confederation of Turkey
DİVHAN:	Divriği and Hekimhan Mining Institutions Cooperation
DP:	Democratic Party
DPT:	State Planning Organization
EU:	European Union
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
İTÜ:	İstanbul Technical University
KİT:	State-owned Enterprises
MC:	National Front Government
MESS:	Union of Metalwork Industrialists
MTA:	Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD:	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC:	Organization for European Economic Cooperation

OYAK:	Army Solidarity Organization
SEKA:	Turkey Pulp and Paper Factories
TDÇİ:	Turkey Iron and Steel Management
TEKEL:	Tobacco, Tobacco Products, Salt and Alcohol Enterprises
TELEKOM:	Turkish Telecommunication Corporation
TİP:	Labor Party of Turkey
TMMOB:	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
TOKİ:	Housing Development Administration
TÜPRAŞ:	Turkey Petroleum Refineries Corporation
UK:	United Kingdom
US:	United States
USA:	United States of America
Yeraltı Maden-İş:	Revolutionary Underground and Surface Mine Workers Union of Turkey
YHK:	High Board of Arbitration

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?"¹

As architects from the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, we were introduced with Hekimhan, in 2017, during the summer camp coordination. A field study was carried out by the local government's invitation, which needed ideas for reusing iron and steel facilities. When we started visiting the social facilities as the organizing committee, we first felt a severe abandonment about it. There was a tie left in a drawer, salt shaker in the kitchen, paper in the typewriter and we thought it was possible to leave a place in this manner only during an earthquake or a raiding case. Thus, it was clear that Hekimhan had a story. Its connection with the city center was demolished, but its retrieval was a potential. It was unlike the known factory campuses of the early Republican era. It was somehow underdeveloped; it was valuable but incomplete. It found a place on the barren land and flourished, but it did not grow sufficiently.

In this context, this study started with the motivation for revealing the story of Hekimhan Iron Steel social facilities and understanding the invisible relationships network, from its establishment to the present. The primary motives of the study are to give visibility to the story underlying the facility's establishment, to examine Hekimhan's mining history and to reveal the network of relations among its abandonment after its privatization and the efforts to revive it today. Research is based on the dialectical relationship between space, political economy, and ideological frameworks and the findings that are discussed from a historical

¹ Lefebvre, H. (1991). Plan of the present work, *The Production of Space*, Translated by Smith D. N., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p.44

perspective are visualized with the mapping method for convenience of expressing different mediums together.

The aim of this study is to explore the relational character of space via ideological structures in an industrial field. To achieve this understanding, Turkey's political economy has made up the conceptual infrastructure, and mapping has been used to reveal the relationships between the production of space and structural concepts.

This study discusses the relationship between ideology and space in the case of iron steel factories and mining sites, with a focus on Hekimhan mining settlement in Malatya. In this respect, a theoretical framework of conceptual mapping was evolved to overcome the limits of conservative site analysis and map-making ways are used to discover ideological formations in space. As an outcome, the maps aim to reveal the invisible sides of social-spatial relations by unfolding the production process of space.

For the purpose stated above, it is discussed space as a dynamic phenomenon and in its dialectic relation with production. As Lefebvre says in the preface to his seminal book, *The Production of Space*, "space cannot be handled as a product - a thing or an object - it is a totality of relations. Beyond being a consumed product, it is part of the production process and is the center of the productive forces."² Thus, social processes are both determinant and determined. David Harvey explains this situation as follows:

"Spatial forms are . . . seen not as inanimate objects within which the social process unfolds, but as things which 'contain' social processes in the same manner that social processes are spatial."³

Thus, the concept of space with complicated relations cannot be explained through static or independent ways. Because within the production processes, "it [space]

² Ibid. p.27

³ Harvey, D. (1988). Social Justice and The City, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, ch.I

becomes dialectical: product-producer, underpinning economic and social relations."⁴

When the focus is set on industrial areas specifically, spaces are built for production purposes. This way of thinking compulsorily leads to the fact that space gains an economic character and its existence depends on the continuity of production. Hence, the property of the means of production also provides power to control and shape the space. As long as the property is changing hands, the control of the power of space is also changing and rearranging production on each exchange to maximize the surplus-value production. However, the only subject of this change and transformation processes is not the property relation. The working class, which keeps the continuity of production by selling the productive forces and the laborpower, and producers of the secondary production fields that resulted from the primary ones, also make up the parts of this aforementioned process. For this reason, the process of change mentioned may cause agreement and harmonization, as well as conflict and resistance at all times. Investigating these potentials requires a dialectical perspective on the space of production. Bertell Olmann explains dialectic as the following:

"[d]ialectics restructures our thinking about reality by replacing the common sense notion of "thing", as something that has a history and has external connection with other things, with notions of "process", which contains its history and possible futures, and "relation", which contains as part of what its ties with other relations."⁵

From this perspective, space should be discussed on the concept of a *process* that contains its constituents as historical, economical, social, and political. Therefore, in this thesis, the problem is stated to understand the reasons for the abandonment process of industrial areas with their historical background, political meanings on an economic basis and social processes particularly in regard to the working-class

⁴ Lefebvre, H. (1991). Plan of the present work, *The Production of Space*, Translated by Smith D. N., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p.28

⁵ Ollman, B. (1993), *Dialectical Investigations*, Routledge, p.11

structure. The invisible ideological interferences in each layer will be connected on a material base and disclosed via mapping. Effective concepts in the production of space should be defined in a given historical process to get the necessary knowledge for conceptual mapping. Therefore, examining events within the framework of historical conditions is required for the scientific method. From this perspective, to uncover the ideologies, which intervene in the production of space, mapping techniques will be implemented based on the historical flow of the events. The potentials of mapping to make this possible are explained by Corner as follows:

"The capacity to reformulate what already exists is the important step. And what already exists is more than just the physical attributes of terrain (topography, rivers, roads, buildings) but includes also the various hidden forces that underlie the workings of a given place. These include natural processes, such as wind and sun; historical events and local stories; economic and legislative conditions; even political interests, regulatory mechanisms and programmatic structures."⁶

In this context, the case study of this thesis enables a working platform to examine all these mentioned frameworks with their unique qualifications. Hekimhan district of Malatya province is an industrial region with iron mining activities since the 1950s. The meeting with the case study area was realized through "Hekimhan: Mining, Space, Nature, History: Architecture Students Summer Camp"⁷ organized by the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch and other ten branches of the Chamber in 2017. After privatization in 2004, the facility was suddenly emptied and abandoned until 2017, as it was frozen with their experiences throughout time. It is one example from the late period of the national industrialization process, and yet there is no academic study about Hekimhan district in the architectural field. It has a

⁶Corner J. (1999). The agency of mapping. *Mappings*, (ed. by Denis C. p.213), Critical Views London: Reaction, p.214

⁷ "Hekimhan Maden, Mekân, Doğa, Tarih: Mimarlık Öğrencileri Yaz Kampı" is organized by under the guidance of Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch with Adana, Balıkesir, Elazığ, Eskişehir, Gaziantep, Hatay, İzmir, Kayseri, Malatya and Mersin Branches in July 2017 with the contributions of Hekimhan Municipality. For the general overview about the camp see: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, (2017, August, 1) *Hekimhan Mimarlık Öğrencileri Yaz Kampı tamamlandı*, Retrieved from http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/index.php?Did=9004

long story that contains working-class resistances, hybrid characteristic of business structure as private and public, effects of state ideologies in each government changes, and the spatial reflections of these processes which ended up with a sudden abandonment of facilities resulting with privatization in 2004.

The district has value in terms of collective memories of its inhabitants and workingclass character for being a mining town and this feature poses conflict of labor and capital concretely in space. As the basis of conflicts, space presents new relations and production processes, and in these processes, it was also shaped with the clash of ideologies and thus gained ideological functions. Within this scope, Hekimhan with its history and actual situation provides a ground to produce this theoretical knowledge of space by following the trail of practices.

Hekimhan Mining Settlement is the focal point of the study both because of its establishment, and abandonment processes which have occurred under the conditions of neoliberal policies and deindustrialization process. Its failure in spatial development, privatization and the sudden interruption in the continuity of its life, causes of ceasing of production, the last renovation interventions for reusing the facilities by the local government and the political economy framework behind these processes offer opportunities to understand the relationship between space and ideologies. To understand the main paradigms of these invisible dimensions, the spatial production and its network with infrastructure and superstructure elements are revised throughout the chapters of this study.

In the first chapter, the potentials of mapping to visualize the ideological formations are examined. In line with the aim of the thesis, conceptual mapping is the focus and how the map itself can uncover interrelations between knowledge and ideology is discussed. For this reason, first, mapping is redefined against conservative understanding, following its relational character's availability to reproduce knowledge. Subsequently, the concepts of ideology and knowledge are debated theoretically. While relating these concepts to each other, the need for a historical basis is explained through the Marxist perspective. From this historical materialist understanding, ideology and knowledge are examined within specific frameworks rather than a general discussion of definitions. After that, the examples of the representation of relations in conceptual mapping are expressed. The connection between ideology and space is established regarding some concrete examples from different fields and times and the opportunities of mapping are examined by relating concepts each other. Based on these relations, the limits and potentials of architectural production to understand the social space are debated via conceptual mapping.

In the second chapter, the infrastructure of the examination process is made up from a political economy viewpoint. While investigating economic policies with politics, foreign policy, or legislative framework in every period, the reflections of these relations on the industrial field will be done by focusing on the iron and steel sector and their effects are both specified. Based on Korkut Boratav's book *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*, the periods of economic policies are identified and respectively; Karabük Iron and Steel Factory, Divriği Iron Mining Institutions, Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory, İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory and Hekimhan Mining Institutions are evaluated and analyzed within the economic and political conditions in the flow of history. At the end of this reading, the relations between concepts are mapped by concentrating upon the spaces of iron and steel factories and concrete results of economic, political, social, and ideological movements.

In the third chapter, the ideologies behind the establishment periods of residential and social units of iron-steel factories are compared based on the political economy infrastructure which is examined in detail in the second chapter. How the iron steel facilities were founded in different periods, respectively; Karabük in 1937, Cürek in 1940, Ereğli in 1960, İskenderun in 1970 and Hekimhan in 1989 which were shaped by ideological interferences of their periods, political figures, and social movements are also questioned. They are evaluated according to their site selection criteria, architectural programs, site plans, construction methods, and contribution to the city. As for the Hekimhan case, the exceptional conditions of the establishment phase are analyzed, and the current situation is documented with photographs. At the end of the comparison, mapping of the spatial and residential differentiation in iron and steel facilities due to ideological shifts beyond the historical process is made.

Last, in the fourth chapter, the whole conceptions examined in the chapters are related to the spatial base in the context of Hekimhan. The intersection points between time and space are superimposed over social and industrial movements. The historical progress of Hekimhan is examined in three periods and featured aspects of these periods make up the focus. These are firstly the working-class resistances and strikes between the years 1953 and 1980, a time when the trade union had power in the district. Second, the period of preparation to privatize the area despite the facilities growth between the years 1980 and 2004, and finally the collapse period that came after privatization, abandoning of the facilities and cessation of production between 2004 and 2016, and the repurchase by the municipality and the renovation process. The current urban tissue in Hekimhan is reviewed, and spatial movements around the iron steel facilities are specified. Considering the discussions made throughout the thesis, the unbreakable complex bond between social classes, structure, political atmosphere, economic and corresponding ideological superstructure is rediscovered with Hekimhan Mining Settlement based on spatial identification. Furthermore, through the actual situation of the social facilities, the discussion on the collective production processes and its limits in real life is aimed by relating in the context of local possibilities.

CHAPTER 2

POTENTIAL OF MAPPING IN VISUALIZING IDEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

2.1. Conceptual Mapping of Knowledge and Ideology

Mapping as a tool for expression and communication has been used for many years, and its history starts from pre-historic, ancient and medieval times with cartography. The concept of cartography developed as a "scientific" method parallel with improvements of Enlightenment, and the map is defined as an "objective" and "purely scientific" document.⁸ Until the early decades of the 20th century, the idea that the map reflects the reality and is the "mirror of nature" is supported with the effect of classical and modern theories of knowledge and traditional epistemology.⁹ On the other hand, in the later decades of the 20th century, postmodern writings and texts started creating new map notions and instead of a scientific, rigid framed understanding, cognitive and experiential reading of space started to be viewed as more effective. Especially after the 1980s, the notion of traditional map-making was reconsidered by many theoreticians from different social, philosophical, spatial, or artistic perspectives. In this context, discussing the potentials of map-making activity was revealed, and many subjective, creative mapping techniques were produced. This fruitful side of mapping was named by Corner as "the agency of mapping" and he claims:

"... mapping acts may emancipate potentials, enrich experiences and diversify worlds...As a creative practice, mapping precipitates its most productive effects through a finding that is also a founding; its agency lies in neither reproduction nor

⁸Mitchell P. (2008). Cartographic Strategies of Post Modernity-The Figure of Map in Contemporary Theory and Fiction, London: Routledge ⁹Ibid. p.15

imposition but rather in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined, even across seemingly exhausted grounds. Thus, mapping unfolds potential; it re-makes territory over and over again, each time with new and diverse consequences.¹⁰

Therefore, by using this potential of mapping, it is possible to uncover the current state of the space and get new results. From this point of view, the main structure of the thesis firstly takes into account the economic policies as an element of infrastructure and then examines how to define an ideology as a superstructure element that establishes a dialectical relationship with the political economy. Finally, within the framework of ideology as the founding element of space, the existing relations in space unfold from this perspective. In this context, it is necessary to determine how ideology should be handled to create a conceptual map of the space.

2.1.1. On the difficulty of defining ideology

In the Marxist terminology, if ideology and politics are paired with the capitalist state, they would constitute the majority of the superstructure, and this concept is generally discussed through the particular ideological formation or the general historical process. Similarly, while dealing with particular ideologies, evaluations of their relations with the infrastructure or relative situations are only possible through the use of particular data. So, their political analysis will often provide sufficient results in this situation. However, especially concerning Marx's work¹¹, to make precise definitions of the concepts used in the superstructure and "ideology in

¹⁰ Corner J. (1999). The agency of mapping. *Mappings*, (ed. by Denis C. p.213), Critical Views London: Reaction

¹¹Here is a reference to Marx's concept of "Production in general". In defining the concept of "production in general," Marx says:

[&]quot;(...) Production in general is an abstraction, but it is a rational abstraction, in so far as it singles out and fixes the common features, thereby saving us repetition. Yet these general or common features discovered by comparison constitute something very complex, whose constituent elements have different destinations. Some of these elements belong to all epochs, others are common to a few." At the end of his argument Marx came to this conclusion: "(...) all the stages of production have certain destinations in common, which we generalize in thought; but the so-called general conditions of all production are nothing but abstract conceptions which do not go to make up any real stage in the history of production."

See, Marx K. (1903). A Contribution To The Critique of Political Economy, translated by Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, pp. 269-274

general" are not easy. Instead of defining objects in a positivist way, Marx analyzes their movements and in this way, even though the principles can be easily identified, the results and findings can be defined only in the whole of their constitution, not in their particularity.

From this point of view, a discussion on ideology in a specific historical process will provide more efficient results. In that context, identification of the concrete ideological framework inherent within the space depends on the contextualization of the historical conditions. This identification requires the understanding of how the knowledge of objectivity is related to ideology. The reflection of this relational situation in space is the basic knowledge that constitutes conceptual mapping.

2.1.2. On the relationship between knowledge and ideology

The difficulty in defining ideology also stems from the difficulty of understanding the relationship between knowledge and ideology. While trying to understand the relationship between knowledge and ideology, it will be helpful to understand knowledge in scientific sense and discuss its connections and distinctions with ideologies. However, as previously mentioned, what is scientific knowledge and what is ideology will vary according to the level of abstraction and the historical situation. Therefore, it is necessary to comprehend their dialectical connections and dependence on practical activity and division of labor.

Among the three basic concepts as ideology, state, and politics, ideology is the most contradictory one. However, how Marx relates the process of development and interaction of ideological formations is clearly stated in his works:

"(...) With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic- in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out."¹²

Therefore, when trying to explain the relationship between knowledge and ideology –or science and ideology–historical facts should be associated with their origins and formations via the approach of historical materialism. This approach, while addressing the formation and development process of knowledge, is based on the relationship between knowledge and practice. It is impossible to have "direct knowledge" without being influenced by the external world. In the formation of knowledge or the cognitive processes, the consciousness is absolutely in effect, because perception of objects is not dependent on the abstraction of the subject under the influence of external factors.

Existence of preliminary guiding data in scientific observations shows that objects are always known in a historical context. It means that objects are always approached with historical relativity under specific theoretical perspectives. Accordingly, reaching the knowledge of objects requires investigating how these theoretical perspectives emerged in daily practice.

The space that ideology finds for itself is defined by the gap between reality and knowledge under the influence of the historical context. In other words, ideology fills the angle between facts and theory or empirical knowledge and theoretical knowledge. In terms of historical development, the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production is the determinant of the distance between ideology and reality. The deepening of this contradiction creates a massive gap between reality and the formation of ideology. In Marx's words, '*deliberate deceits*' are produced more in such conditions.¹³

¹²Marx K. (1903). A Contribution To The Critique of Political Economy, translated by Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, p. 12

¹³ This is ideology in the sense that the reality is deliberately distorted and manipulated for the interests of the ruling class. Ideology in this sense is related with narrower and specific areas. But when we talk about ideology in general, there is no specific criteria for understanding what are

At this point, two processes related to the emergence of ideology can be mentioned. First, the production of theoretical knowledge, as mentioned above, always takes place within a particular ideological framework. Second, the theoretical knowledge itself has ideological functions. This inference brings to mind whether a scientific ideology is possible, contrary to the opposition of knowledge and ideology. It depends on the existence of the first process. In other words, scientific ideology must be aware of the historical value of the theoretical knowledge and instead of assigning a transcendent quality and unchangeable content to itself it must be open to the new interpretations in the framework of historical conditions. About this, Theodor Oizerman states:

"A scientific ideology presupposes knowledge of its importance of historical and denominational content and the relations with other ideologies, classes, and stages. As a result, this ideology has been free from the idealistic illusions, claims of being a transhistorical or to matter due to eternity. In this sense, scientific ideology is the highest achievement of the scientific investigation of the social-historical process; because it includes the scientific understanding of its specific ideological form."¹⁴

2.1.3. On the representation of relational concepts in mapping

"Mapping makes pluralization and deepening possible; aiming to reveal the diversity of knowledge that cannot be seen in conventional maps and their connection with the 'place' and each other with the search for new and original languages and methods; basically a practice that can be described as relational."¹⁵

From this definition, it can be said that mapping is the visual representation of the relationships found among distinct knowledge. This representation is determined by how the network of relationships is analyzed and how the message is conveyed.

directly deliberate deceits and what stems from objectively arising states of consciousness. See: Çulhaoğlu M. (2015). *Binyılın Eşiğinde Marksizm ve Türkiye Solu*, İstanbul: Yordam Book, p. 157

¹⁴Oizerman T. (1988) *Problems Of The History of Philosophy*; translated by Kanat C.A, Amaç Press, pp.89-90

¹⁵Aral Alanyalı, E. (2019). Dosya 42, İlişkisel bir eylem olarak haritalama, (ed. by Aral Alanyalı E., p.1), Ankara: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch. Translated by the author.

Therefore, the identification of knowledge, the process of dissemination and target audience are the main factors that shape the map.

Since 1980, the criticism of traditional maps has been directed towards producing new perspectives to understand the complexity of relations against a standardized form of vision and transmission. These perspectives aim to see the invisible. Therefore, the relationship between knowledge and ideology is important for mapping. As explained in the first two subchapters, the most important point when investigating these concepts is to consider historical conditions. Knowledge, consciousness, or ideology cannot be independent of the objective conditions of its time. At this point, the knowledge, which is to be produced through the map, will be obtained by determining the historical conditions and the external world.

Mapping, which is defined as a relational act, has a dialectical link with ideology. As both mapping occurs under an ideological determination within the framework of the historical conditions, and the map as an outcome also has an ideological function. In this sense, conceptual mapping establishes the relation of one concept with the others and the resulting concepts produce new consequences.

To explain this relation, the work of the Austrian philosopher Otto Neurath, who provided the first products of the infographic representations still in use today, are good examples. Neurath lived between 1882 and 1945 and spent his life in Vienna for a long time. He was a social-democratic bureaucrat who specialized in many fields such as education, economics, philosophy, and politics and saw the crisis and war periods of the world. At the same time, as a philosopher of science, with the influence of the historical conditions and his socialist position, he did important works for the production of scientific knowledge serving the society. ¹⁶

For this purpose, he focused on the visual representation of knowledge and produced the first works of the infographic language used even today. Yiğit Acar explains

¹⁶ Acar, Y. (2019), Bilginin haritalanması: Bilgi, İlişkilendirme ve Temsil, Dosya 42,in İlişkisel bir eylem olarak haritalama, (ed. by Aral Alanyalı E., pp. 19-24)Ankara: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch

Neurath's ISOTYPE concept as a simple graphic language that everyone can understand, besides being a powerful representation of their political position and social point of view. He cites a lofty aim of Neurath is to develop a linguistic system that can disseminate knowledge to all segments of society and lead to the construction of an egalitarian society.¹⁷

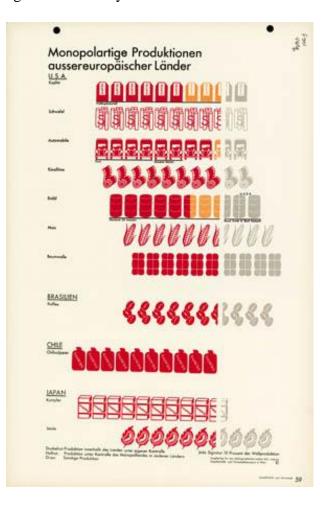


Figure 2-1. Isotype of mass production in non-European countries

Source: Neurath, O. (1930), *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft (Society and Economy), Vienna:* MAK Center as cited in Patton, P. (2009). *Neurath, bliss and the language of the pictogram,* New York: AIGA the professional association for design, Retrieved from https://www.aiga.org/neurath-bliss-and-the-language-of-the-pictogram

Neurath's studies, which were made or served to socialize knowledge, can be called as conceptual mapping and they show how maps carry the ideological and political

¹⁷ Ibid. For a general overview see: Acar, Y. (2017). Atlas of urban design: Textual analysis and mapping of production of knowledge in Turkish context, (Doctoral dissertation) Retrieved from METU Library database.

tendencies of their author. The main reason the traditional cartographic studies are criticized is that, ideologically they are used as an element of force to dominate the space and they also impose this dominant ideology on the user. The possibilities of an emancipating method that will release the representation of the space from this domination depend on the understanding of the space. In this context, mapping is a comprehensive tool for the excavation of the spatial layers.

2.2. Mapping of Spatial Practices and Ideologies in Architecture

"(...) the standardizing character of the traditional masculine architectural production (one architectural solution to one site), its suppression of diversity (wiping production partners under the discourse of a single project owner) and an objectifying production reducing the architectural product into a frozen work, the habitants of a space into only passive human-users, the entire complexity of the space into a piece of land determined by geometric boundaries, vital needs into only physical functions."¹⁸

Aslihan Şenel criticizes the conventional architectural practice and its limits, in the context of its production habits based on familiar and rote methods, not considering the creative potentials. In order to overcome these limits, she conducts studio works with her students towards the use of mapping in architecture as an alternative production method and exemplifies these several ways which integrate 'lived' space in new projections in new ways.¹⁹

Similarly, Peter Eisenman exploited the creative character of mapping during the architectural project production process. In 1985, California State University at Long Beach (CSULB) commissioned Eiseman to design an art museum. The desired architectural program includes exhibition halls, a black-box theater and an auditorium; a cafe, conference rooms, a library, and administrative offices. The

¹⁸Şenel, A. (2019), Mimarlık eğitiminde haritalama: Geleneksel eril mimarlık üretimine yaratıcı bir eleştiri, Dosya 42, İlişkisel bir eylem olarak haritalama, (ed. by Aral Alanyalı E., p.6) Ankara: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch, Translated by the author.

¹⁹ For the elective courses and architectural design studio works of Şenel's students at ITU Faculty of Architecture, see: Ibid. pp. 5-18

university's demand is a *shelter* for all branches of art.²⁰ However, Eisenman disrupts the concept of *shelter*. As an architect, he refuses to produce symbolic functions and chose to break down the traditional role of architecture. He concentrates on the analysis of the site, realizes that there are significant breaks in the field and aims to reveal an invisible *palimpsest of the site's own history*²¹ through architecture by using layering from mapping techniques.²²

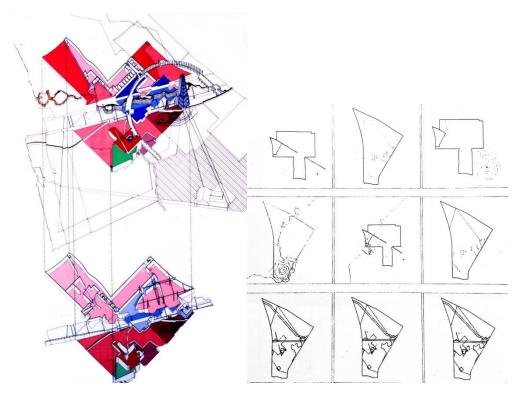


Figure 2-2. Presentation drawings: diagrams of superpositions

Source: Eisenman Architects. (1986). University art museum, Official website, Retrieved from https://eisenmanarchitects.com/University-Art-Museum-1986 (The first), Bedard, J.F. (1994) Cities of artificial excavation the work of Peter Eisenman, 1978-1988, p.149 (The second)

As seen from these examples, the production of architecture as an emancipatory practice is directly related to how space is examined. The ideologies that determine this form of treatment also affect the production of space. However, space is not a

²⁰ Bedard, J.F. (1994) Project History, Long Beach, Cities of artificial excavation the work of Peter Eisenman, 1978-1988, (ed. by Bedard, J.F., p. 134) Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal: Rizzoli International Publications

²¹ Ibid. p.132

²² For a general overview about the mapping techniques, see: Corner, J. (1999). The agency of mapping. *Mappings*, (ed. by Dennis C. pp.213-300), Critical Views London: Reaction press

passive object waiting to be exposed to the effects. Space itself generates ideologies; it contains them, or becomes the scene of conflicts. Lefebvre explains this dialectic relationship as the following:

"Can social space be defined in terms of the projection of an ideology into a neutral space? No. Ideologies dictate the locations of particular activities, determining that such and such a place should be sacred, for example, while some other should not, or that a temple, a palace or a church must be here, and not there. But ideologies do not produce space: rather, they are in space, and of it. It is the forces of production and the relations of production that produce social space."²³

It is necessary to examine the space from a holistic perspective within the framework of historical conditions to understand the social space and its ideologies. In the context of this current study, how the political economic conditions making up the infrastructure have developed in historical progress, in relation to Marx's abstraction of infrastructure and superstructure is discussed. A conceptual map is necessary for describing the relationship between the political economy, industrial field, space, and ideologies and this conceptual map constitutes a basis for understanding the case study area.

²³ Lefebvre, H. (1991). Plan of the present work, *The Production of Space*, Translated by Smith D. N., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p.210

CHAPTER 3

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY MAPPING OF TURKISH REPUBLIC ERA IN THE CONTEXT OF IRON-STEEL INDUSTRY

3.1. On The Political Economy Viewpoint

The effort to reveal the ideological structure's effects on the development of space requires analyzing the economy which is one of the most important elements of the infrastructure, and to synthesize how it shapes the elements of the superstructure. Marx's theory about structural relations is explained in the words of Engels:

"The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure — political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas — also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents, the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary."²⁴

Therefore, it is essential to show the complex networks of relations between concrete political conditions and economic developments in the formation and maintenance of these ideologies and to make the spatial projections readable.

When the focus is space and specifically industrial areas are discussed, production must inevitably be addressed. The spatial equivalent of production activities – industrial areas – is directly related to the economy at the concrete level. However, as Marx said that production is "... not only a particular production... it is always a

²⁴ Engels F. (1972), *Letters from Engels to J. Bloch in Königsberg in historical materialsm* (Marx, Engels, Lenin), Moscow: Progress Publishers, p. 294-296

certain social body, a social subject which is active in a greater or sparser totality of branches of production." The means of socialization of this production is the space itself. In other words, the space which constitutes the medium of production is the source of relations. The infrastructure and superstructure frames are shaped according to the fiction of the space, and sometimes they shape the space. City as both subject and object is the resources to be read to understand and direct the relations of production. As David Harvey said that "the city is a pivot around which a given mode of production is organized, as a center of revolution against the established order, and as a center of power and privilege (to be revolted against.)"²⁵

3.2. On The Iron-Steel Industry in the Political Economy History of Turkey

The relations between space and production and its mapping require understanding the economic conceptual framework with the spatial reflections. In this context, to understand the thesis case study area's unique character, examining Turkey's economic history with a compact but comprehensive method. Therefore, the periodization in the "Economic History of Turkey 1908-2015" book of Korkut Boratav²⁶ is used as a main referring and developments in the iron-steel industry was superimposed to obtain knowledge that will form the infrastructure of the conceptual mapping.

If we start with the years going back to the establishment of the first iron-steel factory, we must go through the first years of the Republic. These years are called as *"protective-statist industrialization"*²⁷by Boratav and the years between 1930 and 1939are examined. The main determinant for the beginning of this period is the effects of Great Depression 1929. It is a turning point both in Turkey in terms of

²⁵ Harvey D., (1988), Social Justice and The City, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p.5

²⁶Korkut Boratav is one of the most important academics economist in Turkey and his book is preferred as a main resource due to purely focused towards economic developments with Marxist and socialist perspective. The book succeeds establishing a consistent cause-and-effect relationship between the dialectics of economics and politics in plain language that non-economists can understand.

²⁷ Boratav, K. (2018). Korumacı Devletçi Sanayileşme: 1930-1939. In E. Çongur (Ed.), Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015 (23rd ed., p.63), Ankara: İmge Books Press, Translated by the author

economy and the entire world. To limit the effects of the Depression, in 1930, Turkey determines an economically closed foreign policy with protectionism. Moreover, with the advantage of having political independence, Turkey was not limited to protectionist measures; it completed this policy with statism since 1932 and made significant developments in the field of industry.

In this period, the first five-year industrial program, known as the "First Industrial Plan" was prepared and close relations were established with the Soviet Union by İsmet İnönü, after his visit to Soviets eight million dollars credits were received and planning experts were invited to the country. Within the framework of this plan, the state had acted as a significant investor and producer in rail and maritime, municipal services, industry, mining and the energy sector. The first establishments of the modern industrial branches was produced in investment and intermediate goods, the first modern facilities in the metallurgy, especially the iron and steel, paper and chemical industries were realized in this period and significant improvements were made in the construction material and cement production.

During these years, the economic infrastructure of industrialization steps was set by banking formations like Sümerbank and Etibank. Identifying and investing in underground and above-ground resources was crucial due to the development strategy. For this reason, the "General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration" was established in 1935 to carry out mining and exploration activities. In the same year, Etibank was established to operate and assess underground resources, to extract mines, industrial raw materials, needed by industry and for all kinds of banking transactions for capital.²⁸

As a result of the establishment of the necessary corporate organizations, Mineral Research and Exploration Institute have started work, and iron ore deposits were identified during the surveys conducted by geologists around the Divriği district of Sivas in 1935-1936. A year later, while the Sivas-Erzurum railway route was

²⁸Chamber of Mechanical Engineers, Dosya: Etibank, Engineer and Mechanics, 48(571) p.44

determined, today's main production sites such as A Head, B head and C placer were founded.²⁹In the same period, existence iron ore was mentioned in the studies in Hekimhan district of Malatya.³⁰ However, MTA was not studied in the region and iron extraction was not started yet in Hekimhan. After the discovery of the iron mine in Divriği, Sümerbank Iron and Steel Factories Directorate were established in 1937 and Karabük Iron and Steel Factory started with 2.5 million sterling credits from the U.K. It was built by British firm H.A. Brassert. In the same year, Divriği mines were connected to Etibank and became Divriği Iron Mines Operations.



Figure 3-1. Karabük Iron and Steel Factory in 1937 Source: Moment Expo. (2008). From paddy to steel: Kardemir, Retrieved from http://www.momentexpo.com/celtikten-celige-kardemir

The years 1930-1939, have witnessed remarkable developments and, although some external credits were received, the majority of the growth was provided with the country's own resources.³¹At the end of the period, industrial facilities were established in Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Zonguldak, Kayseri, Malatya, Karabük, Eskişehir, Isparta, Aydın (Nazilli), Tokat (Turhal), Kırklareli (Alpullu), Sivas (Divriği) and Diyarbakır (Ergani), railways were established between these provinces and valuable social opportunities were provided. From this point of view,

²⁹Çalapverdi İ. (2008). Divriği demir madenleri müessesesi kuruluş bilgileri ve faaliyet raporları, *Divriği Defterleri*,8, İstanbul

³⁰General Directorate of Turkey Iron and Steel Management, 1989, *Hekimhan Maden Müesseseleri Müdürlüğü dergisi*, p.15

³¹Boratav, K.(2018).Korumacı Devletçi Sanayileşme: 1930-1939. In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.79), Ankara: İmge Books Press

it can easily be said that the First Five-Year Industrial Plan had succeeded despite its shortcomings, and then the works began for the second, but these studies were interrupted due to the Second World War conditions.³²

The Second World War has led to tough conditions for Turkey. Although the country was not included in the war, it had a large army ready for mobilization because of the possibility of entering the war at any time. For this reason, instead of undertaking new investments, the basic policy of the state was to protect and maintain existing ones. Because of these main characteristics, Boratav called the period between 1940 and 1945 as "*an interruption*."³³The developments of the postwar period reshaped the class-based relations and the economic, social, and political balances; the efforts to make petty-bourgeois reformism effective like the national protection law, capital tax, soil products tax, village institutes and the enlightenment approaches of the Ministry of Education raised identity and minority issues, and led to new conflicts. So, these prepared the ground for the multi-party regime.



Figure 3-2. Cürek Mining Site in Divriği, Sivas

Source: Sakaoğlu, N. (n.d.), Retrieved from Association of Historic Towns and Regions journal From past to future local identity, 16, Istanbul

³²Ibid. p.76

³³Boratav, K.(2018).Bir kesinti – İkinci Dünya Savaşı:1940-1945. In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.89), Ankara: İmge Books Press. Translated by the author.

Since the war years were a period of stagnation, there were no new developments in the iron and steel sector. Only in the first years of war, Divriği Iron Mining Institutions were moved to Cürek district and a mining site was established for the workers in 1940. Also in Karabük Iron and Steel Factory, the construction of housing and social facility for the workers and the units of the factory continued.

With the end of the war in 1946, a new period started with the words of Boratav; "*an experiment of a different articulation with the world economy*"³⁴ until 1953. From the political side, this year is the start of the transition from a single-party system to the parliamentary regime. On the other hand, in the economic side, as from this year, closed, protective and inward policies were liberalized step by step, and foreign capital investment based economy started.

The loosening of restrictions on foreign capital was first started in 1947 by the CHP. The policy of adapting to the conditions of American imperialism and international capitalism has brought membership statuses to the relevant upper bodies. In 1947, Turkey was a member of the IMF, World Bank, and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). After the Democrat Party came to power in 1950, with the Law on the Encouragement of Foreign Capital Investments in 1951 and the Petroleum Law in 1954, expansion to foreign capital continued rapidly. In 1950, with Turkey's participation in the Korean War, convergence policy between Turkey and US was registered, and after Turkey's NATO membership treaty in 1952, has been approved by parliament.

After the war, due to poverty and fear of the spread of socialism in Europe, the United States had to take action. Because it knew that if capital accumulation were to be created in Europe, this would contribute to its industry again; this would also provide political advantages to the class-based antagonisms. Together with this motivation, the US put the Truman Doctrine in 1947 and the Marshall Plan in 1948

³⁴Boratav, K.(2018).Dünya ekonomisiyle farklı bir eklemlenme denemesi: 1946-1953. In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.103), Ankara: İmge Books Press. Translated by the author.

into practice. Especially, with the Truman Doctrine, under the fight against communism, financial aid was provided to Turkey and Greece in 1947.³⁵

In this context, the effects of war continued until 1948. However, after this year, the economy proliferated until the end of this period to 1953. This growth, which can be considered as compensation for the war years, was achieved with the increase of import values by over 100% percent, US aids, and foreign credits. As a result of this rapid growth, real income levels, and living standards of all social classes has increased.³⁶ However, in this period, agricultural production increased rather than the industrial field, and no significant development occurred in the iron and steel sectors.

On the other hand, this growth tendency had undergone a relative hesitance in a short span of time, and liberal foreign trade policies were ended. Because of the economic constraints, the transition to the import substitution policy began and National Protection Law was enacted for a while in the *"blockage and re-alignment"*³⁷period between 1954 and 1961 years. This deterioration directed the Democrat Party to make public investments in many branches like iron-steel, energy, coal, cement, and sugar through import substitution industrialization³⁸ and the DP discovered that the statist model could play a vital role in supporting the private sector, with the effect of a mixed economy model.

Significant developments were experienced in the mining sector in this period. In 1954, the Mining Law paved the way for mines to be put into operation by the private sector and foreign capital. The year after, Turkey Iron and Steel Management General Directorate was established as a state-owned enterprise. Karabük Iron and

fromhttp://www.maden.org.tr/resimler/ekler/4cdde86a4560c17_ek.pdf?tipi=23&turu=X&sube=0³⁶Boratav, K.(2018).Dünya ekonomisiyle farklı bir eklemlenme denemesi: 1946-1953. In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.117), Ankara: İmge Books Press. Translated by the author.

³⁵ Avşaroğlu, N. (2008), Marshall Planı, Amerikan dış kredileri ve Türkiye madencilik sektörüne etkileri, Retrieved

³⁷Boratav, K.(2018).Tikanma ve Yeniden Uyum: 1954-1961. In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.103), Ankara: İmge Books Press. Translated by the author.

³⁸ İbid. pp. 119-120

Steel Factories affiliated to Sümerbank and Divriği Iron Mining Institutions affiliated to Etibank continued to operate in 1955 by being connected to TDÇİ. Also in 1957, General Directorate of Turkish Coal established and throughout the country, the establishments engaged in coal production linked to this institution. Marshall Aids received from the US were used in the mining sector. In this context, Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory were established as an integrated facility for flat steel production in 1960 with US credits, technical consultancy, and technology.



Figure 3-3. Ereğli Iron Steel Factory site in 1960 Source: Erdemir official website, (n.d) Retrieved from https://www.erdemir.com.tr/kurumsal/tarihce/

The factory was established when industrial capital-related and monopolized industrial organizations needed flat steel as raw material. In the 1950s, the average profit rates decreased in the iron and steel sector especially in the US. Exporting industrial products to underdeveloped countries was not only aimed at expanding the market or the total profit volume but also to increase the activity of commercial capital in underdeveloped countries to increase the rate of profit.³⁹ During this period, Turkey's commercial capital has enabled the expansion as an open market with the establishment of Ereğli Iron and Steel. The labor force of Turkey was used to contribute to the formation of international surplus value. Therewithal, required production tools for the establishment were also purchased from the US. Similarly,

³⁹Şeni, N. (1978). Emperyalist sistemde kontrol sanayi ve Ereğli Demir Çelik. Istanbul: Birikim Press, p. 67

one cofounder of the factory US firm Koppers also paid its share by providing goods and services.⁴⁰

Concurrently, in Hekimhan systematic works for the iron mine were started by the MTA Institute in this period. According to the first studies, the richest iron deposit was found in Deveci village of Hekimhan. In those years, Bilgin Mining, owned by Sadullah Bilgin, bought the lands in this region and started to operate. Hekimhan was more similar to Divriği Institution than Karabük and Ereğli because it was not an area where the mine is operated, but where it is exhumed. However, unlike Divriği, the process carried out by a private company was such that the working conditions were very challenging, far from technology, as the mine was excavated with digging tools and transported by wheelbarrows. The mining activities, which the local people see as subsistence, were a system of exploitation in which workers were employed for long hours in unhealthy conditions without the safety of life.⁴¹

In the same way as Hekimhan, when the mixed economy was operated, the first arc furnace iron and steel facility started production activities in 1960 by the private sector.⁴² METAŞ was founded by Raşit Özsaruhan, one of the prominent industrialists of the time in İzmir. The company was opened by the then Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and showed state's support to private capital following mixed economy policy.⁴³

However, when Menderes government tried to adapt to the world economy with daily economic policies, the discomfort in society due to the right-wing and intense conservative pressures increased day by day. The infelicity of this ideological and political environment and instability in the economy started a new era on May 27,

⁴⁰United Metalworkers' Union (affiliated to DİSK). (2003). *Demir Çelik Sektörü*. (pp. 36-38) Istanbul: United Metalworkers' Union Press

⁴¹Şahhüseyinoğlu, N. H. (1992), Hekimhan, *Hekimhan dağlarında 335 gün işçilerin direnişi,* Ankara: Başak Press, pp. 10-11

⁴²United Metalworkers' Union (affiliated to DİSK). (2003). *Demir Çelik Sektörü*, Istanbul: United Metalworkers' Union Press, p.27

⁴³Iron Steel Store. (2015), *Türkiye'nin ilk demir çelik fabrikası METAŞ icralık oldu,* http://www.demircelikstore.com/-1-8404-turkiyenin-ilk-celik-fabrikasi-metas-icralik-oldu.html

1960, when the army seized power with the military coup. Following the coup, 1961 Constitution were laid, some new institutions and practices defined such as Constitutional Court and State Planning Organization, new freedoms in working life, university autonomy, electoral system, and political parties' position, the impartiality of press and media organs, independence of the judiciary and National Security Council. These institutions and practices were the determinants of the economicpolitical course of the next period.

Also, today's dominant organization of the iron and steel sector; Army Solidarity Organization (OYAK) was established in 1961 as one of the products of the May 27 coup. OYAK was established to complete the military's political power by meeting the economic ideals of the regime and has played a vital role in the development of capitalism in Turkey. The intentions in that period aimed to fulfill the economic model based on modernist-developmental optimism and planned industrialization, and these policies would form the cornerstones of the new era.

After 1961, the economy was getting ready for a new expansion process. With the establishment of the State Planning Organization (DPT), this expansion was based on the planning context. The 1962-1976 intervals which were called *"inward oriented and foreign dependent expansion*"⁴⁴differentiated in terms of content, changes in the distribution of investments, and sector priorities. The socio-political structure of the 1960s influenced import-substituting industrialization. The increase in the income level and technological developments of the urban and provincial bourgeoisie caused consumption preferences to determine the area of investment.

In this context, one of the import substitution processes was observed in intermediate goods such as iron-steel, copper, aluminum, petro-chemistry, and construction materials, especially with the contribution of the public sector. On the other hand, contrary to the expectations, this type of industrialization, which the public meets the

 ⁴⁴Boratav, K.(2018).İçe dönük, dışa bağımlı genişleme ve (1962-1976) Yeni Bunalım (1977-1979). In
 E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.131), Ankara: İmge Books Press.

Translated by the author.

needs of the private industry cheaply, increased dependence on foreign markets. From the political side, the new regime used a populist way ideologically. To remain in power and protect the long-term interests of the ruling class, the short-term interests of the people mass were tolerated. Import substitution industrialization has also emerged as the product of this situation.

As a result of the merger of populist distribution policies with the relative libertarian atmosphere of the 1961 constitution, the working class achieved significant gains in this period. The right to strike, collective bargaining and labor agreements were used strongly and significant increases had occurred in the income level, social life and social security of the people in both rural and urban areas. The legal representation of the Leftist parties made significant progress. In the 1965 elections, the Labor Party of Turkey (TİP) started to be represented in parliament for the first time. In 1967, the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) was founded and began to organize around a lot in the line of work. In 1968, youth fired up by the upheavals of the '68 generations sweeping all over the world also affected Turkey; total independence against American imperialism found great sympathy in the society.

On the other hand, despite this Left-wing rise, the IMF maintained the pressures of liberalization in foreign trade. In this atmosphere, the increase of 1 dollar to 15 TL with the operation carried out in 1970 and this brought firstly the decisions of August 10 in the economy, and then the memorandum of March 12, 1971 politically. However, Turkey's response to the crisis conditions was to postpone the bill until 1977 in order not to lose power in elections. While the world was in an economic crisis, the economy in Turkey continued to grow artificially by taking on short-term and expensive debts.

Under the influence of the Cold War, international relations were anxious, and the Soviet Union improved itself primarily in industrial and technological fields, besides that it had decided to hand out credit aid for the neighboring countries. Within this framework, the 4th coalition government of Turkey made an attempt at developing economic relations with the Soviet Union instead of US⁴⁵ and development plans were made. During the Demirel government, these relations were getting better and at the end of negotiations, together with the protocol signed between two countries agreements were made for the establishment of seven industrial facilities, including İskenderun Iron and Steel, Seydişehir Aluminum Factory and Aliağa Oil Refinery.



Figure 3-4. Start of the first stage of İskenderun Iron-Steel Factories in 1972 Source: İsdemir official website. (n.d) Retrieved from https://www.isdemir.com.tr/kurumsal/tarihce/

The need for iron increased in this period, due to the improvements in fields such as automotive, machinery industry and the construction sector. For this reason, the foundation of the İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory was laid in 1970 as a state-owned enterprise with the effect of import substitution industrialization. In 1975, when İskenderun Iron Steel started operations, the capacity increase was also made in Ereğli Iron Steel Factory. Together with these projects, Turkey was the only country took credits both from the Soviet Union and the US during the Cold War.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ During these years, the US sent "Johnson's letter" to the İnönü government, which was writing that the NATO allies could not be put under the obligation to defend Turkey against the Soviet Union and Turkey could not use the military supplies provided by the US in a possible intervention. After this letter was recieved, for a while, the relations with the US were suspended and Turkey turned its face to the Soviet Union.

⁴⁶Polatoğlu, G. (2018). Türkiye ağır sanayisinin öncü kuruluşlarından İskenderun demir-çelik fabrikası, *Journal of Atatürk University Graduate School of Social Sciences, 22*/Special Ed.

Besides, in these years Bilfer Mining also grew up in parallel with the increasing iron need. According to data from 1975, there were a total of 605 mining sites across Turkey belonging to Bilfer Mining. This number showed a dramatic fact corresponding to 9000 square kilometers and approximately equaling to 1% of the surface area of Turkey. Bilfer captured these mines thanks to land speculation and operated only in the most profitable nineteen of them. As for iron mines, it operated only 5 of the 54 iron mine sites. On the other hand, the iron fields in Hekimhan were the most profitable and parallel to this, exploitation was mostly experienced in Hekimhan.⁴⁷



Figure 3-5. The 605 mining sites owned by Bilfer are equal to 9000 km². Source: Demirel S. (n.d) Hekimhan grevi, kayısı çiçeği ve faşizm

In the late 1970s, artificial welfare policies of Demirel caused a severe economic crisis and also government crises. Ecevit took the power in crisis conditions with queues of oil and gasoline, black-market conditions, devaluations and "*new*

⁴⁷ Yeraltı Maden-İş (Underground and Surface Mine Workers Union of Turkey affiliated to Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) (n.d). *Hekimhan grevi, kayısı çiçeği ve fa\$izm*, Ankara: Yeraltı Maden/İş Press pp.14-18

depression^{3,48} in 1977. In terms of the income distribution, the conflict of distributional relations between the working class and the ruling class had its most nervous period again in the three years following 1976. Indeed, mine workers in Hekimhan have managed to resist. Following the establishment of leftist trade unions, Dev Maden-Sen and Yeralti Maden-İş was founded in Hekimhan for the first time in 1974 and started to organize among the workers. Between the years 1977-1978, the workers carried out mighty strikes.⁴⁹ As a result of these strikes, Hekimhan Mining Institutions were expropriated in 1979 and connected to TDÇİ. Also, there were important strikes by metal workers against the Turkish Employers Association of Metal Industries (MESS) and aroused enormous repercussions throughout the country.⁵⁰

In fact, it is possible to say that one of the main factors preparing the 1980 coup was this conflict. Because of the increasing power of the trade unions, to meet the bill of the crisis conditions from the working class was only possible under the oppressive regime. Conspiring of politically complicated atmosphere, economic crisis brought Ecevit's resignation, and Demirel took over the government again. It is the major change that began the transition to neoliberal years in Turkey and with the Boratav's words of "*the counter-attack of capital*".⁵¹

Demirel brought Turgut Özal to the head of the economy as his first job. Özal, who had strong ties with the World Bank and local capital, propounded the January 24 decisions. These decisions had two primary objectives. The first was market liberalization, and the second was to strengthen local capital against laborers. With the effects of neoliberalism, the state started to withdraw from industrial investments

⁴⁸Boratav, K.(2018).İçe dönük, dışa bağımlı genişleme ve (1962-1976) Yeni Bunalım (1977-1979). In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.131), Ankara: İmge Books Press. Translated by the author.

⁴⁹The details and spatial traces of these strikes will be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁵⁰ President of the MESS those years was Turgut Özal. After serving as a consultant at the World Bank in between 1971 and 1973, he returned to Turkey and became the director in Sabanci Holding and MESS in the same years. For these reasons, MESS was the bosses' union for the workers in those years.

⁵¹Boratav, K.(2018).Sermayenin karşı saldırısı: 1980-1988, In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015*(23rd ed., p.161), Ankara: İmge Books Press. Translated by the author.

since the 1980s, and it was replaced by trade capital, the housing sector, and urban rent. Investments in State-owned Enterprises (KIT) and productive capacity utilization were decreased. Privatization policies started to be adopted for public enterprises.

On the other hand, a distorted populism was effective in social life in these years. With the rise of the urban population and the slum problem, the target group was no longer the producing class of workers and peasants. Ideological investment is now urbanite, squatter, poor, and consumer people-oriented through pro-government foundations and associations, local governments, and media due to the spread of tools such as television and radio. As the consumption culture began to settle, the rule of bourgeois ideology became dominant, and the superiority of the bourgeoisie in the labor market has increased. In terms of social relations, the life focus has turned to the living space and the family instead of the workplace and production, and individuality started to become dominant over the sense of community.⁵²

The developments in the iron and steel sector in this period can be described as undulant. 12th September regime ended the trade union movement and suppressed all strikes in the sector. The strike started in both Hasançelebi and Ankara in June 1980, ended compulsorily on 12th September at the end of the three months. As the indicators of the pro-capital attitude of the regime; the military government expropriated Asil Steel⁵³ because of the factory's debts, and the state paid these in 1982.⁵⁴

On the other hand, one of the important steps of the investments to be made by TDÇİ towards local resources due to the increasing iron need in Divriği in 1986. Turkey's first iron ore enrichment and the pelletizing plant was opened. However, after this development, Divriği facilities were moved to Salavattepe, and Cürek Mining Site was evacuated. This area was not used later and left to its fate. Under

⁵² Ibid. pp. 161-187

⁵³Asil Steel is established in 1974 by Koç Holding, one of the strongest groups of domestic capital.

⁵⁴Chamber of Mining Engineers. (2005). Demir Çelik raporu, Retrieved from http://www.maden.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=111&tipi=5&sube=0

the same project, Sivas Iron and Steel Factory were established in 1987 in Sivas to produce direct reduced iron.⁵⁵ Contrary to these developments, Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory were included in the privatization scope in 1987. In addition, the economic crisis started in İzmir METAŞ.

The government has adopted the privatization policies during these years, but there has not yet been an atmosphere for their full implementation. Because, with the impact of two new factors after the 1989, a new period called as "submission to finance capital and imperfect turn to populism"⁵⁶ by Boratav was opened. First, domination of the military regime ended in the legal and political sphere. Resistance beginning in 1989 from among the working-class caused ANAP to suffer a heavy defeat in the local elections. Following the defeat in two referendums, it lost its single-party power and had to share the government with a coalition and involuntarily returned to populist policies. The second new factor was the abolition of the restrictions on the capital movements in 1989, as part of structural adjustment policies to neoliberalism.⁵⁷ In 1989, the reaction against Özal among the masses increased the potential of the left, but SHP, which had a say in the local governments, avoided class-based oppositional politics. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the 1994 crisis, hopes for a left-wing option against neoliberalism were completely over, and until 2002 the left also supported IMF and World Bank prescriptions.⁵⁸

After the 1994 crisis, the state's withdrawing from the iron and steel industry was sharpened. The public initiative's projects, which would make Sivas, Divriği, Hekimhan, and Hasançelebi the center of iron ore production with huge investment, had ended. First, Sivas Iron and Steel Factory were included under the scope of privatization in 1994, and then Divriği and Hekimhan Institutions were merged as

⁵⁵ Ibid.

 ⁵⁶Boratav, K. (2018).Finans kapitale teslimiyet ve popülizme aksak dönüş: 1989-1997, In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015* (23rd ed., p.189), Ankara: İmge Press. Translated by the author
 ⁵⁷Ibid. p.192

⁵⁸ Ibid.

DIVHAN Mining Institutions and they were partially privatized. Lastly, in 1995, together with the privatization of Sümerbank, the most important industrial investment of the Republic, Turkey's first iron and steel factory, Karabük Iron and Steel Factories affiliated to it was sold. As an exception, under the effect of the compulsory populist policies, a place was allocated for the Hekimhan Iron Mining Institutions social facilities campus area in Özal's hometown, Malatya, and its construction had started.

The impact of the return to populist policies with political concerns on relations of distribution during the previous period increased bourgeoisie's complaints. The capitalists' demand was maintaining the independency of the distributional policies from considerations related with political power. Under the influence of this atmosphere, although there was no need for external credit, Mesut Yılmaz signed the first agreement in 1998 with the IMF and the period of *"continuous IMF surveillance and five lost years"*⁵⁹ started.

Parallel with these developments, while large industrial capitalists expanded, small and medium level industrialists gradually downsized against the increasing debts. In general, the industrial facilities were divested from public to private sector. Specifically, in the iron and steel sector, in 1998, Sivas Iron and Steel Factory were privatized, and production ceased. In 1999, production ended in İzmir METAŞ due to economic difficulties. Asil Steel, which was expropriated and debts of it were paid out in the previous period, was re-privatized in 2000.⁶⁰ In 2001, TDÇİ was included under the scope of privatization and OYAK acquired Sümerbank. Finally, in 2002, İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory was privatized and it was purchased by Erdemir.

In an environment of severe consequences of the 2001 crisis, early elections were realized in November 2002. CHP missed the opportunity to represent the people

⁵⁹Boratav, K. (2018). Kesintisiz IMF gözetimi, beş kayıp yıl (1998-2002) ve krizler, In E. Çongur (Ed.), Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015 (23rd ed., p.213), Ankara: İmge Press. Translated by the author.

⁶⁰ Chamber of Mining Engineers. (2005). *Demir Çelik raporu,* Retrieved from http://www.maden.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=111&tipi=5&sube=0

masses due to the inclusion of Kemal Dervis, who was the manager of the crisis, and chairperson Baykal's opposition policies.⁶¹ All the other parties, who were seen as responsible for the crisis, could not be represented even in the parliament and were liquidated. The AKP, which was founded in 2001, came to power as a single-party in such an atmosphere and would be the determinant of politics in the following years.

The period from 2002 to 2007 Turkey entered the stages of recovery following the 2001 crisis; the program prepared by Kemal Dervis was implemented under the the IMF control. Erdoğan signed a new stand-by agreement with the IMF in 2005 and although the IMF's requirements were not meet by Turkey, the 10-billion-dollar credit was provided as an exception of the exceptions (or *political favoritism*).⁶² In the IMF experts' report, the cause of the exceptional circumstances of this credit was explained by pointing out to the general elections to be held in November 2007. Thanks to this economic relaxation, the years between 2003 and 2007 could be considered as the "tulip period of the AKP"63, IMF programs were followed to a great extent. Especially in the field of public finance, all steps have been taken carefully. Public-Private partnership tenders became widespread and the privatization move was rapidly completed; giant institutions such as TÜPRAŞ, TEKEL, TELEKOM and SEKA, and energy distribution were fully privatized. In addition, the properties belonging to the state, local governments, and public institutions were gradually transformed into private hands.⁶⁴

With the support of the Bretten Woods Institutions, local capital circles took the "flexibilization" model forward. The actual results of this model were subcontracting, contractual personnel practices, even in the public sector and the

⁶¹ Boratav, K. (2018).Kesintisiz IMF gözetimi, beş kayıp yıl (1998-2002) ve krizler, In E. Çongur (Ed.), Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015 (23rd ed., pp.238-239), Ankara: İmge Press ⁶² Ibid. p.248

⁶³Boratav, K. (2018). AKP'nin "Lale Devri" (2003-2007) ve sonrası (2008-2015) In E. Congur (Ed.),

Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015 (23rd ed., p.216), Ankara: İmge Press. Translated by the author. ⁶⁴ Ibid. p.251

spread of informal employment. Consequently, the unionization rate decreased from 51.1% in 1975 to 12% by the end of 2015.⁶⁵

While all the required restrictions of the IMF program against the laborers or public finance arrangements were unconditionally implemented, the only exception was spoilding the requirements of the Public Procurement Law for the sake of protecting political power's interests. Hence, the Public Procurement Law and Public Procurement Agency had particular importance for the AKP as the determinants of its future strategies. Sharing the income obtained from the urban rent through the public tenders constituted the fundamental resource in terms of creating a pro-AKP bourgeoisie and this must be prevented to be shared by the international capital. ⁶⁶

In terms of the Iron and Steel sector, all state-owned institutions were disposed of in this period. All the iron and steel facilities mentioned from the start of this chapter were transferred to the private sector. The case study of the thesis and the only institution that was still in public hands, DİVHAN Mining Institutions, were put out to tender with the decision of the Council of Ministers in 2004 and purchased by Erdemir. In the same period, Erdemir was privatized in 2006 and sold to OYAK. Thus, as of 2006, all state-owned iron and steel facilities were acquired by OYAK. After 2010, reflections of the AKP's urban rentier policies were also seen in Hekimhan.⁶⁷

The years that started with the 2008 crisis opened the new era in which the Tulip Era of the AKP ended. The post-2008 period was shaped by the political and ideological

⁶⁵ Ibid. pp.252-253

⁶⁶Irregularities, corruption, and nepotism in state tenders have reached the highest levels world wide. Boratav explains this: "The AKP government was uneasy about this arrangement. R. T. Erdogan, during his time as the Mayor of Istanbul, had established close relations with the business community, which was dominated by builders, contractors, real estate agents. He observed that the laws, regulations, master plans, and legal permissions that determine urban rents go beyond the income distribution; they have the characteristics that provide wealth accumulation. He could not accept the idea of preventing or limiting or putting supervision on possibility of transforming the Istanbul experience into a national-wide source of power by being carried at the level of whole Turkey, after 2002". Ibid. p.280, Translated by the author.

⁶⁷ The details of the process are examined in the Chapter 5.

atmosphere rather than economic policies for the AKP and the government consolidates its power by resorting to elections at tight points.

The process started with the 2010 constitutional referendum became the first important step that brought the one-man regime. Political Islamist moves towards the regression of social life have reached noticeable levels. Contrary to these oppressions, Gezi Resistance was realized for the defense of public space and freedoms. Then, December 17-25 events erupted in 2014 and the conflict between AKP government and Gülen Movement come to light. Especially, after these two cases, despite the recovery in the 2014 local elections, for the first time in the 2015 general elections, the single party power was lost by the AKP. However, Erdogan did not accept defeat and refused to form a coalition government,⁶⁸ because of this, the election was repeated in November 2015. This was to declare the forthcoming conditions of oppression in an anti-democratic environment.

3.3. On Some Main Results

All the processes are discussed regarding the superimposition of the economic history of Turkey and the iron and steel industrial sector, based on the question of why the political economy is so significant to understand the societal and the spatial characteristics of the industrial fields and this question is tried to be answered through the identification of the historical progress. The economic growth rates regarding the periodization show the interconnection of the urban economic and social processes.

⁶⁸ Boratav, K. (2018).AKP'nin "Lale Devri" (2003-2007) ve sonrası (2008-2015), In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015* (23rd ed., pp.246-247), Ankara: İmge Press, pp. 246-247

The qualification of the period	The years	Average growth, %
92 Years of Turkish Republic	1924-2015	4.9
1. First 25 Years	1924-1948	3.8
1a. Reconstruction during Open Economy Conditions	1924-1929	8.6
1b. Protective Statist Industrialization	1930-1939	5.8
1c. WWII and Post-War Years	1940-1948	0.7
2. Before and After DP	1949-1961	5.9
3. Mixed intrusive economy	1962-1979	6.5
4. Neoliberalism Phases	1980-2015	4.1
4a. The counter-attack of the capital	1980-1988	4.9
4b. Free capital movements	1989-1997	4.3
4c. IMF guidance and four lost years	1998-2002	1.0
4d. Tulip Period of AKP and after	2003-2015	4.4

Table 3.1. Growth rates in periods, 1923-2015, Percentages⁶⁹

As it can be seen in table 3.1, the periods which had high growth rates indicate the years of increase in industrialization in regard to the connection between the political model and the economic structure. In terms of the thesis' cases, establishment and improvement process of the iron and steel factories also juxtapose with these years. - In between 1930-1939, the Karabük and Divriği iron steel, 1949-1961 Hekimhan and Ereğli iron-steel, and 1962-1979 İskenderun iron-steel factories are established. - On the other hand, economic slowdown periods correspond to the acceleration years of neoliberal policies and privatizations.

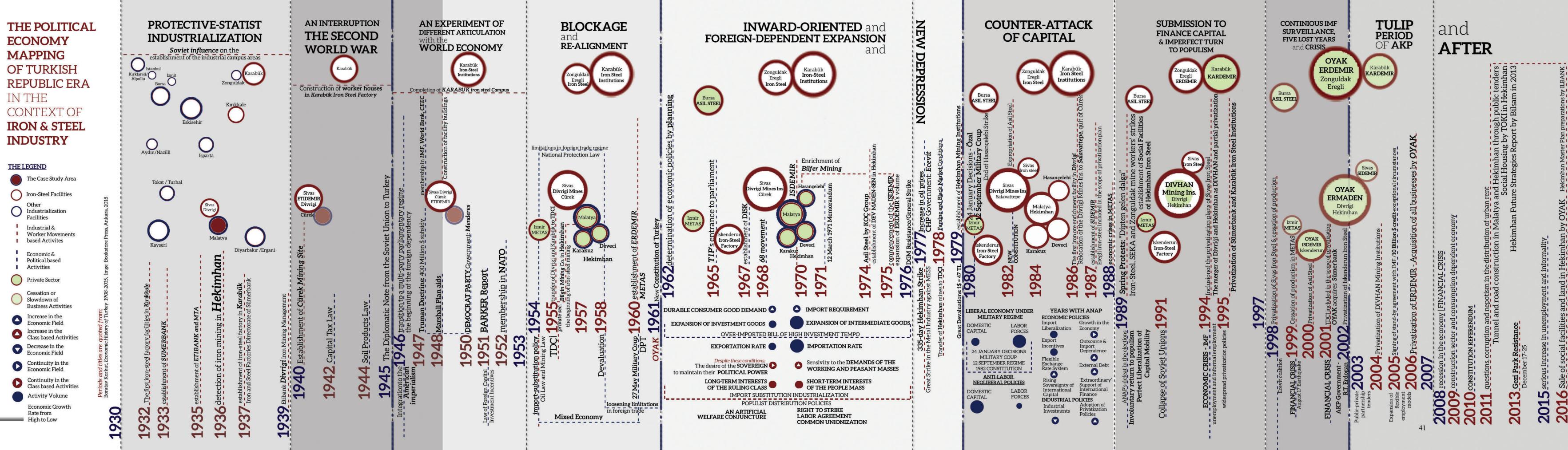
The highest growth rate appears in the 1960s and 1970s years that industrialization first became widespread and then deepened in terms of economic dimensions. Politically accompanied policies to this improvement were called "parliamentarian populism" by Boratav, and the intersection of these two factors reveals democratic social formations. Indeed, the rising in class struggles and trade union movements coincide during this time frame in both the country and Hekimhan too. However, to clarify the phrase, it should be noted that working-class resistance, strikes, or social and democratic achievements do not occur because of populist policies or economic growth. Rather they occur because of the sharp conflict between labor and capital.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p.287. Translated and edited by the author

On the other hand, they find suitable conditions to develop and strengthen in this kind of atmosphere. Industrialization creates a proletariat class from the peasantry, and they constitute class consciousness with the contributions of rising leftist trade unions.

Parallel to these economic and industrial improvements, a critical housing problem emerged in urban areas for industrial and mining workers. In order to overcome this issue, factory campuses are built by the state. For the continuity of industrial production, the relevant requirements for the workers are provided and regarding the industrialization, production of space became an urban phenomenon in terms of political, economic, ideological, and social perspectives. Karabük, Divriği, Ereğli, and İskenderun factory and mining campuses are concrete examples of this situation.

However, unlike the others; in Hekimhan, the mining settlement was established in 1989 while the industry kept losing power. When we look at the table, this year is the start of the economic recession tendencies. At the same time, it is the period for active implementations of neoliberal policies in the industrial sector. Economic and spatial reflections of this slowdown are seen while examining the incompleteness of the mining settlement. For this reason, these iron steel facilities, each of which corresponds to different historical periods and economic-political infrastructure as of the date of establishment should be understood with its spatial reflections and ideological references.





CHAPTER 4

MAPPING THE IDEOLOGY OF ESTABLISHMENT PHASES OF IRON-**STEEL FACTORIES' RESIDENTIAL CAMPUSES**

While examining how iron and steel industries were shaped in each period in parallel to the economic history of Turkey, it can be seen that the political-economic infrastructure is the main founding element of the space. In this context, it is clear that factories and mining sites, which are the focus of production relations, are directly affected by this situation. Examining the spaces produced by the relations of production from this perspective is important for understanding the ideology underlying the foundation of the social space.

Lefebvre says that "If space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history."⁷⁰ Therefore, to reveal the knowledge and ideology involved in the production of social space is only possible when it is investigated within the framework of historical conditions. However, knowledge and ideology must be correctly associated with each other without establishing a relationship of opposition or sameness. At this point, Lefebvre prefers to use the word *representation*.

"The area where ideology and knowledge are barely distinguishable is subsumed under the broader notion of *representation*, which thus supplants the concept of ideology and becomes a serviceable (operational) tool for the analysis of spaces, as of those societies which have given rise to them and recognized themselves in them."⁷¹

However, he also adds that classical perspectives of city planning confuse the concepts of knowledge and ideology while representing the social space. For example, they proposed an exact unit for each function, but they did not think about

⁷⁰ Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*, Translated by Smith D. N., Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p.46 ⁷¹ Ibid.

complex relations and reciprocal interactions in spatial practice.⁷² The potential of creative mapping can be used to overcome this contradiction of classical understanding of architectural practice. Space can be rediscovered with a map to uncover its idea, story, and life experiences rather than perceiving it as independent from time and life. In their article "Drawing the Map: Siting Architecture" Anne Bordeleau and Liana Bresler note as follows:

"The architectural site is never a clean slate; an architectural project is not an idea projected in a preset future but, as its documentation would attest, a process shaped as much by what was then by what is and what might be. While in the past two hundred years maps have often been equated with universalizing worldviews and tools of political domination, a conscious position on issues of scale, multiple viewpoints, and notions of empowerment can perhaps counteract the objectifying tendency of map-making."⁷³

In this context, the meaning of architectural site plans prepared with a single narrative when they are interrelated, the ideologies behind the architectural programs of establishments and how they relate to the political economy policies within the framework of historical conditions will be revealed through mapping. In the case study area of the thesis in Hekimhan, the social facility buildings of the mining institutions, established in 1989, are documented with their life experiences to understand the ideological reflections on space. In this context, the campus areas of iron steel facilities are examined chronologically in connection with their structural relations.

4.1. Karabük Iron-Steel Factory residential campus: 1937

Karabük Iron and Steel Factory as the first iron and steel factory of the Republic is one of the most important industrial moves that brought together the iron from Divriği and coal from Zonguldak. The Soviet expert committee insisted on

⁷² Ibid., p.45

⁷³ Bordeleau, A., Bresler, L. (2010), Drawing the map: Siting architecture, *Footprint, Drawing Theory*, Holland: TU Delft, pp. 45-58

establishing an iron-steel factory during its visit to the country in 1932. Site exploration activities were initiated for the first iron steel factory to be established, in line with the "First Industrial Plan." Although Ereğli was proposed as a place by the delegations from the Soviet Union and the US, the location selection was changed by Sümerbank's "Erkan-1 Harbiye" team for security reasons. They determined some criteria such as proximity to the coal mine, location of the railway to bring iron from Divriği, the availability of residential and social facilities for workers in the region, suitability for the establishment of heavy industry and closeness to the port in case of iron imports from abroad. As a result of the evaluation of these criteria, Karabük was designated as a location for the factory.⁷⁴

The factory started to be built by the British company Brassert on 3 April 1937 with the credits from England.⁷⁵ The factory was established in a neighborhood of 8-10 houses in a Black Sea village and has enabled Karabük to become a modern industrial city after its establishment.



Figure 4-1. İsmet İnönü and British ambassador B. Percy Lorain in the groundbreaking ceremony of the factory Source: Erdem, Y. (1936), IHA archive Retrieved from http://www.eladenecli.com/2016/08/30/mustafa-kemalataturk-doneminde-ki-yatirimlar/

 ⁷⁴ Arslan, M.Z. (1999). Foundation of Kardemir iron and steel factories, its contribution to the Turkish economy and its privatization (Master's Thesis). Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey.
 ⁷⁵Kuruç, B. (1999), 1930'ların sanayi hareketinde unutulanlar ve az bilinenler, 75 yılda çarklardan chip'lere, (ed. by Baydar, O. p.103) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfi Press

When the world came out of the Great Depression years, Turkey adopted protectionist-statist conception by turning inward, also paying great attention to the industrialization aimed at economic development, and implementation of modernity project in Anatolian cities. In order to break the hegemony of Istanbul, in addition to declare Ankara as the capital, Anatolian cities had to be developed, and a modern and western civilization had to be built.

The inward-oriented industrialization model needed the nation-state to be strengthened and national and modern capitalism to dominate. For this reason, the remote corners of Anatolia, with the factories and their developed, modern social facilities have become new model cities as economically strong, socially civilized and politically dependent on Ankara.⁷⁶ In this sense, the Karabük Iron and Steel Factory was one of the first examples of a place in which ideological aspects of this period are embodied. First of all, the factory provided a great opportunity for the workers with the employment area following the war years. With the effect of this how people own the factory can be understood from the words of Hakkı Yardibi, who is one of the factory power plant foremen: "This factory is our eye. The light of our eyes. Do you know the light of that ore? At 1200 degrees, the molten iron ore shines a light. That's light. The light of the country."⁷⁷

Simultaneously with the establishment of the factory, construction of the campus for workers and engineers has started. The architectural program had a function to symbolize the life of a commune reflecting Soviet campus perceptions. In this area, which would receive intensive migration of workers and engineers, a new life organization was created through architecture.

⁷⁶ Şengül, T. (2001), Türkiye'de kentleşmenin izlediği yol üzerine: Bir dönemleme girişimi, *Kentsel çelişki ve siyaset kapitalist kentleşme süreçleri üzerine yazılar*, İstanbul: WALD, Demokrasi Kitaplığı, p. 73

⁷⁷Engin A, (1999). Divriği'nin demiriyle Zonguldak'ın kömürünün Karabükte'ki düğünü: Karabük Demir Çelik İşletmeleri, 75 yılda çarklardan chip'lere, (ed. by Baydar, O. p.122) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfi Press

According to the hierarchical structure, the houses for workers, officers, engineers, and managers were built. There was a kindergarten child-care and also a primary and a high school. To meet all the necessities within the campus, a marketplace, a hospital, and heating center were designed. Besides, social activities and sports had great importance. There were open-and-closed cinema, community house, workers and engineers clubs and social facilities, which were also separated hierarchically. For sports activities, everything from the tennis court to the swimming pool was considered.⁷⁸



Figure 4-2. Karabük Iron Steel, garden with swimming pool, 1942 Source: Kunkar, A. (2014), retrieved from http://karabukgundem.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/1942-D%C3%87-Y%C3%BCzme-havuzu-Havuzlu-Bah%C3%A7e.jpg

These spaces were designed not only shelters for the workers but also created a new society which is the ideology of establishment came to life. The spaces produced here have lived together with the users revealed a new way of living and transforms not only its habitants but even the surrounding provinces. For example, in the most difficult days of the Second World War, the people in these facilities listened to

⁷⁸Öktem, S. (2009). Karabük Demir Çelik Fabrikaları ve yerleşimi, Fabrikada barınmak Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Türkiye'de işçi konutları: Yaşam, mekan ve kent, (ed. by Cengizkan, A. p.160) Ankara: Arkadaş Press

conferences from intellectuals such as Nurullah Ataç and Mehmet Emin Yurdakul, also Hasan Ali Yücel, the Minister of National Education of the time, spoke of the state's education policies. In the theater hall, Moliere's plays were staged by the students of Ankara State Conservatory and discussions were held on them.⁷⁹

By considering the conditions of the period, both as a heavy industry facility and as an effective example of the modernity project, the Karabük Iron and Steel Factory is proof that space itself carries an ideological framework when it is designed and if it lives after its implementation, it also has ideological functions. As a product of statist industrialization, the factory, and the campus area were produced in a planned and serious manner as public investment, and this move has created an industrial city with its environment. Besides, it has added great economic value to the country and has been the center of the country's industry for many years together with Sivas and Zonguldak. Thus, as a social product, space has become a living organism.

4.2. Divriği Cürek Iron Mining Site: 1940

During the protective-statist industrialization period, local sources in the mining field had become more important than ever because of self-sufficient industrial policies. In Divriği, iron ore was discovered by MTA, and studies for iron extraction were initiated within Etibank in 1938. Mining institutions were established in the same year to supply raw materials to Karabük Iron and Steel Factory. In 1940, a mining site was established in the Cürek district of Divriği to raise the living standards of the mineworkers and to support production efficiency.

The facilities were established in the years of the Second World War, but despite the difficult economic conditions of these years, they developed an extensive architectural program. There were all units designed to meet the daily needs of workers such as houses with a garden, a fully equipped hospital, primary school, guesthouse, mosque, market, workshops, post office, workers' cafeteria, and

⁷⁹Engin A, (1999). Divriği'nin demiriyle Zonguldak'ın kömürünün Karabükte'ki düğünü: Karabük Demir Çelik İşletmeleri, 75 yılda çarklardan chip'lere, (ed. by Baydar, O., p. 126) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfi Press

accommodation units. Besides, it had many urban facilities, such as indoor and outdoor movie theaters, children's playgrounds, tennis courts, Olympic scale swimming pool, basketball, volleyball and football areas where workers can socially reproduce themselves.

Mining facilities were located physically far away from the city and the ironextracting mining site, therefore transportation was provided by the railway to the city and production area. Because of this distance, Cürek settlement could not be fully integrated with the city and was known as the Paris of the region in the language of the people. It was seen as the symbol of modern and western lifestyle in the city.⁸⁰

In the buildings which are settled in the barren land by following the topography, functional, basic and simple solutions that have been emphasized. According to geographic conditions, arranged landscapes were designed from housing gardens to the boundaries of the site. The entire area reflects an understanding beyond the conditions of the period, even the urban equipment such as traffic signs, sculptures, urban furniture or lighting units were thought to be a part of an integrated design.

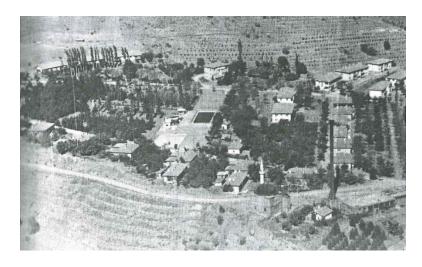


Figure 4-3. The landscape of the Cürek Source: Divriği Municipality archive (n.d), as cited in Durusoy, E., Polat, Omay E. (2017), Unutulmaya yüz tutmuş bir "maden sitesi": Cürek, Mimarlık, 396

⁸⁰ Durusoy, E., Polat, Omay E. (2017), Unutulmaya yüz tutmuş bir "maden sitesi": Cürek, *Mimarlık, 396*,(53), Ankara: Chamber of Architects, pp. 63-69

However, the fact that there is no factory-like physical relationship between the campus and the mine production area has led to the lack of spatial and architectural exploration of the site. Although it is an important example of the early Republican era, there is insufficient archive and information about Cürek. Facts about the architect or the design process of the site are not known. However, based on design principles and typology similarities, there are estimates that German architects have designed it.⁸¹

This mining site was so important during the establishment years for the state; in fact, many names from İsmet İnönü as a President to Fevzi Çakmak, who is Minister of National Defence, Refik Saydam, who is 4th Prime Minister and Kazım Özalp, who is the chairperson of the parliament, have visited both the iron processing sites and the Cürek campus.⁸² Because Cürek's founding ideology is the dissemination of modernization through space in the middle of Anatolia, like in the main objective of these years. From this point of view, liberal, humanist and enlightenment cultural policies, which were effective in this period, influenced the social and cultural policies of the mine site. For example, a primary school on the campus not only serving the workers' children but also the villagers. There were 25 boarding students from the surrounding villages, and all the needs of these students were provided free of charge by the administration. Besides, one head teacher and three teachers were charged in this school,⁸³ and this number was well enough for these years.

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 66, for a general overview about the subject see: Ayyıldız, Yüksel, B. (2012), Sanayisizleşme süreci bağlamında Sivas Divriği ilçesi Cürek Mahallesi'nde bulunan tescilli demir madeni işletme kompleksinin endüstriyel miras olarak korunması ve yeniden işlevlendirilmesi çalışmasının Almanya Ruhr Havzası ile karşılıklı olarak değerlendirilmesi, (Dissertation thesis in Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums)

⁸²Sakaoğlu, N. (2008), Cumhuriyetin örnek maden sitesi Cürek, *From past to future local identity*, *16*, İstanbul: Association of Historic Towns and Regions, p.49

⁸³ Üçyıldız, (1945), Divriği madenlerinde birkaç gün, *Etibank mecmuası*, Retrieved from: http://www.divrigidernegi.com/icerik.asp?KID=8



Figure 4-4.Cürek Mine School Source: Divriği Municipality archive, (n.d) (The first), Elifnaz Durusoy archive, (2013), (The second), as cited in Durusoy, E., Polat, Omay E. (2017), Unutulmaya yüz tutmuş bir "maden sitesi": Cürek, Mimarlık, 396

The Cürek mining site developed and expanded until 1986 when the Divriği Iron Institutions moved to Salavattepe. However, after this move, Cürek was evacuated with no projects for its future and abandoned to his fate. Although it was taken under protection as a registered cultural heritage by Sivas Regional Conservation Board in 2007, Erdemir acquired ownership after privatization and worked for many years to remove the protection status. There were many actors in the process, such as the Conservation Board, non-governmental organizations, experts, and Erdemir; they fought with each other for Cürek. It is under registered status for the time. However, with each passing day, it loses its original qualities.

4.3. Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory Residential Campus: 1960

Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory, founded in 1960 with the scope of the Marshall Plan of the US, is one of the most important industrial investments of the period. The factory was established as a reflection of American policies with the Democratic Party's development based economic understanding. Zonguldak, which has been developing with the industry since the early years of the Republic with coal mining, has been the first address of Marshall Aid. Ereğli was found available because of its proximity to the coal mine, presence of a port, and easy accessibility with the railway and the highway for the establishment of the factory.



Figure 4-5.The first aids within the scope of the Marshall plan at Zonguldak port Source: Yıldırım, Y. (2016). Okulumuz yine birincidir, Retrieved from http://www.pusulagazetesi.com.tr/m_6152/okulumuz-yine-birincidir%E2%80%A6/

At the same time, existence of suitable land for the facilities for the workers and engineers was identified as an important issue. In this context, an architectural project competition was organized by the administration for the establishment of social facilities. Although the State Planning Organization has not been established yet, and the development steps have been taken with daily policies in the field of industry, to obtain the best solution, choosing the competition method by TDÇİ was important in this period. In the Arkitekt magazine, this issue was evaluated pride opportunity for the country, both organizing a competition by the administration and the intense participation of the architects in 1962.⁸⁴

The jury's priority evaluation criteria are in compliance with the character of the topography, accessibility in terms of transportation and consideration of the landscape. At the same time, the protection of the inter-employee hierarchy among the spaces and the diversity of social and cultural opportunities are important points of the projects. As a result of the evaluations made within this scope, the first prize was awarded to the team of architects Yılmaz Sanlı, Yılmaz Tunçer, Vedad Özsan,

⁸⁴ Ereğli Iron Steel Factories Site Project Competition Jury Report, (1962), Arkitekt, pp.14-25

and Güner Acar from the Department of Architecture of Istanbul Technical University.⁸⁵

The prominent feature of the first project was its design's availability to be built step by step following the economic conditions of the administration. Also, it proposed different housing typologies far from being boring, easier accesses to each building with pedestrian and vehicle traffic, isolation between neighborhoods with the help of green areas, the use of advantages of the sloped topography and possibility of watching the scenery from buildings successfully.⁸⁶

The priority area in the architectural program was accommodation units. There were many types of housing typologies arranged according to the status of employees. Similar to Karabük and Cürek, spaces were designed for daily necessities and social activities. The program involved market, cafeteria, guesthouse, primary school, bakery, post office, heating center, and parking area, as well as cinema, entertainment center, sports facilities, football ground, and recreational gardens.



Figure 4-6. The family portrait from Erdemir in the 1960s

Source: OYAK Mining Metallurgy Group. (2015, November 23). Erdemir group 50th year documentary [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XQ5Ca2-elOk

The project, which was realized with US credits, technology, and technical consultancy, was a follow-up of the economic policies of Democratic Party's

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

"development without foreign aid is impossible"⁸⁷ understanding, despite the 1960 military coup. Marshall Aid has been used in mining, industrial and agricultural fields and has contributed to economic growth, but it is one of the first steps of foreign sources depended economy.

On the other hand, in this period, migration from rural to city centers increased, and the people created their housing conditions with their own efforts as the state kept investment in urban areas at a minimum level and put industrial moves in the forefront. Despite the policy of preventing progressive, leftist, and democratic movements from legal politics until the 1960s, both the urban squatter movements and working-class was gain leftist character especially after the second half of the 1960s with the contribution of 1961 Constitution.

Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory started production in such an atmosphere in 1965 when the trade union movement and working-class organizations were strengthening. Thereby, it also witnessed strong labor struggles and long-term strikes. The closeness of the factory and residential campus provided community sharing and contributed to the workers' organizations with spatial and social opportunities. At this point, the potential of the space is revealed, it is not limited to the ideology of the establishment, and it could create new relations and ideologies. The facility, which was established as a reflection of pro-American policies, could be turned into a base for the labor movement and the struggle for rights against capitalism. Thus, space is not a static object, rather the ground of a complex and flexible network of relations.

4.4. İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory Residential Campus: 1970

In the second half of the 1960s because of the interruption of relations with the US, Turkey established close relations with the Soviet Union after many years. During this period, import substitution industrialization policies adopted by Turkey and the

⁸⁷ Boratav, K. (2018). Tıkanma ve yeniden uyum: 1954-1961, In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015* (23rd ed., pp.246-247), Ankara: İmge Press

result of an agreement between two countries studies were started for seven industrial investments in different regions of Turkey. As one of them, Iskenderun Iron and Steel Factory is one of the last examples of planned periods' large-scaled industrial investments by the state. Since 1968, within the framework of the second five-year development plan, the government of Turkey and the Soviet Union acted for the establishment of the factory.

First, studies were made for selecting the place of the establishment between Samsun, Mersin, and İskenderun, and because of the easy access to the inner parts, having a busy port, past industrial experience and favorable conditions for regional development and employment, İskenderun was preferred.⁸⁸ Subsequently, a loan was received from the Soviet Union to be used for the construction and materials required for the establishment of the factory. At the same time, technical consultancy support of Soviet experts was provided during the construction process. All the construction works were carried out by Turkish engineers, technicians, and workers. The feasibility studies of the factory were made by a Soviet company, and technological equipment and some materials were procured from the Soviet Union. Also, Turkish experts and workers received technical training in the Soviet Iron and Steel Factories.

In addition to the factory, an improved port and a social facility were established in the factory's south. As of 1973, residential buildings, guesthouses, restaurants, cinemas, swimming pools, sports facilities, and primary schools were completed. The factory was the largest investment of Turkey until that day, and the opening ceremony was realized with the participation of Demirel and Kosygin, who was the Premier of the Soviet Union. In the speeches, they emphasized the relations between the two countries will continue to develop and strengthen in the direction of mutual assistance.⁸⁹

 ⁸⁸ Polatoğlu, G. (2018). Türkiye ağır sanayisinin öncü kuruluşlarından İskenderun Demir-Çelik Fabrikası, *Journal of Atatürk University Graduate School of Social Sciences*, 22/Special Ed., p.632
 ⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 640



Figure 4-7.Demirel and Kosygin in the opening ceremony of İskenderun Iron Steel Factory Source: İvanov O, İvanov Y. (1975), Sputnik archives, Retrieved from https://tr.sputniknews.com/infografik/201811121036113069-sscb-turkiye-fotograf-arsiv-tarih-isbirlik/

Soviet influence is seen on the factory campus, which was established as a selfsufficient campus to improve the living conditions of workers and meet their social needs. As in the other factory examples examined, the factory and accommodation units are located close to each other. However, it is possible to note some differences to other industrial facilities as Deniz Kimyon suggested:

"It is principally built for the workers who are compulsorily attended close to the factory. However, it is interesting that the capacity of the housing district is over than this urgent requirement. It is resulted from both its highly-integrated huge industrial facility and the socialist design approach emphasizing the provision of housing for workers."⁹⁰

Moreover, in İskenderun iron-steel, different from its predecessors, a suburban factory campus was constructed in contrast to a factory within the city surrounded by

⁹⁰ Kimyon D, (2013), Assessment of factory campus development in Turkey through an urban design perspective: The case of İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory campus, (Master thesis), City and Regional Planning Department, METU, Ankara, p. 93

urban fabric. Therefore, there were various criticisms about the insufficient relationship between the factory and the city center and that the campus was isolated from the city.⁹¹ This enclosed campus life improved the community spirit and solidarity among workers. However, communication and social cohesion with the citizens remained limited.

As a matter of fact, in that period the significant point for the ruling party towards the crisis conditions was to ensure the continuity of industrial production, artificial prosperity and to complete the elections in this way successfully. For example, throughout the country, migration from rural areas was concentrated in the urban settlements, but the state did not provide any possibility for housing needs of people and squatters intensified at the center of the cities. Despite this situation, in the same years, extensive possibilities were designed for the workers in the suburban campus area of İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory. These were not realized ideologically with the purpose of the city and the citizens' development, but with the motivation of progress and economic growth in the industrial sector. Indeed, with the development of industry, durable consumer goods started to be seen in every household, such that the television antennas on the slum roofs became sarcastic symbolic images of this period.⁹²

4.5. Hekimhan Iron Mining Institutions Social Facilities: 1989

In 1975, the need for iron ore increased with the beginning of production in İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory. Thereupon, a large scale study was initiated in partnership with TDÇİ and MTA, including Hekimhan, Hasançelebi, Divriği, and Sivas to meet the iron need that had hefty import bills. Under this scope, feasibility studies, and project preparations, which include social facilities in Hekimhan, were

⁹¹ Kimyon D, (2013), Assessment of factory campus development in Turkey through an urban design perspective: The case of İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory campus, (Master thesis), City and Regional Planning Department, METU, Ankara, p. 126

⁹² Boratav, K. (2018). İçe dönük, dışa bağımlı genişleme ve (1962-1976) yeni bunalım (1977-1979) In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2015* (23rd ed., pp.246-247), Ankara: İmge Press, p.134

started. The mineworker Hacı Ali Doğan tells about the project prepared for Hasançelebi as follows:

"At that time, they said that the capacity of highways and railways would be increased to provide transportation, an airport where Charter planes could land in Yazıhan district, the establishment of two dams in Hasançelebi for water supply and three separate social facilities for the establishment of employment for 5000 people. These facilities include a workers' site in Hasançelebi district, a social facility to the west of Hekimhan and a pellet plant around Yazıhan. So much so that even the spaces for animals that these employees could feed in their homes were planned. With the realization of this project, the population in the district will be increased to 50.000, and it will be an industrial center was told us."⁹³

However, this project, which was prepared as a comprehensive campus site with Soviet experts, similar to the İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory and its social facilities, could not be implemented. Because, during the start of the studies, economic depression began between 1977 and 1979 and after the neoliberal period opened with the military coup of September 12th, 1980. Therefore, when compared with the other examples examined in this chapter, a Hekimhan Mining Institutions social facility has different characteristics.⁹⁴

After 1980, investments in the industrial area gradually decreased, and the state started to look for ways of assigning to the private sector. For example, even one of the most advanced facilities, Ereğli Iron and Steel Factory, was included in the privatization scope in 1987. In such an atmosphere, the resumption of the Hasançelebi project and to start construction of a social facility belonging to Hekimhan Mining Institutions in late 1988 was interesting. In fact, despite the nationalization of mines even in the 1970s, which gave importance to industry in

⁹³ Personal interview with a mine worker from Dev Maden-Sen in Hekimhan, during the summer camp in July of 2017 of the Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Ankara Branch. For the details of Hasançelebi project see: Source: Şahhüseyinoğlu, N.H. (1992). *Hekimhan Dağlarında 335 gün İşçilerin Direnişi* pp.14-16. Translated by the author

⁹⁴For a comperative overview see: *Mapping the ideology of the establishment phases of iron steel factories' residential campuses* at the end of the chapter

terms of development, a comprehensive social facility for workers did not come up to the agenda.

At this point, it is useful to understand this move by looking at the ideological framework of the period, along with the political economy. In the late 1980s, governing party ANAP started to lose power and social anger were raised especially against Özal. In Özal's period as the savior of the economy, the burden on the laborers has increased with each passing day. Moreover, corruption and profiteering have reached an extreme level. After the two referendums lost in 1987 and 1988, on the way to the 1989 local elections, ANAP was aware of discontent in society. In this context, Özal's hometown of Malatya had special importance as a vote source. It was one of the most convenient places for election promises with its rich iron ore deposits.

In the report prepared by the Chamber of Mining Engineers in 2005, the results of the feasibility report prepared by İstanbul Technical University Mining Engineers Faculty for Hasançelebi Pelletizing Plant Project were presented. According to the feasibility report, while the project required very high investment costs, it is seen that even if this investment was made, inefficient results would be encountered and the ore will not find buyers.⁹⁵ Chamber of Mining Engineers interprets these results like this:

"Considering the national and international problems experienced in the iron and steel industry after 1985 and the privatization policies implemented for KİTs in our country; the modernization of the iron and steel industry according to the new conditions and developments, the implementation of strategic marketing, and sales policies are added. However, Malatya deputies, who left their impress on these years, Prime Minister Turgut Özal and executives such as Recai Kutan, who made the Ministry of ETK pursued the iron and steel industry and our iron mining in pursuit of empty dreams far from being scientific and rational. In order to make some

⁹⁵ Chamber of Mining Engineers. (2005). *Demir Çelik Raporu*, Retrieved from http://www.maden.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=111&tipi=5&sube=0

investments in this region which has only their own hometown and voting potential, they made General Directorate of TDÇİ run around in circles."⁹⁶

As a matter of fact, these investments worked at the time, while the ANAP lost significant rate of the vote in the 1989 local elections throughout the country, Malatya has been one of the few three provinces gained power. Moreover, despite past workers' resistance and leftist character, the candidate of ANAP won the mayor's position in Hekimhan in this election.



Figure 4-8.A thank-you note from the mayor of ANAP in local newspaper of Hekimhan Source: National Library archive, Hekimhan Express, (1989, March 27), 39

The Hasançelebi project and the social facilities of Hekimhan Mining institutions came to the fore as an example of ANAP's election promise and compulsory populist practices in such an atmosphere and construction of the administrative building started in late 1988.

Hekimhan, when compared to the other facilities, is quite different from the project production process to the construction phase. In the design process of the project, neither foreign expert committees nor architectural project competitions were

⁹⁶Ibid. Translated by the author.

organized as in other facilities Instead of that, typical projects were implemented. By combining typical projects one by one, the architectural program comprised of the following buildings: worker houses, three villas for managers, administrative building, cafeteria, guesthouse, library, language laboratory, sports hall, carpentry, workshops, storages, warehouse, heating center, and parking area.⁹⁷

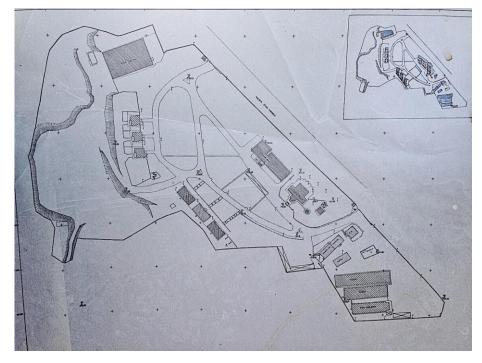


Figure 4-9.A site plan of the settlement Source: Hekimhan municipality archive. (2017)

2 - Hekimhan Müessesesi Sosyal ve İdari Bina Yapımı : 36100 K tipi Spor Salonu tamamlanmış ve 30 Ağustos 1990'da açılışı yapılmıştır. 8 daireli bir blok lojman ile misafirhane inşaatı ihalesi onayı Yönetim Kurulundan çıkmış olup, mukavelesi imzalanmış ve firmaya yer teslimi 1989 yılı içinde yapılmıştır. Halen bu inşaatlar devam etmektedir. Müessese İdari Binası 9.11.1989'da BD tipi üç adet lojman ile kısmi altyapının 28.12.1989'da geçici kabulü yapılarak hizmete verilmiştir. 2 Blok 16 daireli lojman inşaatının ihalesi yapılarak firma belirlenmiş ve 1990 Mayıs ayı başlarında firma inşaata başlamıştır. İnşaat işlerinin tamamının 1990 sonu itibariyle tamamlanması planlanmıştır.

> Figure 4-10.A note about the typical projects of buildings Source: National Library archive, TDÇİ annual report of 1989

⁹⁷Turkey Iron-Steel Management. (1999). Sosyal durum, Sayın Devlet Bakanımız Edip Safter Gaydalı'ya hazırlanan brifing, p.12



Figure 4-11.Administrative building and guesthouse Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)

When this program is compared to the other facilities, an underdeveloped context of the campus organization could be seen. In particular, the intention to meet the only compulsory needs of workers is obvious; social production spaces were quite limited. Moreover, although the site is suitable for landscaping, there were no open sports areas or recreation fields. In this context, the area has not gained a full campus character like the other facilities.

In Hekimhan, the mining site and the residential area had to be distanced from each other. Unlike the factories, the production field is not an area where iron ore is processed or steel is produced, rather in the mining site; iron is extracted directly off the ground's surface. Therefore, the relationship between the workplace and settlement area was only similar to the Divriği Cürek mining site. However, when compared with the Cürek, although it was established in the Second World War conditions, Hekimhan could again be seen the small scale.



Figure 4-12.Hekimhan iron ore deposits working area Source: Taken by the author in the administrative building of the settlement



Figure 4-13.Hekimhan iron mining settlement view from the south Source: Hekimhan municipality archive, (2017), edited by the author

Similar deficiencies were observed in the construction phase of the project. After 1980, the deterioration in the state apparatus and the prominence of the private sector caused seriousness in the planning stage and disruptions. For example; although the construction of the administrative building started in 1988, the news that the contractor had grafted and left the construction undone appeared in the newspapers in 1989. The incomplete construction of the administrative building started waited for a while and could be completed by starting a tender again.

Demir Çelik İdare Binasının ikmal Ihalesi hafta sonunda yapılacak Hekimhan Demir Çelik Yarım kalan inşaatın E-Madenleri Müessesesi ida manet komisyonunca yeni re binasının önceki yıllarden ihale edilerek bir an da insaatina baslanmasina önce insaatı bitirip müesrağmen müteahhidin çeşit sesevi veni binasına tasıli yolsuzluklar yaparak in mak icin ikmal insaatın şaatı yarıda bırakıp kaçihalesini hafta sonunda ihale edecektir. mıştı. 1989 birim fiatlarıyla Bilahare inşaat müteah hidi müessese tarafından yaklaşık 380 milyon liraya mahkemeye vererek, hakbitirilmesi tahmin edilmek

Figure 4-14.Newspaper clipping about the tender of iron steel administrative building Source: National Library archive, Hekimhan express, (1989, April 17), 42

tedir

kında yasal şilem yapılmış

However, despite all these failures, the settlement contains spatial potentials. By looking at it today, the buildings are important for their users' life experiences, and they have been suspended in time after its privatization in 2004 as the reflection of the effects of economic, political and ideological politics on space. This frozen and abandoned form of the space also had the potential as a field of conflict between ideologies.

Hekimhan Mining Institutions social facilities carry significant potential for a district on Hekimhan scale, and reuse of these facilities is important for the revival of the region. The municipality started using the administrative building and guesthouse after renovation, and it shows that signs of life will occur again in the settlement. In fact, non-governmental organizations or universities worked on the area and proposed some interference to the municipality to re-functionalize the field.

However, the main feature that privatizes this area is to reflect the characteristics of the early implementation of neoliberal policies in the spatial field. Because Hekimhan is one of the rare examples produced in the industrial and mining sectors after 1980 when it was a very important turning point for Turkey. Indeed, it reflects the neoliberal ideology of its founding period as a whole; with its underdeveloped campus qualities, the misery of the architectural program, and the interrupted construction process.



Figure 4-15. Inner views from the administrative building Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-16. Eating-house and kitchen Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)





Figure 4-17. A villa for managers Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-18. Worker houses Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-19. Inner views from worker houses Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-20. Game hall and big kitchen from guesthouse Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-21. Inner views from guesthouse Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-22. Sports saloon Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



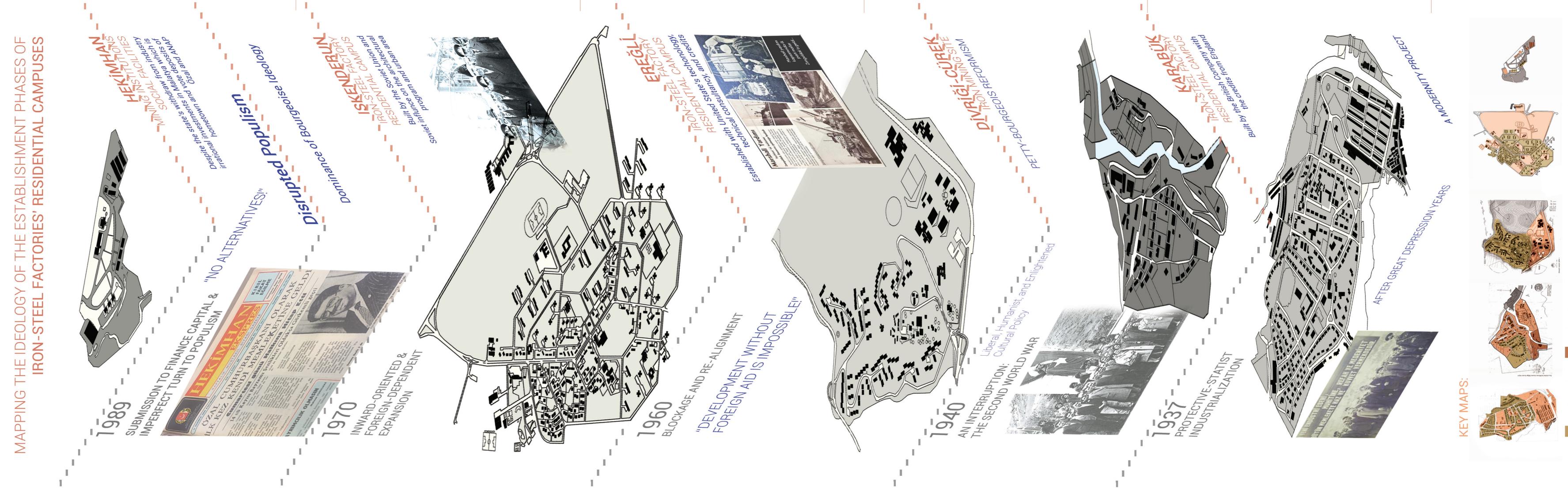
Figure 4-23. Ateliers Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-24. Ateliers and warehouse Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2017)



Figure 4-25. First stages of the renovation process Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive (2018)



CHAPTER 5

MAPPING OF RELATIONS IN HEKIMHAN IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, IDEOLOGY AND SPACE

5.1. The Spatial Intersections with Historical Progress in Hekimhan

Malatya is one of the wealthiest regions of Turkey in terms of underground sources. In the region; there are iron, chrome, copper, lead, and boron reserves. Hekimhan district of Malatya province has the most significant mining deposits; especially iron and chrome have been the source of income for many years. It was first mentioned in 1936 that there is significant iron ore in Hekimhan.⁹⁸ In these years, which correspond to the early Republican period, no studies were done to extract the ore from Hekimhan despite the importance of industrialization and intensive investment in the industrial field.

At that time, the 'protective-statist' principle was pioneered in taking steps towards industrialization and especially with the credits and technical infrastructure provided by the Soviet Union and the UK, 18 factories were established within the First Five-Year Development Plan.⁹⁹ In this context, for the beginning of iron and steel sector the iron extracted from Divriği, next to Hekimhan, was processed in Karabük Iron-Steel Factory following the plans of the period and there is no mining activity in Hekimhan. Agriculture and animal husbandry were the primary sources of livelihood before the mine commenced operations. Because of the difficult conditions, the

⁹⁸Turkey Iron-Steel Management. (1999). Hekimhan , *Sayın Bakanımız Edip Safter Gaydalı'ya Sunulan Brifing*, p.3

⁹⁹Peri B. (2006) Cumhuriyet Dönemi Endüstri Yapıları: Kayseri ve Nazilli Sümerbank Fabrikaları, *Dosya 3, Endüstri Mirası*,(ed. by Zelef. H. pp. 24-28) Ankara: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch Press

majority of adults were going to the other cities as manual laborers¹⁰⁰, and feudal relations prevailed in the district. In this period, because of the limited economic facilities, settlement within the district was also limited.

The beginning time of the mining activities in Hekimhan's coincided with the postwar period, in which Turkey became a part of the capitalist system, with an emphasis on development policies, and the opening of industrial investments the private capital. As a settlement comprising many important layers with its topography, natural and historical heritage, Hekimhan gained new values with mining. In this district, where we can see the reflections of the economic, political, and ideological policies of the state in every period, it is important to explain how this place is shaped with historical conditions. It is possible to read the relational status of the space through Hekimhan, which has been the scene of conflicts and gains, shaped by living and acquired new characteristics with the effects of each period.

From this point of view, the historical evaluation of the space shaped by the contradictions of the mining workers, bosses, and governments, which has influenced the political economy and ideological factors, determines the periods in Hekimhan.

5.1.1. The period of Intense Labor-Capital Conflicts: 1953-1980

In Hekimhan, the mining activities started in 1953¹⁰¹ and the date corresponds to the beginning of the break in the history which is called by Boratav "blockage and realignment" period.¹⁰²The Institute of MTA began systematic work between 1959 and 1961. Bilfer Mining, owned by Sadullah Bilgin, one of the richest entrepreneurs of the time, started to operate by purchasing iron and chrome deposits in the region. The facilities of the company started in 1938 with chrome mining and imports, and

¹⁰⁰Şahhüseyinoğlu, N. H. (1992), Hekimhan, *Hekimhan dağlarında 335 gün işçilerin direnişi*, Ankara: Başak Press, p.5

¹⁰¹ Ministry of The Interior, Hekimhan Governorship Official website http://www.hekimhan.gov.tr/maden

¹⁰² Boratav, K. (2018). Tıkanma ve yeniden uyum: 1954-1961. In E. Çongur (Ed.), *Türkiye iktisat tarihi 1908-2015* (23rd ed., p. 119), Ankara: İmge Books Press

then iron extraction was added. In the short span of time, the company was improved thanks to the increase in the number of customers, incentive credits, and exploitable deposits obtained by field speculation. With the enrichment, it purchased iron deposits in Karakuz village of Hekimhan and chrome deposits in Kuluncak and Bicir villages. Besides, the name of the company, in which the manager's wife, daughter, and son-in-law become partners, was changed to Bilfer Mining and became a joint-stock company.¹⁰³

In the eyes of the workers who are struggling to make a living in other cities, the opening of the mine in their hometown was seen as a golden opportunity. Therefore, for the company, to find laborers for working in the mine cheaply was easy.

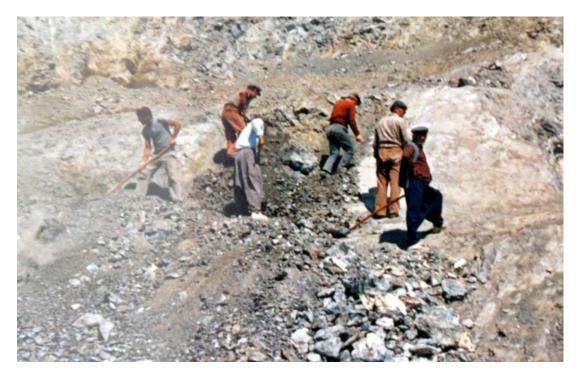


Figure 5-1. Working conditions in Hekimhan Source: DİV-HAN General Directorate (1999). General information report

103 İbid. p.12

In those years, Turkey was trying to adapt to the world's capitalist production system, nevertheless; in Hekimhan, as in many other Anatolian districts, feudal/semi-feudal relations still determined the economic structure with the domination of certain families and tribes in consistence with the government's political power.

Similarly, the ruling families of C12111k, Mutlu, and Çavdar are in good relations with the mine owner Sadullah Bilgin.¹⁰⁴ In this way, while the working class was exploited, the company grew rich day by day. The working conditions of the workers were terrible, the health and safety measures were disregarded, and for example, mine was being extracted with digging tools and transported by wheelbarrows. However, since all means of production belonged to Bilfer Mining, space and mine were defined in the eyes of the workers as follows:

"Hekimhan has iron ore ... Mountain mountain, red red, black black. The Constitution says that underground resources are under the rule and disposition of the state. It is true. Hekimhan's iron-laden mountains are under the control of Bilfer Mining Private Company. Therefore, this company means the state for the Hekimhan worker, the state itself. Like the mines, the construction machinery belongs to Bilfer's boss. Excavators, dozers, wagon-drillers, trucks... The mountain, the stone, the machine, whatever it is, it's the property of the Bilfer Boss. And also the labor that he buys, the peasant producing barley, -the labor of the workers and the apricot producing peasant - the labor of the workers ...¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Bütün, O. (2015). Hekimhan ve Bilfer. *Yedi kat yerin altından uğultular geliyor*, Ankara: Dipnot Press, p. 24

¹⁰⁵ Yeraltı Maden-İş (affiliated to Revolutionary Underground and Surface Mine Workers Union of Turkey) (n.d) *Hekimhan grevi, kayısı çiçeği ve fa\$izm*, Ankara: Yeraltı Maden/İş Press p.10. Translated by the author



Figure 5-2. Constitution says that underground resources are under the rule and disposition of the state. Source: Demirel S. (n.d) in Hekimhan grevi, kayısı çiçeği ve faşizm, Ankara: Yeraltı Maden-İş press, p. 9

The word of a mine worker, who has been heavily exploited for many years, has the power to reveal the contradictions of capitalism's property relations. Acquisition of the private property of the city and nature and the unequal sharing of the surplus-value has turned into a process that determines the perception of space. The continuation of these relations of property, which has been used as a part of everyday life, is also a guarantee of the capitalist mode of production's hegemony. Therefore, the way to end the exploitation of labor is through the understanding of this relationship by the workers holding the power of production and the realization that it has the potential to break hegemony. This consciousness can change both property relations, and everyday life practices, besides space can be emancipated in favor of laborers.¹⁰⁶

However, bourgeois ideology puts significant obstacles to the development of this consciousness. As it is mentioned in Chapter 2, the most important factor in the

¹⁰⁶ For the main idea about the property relations see: Sargın, G.A. (2017, December 2). Bir Ankara hikayesi: Kamusal insanın çöküşü, [Blog post] Retrieved from

https://gasmekan.wordpress.com/2017/12/02/bir-ankara-hikayesi-kamusal-insanin-cokusu/#_ftnref1

adaption of ideologies by wide masses is that it finds a place in their daily life practices. At this point, considerable awareness of bourgeois ideology is the source of the success of its infiltration in the workers' daily lives and finding points of conflict. Such success of the bourgeois ideology in guiding was skillfully maintained by the Bilfer Company until the late 1970s.

Regionalism and sectarian conflicts have embittered the workers who rebelled for low wages, months of no salary, and working conditions. First, workers were brought from Erzincan for lower wages to be employed, and Hekimhan's own workers were threatened with being fired. Similarly, identity conflicts such as the Alewi and Sunni or Turkish and Kurdish have been highlighted.¹⁰⁷ Ideologically, these attempts to replace the labor-capital conflict were specifically targeted to direct the workers' anger, normally able to live together in their daily lives or workplaces, not on the company owners, but on each other.

Under these circumstances, the workers' rebellion could be suppressed every time, as there was no organized trade union movement. In 1974, as a result of again not paying salaries for a long time, a mining engineer who was seen as an employer was killed by the workers because of the manipulations of company owners. In the report of the Chamber of Mining Engineers, this issue is considered a social explosion.¹⁰⁸ After the incident, Çetin Uygur, one of the members of the board of the Chamber, came to Hekimhan and evaluated the socio-economic conditions of the district together with the other mining regions by speaking with workers. As a result of the evaluations, it was declared that workers needed a union. However, this would not be a company union that tried to compromise with the owners, on the contrary, a union that would defend the rights of the workers.

These years were also a time when the trade union rights were recognized with the 1961 Constitution and the workers' movement rose throughout the country. It was

¹⁰⁷ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, (1977, February 26)

¹⁰⁸ Turan, M. (1974). Arkadaş Sabahattin Çakır'ı yitirdik. *Journal of Madencilik*,8(7) Chamber of Mining Engineers

also a period in which populism was favored ideologically, and the short-term interests of workers were tolerated to protect the long-term interests of the governments. Under the influence of this infrastructure, Çetin Uygur started to work for establishing a new union. As a result of the meetings with the participation of workers from districts such as Hekimhan, Yeni Çeltek and Aşkale, Turkey Revolutionary Underground and Surface Mine Workers Union (Yeraltı Maden-İş) was established on July 20th, 1975.

5.1.1.1. Hekimhan strike

The organization of the union was carried out by the workers' committees and councils. Each and every participant of the production process in the mines (all of the mental and manual laborers) was members of the same class, the proletariat; hence they worked and organized together. Decisions were taken first in the workplace committees and then discussed in the workplace council with the participation of one person from each of the committees. Council spokespersons were changed periodically so that almost every worker had the opportunity to express himself in the councils. The studies were carried out to build a network above and under the ground.¹⁰⁹

This experience can be cited as a progressive example of the concept of democratic participation, which is now widely debated about how the citizen can have a say in urban management or in shaping the space. However, the main difference here is that the worker's achievement as the result of the struggle becomes a basic fact of the daily life.

¹⁰⁹ Bütün, O. (2015). Hekimhan ve Bilfer. *Yedi kat yerin altından uğultular geliyor*, Ankara: Dipnot Press, p. 29



Figure 5-3. The boss didn't even sit at the collective bargaining table. Source: Demirel S. (n.d) in Hekimhan grevi, kayısı çiçeği ve faşizm, Ankara: Yeraltı Maden-İş press, p. 59

Approximately two years after the establishment of the trade union; the committees and councils became more functional in 1977, and collective labor agreements started. At this stage, Bilfer refused to sit at the negotiation table with the workers, and later, one of the longest strikes in the history of Hekimhan started. The strike, which began on October 5th, 1977, continued for 16 months despite harsh conditions.

Resistance in Hekimhan was not limited with the mine workers. Most of the workers had a semi-peasant character in relation with the other members of their households and besides mining agriculture was an important source of livelihood. Because of this, it was not difficult for the strike to find support among the peasants. At the same time, the truck drivers who undertook the transportation of the mine too were exploited by Bilfer Company. The company sold trucks to drivers and asked them to work and pay, therefore they worked without any salaries. Moreover, they were not able to pay their debts even if they worked free for their lifetimes. Hence, they also supported the strike and started seeking their rights.



Figure 5-4. The caricature about the exploitation of truckers Source: Demirel S. (n.d) in Hekimhan grevi, kayısı çiçeği ve faşizm, Ankara: Yeraltı Maden-İş press, p. 47

Counter-attacks and threats continued throughout the strike, and even the trade people were threatened not to sell food to the strikers. However, the Bilfer Company became a common enemy for the inhabitants of the district, and class consciousness was reached via the public education carried by the union. The strike became a "school" for the entire people, in the words of the workers, and everyone was struggling to finish this school with success.¹¹⁰

In this school, usage of space has also shown great diversity. The strike transformed the space and organized it through its emancipatory practices. It was supported by all segments of the society, felt among all segments living in the district and interfered with the daily life practices. For this reason, sometimes the wall of a building was used as a blackboard to teach students how to read and write, and sometimes the strike tent established on the slopes of a hill served as a collective gathering place.

¹¹⁰Ibid. p.47



Figure 5-5. Hekimhan strike. Mineworker teaches a child to read and write. Source: İrfan Demirkol archive as cited in Bütün, O. (2015). Yedi kat yerin altından uğultular geliyor, Ankara: Dipnot Press, p.48

After the end of this powerful strike, the mining operation was transferred to the Turkish Iron and Steel Works in 1978 and it was expropriated. After the expropriation, the working conditions were improved relatively, and strong trade union activities in the region continued. State-owned mining operations and the provision of employment in the district, provided population growth and economic development for the county.

5.1.1.2. Hasançelebi strike

The rising nationalist and oppressive tendencies in the country between 1975 and 1980 also changed the ways of struggle of all the leftist structures, associations, parties, and trade unions. For this reason, the struggle of the workers to gain their rights at the same time meant resistance against the government.¹¹¹ Therefore, it is no coincidence that in these years strong workers' resistance took place in many parts of the country. Against the ideologies which were attempted to be placed in

¹¹¹ Ibid. p.31

front of the rising reaction from the people, masses organized their own ideologies and managed to find a place in daily life. Therefore, resistance was a daily fact in those years with the working class active in high numbers.

Hasancelebi has an important place as one of the important districts of the mine workers' struggles. As the increasing iron need in the country led to high import rates in the 1970s, works were initiated to establish new iron and steel facilities within the scope of development plans. It was known from the previous drillings that there were rich iron deposits in the Hekimhan region. In this context, extensive drilling works were carried out in Hasancelebi by MTA between 1970 and 1974 and 1 billion 150 thousand tons of reserves were found in Hasancelebi. -It is the largest known iron deposits in Turkey.¹¹²As a result of the feasibility studies, the foundations of the project, which required an investment of 7 billion Turkish liras, were laid for the facilities to be established in Hasançelebi, Divriği, and Sivas. In this context, the Department of Hasdemir Group was established under TDÇİ, and the buildings for worksite were opened in Hasancelebi.

After the facility had started to operate in Hasancelebi, the trade unions in the mining sector started work to be organized. The right-wing yellow union, Celik-İş and Dev Maden-İş were struggling for trade union authorization. In 1976, the independent Dev Maden-İş union got authorization and applied to join DISK. After that it conducted the following activities under the name of Dev Maden-Sen. The union made a call to TDCI for a collective bargaining agreement. However, the fact that a revolutionary union gaining the authorization in those years posed a great danger both against the General Directorate of TDCI and against the Nationalist Front (MC) government of the period.¹¹³

The government was attributing great importance to this area for the future of Turkey's industry. Hasdemir in Hasançelebi, Divriği Pellet and Cürek Facility, and

¹¹²Şahhüseyinoğlu, N. H. (1992), Hekimhan, Hekimhan dağlarında 335 gün işçilerin direnişi, Ankara: Başak Press, p.14 ¹¹³ Ibid. pp.21-22

the 4th iron and steel factory were being built in Sivas. When the investment was completed, it was predicted that 7000-8000 workers would work in Hasancelebi, 10.000 workers in Divrigi and at least 20.000 workers in Sivas. A revolutionary trade union starting organization in the region, with such a great potential, constituted a great threat against the nationalist and the right-wing ideology.¹¹⁴ For this reason, the General Directorate did not recognize Dev Maden-Sen as the authorized trade union for a long time and tried various methods to separate the workers from the trade union. When they refused to make to a collective bargaining agreement, the strike started on 10 September 1976.¹¹⁵



Figure 5-6. Peasant women and children joined on the first day of the strike. Source: Şahhüseyinoğlu, N.H. (1992). The resistance of workers for 335 days in Hekimhan Mountains

All Hasancelebi people; the women, children, the elderly, peasants, and the artisans identified with the strike, and despite all the bullying, threats, and state interventions, they did not withdraw their support. The workers were determined not to give up until they took all their rights. The resistance, which created tremendous influence, had spread throughout the country and found place in the press and column articles.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p.22 ¹¹⁵ Ibid. pp.23-46

Despite the lawsuits filed by the MC government and the General Directorate of TDÇİ, threats by the constabulary, and the intimidation of the villagers with investment withdrawal, detentions and financial difficulties, no one gave up, and the strike continued for 335 days. Finally, the Directorate was obliged to accept the terms of the trade union with a letter dated 20.5.1977 and called for a compromise. With the collective bargaining agreement signed on 6.8.1977, the Hasançelebi strike resulted in great success and achievement.¹¹⁶



Figure 5-7. The resistance in the Bilfer mine in Deveci village was intended to be broken like this. Source: Şahhüseyinoğlu, N.H. (1992). *The resistance of workers for 335 days in Hekimhan Mountains*

During the Hasançelebi strike, ideological reflections from the urban scale to the building scale transformed the space in a wide range of ways. First of all, the center of the union was located in Sivas. Sivas-Malatya highway and village roads used to spread the word of the strike became a place of encounter and conflict of the opposing ideologies during the strike. As a space of temporality, roads were spaces where the control mechanism of the state was most easily conducted under the conditions of the period.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. pp.46-68

Similarly, since the streets were seen as a meeting and social sharing point, they were considered dangerous, and a de facto martial law was proclaimed in Hasançelebi. During the strike, even two people were forbidden to walk around in the street when it was dark and to go out after 11 pm. However, people become conscious about the strike and were able to see that there was fear behind the prohibitions. For this reason, the prohibitions were not respected; on the contrary, people moved together.¹¹⁷

Against these restrictions, workers used space as an emancipatory tool. For example, the station building, one of the most important points of transportation, was used to spread the strike to all passengers, and written banners were hung on the facade of the station building, overlooking the Sivas-Malatya highway, such as "This workplace is on strike", "Long live DISK, long live proletariat!"¹¹⁸

As another example, during the 11-months strike, methods of sheltering in different seasonal conditions were sought. As the tent was not sufficient in the harsh winter conditions, a strike barrack was built on the land shown by the mayor of the period with the efforts and cooperation of the workers and a sample of collective architecture were obtained.¹¹⁹

As can be seen from these examples, every ideological approach shapes the space together with its users for the sake of its own demands. The embodiment of the ideology in daily life is realized through space. However, this is an interrelated process. In other words, not only ideological determinations transformed the space, but similarly, spatial practices also gained an ideological meaning.

5.1.1.3. The last strike

The crisis conditions in the country had a heavy impact on the iron and steel sector as from 1977. However, the workers struggling with an organized and strong trade

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p.41
¹¹⁸ Ibid. p.50
¹¹⁹ Ibid. p.61

union structure prevented the crisis from being burdened on them and left the capitalists in a difficult situation. As a matter of fact, after a 16-months strike against Bilfer in Hekimhan, the private company could not continue production and got away with it. For this reason, in 1978, Hekimhan mines were connected to TDÇİ like Hasançelebi. Likewise, a 335-day strike in Hasançelebi had a serious impact on the sector and caused capital losses for the shareholders. Not only in Hekimhan, but in many parts of the country, the situation was the same, and strong strikes took place. This powerful struggle of the working class was a serious threat to the capitalists that had lost profits.

At the end of the depression years, in 1980, Turgut Özal came with the o24th January decisions accompanying it. It was the beginning of the US economic adjustments against the workers through IMF and OECD channels. Anti-labor practices and pressures were manifest at every scale as the main feature of the economy package.

Therefore, in 1980, the last strike in Hasançelebi was opposed to the pro-American attitude and its repressive ideology, rather than being just a bread and butter issue. Like the previous strike, the second MC government was in power, and Dev Maden-Sen had gained the trade union authorization. However, a nationalist trade union consultant was appointed by the government to the general directorate of the TDÇİ. The general manager as soon as possible agreed with the yellow union and provided excessive wage increases its members. On the other hand, he did not negotiate with Dev Maden-Sen for eight months and intimidated the member workers and forced them to resign. When the trade union demanded the same increase for its member workers, the answer of the directorate was clear: "Revolution, democracy or the Constitution are not my concern. Our goal is to dismiss you and your opinion from our workplace and to replace you with the Nationalist trade unions. Either you or us."¹²⁰ Under these conditions, on April 18th, 1980 a strike started against the ideological attitude of the Directorate, surrender of the country to the imperialists

¹²⁰ Ibid. p.73

and oppression of the working people during price hikes. The vice-leader of the labor union explained the reasons for the strike:

"Our strike arose from the employer's ideological views rather than the wage dispute. Turgut Özal, who is the mentor, brainpower, planner, and the representative of the employers, has been assigned with all powers. A state planning under secretariat is equipped with the authority for finding and postponing debt, for depreciating the value of the money, for marking-up the supply of provisions, and for coordinating the collective bargaining agreements with the workers. Such important powers cannot be convened in a single person in countries governed by democracy. If all powers are convened in a single person, there is doubt about the democratic future of that country."121

This proves that the subject matter was an ideological conflict; the labor minister of the period also answered a question about the strikes by saying "The strikes are ideological."122

This strike, unlike the others, also created influence in the center of the country. The headquarters of Hasdemir Group, in which Hasancelebi was affiliated, was located in Ankara. The same exploitation scheme continued here as well. In the large city transportation, rent, cost of living, class differences, and contempt by superiors were even more evident. Dev Maden-Sen also had the authorization in this workplace, and strike decision was taken in Ankara simultaneously with the one in Hasançelebi. A banner saying, "This workplace is on strike" was hung on the door of the general directorate around Kavaklıdere and Bülten Street, and a striking tent was built in the garden. In the heart of the capital city, Hasancelebi strike met with the peasants, workers, and youth through 90 days. The strike, starting on June 13th, filled its third month and was interrupted by the September 12th, 1980 coup d'état.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, when all these conditions were taken together, the 1980 coup occurred at a point, when capital was weak against the awakening of the

¹²¹ Ibid. pp.73-74. Translated by the author.¹²² Ibid. p.81. Translated by the author.

people, suffered losses due to strikes and laborers could only be stopped with coercion and oppression. Therefore, the transition to a pro-American and pro-capital model was only possible under militarist and nationalist oppression. As a result of the coup, strong workers' movement was broken, trade unions were closed, and their leaders were judged under the context of anti-labor policies and practices by the military regime.

5.1.2. Growth under the threat of privatization: 1980-2004

Start of mining in Hekimhan, since the 1950s, even under intensive labor exploitation conditions, ensured the development of the district. With the increase in the working population and seasonal external migration to the district, the vitality of the city and the settlement has increased. In addition to mining, small industrial sectors, transportation, agriculture, and domestic production developed, and the population of the district reached 80.000. As a result, population settlement at the district-scale has increased significantly when compared to the 1950s.

The reason why this period was called as 'growth' period is because of a contradictory expansion both in Hekimhan and in the iron and steel sector. After Isdemir and Erdemir started production at full power, the need for domestic iron reserve resources increased in the second half of the 1970s. With the work of the MTA and TDÇİ, 70-80 million tons were added to the country's iron ore reserves. During the 1980-1998 period, 80 million tons of the reserve was produced by economical operation methods and transported to the iron and steel factories. Thus, a high level of value added was achieved by import substitution at the amount of nearly 2 billion \$.¹²³

Correspondingly, in 1979, Hekimhan Mining Institution, the center of which was located in Hasançelebi, was established and 30 millions of capital investment was made by the TDÇİ. In 1984, the center was moved to the Hekimhan district, and the

¹²³ Chamber of Mining Engineers. (2005). *Demir-Çelik Raporu*, Retrieved from http://www.maden.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=111&tipi=5&sube=0

investment was increased to 500 millions.¹²⁴ The mining extraction that did not exceed 250.000 tons during the period of Bilfer Mining, reached to figures ranging between 500.000 and 700.000 tons in these years.

However, during the administration of all different governments, there were attempts to privatize the establishment and the argument was that "Mining is losing money." The workers who were members of the Dev Maden-Sen struggled against the privatization for many years. Hence, in 1987, a large panel was organized with the theme of anti-privatization, and applications were made to the Privatization Administration with the collective petitions of the workers, Hekimhan people, municipal councilors, local authorities and mayors who, despite the counter attempts, succeeded in keeping the facilities in the hands of the public management.

The institution was moved to Hekimhan since 1984 and spent the first two years in rented buildings, then between 1986 and 1990, continued its activities in the prefabricated building belonging to the institution. After the construction of the social facilities was completed, it started to use these facilities from November 1990 on. From this date, investments devoted to mining activities in Hekimhan reached 18 billion TL in 1990. This number had risen to about 100 billion TL in 1994, but during the period of the coalition-governments, administration claimed that mining meant losses and it must be privatized. As a matter of fact, in 1995, a partial privatization was conducted with the cabinet decision, and a part of the operator was transferred to DIV-HAN Mining Trade Inc. However, despite partial privatization that had taken place, the mining activity in the region continued. The iron ore, from the base amount of 250,000 tons per year reached 1 million ton in these years. As a result of the high employment ratio in the district, the real estate sector, trades people, transportation, and heavy industrial services were in the spotlight.

However, the planned development period was closed after 1980 throughout Turkey. Especially in the iron and steel sector, irrational developments were experienced.

¹²⁴ Ministry of The Interior, Hekimhan Governorship, *Genel Bilgiler*, Retrieved from http://www.hekimhan.gov.tr/maden

While the investment and production levels were increasing, the import rate was also increasing due to the lack of technological advancement and planning in the facilities. For example, while the material required to meet the demand was the flat product, there was an intensive investment in facilities that can only produce long products. The surplus products could not be exported, and importation became obligatory to meet the demand. Inevitably, under these conditions, despite the increase in the investment in the institutions, economic losses started.¹²⁵ When looking at this process from above, the pro-privatization policies of the period, the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, and the economic instability prepared causes of the privatizations.

After the AKP won the general elections in 2002 and became the only ruling power, the politics in Turkey's production areas drastically changed. Decreased productivity and the support given to domestic and foreign private companies operating in the country led to privatizations in almost every field. Public resources started to change hands quickly. The situation in Hekimhan did not last very long either, and with the auction in 2004, the enterprise was taken from TDÇİ and sold to Erdemir Mining. It was striking that in Hekimhan, which had a strong trade union infrastructure and a history of intense working-class struggles, this time, most of the workers did not show reaction against privatization. Although a group arrived in the tender in Ankara for protesting, there was no big reaction in the district.

On a regular Friday, all employees were told, "Do not come to work on Monday, you are allowed" and an all-door lock was hit.¹²⁶ After privatization, the rights of the workers were taken away, and they were sent to other public institutions with lower salaries. The mining activity, which was still active and constituted the main source of the livelihood, was stopped by the state and the process of returning to the

¹²⁵Chamber of Mining Engineers. (2005). Demir-Çelik Raporu, Retrieved from

http://www.maden.org.tr/genel/bizden_detay.php?kod=111&tipi=5&sube=0

¹²⁶ Personal interview with a mining worker from Dev Maden-Sen and architect from Hekimhan, during the summer camp in Hekimhan in July of 2017 of the Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Ankara Branch.

province begun. The people of the district, now not having a workplace, had to migrate to the urban centers to find jobs and in a short time the population decreased below 22.000. The vitality of the urban life has rapidly disappeared.

5.1.3. Deindustrialization process after privatization: 2004-2016, and after

After the privatization and sale of DİV-HAN Mining Companies to Erdemir Mining in 2004, life suddenly stopped, especially in the social facilities. So many years passed; however, the first impression of the field trip was that the buildings were evacuated without any notice, and everything was frozen with all of the memories.

Thus, there were sketches on the drawing table, a paper with half-written on the typewriter or prizes on the table. The facilities, which were closed after privatization, provide spatial evidence of what it means to halt production.



Figure 5-8. Images from the administrative building in 2017 Source: Taken and edited by the author

At this point, it will be useful to look at the concepts of deindustrialization and privatization, results of which can be clearly observed throughout Hekimhan. The privatization policies that started in the 1980s and de-industrialization by the hands of the state in the 2000s are important for understanding the late capitalist stage. On the other hand, when we look at the developments in Hekimhan between 2004 and

2016, the extent of the damage these policies caused at a local scale is better understood.

It is known that there was a structural change in the economic sense after the 1980 in the whole world and de-industrialization process started while the service sector had experienced job growth. With the effect of this change, there are basic factors that directed urban development. Harvey says that cities play a role in an economic whole, according to the determined growth strategies.¹²⁷ Sometimes the original conditions of the city too affect this role significantly. However, this role undergoes major or minor changes during the periods of economic change. In this context, Melih Ersoy says:

"It is a very common situation that the vital role played by many cities within the framework of the spatial division of labor in a period, has lost its importance because of specialization and the city cannot find a place in the new relations within this framework."¹²⁸

In this sense, Hekimhan was able to survive from the 1980s to the 2000s and maintained its role in the economic division of labor until the early 2000s, thanks to the import substitution move, initiated in 1976 due to the need for iron and steel. In this period, there was a regional contribution not only with Hekimhan and Hasançelebi but also with its neighboring Divriği and Sivas. The role of the region at that time was to provide raw materials for the country's iron needs. However, the political and ideological breakdown of the economy in 1980 did not bring temporary, but permanent results. With the acceleration of the privatization policies, especially in the new period started after the change in the political power in 2002, Hekimhan could not find a place to itself in the new division of labor.

Before 1980, the roles of the cities within the spatial division of labor established a complementary relationship. Some of them specialized in production, some in

¹²⁷ Harvey, D. (1991) From managerialism to enterpreneurialism: The transformation of urban governance in late capitalism, Geogr. Annal. (B), I, 3-17 ¹²⁸Ersoy, M. (2001). Sanayisizleşme süreci ve kentler, *Praksis,2*, Ankara: Dipnot Press, pp.32-52.

¹²⁹Ersoy, M. (2001). Sanayısızleşme süreci ve kentler, *Praksis,2*, Ankara: Dipnot Press, pp.32-52. Translated by the author

finance and others were tourism cities and they all formed a whole. However, this relationship changed with the neoliberal policies. Instead of completing each other, competition between cities started. The state's renunciation of economic entrepreneurship and the spread of privatizations were the most important reasons for this situation. Local units compete with each other to attract investment from the private companies.¹²⁹

Hekimhan and Divriği or Malatya and Sivas are examples of this situation. During the previous period, the people of the two cities showed solidarity about the planned project for Hekimhan, Hasançelebi, Divriği, and Sivas. Because, they believed that the state project would develop the region as a whole and at the same time with the influence of the trade union, the class consciousness and sense of community was high. Nevertheless, they have become rivals for investment after privatization.¹³⁰

Ersoy mentions that the post-1980 neoliberalization process affected some cities more. The collapse of the cities, if they are specialized in certain industries and their continuity depends on the success of it, lived dramatic consequences such as unemployment, external migration, marital conflict, and increased suicide rates.¹³¹

At this point, Hekimhan has experienced a serious collapse after the privatization as a district whose economic existence was connected to the mining sector since the 1950s. Moreover, the reason why production halted here was not the depletion of the mine resources or a decrease in the labor supply. As a result of ideological and political preferences, foreign-dependent economic policies, and the lack of necessary technological investments, the facilities were destroyed. Subsequently, according to 2016 data, the population of the district decreased to 22.000, and a large part of the working population migrated. For the residents of the district, whose hopes were

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ After Erdemir releases real estate in Hekimhan, local newspapers in Malatya claim that Erdemir's managers chose Divrigi instead of investing in Hekimhan because its managers were from Sivas. A news report that the reason behind the cancellation of Hasançelebi project is the Sivas lobby. See more: Malatya Haber. (2016). *Sivas lobisi mi? Erdemir, Hekimhan'dan gidiyor. Retrieved from* http://malatyahaber.com/haber/siyasiler-duyun-erdemir-satarak-gidiyor/

¹³¹Ersoy, M. (2001). Sanayisizleşme süreci ve kentler, *Praksis*, 2, Ankara: Dipnot Press, pp.32-52

linked to the revival of mining, the 2000s are years of decline. From the personal observations from interviews with local people, it seems obvious that despite all their troubles, they had missed the previous periods.

Following the privatization and the sale of DIV-HAN Mining Institutions to Erdemir in 2004, two years later, in 2006, Erdemir was also privatized and acquired by OYAK. Thus, OYAK, which was established as the economic power of the army after the May 27th coup d'etat, in 1961, became the owner of the essential factories of the iron and steel industry. OYAK declared to the public that the Hasançelebi project, which has been promised since 1976 but not been realized for 30 years, will be completed and provided a new wave of excitement in Hekimhan after 2006.

Following the acquisition of the facilities by OYAK, steps have been taken for the "Hasançelebi Ore Enrichment and Pellet Facility" project and expropriations and land acquisition issues have been conducted to establish the construction phase of the production centers and the factories. At the public meeting held for the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Report prepared in 2008, the project was launched as a "National Project" and it was mentioned that it would create employment for thousands of people for the region and contribute to the future of the nation. With this gigantic project, the people of the district were ready to give what was demanded with the hopes of the rebirth of the mining sector and income increases. As Hasançelebi former mayor and DİV-HAN board member Mehmet Şerif Yıldırım states:

"Forest land, treasury properties, and Mullerian skill changes, which are necessary for the operation and the factory area and which have a total of thousands of acres, have been allocated for the use of the company. Despite the low expropriation costs of the private land to be expropriated, a significant portion of the citizens is transferred to the company without any objection and with the consent of the citizens. Because a huge and very exciting investment was being initiated. They'd be doing business. They are so hopeful."¹³²

OYAK bought land from the people of the district, but even a long time passed after it, the fees were not paid, and the project was not started due to the legal processes related with the expropriation. As a solution, it was proposed that the mine extracted from Hekimhan to be moved to Divriği and processed there until the legal processes were completed. This situation is inconvenient in terms of the mine's efficiency, and it carries the danger of losing the mineral deposits of the mine.

5.1.3.1. Spatial constructions of ideologies in Hekimhan

It is explained in Chapter 3 that, the basis of the economic development after 2002 was the construction sector and the urban rent, rather than the industry. The fact that Erdoğan, the leader of the ruling party, is a politician coming from the local government is also effective in using these policies as an ideological move. The steps taken for the formation of the built environment are shown as investment under the name of "giant projects" and are used to request votes for centralization of power. In this period, especially in Istanbul and Ankara, urban rent even at the smallest local scale has surpassed all industrial manufacturing sectors. However, this policy, focusing on consumption rather than production, has created an artificial perception of development in the cities. It did not provide a real solution to the basic economic problems such as unemployment or income levels.

It is possible to see the reflections of this change in Hekimhan. All contemporary practices, shown as "symbols" in the area of construction, are carried out in Hekimhan too.

 Infrastructure, roads, and tunnels: The most widely used propaganda as to "we construct roads" is also relevant for Malatya and Hekimhan after 2010 as significant constructions are conducted. Infrastructure, highway, and tunnel

¹³²Yıldırım, M.Ş.(2017), Madenler ve Hasançelebi Gerçeği,

 $http://www.malatyahabervakti.com/haber-madenler-ve-hasancelebi-gercegi-4426.html.\ Translated\ by\ the\ author.$

constructions, with high expenses, continue today. The ordinary tendency of using corruptions during the distribution of the urban rent and clientelist procedures for ensuring the firms' support to the ideology of the political power also continue here.¹³³



Figure 5-9. Images from the road and tunnel projects Source: Ziver Holding, Official website archive, Retrieved from http://www.ziverholding.com.tr/projelerimiz/

- 2. TOKİ housing: This housing method conducted by the Housing Development Administration of Turkey, was originally established to provide social housing by the public at affordable costs. Also in Hekimhan, TOKİ initiated a massive housing complex with 94 houses across the Iron and Steel Facilities in January 2017. However, when we look at the current situation of the Administration, it is seen that it has lost its main function, went beyond housing scales and started to provide financing to many multipurposed and mixed-used large-scale projects, public structures and public-private cooperation projects.
- **3. Higher Education Credit and Dormitory Institution, Hekimhan Dormitory:** The dormitories, which have been constructed as ideological political spaces for the university students especially during recent years and construction of which increased after December 17-25, are opened in 2015 to

¹³³ About the allegations of corruption see: Mayor of Malatya from AKP, accuses former mayor from AKP with corruption. (2019, August 11), *Gazete Yolculuk*. Retrieved from https://gazeteyolculuk.net/malatyada-akpli-belediye-baskani-akpli-eski-baskani-yolsuzlukla-sucladi

serve the Vocational School which started education in Hekimhan. However, in 2018, there was unconfirmed news that the school would be transferred to the pro-government foundations. It was closed in 2019 because there were not enough students.

Looking at these construction activities carried out by the central government, it is possible to say that Hekimhan is a typical local example shaped by the AKP's ideological framework, especially after 2008. However, in Hekimhan, it is also possible to see the local and central conflict, which is different from other Anatolian districts. As a legacy of the past class struggles, the district has a leftist and democratic structure and became the only opposition municipality of Malatya in the 2014 local elections, with CHP.¹³⁴

Local Government also took spatial steps in line with its scale. First of all, a project has been prepared for the construction of a municipality building due to the insufficiency of the existing building in the district center.



Figure 5-10. Rendered image of a new municipality building project on the façade of the old municipality Source: Taken by the author

However, the budget for the project was high for the Hekimhan Municipality. The central government did not provide funds since it was a municipality of the main

¹³⁴ This result was repeated in the 2019 local elections and two more districts were added the list.

opposition party.¹³⁵ At this point, the municipality participated in the tender about the social facilities of Hekimhan Mining Institutions and was awarded with the advantage of being public an institution.¹³⁶The Municipality, by purchasing these facilities, aims to use the administrative building for municipality service and to generate income for itself by renovating other buildings.

For the municipality's aims to be realized, technical consultancy and concept projects were required to renovate the buildings and to re-functionalize the area. However, there was no architect among the technical staff within the municipality; there was only one city planner and one survey engineer. At this point, the municipality contacted with the Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch for cooperation, and in 2017, a summer camp for architecture students was organized under the direction of 11 branches of the Chamber and seven executive academicians. Through 10-day studies, students produced conceptual projects for the iron and steel plants, conducted cultural heritage and oral history studies and presented the results to the public. At the same time, after the camp, a documentary titled "I will not forget you, Hekimhan" about the district and camp works was prepared and screened in Ankara.¹³⁷

After this study, Malatya was studied within the scope of the 4thgrade studio studies of the METU City and Regional Planning Department, during the 2017-2018 academic years. In this context, a student group focused on Hekimhan in the spring semester studio, and produced proposals for using of the Iron Mining Establishments facility.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Similar conflicts were encountered during field research. The AKP's metropolitan municipality did not pave asphalt and leaved it as a dirt road, even though was responsible for urban streets. Women from Hekimhan who complained of dust and mud were protesting in front of the Hekimhan municipality, because they considered district municipality is responsible.

¹³⁶The municipality could be take credit from the state without paying high rate of credit interest.

¹³⁷ For the documentary see: Beysülen, K. (2018). *Seni Unutmayacağım Hekimhan*, Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDazlPjLRFU&t=449s

¹³⁸Şahin, E., Sağkurt, C (2018). Balanced developed Hekimhan with its accumulation and fertility, *Graduation project competition for students of city and regional planning department*, Ankara: METU

At the end of 2017, within the framework of its budget and technical staff, the municipality first gave the renovation works to a firm for the use of the administrative building as the Municipality Building through a tender procedure. Afterward, works were started to use the guesthouse with the function of a hotel, and as of July 2019, the hotel is completed and opened to service. In this process, although the concept projects were produced before, the renovation of the buildings was carried out at the initiative of the contracting company and the municipality. Due to the limited budget of the municipality, they had to go step by step instead conducting an integrated project. No steps have yet been taken on how to use the remaining villas, lodging, and workshop structures. In the meantime, the function of the sports hall is maintained and will be renewed.

Table 5.1. Comparison between before and situations of administrative building and guesthouse

Before renovation | 2017



Figure 5-11. Guesthouse Source: Taken by author



Figure 5-13. The gate of guesthouse Source: Taken by author



Figure 5-15. The foyer of guesthouse Source: Chamber of Architects Ankara Branch archive

After renovation | 2019



Figure 5-12. After renovation Zurbahan Hotel Source: Doğan, İ. (2019), Taken by municipality staff



Figure 5-14. The gate of Zurbahan Hotel Source: Doğan, İ. (2019), Taken by municipality staff



Figure 5-16. The foyer of Zurbahan Hotel Source: Doğan, İ. (2019), Taken by municipality staff

Before renovation | 2017



Figure 5-17. The dining hall of guesthouse Source: Chamber of Architects archive



Figure 5-19. Administrative building Source: Taken by author



Figure 5-21. A corridor from administrative building Source: Taken by author

After renovation | 2019



Figure 5-18. Restaurant of Zurbahan Hotel Source: Doğan, İ. (2019), Taken by municipality staff



Figure 5-20. Hekimhan Municipality building Source: Fırat, C. (2019), Taken by municipality staff

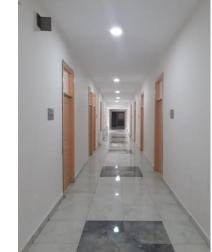


Figure 5-22. A corridor from municipality building Source: Fırat, C. (2019), Taken by municipality staff

5.1.3.2. A holistic urban view of Hekimhan

In the light of all these developments, as of 2019, it would be useful to make a holistic spatial assessment of Hekimhan. The city has a texture developing in the form of oil stains around the Sivas-Malatya highway. The center and the marketplace are located around Taşhan, which has maintained its existence since the 1200s and gave its name to the district. Small industrial branches developed by the influence of mining are in this center and around the railway. Presence of large number of idle areas due to external migration causes disruptions, but it is possible to say that the urban fabric formed on the axis of the castle and the marketplace is preserved.¹³⁹

The traditional housing fabric has not been adequately conserved, but there are still constructions worth registering at the center. For example, the house where Eflatun Cem Güney¹⁴⁰ was born is registered as cultural heritage. Also, Taşhan, Köprülü Mehmet Paşa Mosque, the church ruins, and the historical crushing and screening facility opposite the Iron and Steel facilities are registered buildings under protection.



Figure 5-23. Taşhan Source: Municipality archive, (n.d)

¹³⁹ ÇEKÜL Foundation Urban Studies. (2019). *Self-preserving cities field investigation form Hekimhan/Malatya*, İstanbul: Çekül foundation press, p.4

¹⁴⁰ Eflatun Cem Güney is a famous Turkish story writer and complier, he was born in Hekimhan in 1896.



Figure 5-24. Historical crushing and screening facilities in the 1980s and 2017 Source: The first from Municipality archive, the second taken by the author

The marketplace axis and Taşhan environment are the focus of the urban life also as a center of administrative and commercial functions. However, despite this mobility, the lack of public space is the first noteworthy point. It is quite difficult to find recreation areas where men and women can spend time together. Women's Recreation House was built by the municipality with the support of the Eastern Anatolian Project (DAP), where women can spend their free time and rest when they come to the city center for shopping, health services or legal affairs.¹⁴¹ Men usually spend time in the coffee houses located in the center. However, lack of open spaces and playgrounds and parks for the children are remarkable. Although many areas can be used as recreation areas, they are idle. Due to the lack of employment in the district, there is a decline in cultural and social terms and a significant increase in the rate of the elderly population.

However, despite these problems, the district has crucial potentials. The important advantages of the municipality are the existence of a large number of idle buildings that can be revitalized for urban life and cultivation of nationally renowned agricultural products such as apricots and walnuts. At the same time, it is possible to

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 7

create new employment areas with its favorable logistic location and tourism potential on the trade axis going from the past to the present.¹⁴²

Furthermore, the district starts to attract attention in recent years with such potential. First, in 2013, the Future Strategies for Hekimhan Report (Hekimhan Vision 2023) has been prepared by the Center for Information, Education and Culture and Social Research (BİLSAM). Second, the Hekimhan Additional and Revision Construction Plan Research Report were prepared by the Bank of Provinces Inc. Department of Spatial Planning. It is the second construction plan of Hekimhan after 1991, and it is still under preparation. With the construction of TOKI residences located opposite the Iron-Steel facilities, existence of a Vocational School and finally transfer of the municipality to the facilities, the direction of the city started to slide out of the center of Hekimhan, and new structures on the periphery emerged. There are also developments in this direction in the construction plan being prepared.¹⁴³ Finally, in 2019, under the study titled "Self-Preserving Cities" by ÇEKÜL Foundation, a field investigation form is prepared about the district, as a result of the researches and field trips conducted about Hekimhan.

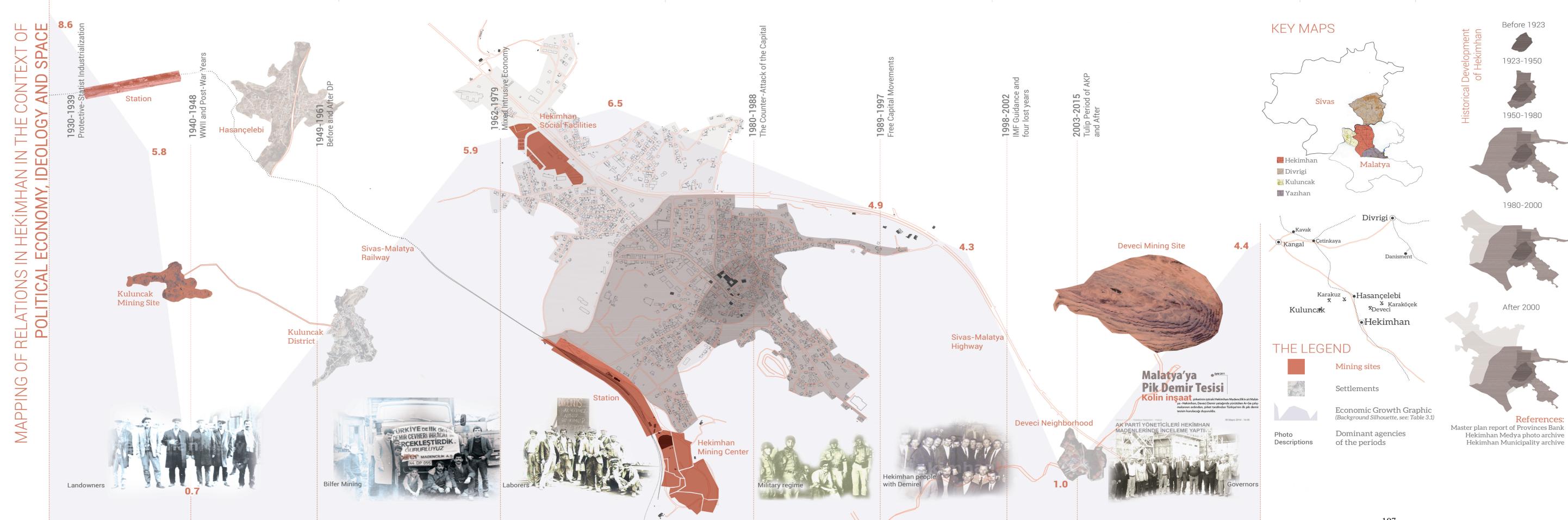
However, in addition to all this potential and developments, a significant portion of the mining activities, which constitute the main source of livelihood in the district; has been moved to Divriği by Erdemir Mining. Today, iron extraction continues in a limited extent with Hekimhan Mining Company of Kolin Construction.¹⁴⁴ People still hope for the area, which is known to have the most important iron reserves in Turkey, revival of the mining sector and the mining and pelletizing facility project promised for 40 years to be implemented.

¹⁴² Ibid. p.7

¹⁴³ Interviews with municipal staff and as far as the revisions to the plan proposals are known.

¹⁴⁴Kolin Construction is one of the companies that has increased its capital by getting public tenders in recent years and is known for being in the top 10 list in the world and known for its proximity to government. For a general overview see: Sputnik Türkiye. (2018, December, 28), *Limak Holding, Cengiz Holding, Kolin, Kalyon ve MNG, dünyanın en fazla kamu ihalesi alan 10 şirketi arasında*, Retrieved from https://sptnkne.ws/kvyv

The historical process of Hekimhan since the beginning of the mining activities in 1953 has always been influenced by the economic and political transformations in the world and especially in Turkey. The spatial reflections of this situation, together with the surroundings of the Hekimhan district, show a variety over time and this can be examined from the urban scale to the building scale. The fact that the city has begun to attract the attention of capital since 2013 shows that there will be a new movement in the region.





CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The study starts with the objective to reveal the spatial and social-political traces of Hekimhan's mining history and the ideological framework of the "establishment-abandonment-renovation" process of the iron-steel social facilities. It is seen that the space cannot be understood independent from its political economical history. Although this argument seems to be a classic one, it provides new horizons and revolutionary potential in every context were it is reproduced. Indeed, the underlying issues, achieved as a result of validation through Hekimhan can be explained as follows.

The mining activity that started in Hekimhan in 1953 led to the development of the working class in the region. Unlike the other studied iron and steel facilities, the operation of the mines by the private sector for more than 20 years resulted in intensive exploitation of labor. This situation has led to the sharpening of the labor-capital conflict and the growth of the class struggle. Therefore, until the expropriation of the mining activities in Hekimhan, the space was shaped on the axis of the strikes and trade union struggle.

In this period of sharpened ideological conflict, space has gained a relational character. The fact that the limited available sources about Hekimhan belong to this period, the space-related expressions were even obvious in the book titles, and there were some romantic narratives in these books prove this.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵For example, the titles of the books regarding the long-term strikes in 1976 and 1977 are, respectively, the following; '*Hekimhan Dağlarında 335 Gün İşçilerin Direnişi*' and '*Hekimhan Grevi, Kayısı Çiçeği ve Faşizm*'. The following statements regarding the strike sites are present:

[&]quot;Grev günü, o dağların ara yerlerinde, tepelerde davul ve zurna sesleriyle gelen insan selini gördüğünde, yerinde duramıyordu." (Şahhüseyinoğlu, 1992), "Hekimhanlı işçi için grev filiz

Space, which was reclaimed by its users during the years of the movement and production, also found new forms of expression and produced creative results as the basis of the intense labor-capital conflict in those years. In this context, space as the field of an encounter of ideologies; while it was taking shape, also redefined the relationships it contained.

However, the historical process going along the axis of political economical infrastructure has led to the differentiation of the movement and production over time. The effects of the political economic infrastructure, examined in the third section, on the iron and steel sector caused the space to be affected similarly. At this point, it is seen that the most important break up occurred after the 1980. In Turkey, which was trying integrate with a new world system, a phase during which all relations were started to be redefined in economic, political, social and ideological terms was opened. The outcomes of this period, shaped within the framework of neoliberal policies, explain the feeling of underdevelopment and incompleteness we had felt during the first field trip to Hekimhan iron and steel social facilities.

Developing the remote corners of Anatolia in the early Republican period with industry and constructing a modern way of life, or the planned import-substitution industrialization in the 1960s and 1970s were replaced by a growth model based on services, finance, and construction sectors in large urban centers. This caused the local to be abandoned and de-industrialized and stuck in the private sector's initiative. It is possible to encounter many abandoned industrial facilities and campuses in Turkey and the world. However, it is also possible to interpret the spatial reflections of the neoliberal approach, as the situation of the facility established in Hekimhan became different after 1980. For example, as with the other

demektir. Akan bir nehir, demektir, gülen bir çocuğun ağzı ve dalındaki kayısı çiçeği demektir." (Yeraltı Maden-İş), "Hekimhan artık yalnızca bir uzun çarşı değil. Hekimhan çarşısı bir düğün yeri ..." (Yeraltı Maden-İş) "Bu tepe, bu kayalı tepe, çalışırken üzerimize gelir gibiydi. Tıpkı, ta içimize yer etmiş devlet gibi... Oysa şimdi, öyle gelmiyor bize. Sanki bu tepe, bu kayalı tepe, aynı tepe değil. Grevimizi koruyan bir tepe gibi.Heybetli ve mağrur. Bir grev gözcüsü gibi. Biliçli ve dikkatli." (Yeraltı Maden-İş)

iron and steel factories, it is not possible to see extensive site selection criteria, architectural program, project implementation details, or planning of an improved contribution to the city. It is understood that the facility was built in line with the conditions of the day, to meet the small scale needs and as a result of the populist policies in relation with the elections. At this point, this finding answers the question of what stands behind the state of underdevelopment of the facilities.

On the other hand, the democratic environment which was degenerated after the 1980 created new implications for the space. The erosion of the public sector policies, in general, has been reflected in the iron and steel sector and the industry has started to suffer due to the lack of investments in the industry to meet the requirements of the era. This has led to the establishment of a foreign-dependent and import-based industry, while at the same time as a result of privatization leaving the domestic production policies to the private sector.

When we look at Hekimhan, even though the production started to increase until the year 2004, a privatization threat was always on the agenda. Therefore, what we see about the space that was once taken over by the strikes and workers' struggle was a state of temporariness. The suppression of the trade union movement and the unorganized state of the working class also lead to an inability to change this situation. In this context, while there was strong class awareness in the region just ten years ago, the quick shift in favor of capital can be explained by a democracy deficit. As deindustrialization not only causes changes in the economic priorities but also brings dissolution of the participatory systems and active democratic organizations. The decline of state investments in completing the industrialization phase in Turkey results with a lack of institutional competence of non-governmental organizations. Indeed, the economic crisis experienced in 1977-1980 in Turkey led

to the obstruction of democracy, and labor gains declined with the restrictions imposed on the Constitution, labor, and organisational freedom legislation."¹⁴⁶

Similarly, when privatization was conducted in Hekimhan in 2004, contrary to the strong resistance in the past, no significant movement emerged in the district, and the facilities were suddenly abandoned. Until 2016, production activity was stopped in the field held by the private sector, and the movement that created the relational character of space was lost. The photographs in the fourth chapter of the thesis about the facilities reflect the striking situation of the space that was suspended in time as it was until 2017. These are images that summarize the results of the transition from an ideology which produced state-developed Anatolian towns in the 1930s to the consumptionist and rent-oriented policies of the 2000s.

Despite these, the attempt to reuse the iron and steel social facilities and campus by the local government in 2016 and to bring them back into the city is an important step. Moreover, contacts founded with relevant professional organizations, the collective nature of the process and creation of a ground to produce ideas enabled the space to create new relations. The summer camp, which was attended by more than 130 people, including representatives of professional organizations, academicians, architecture students, and Hekimhan people, left traces both on the venue and on the participants' and led to new productions. Subsequently, within the scope of the METU City and Regional Planning Studio, two students focused on the field and developed proposals, or the protection and culture-oriented development policies offered by ÇEKÜL for the district and the facilities were remarkable developments for the revitalization of the district.

However, when we look at the results of the renovation of the administrative and guesthouse buildings and the way of construction, the reflections of this favorable process have been inadequate in terms of architecture and urbanization. The limited number of experts in the municipality, lack of resources and conflict with the central

¹⁴⁶ Yeldan, E., Yıldırım, D. (2015). Democracy deficit in Turkey in the context of globalization and de-industrialization, *Çalışma ve Toplum, 2*, Ankara, p.73

government made it difficult to conduct a collective production process. During the renovation process, tendering method was implemented, and a contractor firm without any architects was awarded. Consequently, the work was carried as possible as could it be with the current resources of the district municipality.

At this point, the difficulties lived during the collective production process from the intellectual phase to construction, are beyond the scope of this study and require new researches. However, when we take a short look at this issue starting from the architectural production process in Hekimhan, we can say the following:

Existance of the above-mentioned democracy deficit and the development policies of the central government focusing on large city centers caused the weakening of the local initiatives. The initiatives mentioned here are not solely the municipalities, but various elements of the superstructure contributing to the empowerment of a city. Therefore, development of the local professional organizations, universities, unions and non-governmental organizations have also been interrupted and started to contribute to the reproduction of the dominant ideology. In other words, the main problem encountered during the production process of the conceptual projects for the facilities is narrowing of the local vision because of the political economic infrastructure and ideological inputs of the period and becoming demands echoing the prevailing spatial approach. Therefore, it was not possible to establish a permanent production model through short-term interventions from outside the local. There is no democratic environment in the field that will make active participation model durable and reproduce in a different manner exist.

From this point of view, it can be said that the collective production process needs to be fed from the local context. In order to test this, another study can search a similar example, to see the power of the local government in large city centers and the results it can produce together with the participation of democratic organizations. Or, worldwide examples of abandoned areas because of deindustrialization and how refunctionalization processes are associated with active democratic participation may be the subject of another study.

In conclusion, in this study, the mapping method was used to reveal the complex network of relations observed in this process and to make it visible. The potential of mapping in showing different mediums such as the physical space and the social-political background together and in a relational manner was sought, and the development process examined through Hekimhan was used to test the potential of mapping.

In the three maps produced, it was observed that when the concepts were related to each other they created new meanings about the place and yielded efficient results in terms of socializing knowledge, bringing the invisible up to the surface. The conception of scale was interpreted in new formations and different conceptions of ideology were conceptualized through three mappings. In the first mapping, the nation-scale ideology was examined and the role of the agencies were uncovered; in the second mapping, different scales of ideologies in different localities were compared and their spatial reflections were investigated. Lastly, in the third mapping, the local scale of ideologies was used for a physical reading of the space and taking the whole picture of the spatial relations of the political economy and the ideologies on a concrete example.

In summary, as the main argument of the thesis it is argued that the examination of the ideologies on spatial relations cannot be independent from the political-economic history. In this study, a cross-check for this claim is sought out in a local setting by excavating its history. By critically drawing upon the historical materialist perspective, the thesis attempts to resolve the interrelated connections between the political economy, ideology, and the space. Such an approach is also grounded in the visual expression that portrays an emancipated approach of the spatial features. And by integrating them into a holistic conceptual framework, the intricate pattern of relations within the space is visualized via generative ways in mapping.

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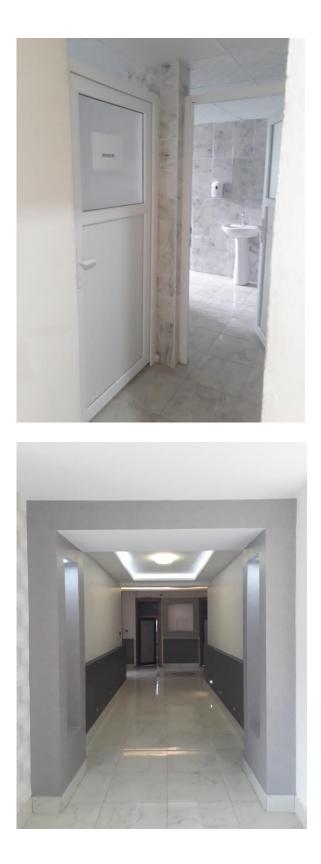
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APPENDICES



A. Municipality Building after Renovation





B. Zurbahan Hotel after Renovation











