

RISE AND FALL OF AN INDUSTRIAL CITY:
THE CHANGING SENSE OF PLACE IN KARADENİZ EREĞLİ

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ABSTRACT

RISE AND FALL OF AN INDUSTRIAL CITY: THE CHANGING SENSE OF PLACE IN KARADENİZ EREĞLİ

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Karadeniz Ereğli is a single-industry city that transformed from a coastal town to an industrial city thanks to the establishment of Ereğli Iron and Steel Company in the 1960s. Kdz. Ereğli as a single-industry city started to change in regard to economic, social, and political aspects, and in the last 60 years, the company has been the major institution to lead these transformations. Erdemir has shaped the memories and identities in the city and changed the characteristic features of the place. The rising period that started with the establishment of the company through its positive social and economic contributions changed the sense of place. However, the privatization of the company in 2006 also shifted the sense of place for the second time. The changed relationship between the company and the city led people to rethink about the values of the place. Therefore, Erdemir as the major institution in the city reproduced the sense of place through its effects on collective memory. This thesis analyzes the changing of sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli throughout this long transformation by placing special emphasis on the role of Iron and Steel factory as the major institution dominating the city.

Therefore, this study introduces two important concepts: institutional reproduction of sense of place and institutionally mediated collective memory. In order to argue these concepts, field research has been conducted in Kdz. Ereğli by using semi-structured in-depth interviews to analyze the change of sense of place by Erdemir. Moreover, these interviews provided local perceptions and reevaluations about the place from today to back to the 1960s so that expose the shifts in the sense of place.

Keywords: Sense of Place, Place Dependence, Collective Memory, Karadeniz Ereğli, Erdemir.

ÖZ

BİR SANAYİ KENTİNİN YÜKSELİŞİ VE DÜŞÜŞÜ: KARADENİZ EREĞLİ'DE DEĞİŞEN YER DUYGUSU

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Karadeniz Ereğli, 1960'lı yıllarda Ereğli Demir ve Çelik Fabrikası'nın kurulmasıyla sahil kasabasından sanayi kentine dönüşmüş bir tek-sanayi kenti olarak sınıflandırılmaktadır. Fabrikanın kurulmasıyla birlikte Kdz. Ereğli'de tek-sanayi kenti bağlamında ekonomik, sosyal ve politik değişimlerde yaşanmaya başlandı ve geçtiğimiz 60 yıl boyunca Erdemir, kentteki bu değişimlere yön veren temel kurum olarak ön plana çıktı. Ayrıca bu süreçte Erdemir, kentteki kimlikleri ve belleği şekillendirip, kentin karakteristik özelliklerini de değiştirdi. Fabrikanın kurulmasıyla birlikte kente sağladığı pozitif yöndeki sosyal ve ekonomik katkılar, kentin yükselme dönemini başlatarak yer duygusundaki değişime sebep oldu. Ancak 2006 yılındaki özelleştirme sebebiyle fabrika, yer duygusunu ikinci kez etkileyerek değiştirdi. Özelleştirme sonrasında kent ve fabrika arasındaki değişen ilişkiler, insanları kente ait değerleri yeniden düşünmeye itti ve böylelikle Erdemir, kentteki temel kurum olarak kolektif bellek üzerindeki etkileri sayesinde yer duygusunu yeniden üretmiş oldu.

Bu tez, Kdz. Eređli'deki bu uzun d6n6ř6m s6reci boyunca deđiřen yer duygusunu, kenti domine eden temel kurum olan Erdemir'e odaklanarak incelemektedir.

Bu sebeple, bu alıřmada iki 6nemli kavram 6ne ıkarılmıřtır: yer duygusunun kurumsal yeniden 6retimi ve kurumsal merkezli kolektif bellek. Bu kavramları tartıřmak ve Erdemir'in yer duygusunda yarattıđı deđiřimi incelemek iin ise tez kapsamında Kdz. Eređli'de yarı-yapılandırılmıř derinlemesine m6lakat tekniđi kullanılarak saha alıřması yapılmıřtır. Aynı zamanda bu m6lakatlar, bug6nden bakıldıđında 1960'lara kadarki d6nemin tekrar deđerlendirmesini yapan yerel algıları ve b6ylece yer duygusundaki deđiřimleri ortaya ıkartmıřtır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yer Duygusu, Yer Bađımlılıđı, Kolektif Bellek, Karadeniz Eređli, Erdemir.

**To the greatest people of my lovely hometown,
Karadeniz Eređli.**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EKI	Eređli Coal Company
EOC	Eređli Ottoman Company
ERDEMİR	Eređli Demir ve elik Fabrikaları
N/A	Non-Available
OYAK	Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu
TED	Türk Eđitim Derneđi
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Karadeniz Ereğli¹ is a district of Zonguldak province located at the north side of Turkey. It is a historical coastal town as its name comes from Greek mythology. As a coastal town, Kdz. Ereğli has always been an important place for civilizations. It was a small city in which the main livelihoods were mining, fishery, agriculture and trade. However, the place has been known for different reasons at different times. In ancient times, the city was known for Heracles, the mythologic hero who killed Kerberos –the three-headed-dog – in a cave in Kdz. Ereğli. Furthermore, the place was also important and known for forestry, natural beauties, agriculture, and coal mines in history. Lastly, the city became known for its heavy industry company, Ereğli Iron and Steel Company (Erdemir). The company was established in the 1960s near the city center of today's Kdz. Ereğli. A point of significance is from ancient times to today the city's borders have been changed. Therefore, the historical importance of Kdz. Ereğli does not always represent the same area today. That issue is important for the focus of this thesis because although there were several coal mines around the city since the 19th century, Erdemir was the first actor that occurred within the current borders of the city. Nevertheless, it can be said that the area of Kdz. Ereğli has been affected by three historical incidents: coal mines, the establishment of Erdemir, and privatization of Erdemir.

From the end of the 19th century, the area was affected by coal mining activities. Due to the coal mining industry the population began to grow which

¹ Because there are three different districts named as Ereğli in Turkey, the official name of Zonguldak/Ereğli is Karadeniz Ereğli. The official abbreviation of the name is Kdz. Ereğli, which has been used in the remainder of this thesis.

caused a change in the social and economic structures of the area. Immigrant laborers were coming from foreign countries because of the coal mines; thus, the social structure of the area started to change. Also, the labor class, which started to organize in the area, affected the economic and social structure. Many farmers from rural villages began working in the coal mines. Therefore, this thesis starts with framing the social and economic structure in Kdz. Ereğli and the surrounding area to provide an understanding of the historical background of the transformation through Erdemir. However, the focus of this thesis is not on the time period before the 1960's because, although a lot of people from villages were working in the mines, Kdz. Ereğli was not a mining city. The city was surrounded by coal mines, and neither were the miners living in the city center nor were the mines close to the city. People living in the Kdz. Ereğli were mostly affected by coal mines in means of increasing trade within the city. The city was a trade center for miners living in the villages so that they could find and buy the necessary products with the money, which they earned from working in the mines. Actually, that is the reason for Mübeccel Kıray (1964) to said that Kdz. Ereğli was not a regular Anatolian town before the 1960s. The coal mines started to change the city, yet the big leap occurred with the establishment of Erdemir, within the real place of Kdz. Ereğli.

Finally, in the 1960s, the city entered its most significant event in its history. This event was the establishment of Erdemir, which inevitably affected the city's past, today, and future. The transformation started with Erdemir was fascinating for socio-economic studies; thus, Mübeccel Kıray decided to conduct a study in Kdz. Ereğli to understand its transformation from a coastal town to an industrial city. Kıray's study (1964) states that during the construction period of Erdemir the city looked it was going through a rapid transformation process at the construction period of Erdemir. However, she also noted that the city could only be analyzed after several years to understand how Erdemir affected the place.

After the construction, the sociologic and economic structure of the city started to change and transform rapidly. The city's economic features started to change as the agriculture and fishery industries began to decrease, while working in Erdemir began to increase. The sociologic structure started to change as a lot of people around the country came to the city to work at Erdemir; thus, the population increased and diversified. These all affected the city in different ways.

The economic development of the city after Erdemir was so important. Due to the considerable economic wealth in the city, people began to refer to it as little Germany. This was the rising period of the city² which was created by Erdemir. While the people living in the city had not worked in coal mines, they started to work for Erdemir since the salary was good and the status of being an Erdemir employee was prestigious. People were earning more than enough money to live in the city, and their habits were changing. Moreover, the immigrants, who were the newcomers in the city because of their jobs at Erdemir, started to affect the social life in the city. The city became more open to different cultures, foods, habits, and traditions, yet the harmonization process was not completely easy as there was a lot of diversity among the workers. However, because of the working conditions and environment in Erdemir, the harmonization process passed without big problems. Erdemir and Kdz. Ereğli were becoming a melting pot of Anatolian geography during the 1960s. Furthermore, this melting process was changing the characteristics and identities of the city. Since Erdemir was the only industry in the city, it was dominating the social and economic life. The impact of Erdemir was enormous on the population because almost everyone had some kind of relation with the company. The population of the city before Erdemir was 10,000 in total, yet

² To address the limitations of this thesis, I did not focus on the shipyard industry in the city. The industry in the city started after Erdemir, approximately after the 1990s, and collapsed after the 2007 economic crisis. I recognize the economic effects of this industry on the city; however, due to the limitations of the study, I decided to not focus on it.

Erdemir added almost an additional 10,000 workers to the population in less than 10 years. Therefore, when families of the workers are also counted, it can be said that Erdemir was the main actor in the city for a long time. Also, because of the nature of the heavy industry, the working conditions in Erdemir were unique. People were working together, side-by-side in highly-risked tasks during their shifts, and they were living together in lodgments. The workers' close relationships at work also affected their families at home. Moreover, they were also an organized community at work as laborers. Since then, Erdemir and Kdz. Ereğli were also important stops for unionization, labor movements, and politics, all of which were Erdemir's direct effects on its workers and families, and indirect effects on the city. In addition, Erdemir also had direct effects on social and economic life. Erdemir opened several social places such as dining halls, restaurants, movie theaters, beaches, bars, dancing clubs, and sports clubs as well. These social places were mainly opened for the employees to enjoy, but the local people also enjoyed them. The company also opened schools, and caused the opening of other schools such as the first private school in a small city, TED College³, and organized social events such as concerts, competitions, and special celebrations.

The most important point of this period and for Erdemir is the speed of transformation and the location in which it occurred. Contrary to other transformations during in the mining period, the transformations, which were caused by Erdemir, were distinctive in two points. The increase in the population was so fast that it almost doubled the population in less than 10 years. Moreover, the new population was way more diverse than ever before. Furthermore, the transformation was happening in the city center, which is

³ Erdemir played the most important role in opening that private school. Since there were a lot of American engineers and managers working at Erdemir in the 1960s, they needed a school for their children in which the education was in English. Therefore, TED College was opened in the city for mainly providing education in English for the American children in the city. However, afterward, a lot of people in the city started to send their children to this private college as they want better education for their children. That was the turning point for future generations of Kdz. Ereğli because of several outcomes mentioned in future chapters.

where it is today, rather than the villages around the city. Therefore, it is possible to analyze the transformation that happened in the city through Erdemir, while it was not possible to analyze what happened during the mining period⁴. Another important point here is that although the city has always been an open place as a coastal town, there was no permanent effect on foreigners. Coastal towns with natural harbors had been stops for foreign civilizations and immigrants within the country. However, after the establishment of Erdemir, a large number of foreigners and immigrants settled down in the city center or around the city center. Therefore, the increased and long-termed interactions with foreigners had effects on the local population different from the previous temporary interactions.

After 40 years of the rising period, Kdz. Ereğli encountered the third prominent incident in its history: privatization. For more than 40 years, Erdemir had been the social and economic source of the city until the privatization happened in 2006. As the single-industry and dominant power in the city, and with the power of being a publicly-owned corporation, Erdemir was responsible for almost everything in the city. It was feeding the local economy through high salaries, helping the local institutions such as the municipality, orphanage, and schools, and was providing social and intellectual activities to local people. It was almost as same as the state perception of Turkish society in regard to meeting people's needs. On the other hand, it was also an important figure and actor for local identity and attachment in the city. It was the actor that changed the city from a coastal town to an industrial city, made the population diverse, and improved the economy. Since it touched almost everyone in the city, people also had emotional connections to the company such that some

⁴ To make it clear, during the mining period the area was named Ereğli Coal Basin, which represents a whole, huge area from Zonguldak to Karabük today. There were no mines in Kdz. Ereğli; however, mostly because of compulsory working enforcement, people from villages of the city were working in the mines, yet they did not have a direct relation with the city. Therefore, it is not possible to analyze the effects of the mining period on the current location of Kdz. Ereğli since the locations are not completely matching. On the other hand, Erdemir and its transformation directly occurred in the actual location of the city.

people were attaching themselves to the city by being a member of the Erdemir family until the relationship collapsed in 2006.

Privatization ruptured the special bond between people and the company; therefore, it affected people's perceptions of the city. Moreover, the city started to collapse economically and socially. As a private company, Erdemir prioritized its profits over the social and economic needs of the city. The company decreased the salaries, fired workers, transported its headquarters to another city, shut down social facilities and sports clubs, and even prevented local people from using its dining halls and restaurants. As a single-industry town, the city was relied on the income coming from Erdemir's workers. The labor market depended on Erdemir as most of the people working there did. Because of the employee dismissals and the decrease in salaries, the economy within the city started to collapse. Also, the lack of social facilities caused the city to look like a ghost town for a while. It was a sharp and sudden transformation that started to fall of the city. Therefore, it was no surprise that people started to argue about Erdemir's effects on the city, which were mostly about the negative effects of Erdemir -even they had been the same before the privatization. This was an indicator of the emotional bond between Erdemir and the people. People were feeling like they lost Erdemir and their identity, they also were angry about the lack of contributions made by the company to the city after privatization. This fall led people to critically think about Kdz. Ereğli. They started to consider the city's identity with and without Erdemir. In some parts, there was regret of having Erdemir in the city, allowing Kdz. Ereğli to become an industrial city. It was obvious that the privatization was affecting people's senses of place.

So, what was the whole story about? This is the main issue of the thesis. As a master's student who was born and raised in Kdz. Ereğli, I am a witness to the effects of privatization of Erdemir on the city. My father and grandfather are retired from Erdemir, and my mother's family had come to Kdz. Ereğli from

another city to work at Erdemir in the 1960s. I saw the city before privatization and I saw it afterward. I felt my feelings to Erdemir and Kdz. Ereğli changed because of privatization. Therefore, I started to seek the answer to the question: why? The answer is about a sense of place and collective memory. The whole story that I wrote here tells us that, Kdz. Ereğli was a small, natural, and beautiful coastal town before Erdemir. After the establishment of Erdemir, the city started to change economically and socially; thus, the character of the city changed to an industrial city. As the single-industry of the city, Erdemir affected both the social and economic structures of the city and dominated the city. The previous perception of the city as a small coastal town was changed to an economically developed and strong labor city with an increased and diverse population. Furthermore, privatization changed Erdemir's attitude towards the city, and people's attitudes to the company and the city as well. People started to argue about the identity of the city, which had been produced by Erdemir in the 1960s. To understand these changes in the perception of the place, I focused on the sense of place and collective memory because in this thesis I suggest that institutions shape the collective memory in urban areas; therefore, shape the sense of place.

The sense of place, in short, is the relationship or feeling between places and humans. The concept is related to how people perceive a place, how they feel about it, and what their thoughts are on it. This concept has been studied in various fields such as sociology, psychology, geography, and political science. Each discipline analyzes a different aspect. However, in this study, I focused on social and geographical aspects of the sense of place, which purely analyzes the meaning of a certain place for certain people.

In the geographical approach to sense of place, there are two main types of concepts in the literature. The first one is the reactionary sense of place and the second one is to the progressive (global) sense of place, which were both named by Doreen Massey. The reactionary sense of place is mostly about

perceiving a place as a secure location like home and includes exclusionary practices to define that place. That is reactionary not because it refers to actual reaction, but because it refers to an understanding that promotes inner values of the place. If people in a place don't have a strong reaction to foreigners, it doesn't mean that a reactionary sense of place cannot be claimed for that place. If people try to differentiate themselves with others or if they describe the city with unique features it points out a reactionary sense of place. The reactionary sense of place suggests strict boundaries for places, the distinction between non-native people and local people, promoting local unique features of the place such as nature and history⁵. On the other hand, a progressive (global) sense of place is a more open approach to perceive a place. On the contrary of the understanding in the reactionary sense of place, if a place is described directly by its relation with other people and other places without making any distinction, then progressive sense of place can be claimed in that situation. The progressive sense of place promotes commonality among places, lack of boundaries and openness. Although that concept recognizes the existence of some unique features of places, it doesn't use them as distinctive factors. However, to understand and analyze the sense of place, there is another concept that must be used: collective memory.

Since the sense of place is a multidimensional concept, the question of whether the sense of place is individual or collective has always been an issue. In some fields of study, it may be useful to approach to the concept from an individual perspective by claiming that every person has a unique sense of place and its uniqueness is the most important feature. However, I don't

⁵ This distinction between local people and others does not necessarily mean hate, discrimination or exclusion. In means of the reactionary sense of place, local people may recognize others as another group who does not belong to the place without any discriminative of exclusionary practice. Also, the historical explanation or definition of a place is an indicator of the reactionary sense of place because it emphasizes the unique feature of the place as a distinction from the others. Although the history of the place shows an open and inclusive structure of that place, using history and historical roots for defining a place would point out a reactionary sense of place since history refers to a unique past. This explanation is important to understand what reactionary means in the context.

completely agree with this idea in Urban Studies for two reasons: the impossibility to study on individualistic perspective of sense of place in urban scale and collective and social structure of urban. Indeed, as David Harvey always emphasized that place is a product of collective memory, it is impossible to try to focus on analyzing the sense of place individually in a city. I truly recognize that sense of place is a highly subjective concept in some aspects; however, it is also directly affected by collective memory. Each person in a city has his or her perception of the city or the place, yet it is shaped by a collective understanding. The collective feature doesn't mean that there is only one dominant approach for the sense of place. Instead, the collective memory can create different groups as memories have distinct reflections on people. However, still, the collective memory shapes people's sense of place in either case. One important question here is, what can affect the collective memory in urban areas?

In the case of this thesis, Erdemir came to the stage as the main actor in the city in the 1960s. Through the power of being a publicly-owned corporation and the single-industry in the city, the company has shaped the collective memory in Kdz. Ereğli by affecting the social, economic, and political structure. Over time, the city lived the rise and fall because of Erdemir. Those rise and fall periods, which were caused by Erdemir, affected people's perceptions of the city.

This thesis is mainly about the changing sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli, from the establishment of Erdemir until today. In this thesis, I used the reactionary sense of place and the progressive sense of place to analyze the transformation in the city through the data from in-depth interviews, which I had conducted. Therefore, I argue that institutions can affect collective memory in urban places; thus, affect the sense of place over time.

1.1. The Aim and Scope of the Thesis

This thesis mainly aims to understand the shifts of sense of place in a city and the effect of an institution. Therefore, this thesis analyzes the relationship between places and people. However, this thesis does not directly aim to reveal the senses of place in Kdz. Ereğli at exact moments in history since it is impossible to expose people's unique and personal senses of place. Sense of place is a social product, produced by social interactions and perception, thus collective memory. This study emphasizes Erdemir as an institution that shaped the collective memory in the city; therefore, it affected the sense of place.

The focus point of this thesis is Erdemir's main role in the city. In this thesis, I argue that Erdemir is the main factor in producing the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli through its effects on collective memory. From its establishment to privatization, Erdemir affected the city in many significant ways. It affected the culture, education, economic life and the social structure of the city over time. Those effects shaped the collective memory of Kdz. Ereğli. That is one of the unique contributions of this thesis as my argument about institutionally mediated collective memory to understand shifts of sense of place. Another aim of this thesis is to reveal how the privatization of a publicly-owned corporation affects the local structure of a city. Therefore, this thesis is also about what happens in a city after privatization, and how it affects the people and the city.

The scope of this thesis is limited by Kdz. Ereğli and Erdemir. This study only focuses on the relationship between them to make it possible to analyze Erdemir's effects on collective memory and sense of place. Also, this thesis is limited by analyzing the shifts of the sense of place. It was not possible to analyze the individual sense of place for each person in the city since the

sense of place is a highly subjective concept, which varies from person to person.

1.2. The Structure and Methodology of the Thesis

This thesis contains five chapters. The first chapter is about the introduction, aim, scope and methodology of this thesis. In the second chapter, I provided the main theoretical approaches to the place and sense of place. In this chapter, I also introduce and argue that institutionally mediated collective memory as the key concept of this thesis. In the third chapter, I provide a brief history of Kdz. Ereğli as it relates to this study. That chapter is useful to understand the image of the city before the establishment of Erdemir, and important to make a comparison. Moreover, that chapter analyzes the study of Mübeccel Kiray since it was one of the main points of this thesis. Her study is the focal point because it examines the situation in the city during the construction of Erdemir. It is a valuable and unique study that shows how the social and economic life in Kdz. Ereğli was the beginning of the transformation. In the fourth chapter, I share the details of my field study in Ereğli. In addition, I also argue the findings of the field study. The last chapter is the conclusion, which contains my concluding remarks of the study and my discussions on the findings of this thesis.

This thesis mainly contains three separate parts: the first one is about the historical background of the city, the second one is about the theoretical framework, and the last one is field study. In this thesis, I aim to argue the changing sense of place through a theoretical perspective in a field study. I conducted a field study for this paper as the sense of place is a highly subjective concept which must be analyzed through people's perceptions, rather than through theoretical and historical discussions.

The field study was conducted through in-depth interviews with semi-structured questions. Most of the interviews were recorded with the permission of interviewees; however, one of the interviewees wanted to answer the questions by e-mail after we had met. Also, some of the interviews were conducted without a recording due to the interviewees' preference. 20 interviewees participated in the field study. However, some of the interviews were conducted with several interviewees at the same time. The average length of the interviews was about an hour. The shortest one was 17 minutes, while the longest one was nearly 3 hours. Participants were chosen randomly, but they were from specific groups according to the purpose of the thesis. The groups were determined in regards to occupancy, origins, and working place.

There were two main groups according to working place in the field study: Erdemir-related people and non-Erdemir-related people. This distinction was important to analyze the difference between Erdemir workers who are economically and emotionally related to the company and the local people who are not directly dependent on Erdemir. Another group was selected as origins in means of where the participant is originally from. This was an important tool to analyze immigrant workers' and local people's views on the place. The last group was representing occupancy to understand whether there were differences among working positions or jobs regarding the sense of place. I also tried to target old people who could remember the construction period of Erdemir and Kdz. Ereğli during the construction or even before Erdemir to analyze the effect of Erdemir on their perception of Kdz. Ereğli.

Table 1. The Summary of Interviews

Nick Name	Record ID	Originally From	Birth Year	Working Place	Active/ Retired	Position	Duration
Yusuf	190417_001	Kars	1959	Erdemir	Retired	Laborer	55:00
Samet	190417_002	Kdz.Ereğli	1939	Erdemir	Retired	Laborer	40:42
Serhat	190417_003	Zonguldak	1982	Erdemir	Active	Laborer	37:40
Özgür	190420_001	Kdz.Ereğli	1940	Erdemir	Retired	Officer	2:42:59

Table 1. (continued)

Aykut	190424_001 A1	Kdz.Ereğli	1941	Erdemir	Retired	Laborer	1:06:52
Ogün	190424_001 A2	Kdz.Ereğli	1936	Erdemir	Retired	Officer	1:06:52
Hamza	190424_002	Kdz.Ereğli	1978	Erdemir	Active	Laborer	53:07
Sefa	190426_001 A1	Zonguldak	1948	Public School	Retired	Principal	1:19:34
Ömer	190426_001 A2	Kdz.Ereğli	1964	Erdemir	Retired	Officer	1:19:34
Cengiz	190430_001	Artvin	1952	Erdemir	Retired	Laborer	1:02:08
İsmail	190430_002 A1	Kdz.Ereğli	1960	Erdemir	Retired	White Collar	1:11:49
Abidin	190430_002 A2	Kdz.Ereğli	1960	Erdemir	Retired	White Collar	1:11:49
Oğuzhan	190430_003	Immigrant	1961	Free	Retired	Free	1:08:29
Melih	190501_001	Kdz.Ereğli	1961	Pharmacy	Active	Pharmacist	55:35
Mert	190503_001	Kdz.Ereğli	1970	Public School	Active	Teacher	1:19:08
Enes	190504_001	Kars	1981	Erdemir	Active	Laborer	17:54
Mehmet	190505_001	Zonguldak	1975	Erdemir	Active	White Collar	1:16:54
Deniz	Not Recorded	Zonguldak	1950	Erdemir	Retired	Laborer	45:00
Murat	Not Recorded	Kdz.Ereğli	1969	Merchant	Active	Owner	Emailed
Tunahan	Not Recorded	Kdz.Ereğli	1981	Private School	Active	Teacher	22:00

While analyzing the interviews in the field study chapter, I changed the real participant names to pseudonyms to ensure participant privacy under rules of research permission obtained from the METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee. The table above shows a summary of details about interviews such as participant selection and duration of the interview.

In the field research, interview questions were separated into two groups. The first group of questions was about participants' feelings, thoughts, and knowledge about the city. This first question set aimed to understand interviewees' perceptions about Kdz. Ereğli. The second group of questions was about Erdemir in regards to its to the city, and privatization. This portion aims to analyze participants' thoughts on Erdemir, and also understand how their perceptions or thoughts changed after privatization.

The examples of interview questions for part one is listed below.

- What are the unique values of the city?
- How would you define Kdz. Ereğli?
- What do you know about the history of Kdz. Ereğli?
- How would you evaluate Kdz. Ereğli today, when you look back at the city over the years?

The examples of interview questions for part two are listed below.

- What does Erdemir mean for you?
- How would you explain the relation of Erdemir with the city?
- What changed in Kdz. Ereğli after Erdemir?
- What would Kdz. Ereğli be like if Erdemir had never been established?
- What has Erdemir done to this city?
- What do you think about privatization? How do you feel about it then and now?
- What changed after privatization in Kdz. Ereğli?

In short, this thesis aimed to answer the questions below:

- How could the sense of place be produced?
- What things affect the sense of place?
- Could institutions affect the sense of place?
- How does privatization affect single industry towns?
- How has the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli changed in years?
- What are the main reasons behind the shift of sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli?

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

Doreen Massey (1994) named this era as the era of acceleration. Acceleration of flow of capital, products, culture, etc. These flows and influxes affect the places and their identities. David Harvey (1996) mentions that these flows and influxes cause time-space compression⁶. The compression creates a sense of terror because of the fear of loss of identity since people identify themselves through the place. Nevertheless, there are two main approaches to the place regarding the flux: a reactionary sense of place or a progressive -or global- sense of place.

Place is a multidimensional concept. David Harvey (2005, p. 3) states that place has a lot of different meanings in language; thus, it is a multilayered word. For Yi-Fu Tuan (1979, p. 408), place, as a term, is in the field of sociology when it is used to refer to social status. However, it is in the field of geography if it is used to refer to a location. As Tim Cresswell (2004) indicates, place is a popular concept for geography, a useful concept for everyday life, a debate for political sociology, and a psychological concept, as well. This puts the concept place both in simple meanings and complicated, theoretical, and various scholarly meanings. According to Donat (1967), there are different levels of place. For instance, one can define a place at street level, or a neighborhood

⁶ Time-Space Compression is the rapid process of capital mobility by demolishing distances (Woodward & Jones III, 2009, p. 24).

level or a country level. However, there is no hierarchy among those places, yet the difference between them is one's level of identity to that place.

John Agnew (1987, p. 28) also notes that the definition of place has been discussed by geographers and other social scientists for years. In his conceptualization, place has three major components: locale, location, and sense of place. In other words, he explains the place as meaningful, belonged, and socially constructed geographical location. In his definition, being meaningful refers to the sense of place, socially constructed refers to the locale in which social formal and informal relations constituted, and geographical location refers to the exact location where the place is.

In this chapter, I try to understand what place is, what the relation of place and geography is, what the sense of place is, and what the leading theories for the sense of place are through literature review. By reviewing this literature, I aim to frame a theoretical background for this thesis. Lastly, I also suggest a different perspective for the sense of place through introducing the institutionally mediated collective memory.

This chapter begins with explaining the relationship between place and geography since place has a lot of meanings for different disciplines. Therefore, I try to make it clear why I have chosen a geographical view on place and why I have chosen the humanistic view of place in the remainder of this thesis. After that, I reveal thoughts of Edward Relph, Yi-Fu Tuan, David Harvey, and Doreen Massey on place, and I have chosen to cite them as they are the leading and required figures in their field of study on place. Lastly, I examine the two leading theories on the sense of place as the reactionary sense of place and the progressive (global) sense of place; moreover, I discuss my viewpoint for institutionally mediated collective memory.

2.2. Place and Geography

Place has been the primary subject and field of study for geography for centuries. The concept of the place came into the area of geography during the middle of the 20th century. Before that, there were some similar concepts which had been used instead of place since the first century. Traditional geography mostly focused on the region, landscape, and space to theorize geography (Best, 2009, p. 345). Although the Ad Hoc Committee on the Science of Geography (NAS, 1965, p. 7) indicated that "the modern science of geography derives its substance from man's sense of place", it only happened in the 1970s to conceptualize the place as a meaningful and particular location (Cresswell, 2009, p. 169). "Place is, therefore, a pre-scientific fact of life-based on the way we experience the world (Cresswell, 2004, p. 23)."

2.2.1. Geography Before Place

Regional geography, a discipline that works in an integrative regional framework of humans, nature, and diversity (Paasi, 2009, p. 214), focuses on diverse regions in the world and their differences from each other. Regional geography promotes the term region instead of place in its terminology (Cresswell, 2004, p. 15, 16) (Warf, 2006c, p. 405). Another approach to the geography is geography as a spatial science, which was the main idea during the 1960s and 1970s. This approach promotes descriptive and mathematical-statistical side of geography and privileges the concept of space instead of place (Sheppard, 2009, p. 715). In this regard, Lukerman (1964, p. 167) defines geography as "the knowledge of the world as it exists in places." As in this definition, the interest of geography was what happens places rather than the place itself. This was the reflection of the understanding of geography as a spatial science. In this view, the focal point of human geography was space, and the place was just a location. Thus, the human was an object or rational

being according to spatial scientists, and they were not focusing on the relationship between human and place (Cresswell, 2004, p. 18; 2008, p. 135).

In this study, I use the geographical approach to the place. However, in the history of geography, there has been different periods regarding their perception of place. Just for a piece of brief information in the following section, I mention the main periods of geography considering their perception to place. Therefore, I try to explain why I have chosen the geographical and humanistic approaches to place in this study.

2.2.2. Geography After Place

"Human geography is the study of places," according to Cresswell (2004, p. 1). Moreover, humanistic geography is the approach that considers human as the main actor of geography instead of region or space (Sharp, 2009, p. 356). The disregard to place and focus on space by the spatial scientists caused a reactionary development in the humanistic geography. This reaction was the development of the place as the central concept for geography for the first time (Cresswell, 2004, p. 19), and it was also a response to spatial and regional geography which had not considered human experiences before. Thus, this approach "reconceptualized place in the context of human experiences of living in the world (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 67)."

The remarkable change for geographical approach to the place has been done by the humanistic geographers Edward Relph (1976) and Yi-Fu Tuan (1974). Thanks to these scholars, humanistic geography has begun to "be more aware of the ways in which we bring a particularly human range of emotions and beliefs to our interactions with the physical world⁷" (Cresswell, 2008, p. 135). Therefore, it was the most significant paradigm shift and one of the main

⁷ The physical world here refers to the place.

contributions of humanistic geography (Warf, 2006b, p. 234). Tuan and Relph changed the concept space to place as they both had seen that space was more geometric concept compared to the place. However, according to them place was including human beings. Furthermore, in their arguments, being a human is almost equal to being in a place; thus, humans could only identify themselves through places. Therefore, they both conceptualized place as an experimental process, constructed by people, and human-centered approach (Cresswell, 2002, p. 12).

2.2.2.1. Edward Relph on Place

Edward Relph (1976) wrote a book to propose a new understanding of the environment, the lived-world, experiences, and daily activities. The book aims to understand how people experience places and promote diversity in ways of experiencing the place⁸. In Relph's (1976, preface) arguments,

that distinctive and diverse places are manifestations of a deeply felt involvement with those places by the people who live in them, and that for many such a profound attachment to place is as necessary and significant as a close relationship with other people.

According to Relph (1976, p. 1), place is not just a basic concept to define one's home, personal area, some location, etc. Instead, it is a significant concept that makes one to a human; thus, one can be a human only if he or she has significant places. On the other hand, similar to the Donat (1967), Relph (1976, p. 43) suggests that there are different levels for places such as nation, province, or region. Also, the place can be identified through its functions, personal experiences, or common experiences. In this regard, he

⁸ Besides, he also examines the phenomenon of placelessness to understand the place in his book. According to him, placelessness is the contradiction of place as a distinctive, unique, and experience-based phenomenon. It refers to the standardization of landscapes and losing the significance of the place.

conceptualizes place as a phenomenon to the geography of the lived-world, and he strictly limits the concept of place with experiences and life.

Relph (1976) notes that place and sense of place are related to human experiences, hopes, frustrations, and confusions of life; thus, they cannot be scientifically analyzed. He (1976, p. 29) indicates that it is not easy to understand and conceptualize the place in our daily lives as they are not just basic locations or landscapes from somewhere else. Furthermore, defining place is a complex and multifaceted process. In this regard, he offers one way to find the meaning of place. According to him, since place is a composition of various features such as location, landscape, other people, and personality, analyzing the meaning and the essence of the place through assessing essential the components of place would be a useful way to understand the sense of place. Therefore, Relph (1976) analyzes the components of place in his perspective as location, landscape, time, community, privacy-personality, and rootedness. As he noted in his main book (1976), the place has a location, yet this is not necessary for attachment to or existence of a place. The location could be changed or the quality of the place in the location could be changed over time. Moreover, place has an appearance as the landscape so that it demonstrates itself. Although the appearance of a place is the most significant feature of it, it is not possible to explain all place experiences through the interaction between humans and landscapes because sometimes places could also be experienced through memories, too. Place and time are related to each other regarding continuity of place and increasing attachment to the place. Besides, if a place was identified by culture, religion, ritual, or a group, it may lose its significance over time in accordance with the decline of its identifiers.

To conclude, place includes past, present, and future inside. A place is somewhere in today, yet it presents expressions of past experiences and events, and hopes for the future (Relph, 1976, p. 33). Although experiences

and past are essential for place, time is not the essence of the place. In fact, the essence of the place, sense of place, is deeply related to the human experiences.

2.2.2.2. Yi-Fu Tuan on Place

Yi-Fu Tuan is one of the critical geographers for place studies, who have added human feelings into the geography with Edward Relph. He combined geography and sociology to understand place. In his approach, place is not only a location; moreover, it is a social position such as in Relph (1976) and Dayton (1967) (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 72). However, this is not the only similarity among them since Tuan (1974, p. 245) also emphasizes that the dimensions of the places could be different such as a room and earth itself. Therefore, Tuan (1979, p. 409) defines place as more than a location and social status, and he adds that "it is a unique ensemble of traits that merits study in its own right."

According to Cresswell (2004, p. 24), Tuan considers the place as a home. Therefore, place is a safe, beloved, attached, and belonged zone similar to home. Additionally, Tuan (1977) conceptualizes place through using the term space, and he considers both space and place as the essential concepts of geography (Tuan, 1979, p. 387). He notes that one can only understand the place if he or she compares it with space (Tuan, 1977). However, it does not mean that one can only or should define the place through using the term of space. Place is not just another form of space; moreover, it also differs from space in some aspects since place has a meaning, a history, and a relationship with people. The important thing here is that the meaning of place comes from the perceptions of people and the meanings that people have attributed to the place (Tuan, 1979). In this regard, Tuan conceptualizes space and place through using movement and pause. According to him space is a fluid,

insecure concept, while place is a concrete, meaningful, and secure location. He explains his idea as in the following quotation:

From the security and stability of place, we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is a pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place (Tuan, 1977, p. 6).

The most important contribution of Tuan to the humanistic geography is the term that he has coined to understand the place and to connect the place and human to each other. In his words, "topophilia, is the affective bond between people and place or setting (Tuan, 1974, p. 4)." In my words, topophilia is the love between people and place⁹. Place is not just a location in that context; instead, it might be a building, an apartment, a house, or a whole city, too. Tuan also explains this definition of place as "the human being's affective ties with the material environment (Tuan, 1974, p. 93)."

To conclude, Tuan refers to the love or relationship with the physical environment through topophilia. His understanding of topophilia is not an innate feeling to the place. On the contrary, it is experimental, constructed, and it can be shared by other members of a social group or community. Thus, it is not just an individualistic feeling, as well. The connection between people and places could be created through connections of a social group, community, and any other group with a socio-physical landscape (Stedman & Ingalls, 2014, p. 129-133). Therefore, Tuan conceptualizes place as a social and experimental entity, which is produced through interactions between people and meaningful locations. Furthermore, he highlights the strong connection and emotional bond between humans and places to underline the humanistic perception of place.

⁹ This is also the actual meaning of topophilia. In Greek, the words 'topho' and 'philia' means 'place' and 'love' (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 75).

2.2.2.3. David Harvey on Place

Although Harvey (2005, p. 3) suggests that place is a multilayered and multi-purpose word and has a variety of meanings in language, it has a general meaning for him as it is a social construct (Harvey, 1996, p. 293). However, then he continues with asking the most crucial question: How is the place constructed? (Harvey, 1996, p. 294). For Harvey, place is “a site where identity is created through the construction of memories linking a group of people into the past (Cresswell, 2004, p. 61).” For example, a city center is like a book of time and history, as Harvey suggests (Harvey, 2001, p. 128). In this regard, Harvey is against to the understanding of place which suggests that place is created by memories or identities of a particular local group. Instead, place is a product of collective memory, for Harvey’s approaches (Cresswell, 2004, p. 62).

Harvey notes that the importance of place has increased due to the capital accumulation, time-space compression, and postmodernity (Cresswell, 2004, p. 26). Thus, as it might be expected, Harvey (1996) explains place and its construction process through time-space compression and capital accumulation. By using time-space compression, Harvey (1989) means the speed-up in the capitalist life and the collapse of distances between spaces. In this speed and flux, people’s understanding of time and space has changed and made them feel like ‘compressed.’ According to him (1996, p. 294), within all of that speed, flux, and motion, place refers to permanence. In other words, place is a safe location on the map within the time-space compression. From his perspective, place is also a fixed capital within the mobile forms of capital, and it creates tension among them. He also adds that places are under threat of the mobility of capital and new communication and transformation features, which erode the differences among locations (Cresswell, 2004, p. 26).

Nevertheless, Harvey (1996, p. 294) points out a difference between a geographical location and a named location. A geographical location just contains coordinates of a place, and it does not have any other meanings and relationships. On the other hand, a named location such as Karadeniz Ereğli, Zonguldak contains a notion of permanence and relationships as the place has connections with a social group, organization, or government. Therefore, he considers the place as a combination of imaginary, institutionalized locations, in which includes social relations, material practices, and forms of power. Thus, place is internally heterogeneous, dialectical, and dynamic configurations of relative permanence.

As it has mentioned above, David Harvey builds the concept of place upon capitalism and capital accumulation. Therefore, he explains the place making process as a cure for capitalism's crisis for the overaccumulation of capital. For Harvey (1996), the capitalist system, in its all flux and mobility, tries to construct permanent physical and social structures for geographical expansion to overcome its crisis. In this process, Harvey defines place as permanence in the flux of capital circulation (Harvey, 1996, p. 295), and this is also the contradiction of capitalism as using spatial fix¹⁰ to continuously reproduce its flux. The geographical expansion can be made through spatial fix in two ways. The first way is exporting the capital from one place to another place to build it; therefore, capitalism creates a new place to make a profit from building it and investing in it. The second way revolutionizes the relationships among spaces through using new technologies and new organizations. In this way, the technological revolutions change the relationships among places and processes for placemaking. Therefore, the capital may create new networks in place, new organized social relations, institutions, territorial divisions of labor,

¹⁰ Spatial fix means the construction of new places or renewing the older places for the sake of overcoming the crisis of capitalism as overaccumulation of capital. By this, capitalism creates a new place to continue its flow (Woodward & Jones III, 2009, p. 24).

concentrations of people, labor power, and markets. This is the way of reproducing an old existing place for new capitalist flows.

Harvey (1996, p. 296) also points out two tensions. One of them is between place-bound fixity and spatial mobility of capital. This tension occurs if the place is in a lower phase of development than capital accumulation, and therefore it becomes a barrier to further capital accumulation. In that case, the capital reshapes the place to bring it to a higher phase of development so that reproduce itself within that place. To achieve this, the capital builds new transportation and communication systems, physical and social infrastructures, new centers, and creates new styles of production in consumption by destroying and redeveloping the old place. The other tension is between speculative investment in place development and the geographical mobility of other forms of capital. In this case, the capital moves much faster than some of the investments in the place, which are permanent investments such as infrastructure investments made by capital that need a longer permanence of place to improve their profits. This situation causes a request for permanence from investors against the mobility of capital, and this creates the tension within the place.

Another important issue for David Harvey is the inquiry of loyalties. Here, loyalty is a concept that describes what one will support while he or she is tackling local issues. Harvey conceptualizes this inquiry through using militant particularism, which was also used by Raymond Williams in his writings. Militant particularism in Williams' studies means "standing by one's loyalties where actual lived experiences formed the basis for (working class) solidarity and could not be abstracted from (Helms, 2009, p. 429)." On the other hand, militant particularism in Harvey's studies can be defined as:

a term that describes disconnected and narrowly focused political mobilizations that are limited by virtue of being grounded only in the

localized and relatively unique experiences or characteristics of individuals (Woodward & Jones III, 2009, p. 24).

Harvey (1996) explains this concept in the section of 'Militant Particularism and Global Ambition' through referring to his previous work with Teresa Hayter, *The Factory and The City* (1993). Harvey (1996) suggests that militant particularism is the preference of local loyalty rather than global ambitions. In their situation with Hayter, Harvey explains the process and questions what made him to think which level he should be loyal to. In their book (Hayter & Harvey, 1993), the main issue is about the closure of a factory in a city; therefore, its local and national/global effects. Therefore, Harvey & Williams (1995) inquire about whether one should consider their local benefits or local romantic feelings to a company or a city instead of the global or national benefits for workers or unemployed people, or ecological or natural wellness. Then, Harvey asks the most important question: "So where did my loyalties lie? (Harvey & Williams, 1995, p. 71)."

Militant particularism is an important concept for this study in one aspect to understand how the effects of a local issue as downsizing of a factory in a city should be understood. As it is explained in the following, though Massey promotes the importance of local power to understanding nation-wide or global political, economic and social issues, Harvey inquiries the clash between bigger scale benefits and local scale benefits.

2.2.2.4. Doreen Massey on Place

Massey (1995) notes that places are hybrid. She conceptualizes place as a particular location where particular social relations interact with each other (Massey, 1994, p. 168). In her famous book, 'Space, Place, and Gender', she explains how place came into the agenda of geography. Massey (1994, p. 118, 119) suggests that places became meaningful and valuable for political and

economic studies because many examples had revealed that different local political and economic issues could have many diverse subsequences. Therefore, subnational/localized places have become important components for understanding the national level. Massey highlights that the spatial differentiation in a country causes to different reactions or interpretations to the national structural changes because of the people's diverse personalities in different places¹¹ (Massey, 2001, p. 268).

Massey rejects the idea of an internalist or essentialist sense of place that focuses on the long historical roots of the place; instead, according to her, places are open and unbounded entities (Massey, 2002, p. 24). According to her, places are articulations of social relations, yet not only internal social relations but they also consist of global social relations, too. The global and internal relations of place affect the character and the identity of the place. Thus, place identity is also a process of progress because it is continuously being reproduced over time (Massey, 1994, p. 171). On the other hand, Massey (1994, p. 118) suggests that "it was hard to live politically through this period without recognizing that geographical specificity, and the meanings and symbolisms which people attach to places."

Place is an existing and socially constructed structure and a network instead of a container for people and their activities (Longan, 2002, p. 218), and it is also an event rather than a secure thing. Through these definitions, Massey tries to highlight that place is not a bounded and permanent thing but an open and changeable thing. Also, this approach undermines the given value to the place and offers that the value of place does not come from its outside; instead,

¹¹ This discussion is mainly about examining the relationship between local and national levels in regards to how the political and economic issues mutually affect each level. That is literally about the politics of place which is deeply examined in Doreen Massey's book *Space, Place and Gender* (1994) under the title of "The Political Place of Locality Studies." On the other hand, David Harvey (1996) has an opposite idea on this issue which is known as 'militant particularism.'

it comes from inside of the place. Thus, there is no need to define the place outside of it (Cresswell, 2004, p. 40). Therefore, according to Massey (2005, p. 69) the character of a place can only be understood through the relationship between that place and the others. Furthermore, the identity of place is produced by "the specificity of its interactions with the 'outside' (Massey, 1994, p. 169)." Moreover, Massey (1994, p. 120, 121) argues how a decline of industry in an area should be explained as in the following quotation:

It is not just that, say, the decline of industry in an area must be explained - rather than by looking at the characteristics of the area itself - by understanding the forces of capital accumulation, of changing markets perhaps, or of external ownership; it is also that the very formation of the identity of a place – its social structure, its political character, its local' culture - is also a product of interactions. The 'character of an area' is no more the product of an internalized history than are the recent fortunes of its manufacturing industry. The global is in the local in the very process of the formation of the local. This, then, is an extension to the concept of place of that element of the argument about space which has it that not only is space the product of social relations but that 'it is those relations which constitute the social phenomena themselves'.

Therefore, Massey (1994) clearly explains her understanding of place. In her interpretation, place is a socially constructed and progressive concept. Also, the local cultures and identities are products of interactions within places. However, these interactions are not just limited with inner interactions but they also include interactions between other places; moreover, the place identity is also constructed by its interactions with other places. Therefore, Massey emphasizes that place identities can be multiple because of the complexity of social relations within and among the places. The specificity and uniqueness of individuals and places cause diversification of interactions and relations, which are the sources of multiple place identities (Massey, 1994, p. 121, 168). Massey deeply criticizes the approach to place as associating it with stasis, nostalgia and enclosed security. According to her (1994, p. 168), the attempt to establish place identity through belonging is an "attempt to fix the meaning

of places, to enclose and defend them." Therefore, people create static, singular and concrete identities for places which Massey criticizes through suggesting a new, global and comprehensive interpretation of place and place identity. To do this, Massey (1994, p. 168, 169) makes her suggestion for a more comprehensive interpretation of the identity of a place as the following:

- 1) The identity of a place is produced through social interrelations which also include other places.
- 2) The identity of a place is an unfixed and continuous process. The identity cannot be fixed in the past or cannot express just a 'moment' in the present.
- 3) The identity of a place is constructed by positive interrelations with other places. This approach is against the interpretation of place as a secure and bounded home.

2.2.3. Conclusion

Humanistic geography changed its approach to humans from human as a rational being and an object, to human as an emotional being. Moreover, humanistic geography suggested that people have meaningful relationships with the physical world that surrounds themselves. In this regard, the humanistic geographers emphasized that there is a relationship among consciousness, understanding, and places; thus, people produce the place through their understandings and consciousness (Warf, 2006a, p. 223). This development of humanistic geography also led to another new way of thinking, too. Cresswell (2008) addressed that as a revolutionary point to humanistic geography: the idea of experience to understand the relationship between people and places. In this perspective, the place is a subjective, personal, and smaller concept based on experiences of people (Warf, 2006b, p. 234). The shift from space to place in humanistic approach is quite clear as humanistic geographers reject using the concept of space. The comparison between

space and place depends on including humans, feelings, and experiences to geographic studies. According to humanistic geographers, place contains humans, feelings, and experiences, while space does not. They differ place from space through suggesting that place is a meaningful location that contains human relations. Therefore, in the remainder of this study I have chosen to use place instead of space. Although space is an important concept for political science, place is more accurate concept to analyze people's relations and attachments with a particular location as it contains feelings and personal emotions.

2.3. Sense of Place

In the previous sections, I tried to provide a piece of brief information about how place is defined and conceptualized in different periods of geography studies. Then, I revealed the interpretations of place of the important main actors considering my study. While doing this, I consciously left David Harvey and Doreen Massey to the last two. This is why my study mainly focuses on Doreen Massey's interpretation of the sense of place as the global (progressive) sense of place, which was produced as a reaction to the reactionary (exclusionary) sense of place.

In this section, I try to explain what the sense of place is and how we could measure it. Hence, I use the reactionary sense of place and the progressive sense of place here. After that, I discuss my interpretation of a sense of place as suggesting the institutionally mediated collective memory. Then, I mention the place dependence to explain an important factor in the sense of place. Here I suggest that the dependence on the place, in most cases, shapes the sense of place. In the first place, I begin with defining the sense of place as an introduction.

The concept of sense of place was firstly proposed by geographers during the 1960s and its meaning has changed in time (Kudryavtsev, 2013, p. 30). As the

same as when I explained the hardship to define place, finding or deriving a universal definition for the sense of place is not also possible. It is a vague concept, which could be differently affected by cultural and social variables (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005, p. 467); therefore, it is not possible to find a commonly shared definition of the term. Also, since the sense of place has used by different disciplines from different perspectives, this caused a variety to define it (Argın, 2012, p .24). However, it could be explained as set of feelings which people have and produce for a geographical location to make it a place. Besides, these feelings could be both positive or negative (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009, p. 96) and could have various sources and components. They could be derived from one's attachment to a particular place, their dependence or pure love for that place. Therefore, the sense of place could establish different types of connections between the one and the place such as historical, familial, emotional, mythical, cognitive or material connections (Cross, 2001, p. 3). Thus, the concept could be categorized by using it in geographic, psychological, political or sociological understandings. In that study, the concepts of place and sense of place have been used in geographical-sociological meanings; moreover, place dependence and collective memory have been used as tools to analyze the sense of place.

The sense of place is being at home, in a secure and stable area for Tuan (1974) and Heidegger (1971). Tuan (1974) constitutes the sense of place by topophilia as pure love to the place in means of the tight links between one and a place. Similarly, Heidegger (1971) uses his famous black forest phenomena to explain the sense of place through the dwelling -the secure home- in that forest. These approaches derived from their interpretations of place as the sense of place is strongly connected with how one perceives the place. In other words, what makes a location as a place is the sense of place. Thus, how one defines place creates one's understanding of the sense of place. A complete and, comprehensive explanations for the sense of place is as quoted as:

Different people perceive the same city or neighborhood in different ways. While one person may appreciate the ecological and social aspects of a neighborhood, another may experience environmental and racialized injustice. A place may also conjure contradicting emotions, the warmth of community and home juxtaposed with the stress of dense urban living. Sense of place—the way we perceive places such as streets, communities, cities, or ecoregions— influences our well-being, how we describe and interact with a place, what we value in a place, our respect for ecosystems and other species, how we perceive the affordances of a place, our desire to build more sustainable and just urban communities, and how we choose to improve cities. Our sense of place also reflects our historical and experiential knowledge of a place and helps us imagine its more sustainable future (Adams et al., 2017, p. 68-69).

Although it has been mentioned that there is no universal accepted definition on the sense of place, there are some efforts to frame the concept. The concept has been explained in the International Encyclopedia of Human Geography by Foote & Azaryahu (2009, p. 96) as the following:

Sense of place refers to the emotive bonds and attachments people develop or experience in particular environments, from the national, regional, or urban levels to the personal scale of the neighborhood and home. Sense of place is also used to describe the distinctiveness or unique character of particular localities and regions which emerge from their particular histories or environmental settings.

Agnew (1987, p. 28) conceptualizes the sense of place as "the local structure of feeling." Similarly, Tuan (1977, p. 183) associates the feeling of place with experiences, and Harvey (1996, p. 306) argues that sense of place is constructed through both past and future; therefore, it is an active process that connects the past with the future. Besides, it is also a collective process for Harvey as he notes that place is "a site where identity is created through the construction of memories linking a group of people into the past (Cresswell, 2004, p. 61)."

According to Edward Relph (2015), the sense of place is "a fundamental aspect of everyday life and a connection between person and world."

Continuously, Relph's (2015) sense of place mostly refers to distinctive features of places to describe or define it. Therefore, the sense of place is created by distinctiveness and unique values of somewhere; however, it is not a constant concept. Instead, the sense of place is a subjective and temporary concept which could easily change from age to age for a person, considering his or her experiences in that place and other places which would also change in years. Hence, Relph (2015) adds the instability and experiences to the concept of the sense of place.

Similarly, Cresswell (2006, p. 424) argues that the sense of place is a subjective concept because of the experiential nature of it which comes from emotions and feelings to a place or that are caused by a place. Accordingly, he suggests that the sense of place contains smells, sounds, and tastes as they strengthen people's relations to a place. One important aspect that should be reminded while conceptualizing sense of place for urban areas is, cities are socially constructed entities by the people live there (Adams et al., 2017, p. 70) and outside. In this regard, cities are also constructions of past, present, and future as David Harvey (2001, p. 128) emphasized that a city center looks like a book of time and history.

Moreover, the sense of place is a continuous process that could be changed by different events, which happened within a place or outside of it, and it could be changed by people living inside or outside of it. While it has been claimed by a few scholars that the sense of place is slow to evolve (Raymond et al. 2017, p. 1); in fact, it is a highly evolutionary concept as human life has been changing every day. The everyday practices and experiences, which have been changing continuously, are also affecting the sense of place. Also, the incoming people to a place such as immigrants or refugees or the outgoing people from a place could affect the sense of place. Therefore, the sense of place is a concept that is alive, and it is hard to measure it. It is only possible

to perceiving and analyzing the sense of place, rather than measuring it¹². Cresswell (2006, p. 424) perfectly explains this situation by giving an example of New York City and Paris. He argues that although most of the people haven't been to these two cities ever, they have a feeling -either positive or negative- for these places through movies, TV series, books, shared experiences, or etc. Therefore, it means that they have a sense of place to these places as outsiders since these places have been projected into our lives deeply by movies, advertisements, global organizations, and other people. Thus, it is fair to argue that there is a sense of place for NYC and Paris, which has been established even by the people who have not lived here.

In short, in this thesis, the term sense of place has been used in means of emotional, experimental and the socially constructed connection between people and places. This study promotes that the sense of place is an individual but social-collective process through collective memory. The individual, community, institutions, and place mutually affect each other in regard to the sense of place. Production of the sense of place is a process which will evolve forever. Also, it is not only being affected by interior issues, yet it is also a product of exterior issues and mutual relations among places. Moreover, it could be either a positive feeling or a negative feeling to the place in means of the sense of place.

2.3.1. Place Dependence and Local Dependence

Place dependence is a term that describes the "functional attachment to a place (Backlund & Williams, 2004, p. 321)." The term, place dependence, is coined by Stokols & Shumaker (1981), and it refers to the satisfaction at a place for someone's needs, rather than any other places (Nanzer, 2004, p.

¹² To look over some methods try to measure sense of place, please see; Shamai (1991), Jorgensen & Stedman (2001), and Shamai & Ilatov (2005).

365). Place dependence is different from attachment as the term dependence means that the relation with person and place is based on the achievement of specific goals (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001, p 234). To make it clear, dependence emphasizes more than emotional bonds with place. It is a rational evaluation that people make regarding how places meet their needs (Backlund & Williams, 2004, p. 321) such as job-market, educational opportunities for their children, and living expenses. The reason for dependency is about the functional issues of a place (White et al., 2008, p. 649). According to Moore & Graefe (1994, p. 19), place dependence is the degree of one's association with a place and being dependent on that place. The dependence also means a continual relationship between place and individual (Williams & Vaske, 2003, p. 831).

Kevin Cox and Andrew Mair (1988), use another term similar to place dependence as local dependence. Their interpretation comes from conceptualizing social relations through, space or place. It means social relations are produced in spaces or places; thus, there is an obvious connection between places and social relations. (Cox & Mair, 1991, p. 199). Therefore, local dependence is "the dependence of various actors -capitalist firms, politicians, people- on the reproduction of certain social relations within a particular territory (Cox & Mair, 1988, p. 307)." They conceptualize local dependence in three aspects: local dependence of capitalist firms, politicians, and people. In their interpretation, capitalist firms are locally dependent on particular places because of economic issues such as a location for the labor market, supplier networks, natural resources, and transportation features. Politicians could be dependent on a particular local place to benefit from local economic growth. Lastly, people may have different dependencies in a particular place because of subjective reasons (Cox & Mair, 1988). Therefore, local dependence is related to firms, people, and government institutions (Cox & Mair, 1991, p. 199).

The importance of the local dependence concept of Cox & Mair (1988) comes from their classification in people's local dependence. They conceptualize the dependence, as usual, by referring that the place is a social construct and contains a lot of social relations and interactions. The situatedness creates sets of relationships among people and places to make them interdependent. However, Cox & Mair (1988, p. 312) also suggest that "there is a material basis for people to be locally dependent." Therefore, they (1988, p. 312) categorize the local dependence as traditional local dependence and modern local dependence.

Traditional local dependence is produced by traditional forms of social relations such as family relations, ethnic or religious relations that depend on someone to a particular place. However, traditional local dependence is not just a dependence caused by these kinds of relationships. These relationships create the self-identity of a person and a sense of personal significance. Furthermore, they state that these relations not just simply creating self-identification. These kinds of relations provide the basis for creating a strong self-identification through a particular locality (Cox & Mair, 1988, p. 312). That is such an important determination considering this thesis. Also, I support the idea that locality and self-identification are highly affecting each other in many ways, and this relation is mutual.

Thrift (1983, p. 40) suggests that there are such dominant locales¹³, in which the class production and reproduction occur such as home, work, or school. The social relations and interactions occur at these locals, the class production and reproduction occur. According to Thrift, these locales have important effects on people since locales are the sites where the life path of a person is shaped by class reproduction. This is why, locales are where people spend

¹³ That term is used by both Giddens (1981) and Thrift (1983) instead of place. They both indicate that locale means more than a position when it is compared with place (Giddens, 1981, p. 39), and includes "different connected settings of interactions (Thrift, 1983, p. 40)."

most of their time in the capitalist world, such as work, and provide the basis for socialization for people (Thrift, 1983, p. 40). Therefore, the daily routines and social interactions at these locales shape one's class-based identity, life path and maybe the ideology because the environment which surrounds one shapes one. I totally agree with that idea since I believe that through this kind of relationship people create their identity in a particular place. Therefore, the root of traditional local dependence lays in particular places (Cox & Mair, 1988, p. 312).

However, Cox and Mair mention about another type of local dependence. They (1988, p. 313), conceptualize modern local dependence by referring to the weakening of traditional social relations; therefore, they explain this weakening process with commodification and state interventions and continue as:

The minimal security provided by the welfare state, together with insertion into commodity markets, has led to declines in the importance of family, religion, authority, ethnicity, and neighborhood, as the material functions of these traditional social relations have been sidelined. Old principles of social organization, those of gender, of old to young, of ethnic solidarity, and of parents to children, have lost their social force (Cox & Mair, 1988, p. 313).

Therefore, modern local dependence began to be produced by people's preferences for working opportunities, careers, and material consumption. These kinds of preferences are created by the needs of the capitalist model of life instead of the process in the traditional form of local dependences. The most visible contradiction between traditional and modern local dependency is about creating self-identity through dependence. Unlike the traditional form, in the modern dependence the self-identity is not related to a particular location. Thus, mobility does not threaten the people's identities in modern form; although, it still contains self-limitations to mobility (Cox & Mair, 1988, p. 313).

On the other hand, the source of local dependence differs from person to person. However, it is not only about the variety of sources of local dependence but also the degree of dependence of people differs from each other (Cox & Mair, 1991, p. 203). Thus, according to Cox (1998, p. 21), it is not possible to understand local social structures through local dependences.

To conclude, each approach either the place dependence or local dependence refers to a strong connection between people and a particular place. The difference of use of the terminology between place dependence and local dependence is about the debate upon place versus location/locale within the field of geography. Kevin Cox and Andrew Mair (1988 & 1991) clearly describe their interpretation of local dependence and categorize it in two: traditional and modern. While traditional dependence is mostly produced by traditional types of social relations and identities, modern dependence is produced by capitalist world issues such as career, production, and money. Moreover, self-identities are not the main reasons for people to attach themselves to particular places in modern local dependence.

The dependence notion is important for this study as its focus and emphasize on production of self-identities through local social relations. As John Urry (1985, p. 39, 40) stated, the characteristics of civil society is open to be affected by spatial issues. The lived space, the neighborhood, and the people living in that neighborhood have emotional effects on people. Moreover, these social relations occur in meaningful particular locations to affect people's life paths. This is why Cox & Mair (1988, p. 312) have inferred that the strongest local identities could be seen in mining towns or single-industry towns. Therefore, the local dependence is an important concept for this study to examine the sense of place in Karadeniz Ereğli, a city that both a mining and single-industry town.

2.3.2. The Reactionary Sense of Place

Reactionary sense of place is named by Doreen Massey (1991, 1994) in her writings, which represents the understanding of place as a home (Tuan, 1974), as a dwelling in Black Forest (Heidegger, 1971), as a basic element for experiencing the world (Relph, 1976) and being secure, safe and fixed in the flux (Harvey, 1989). Why Massey categorizes these approaches in a reactionary sense could be found behind their interpretation as to conceptualize place as an introverted and exclusionary practice.

David Harvey (1989) suggests the concept of time-space compression and the effect of globalization to places in his very famous book *The Condition of Postmodernity*. As Massey (1994, p. 147) indicates, "time-space compression refers to movement and communication across space, to the geographical stretching-out of social relations, and our experience of all this." According to Harvey, "the significance of place was being eroded by globalization" (Kitchin, 2016, p. 814). Through the time-space compression concept, Harvey (1989) emphasizes that the speed-up in the capitalist life and the collapse of distance between spaces. In this speed and flux, people's understanding of time and space changed and people started to feel compressed. On the other hand, the time-space compression affected the consumption styles of peoples. By this compression, the production of goods and services became more rapid, and this situation caused a throwaway society. However, the throwaway society not only throw away the goods and products because they are not valuable today, but also started to easily throw away their lifestyles, relationships, and attachments¹⁴ such as place attachment or identity (Harvey, 2016, p. 111). In this regard, Harvey (1996, p. 297-300) argues that the time-space

¹⁴ Zygmunt Bauman also examines this effect of globalization and time-space relation in his writings. He conceptualizes this situation through liquidity as according to Bauman (2000, p. 2), fluidity is not about time and space. The fluid is not fixed in space, and cannot be bind by time. Although the fluid fills a space, it is not a permanent thing; thus, it only fills a space for a time.

compression created a sense of terror and a fear of loss of identity because of the threat to self-identify through place. This is a shifting world, adds Harvey (2016, p. 127), and people try to find or establish secure connections with places to create or retain their identities. As similar to Tuan's (1974) and Relph's (1976) arguments to connecting being a human with being in place, Harvey (2016) suggests that knowing one's place is essential in that shifting world as it could help to establish a secure social order. Although they were secure places once before, the mobility of capital among places make them vulnerable because the people living in those pre-secure places try to get used to changing patterns of capital accumulation. The ability of mobility of capital changed the relative locations of places in the global world, and this situation threatens the security of the places.

From another aspect, Martin Heidegger expresses similar thoughts for the time-space relationship. "All distances in time and space," Heidegger (1971, p. 165) says, "are shrinking." By the developments in transportation and telecommunication technologies, he adds, "man puts the longest distances behind him in the shortest time. He puts the greatest distances behind himself and thus puts everything before himself at the shortest range."

Doreen Massey (1994 & 2005) argues three points in the concept of time-space compression so that provide the understanding of the reactionary sense of place. Firstly, Massey points out the insufficiency of its definition as it considers the issues in the world only through focusing on capital. Instead, Massey suggests there are more factors such as gender and race; thus, "time-space compression needs differentiating socially" (Massey, 1994, p. 148). Secondly, she also mentions the power geometry of time-space compression which refers to the social differentiation of the compression as defining two primary groups of the compression process regarding their relations with the flows. One of these groups consists of a bunch of people who are in charge of the time-space compression as they are controlling the process with their

social, economic, and individual powers and taking advantage of it. They are the people who make international money transfers, who send e-mails or establish these kinds of international communications. On the other hand, the other group is not in charge of these processes, and they are also in movements such as refugees trying to cross borders; however, they are not taking advantage of the time-space compression. Consequently, Massey argues that there cannot be a holistic view regarding to the people living in time-space compression. Since the situations of people are unique and different (Massey, 1994 & 2005), the concept cannot be generalized. Thirdly, Massey (1994 & 2005) opposes the assumption of insecurity of time-space compression and the reactionary nature of it. According to Harvey (1989, p. 240), "the experience of time-space compression is challenging, exciting, stressful, and sometimes deeply troubling, capable of sparking, therefore, a diversity of social, cultural and political responses." In this assumption, people tend to find a secure, stable place to escape from the feeling of insecurity, mobility, and flux of the compression. In this regard, people create the place introvertedly and as a reaction to the others to exclude them from their area. Thus, this feeling produces a reactionary sense of place which conceptualizes place in an introversive meaning. The rootedness and authenticity in Harvey's perspective of place causes to producing the group of others as it promotes the tight relationship between people and places to distinguish themselves from others. Therefore, this understanding creates the contradiction between them and us through the place (Cresswell, 2004, p. 39). However, Massey (1994 & 2005) suggests that there is no need to identify the sense of place as a reaction, and she asks, why people have to feel insecure by mobility and flux. Moreover, she argues that people may have the feeling of attachment to a place or need for stability regardless of a reaction to anything. She also highlights that there is no need to conceptualize place such in an introversive and exclusionary way. Massey (2005, p. 64) summarizes her criticism as:

...in the middle of all this flux, one desperately needs a bit of peace and quiet; and 'place' is posed as a source of stability and an unproblematically identity. In that guise, place and the spatially local are rejected by these writers as almost necessarily reactionary.

Therefore, Massey (1994 & 2005) rejects the exclusionary practice of time-space compression and Heideggerian sense of place and determines features of the reactionary sense of place as the following:

- 1) Places have single, essential identities, and there is one common sense of place people have.
- 2) The identity of place/sense of place established by historical roots and internalized origins of the place.
- 3) Places have boundaries/lines around themselves.

In conclusion, Harvey's, Tuan's, and Heidegger's arguments about place, which are emphasizing the exclusionary and introverted features for a location, have led Massey to criticize them. They all argue about producing the place through some reactionary practices to outworld such as being in a secure, fixed or trustable location. The meaning of place comes from its historical and unique values; therefore, the boundaries of the places are important. On the other hand, Massey rejects these ideas as she focuses on an expanded understanding of place as the progressive sense of place. Therefore, through her criticisms against these geographers, she suggested this new approach.

2.3.3. Progressive (Global) Sense of Place

Doreen Massey rejects the idea of an internalist or essentialist sense of place, which focuses on the long historical roots of the place and exclusionary practices to producing the place. According to Massey's approaches, places are articulations of social relations not only internal relations; moreover, they also consist of global social relations. The global and internal relations of place

affect the character and the identity of the place, and this creates a continuity in production of the sense of place; therefore, place identity is also considered as a process. The place is an existing and socially constructed structure and a network, instead of a container for people and their activities (Longan, 2002, p. 218). It is also an event, not a secure thing. Through this definition, Massey tries to highlight that place is not a limited and permanent entity but an open and changeable concept. However, there is an ambiguity about the definition of places and relations with them. In this regard, Massey (1994, p. 147) asks, “how, in the face of all this movement and intermixing, can we retain any sense of a local place and its peculiarity?” and recommends a new and comprehensive understanding of sense of place in means of a progressive and global one (Longan, 2002, p. 218). Through the recommendation, Massey (1994, 1995, 2005) criticizes three main points:

- 1) Harvey and his understanding of time-space compression.
- 2) The sense of place of Heidegger and Tuan.
- 3) The essentialist and internalist interpretation of place and its character.

However, it is problematic to define the place through the community. According to Massey, because of the subjective feature of the sense of place, the variety and heterogeneity within the community prevent the establishment of a shared-common sense of place. Therefore, she suggests that it is meaningless to try to identify the place through the community because of the heterogeneity of the community and dynamic nature of social relations. Because social relations are processes that are always changing, the evolutions or transformations of social relations within the place would also change the identity of place. Massey (1995, p. 186) notes that “identity is always, and always has been, in the process of formation: it is, in a sense forever unachieved.” Therefore, “identities of places are inevitably unfixed” (Massey, 1994, p. 169). In this regard, the transformation of social relations would transform the identity of the place. For instance, the newcomers to a

place could change the old structure of the place; moreover, the former identity of the place. Thus, "that lack of fixity has always been so. The past was no more static than is the present. Places cannot really be characterized by the recourse to some essential, internalized moment (Massey, 1994, p. 69)."

Thus, places are not just locations or coordinates on the map. They formed a whole and constituted by articulating social relations throughout time as processes. Therefore, according to Massey (1995, p. 190) "the identity of places, indeed the very identification of places as particular places, is always in that sense temporary, uncertain, in process." While Massey (1994 & 2005) promotes the routes instead roots of the city for creating a sense of place, she does not deny the links between the past and the present of places. She adds (1994, p. 142), an extroverted sense of place has to deal with the past and history while building sense of place. According to Massey (1995, p. 186), "the past is present in places in a variety of ways." In other words, the past could be revitalized in the present of the place. This could be possible by the visual memories such as old buildings or landscape or using the historical names for streets, or using the old narratives of the place. These are the ways to construct the history of a place whether consciously or not. However, the relation between past and present here is, bilateral. This is how "the past helps make the present" (Massey, 1995, p. 187), while the present keeps the past alive within the place.

Massey (1995) also points out a hierarchy while constituting the place through the history as the place is a combination of layers of history. Thus, the place represents different meanings at different times, and the claims for the identity of place could be diverse regarding different readings of its history. In this regard, the different claims or readings of history would be competing to establish the identity of the place. As a result of this, Massey (1995) depends on the place identity for the dominant history of the place. That is also another point in Massey's sense of place that refers inevitably unfixed identities of

places. According to her (1995), today's unhistorical realities are going to be the history for tomorrow. Therefore, the identity of place will always be open to transformation regarding the new historical periods.

Nevertheless, Massey does not deny the specificity of places. In her assumption, the specificity of place is not created through the internalized history of the place but through the constellation of social relations; therefore, the specificity of place is a consequence of the dynamic social relations of diverse populations (Longan, 2002, p. 214). Moreover, the social, cultural, and economic relations of places, now, occur within the global sphere among places. Furthermore, these global relations also carry local specificities, too (Kitchin, 2016, p. 814). From another aspect, the time-space compression contributes the specificity through changing the geographical dimension of the human interrelations among places as social relations occur between distant places in the time-space compression. Thus, they exceed local levels to the global levels; therefore, the place becomes a specific locus for those global relations and create a specificity for places, and the sense of place becomes global. As a result, places “can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings” (Massey, 1994, p. 154) and “a global sense of place is an understanding of place in terms of its connections with other places rather than as an absolute container for human activity” (Longan, 2002, p. 214). In other words, the progressive sense of place suggests an understanding that places are extraverted and consciously linked with the broader world; moreover, they melt the global and the local within itself (Massey, 2005, p. 67).

Therefore, Massey's progressive sense of place denies the assumption that globalization causes homogeneity. Instead, Massey (1994 & 2005) suggests that globalization peculiarly creates heterogeneity, inequality, and the uniqueness of place through uneven development which is caused by the globalization itself. On the global level of the place, the globalized social

relationships among local people make the place as a unique junction point. As Massey (1995, p. 183) states that "the local is always already a product in part of global forces." On the other hand, in the local level of the place, also the different historical layers of place create its specificity. According to Massey (1994 & 2005), the interpretation of a progressive, global, and new sense of place consists of the following:

- 1) Accept the place which is not a static thing but a process, a process of social interactions.
- 2) There is no need to define the place by boundaries and the counter position to the outside.
- 3) There is no single form of the identity of places. They consist of heterogeneity itself.
- 4) There is still a specificity and uniqueness of the place. However, it is not produced by a long, internalized history. The specificity is produced by a unique constellation of local and global social relations.

To conclude, the progressive sense of place antagonizes the reactionary sense of place in regards to its use of boundaries to define the place, use of historical roots for the identity of the place, and assumption of a single sense of place. The progressive sense of place, antithetically, has a broader interpretation of place. In this approach, the place is presumed as a product of a process, globally social and physical relations, and heterogeneity. The progressive sense of place promotes the routes within the place rather than the roots of it. The character of the place is established through the relationship of the place with the others. Therefore, the local and global are integrated into that place and constitute the global sense of place. According to Massey (1995), the global interrelations of places should be treated as positive actions instead of negative, exclusionary ones or a threat. In short Massey (1995, p. 190) highlights that "places are global construction of local"; moreover, "a

global sense of place - dynamic and internally contradictory and extraverted - is surely potentially progressive (1994, p. 143)."

2.3.4. Institutionally Mediated Collective Memory

In the previous sections, I mentioned about what place is and how it is defined by geographers. Then, I provided the two main theories for the sense of place: the reactionary sense of place and the progressive (global) sense of place. Both of the understandings of sense of place are valuable. Nevertheless, in this section, I suggest and argue a different perspective on the sense of place through promoting the collective memory.

In history, space had been the main issue for geography until it replaced by place. Moreover, the humanistic geographers like Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph put the human being, experiences, and feelings to the center of place studies and geography. Then, David Harvey started to examine geography through Marxism, capital accumulation, and globalization, and he put the capital, labor, and production issues to the center of his place studies. Doreen Massey, on the other hand, suggested a comprehensive, inclusive understanding to place; however, she also examined the geography through labor and production issues, and feminism, as well. Therefore, their sense of place arguments is shaped around human-centered approaches. They all discussed the sense of place as the relationship between place and human identity. Moreover, they all tried to understand how people perceive the place through their experiments and history, and the place's history, production types or the capital relations within the place. However, since the sense of place is accepted as a social concept and geography evolved to a humanistic approach, I would like to add one more perspective to the sense of place.

Sense of place is not an outcome of one-time production. As in Massey's (1995) progressive sense of place, it is continuously being produced an

outcome of feelings, attachments, perceptions, and identities. Thus, it is a reproducible concept over time. However, I would like to ask whether the sense of place just a product of people or not. In my opinion, places are not just a home for people or nature; however, they also host institutions such as companies, and local and public/government organizations which can be private companies, state-owned companies or government agencies. Therefore, my starting point is the question of whether the institutions affect the sense of place, and even reproduce the sense of place?

I suggest that institutions in urban scale have the power to shape the collective memory. The concept of collective memory was produced by Emile Durkheim for the first time; however, he didn't mention its name as collective memory (Shahzad, 2012, p. 379). Durkheim's student Maurice Halbwachs conceptualized the collective memory in his studies of *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1925) and *The Collective Memory* (1950) to suggest that collective memory is a social concept (Ardakani & Oloonabadi, 2011, p. 986).

Collective memory is shared moments in a group of people's minds, which affect their perceptions of their surroundings (Lewicka, 2008). Moreover, cities are products of collective memory according to Harvey (Cresswell, 2004, p. 62) since they are social entities which full of memories, histories, and collectivity (Lim, 2000, p. 270). As Belanger (2002) argued that the re-development of urban spaces affected collective memory in Montreal, it is obvious that collective memory is a strong and observable factor in urban areas. Furthermore, the valuable study of Borer (2010) revealed that even it is possible to study on a place that doesn't exist, through the people's future perceptions for a place by their collective memory and imagination.

Halbwachs (1950, p. 129) states that people's surroundings are important for their lives since they have memories. Therefore, collective memory in an urban area also includes surroundings as common feelings such as smell and

hearing, and also includes history, landscape, social and economic structure. As an organized society, local people share the same place within the city. They look to same buildings, they hear same sounds, smell the same, walk on the same streets; although, their perceptions are individual. However, these individual perceptions also shape a common sense as collective memory. This collective memory is naturally being produced over time, yet it is open to be changed by some external or internal factors. The continuous developments and evolvments in urban areas such as changes in landscape, demography, and economic structure may destroy the present collective memory (Molavi et al., 2017, p. 14) since the memory is an alive concept.

Such a useful concept to understand the meaning of a certain place for a group of place, collective memory, also provides a link to analyze the sense of place. It is meant to suggest that the sense of place is produced through collective memory since sense of place is highly related to perceptions, and collective memory shapes the perception of the place as it contains the meanings of the place for people. However, the most important thing here is, collective memory is open to be reproduced by institutions in an urban area.

Therefore, I suggest that institutions affect sense of place and also reproduce it through shaping the collective memory since they are capable to intervene in the place. These interventions may have different dimensions and features in terms of economic and social. Furthermore, these interventions can be done for the sake of capital or the sake of local people or nations.

There are two types of institutional interventions to the place I would like to emphasize. The first one is capitalist intervention to the place to solve capitalism's crisis. The second one is statist intervention to the place to regional and national economic and social development through industrialization. Just to remind, Harvey (1996) points out the tension between fixed capital (place) and mobile forms of capital. The tension between spatial

fix and mobile capital requires the renewal of those places and permanence to overcome this issue. By doing this, the capital renews the place's transportation and communication technologies, creates new markets and job offerings thus changes the habits of production and consumption within the place, the concentration of people and labor class. Therefore, the sense of the place can be reproduced by capital and its institutions through these kinds of interventions. On the other hand, as it happened in Turkey during the early-republican period, the state could intervene in the place through building state-owned companies in specific cities. This kind of intervention changes the physical shape of the place, its concentration of people and demography through immigrant workers, its culture, production and consumption styles, and wealth (Keskinok, 2006, p. 37, 38); therefore, state reproduces the sense of this place through using institutions as the institutions have the power to do that.

Through both of these processes, institutions become main actors to reproduce the places' identity, authenticity, social relations, and economic life as the components of sense of place. Moreover, the place changes its physical, social, and economic features through the contribution of the institution. Simply, an institution can change a place from a coastal town to an industrial city.

To conclude, it is possible to argue that institutions can affect and change the collective memory through their interventions on the place. They are capable to change the demography, economy, and even the political structure of a place, which are all vital aspects for producing collective memory; therefore, producing the sense of place. Sense of place, as a common feeling of individually shared feelings for a particular location, is a result of the collective memory. Thus, affecting the collective memory through an institution would result in changing the sense of place. In other words, institutionally mediated collective memory could reproduce the sense of place.

2.4. Conclusion

The concepts of place, identity, or dependence are explained in many different ways in a broad range of literature. Some of the studies, which try to explain these concepts, depend on field studies, while some of them depend on the author's interpretations or their subjective assumptions. In this chapter, I tried to provide the main concepts of this thesis and the main theories related to the thesis which are the place, place/local dependence, the reactionary sense of place, and the progressive sense of place. Furthermore, I tried to suggest a different perspective on the literature of sense of place, and provide a new perspective to my study through introducing the institutionally mediated collective memory to understand changing sense of place.

In my view, most of Massey's assumptions are valuable to analyze the feelings in an urban area. Although they are not sufficient, her progressive sense of place is partly useful to understand what has happened in Kdz. Ereğli. On the other hand, local dependence is a very important concept to understand the sense of place in an industrial city since social relations are mostly produced in working areas in industrial cities. Moreover, if the city is a single-industry town, which means there is only one big leading factory and most of the people work here, the social relations that are produced in working place strongly affect people's identities, life paths, and sense of place.

As Kiray (1964) noted that Kdz. Ereğli was a city which had been in a transformation since the 19th century, Erdemir recently accelerated the transformation, it is important to inquire how the social transformation has affected the sense of place in terms of Massey's assumptions. Massey argues that the identity of the place is an unfixed and unachieved process because of the dynamic nature of the constellation of diverse social relations within the place; however, it is important to reveal how this has happened in Kdz. Ereğli. Massey indicates that the history of place is not the main source of place

identity, yet a way to establish it. In that process, the different histories of the place compete with each other. Therefore, the dominant story of the place begins to shape the sense of place and identity. Thus, how has the history of Kdz. Ereğli affected the sense of place as a former coastal town, coal and labor center, and finally a heavy industry city in regard to Massey's assumptions? The last and unique contribution of the thesis is understanding how do the institutions shape collective memory; therefore, reproduce the sense of place

Therefore, in that thesis, I try to analyze how the sense of place has changed in Kdz. Ereğli as a city which had been transformed from a coastal town to an industrial city by an institution. Also, it is important to understand how these transformations in the history of the city have affected the sense of place, how Erdemir affected the collective memory and reproduced the sense of place, and what happened after privatization regarding the sense of place. After providing and discussing a theoretical framework, in the following chapters I try to find the answers to these questions. While doing that, I also conduct a unique field study about one of the most common and problematic case for the last decade: privatization. This analysis also contributes to the literature through discussing a new approach of the sense of place as introducing the institutionally mediated collective memory and institutional reproduction of sense of place.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF KARADENİZ EREĞLİ BEFORE ERDEMİR

3.1. Introduction

Mübeccel Kıray, who is one of the well-known sociologists in Turkey, wrote one of her famous books about the industrialization process of Kdz. Ereğli in 1964. In that study, Kıray's focus was the transformation process of the city during the construction of Erdemir. According to Kıray, Erdemir was a transformative institution in Kdz. Ereğli and, and it was shaping the city's social and economic structures during the 1960s.

In this thesis, I try to reveal the perceptions of the people in Kdz. Ereğli regarding the transformations that have occurred within the city over time; thus, I analyzed the breaking points of the city. In this regard, I focus on the two significant cases: the transformations in the city after the establishment of Erdemir and the transformations in the city after the privatization of Erdemir. Through these cases, I aim to reveal how the people of Kdz. Ereğli perceive these two distinct periods of the city: the rise after the establishment of Erdemir and the fall after the privatization. Therefore, I have chosen Mübeccel Kıray's (1964) book entitled "Ereğli: A coastal town before heavy industry" as one of the main sources of my study because it was a meaningful reference point to analyze the transformations of Kdz. Ereğli, which have caused by to Erdemir.

Kıray (1964) argues that Kdz. Ereğli neither was an ordinary Anatolian town and nor was a feudal city during the 18th century. She (1964) states that the social transformation of the city begun with the discovery of coal by Uzun Mehmet in the 19th century. Thus, according to her, the opened mines the and

constructed railroads around the city affected its social structure for the first time (Kıray, 1964) (Şeni, 1978, p. 28) and she noted that “current development of urbanization and openness of Kdz. Ereğli can only be explained through the evolution which has happened since those days.” (Kıray, 1964, p. 34).

In this regard, firstly, I explain the critical period between 1829-1960 to understand the milestone for the history of Kdz. Ereğli and the conditions before the social transformation. Therefore, I provide brief information about the Ereğli coal basin and its transformative effects on the city. Also, I mention about the managing companies at the coal basin, the labor issues, and socioeconomic transformations at the basin.

3.2. The First Transformation: The Coal Mines

The 19th century was a milestone for Zonguldak region. Although Kdz. Ereğli is an ancient city, which was named as “Heraclea¹⁵” in history, the city was not an essential place for Ottoman Empire until the 1829. The town was just a small place like a village and it was only a natural port (Quataert, 2009, p. 70) (Kıray, 1964, p. 34). The ancient Greek name of the city, Heraclea, was changed as Bender Kdz. Ereğli¹⁶ by Turks. As William Ainsworth told in his study about his travel from Istanbul to Ankara through Kdz. Ereğli in 1838, there were more than 30 crafts at the port of Kdz. Ereğli. According to his study, there were also 300 houses in the town in 1838- 250 of them were Muslims’ and 50 of them were Greek Christians’ (Ainsworth, 1839, p. 225). However,

¹⁵ Heraclea Pontica. This is the ancient Greek name of Kdz. Ereğli, which was derived from the mythological hero Hercules. In the mythology, the 12th mission of Hercules was capturing the three-headed hound Cerberus from the gates of the underworld. It is believed that the gates of the underworld is the Cehennemağzı Caves located in Kdz. Ereğli. Today, at the city center there is a statue of Hercules, holding Cerberus.

¹⁶ Bender Ereğli means the Harbor of Kdz. Ereğli (translated from Ottoman to Turkish through the Ottoman Dictionary of Pamukkale University, <http://ctle.pau.edu.tr/osmtr/>)

the small town gained its importance for Ottoman Empire in the late of the 19th century.

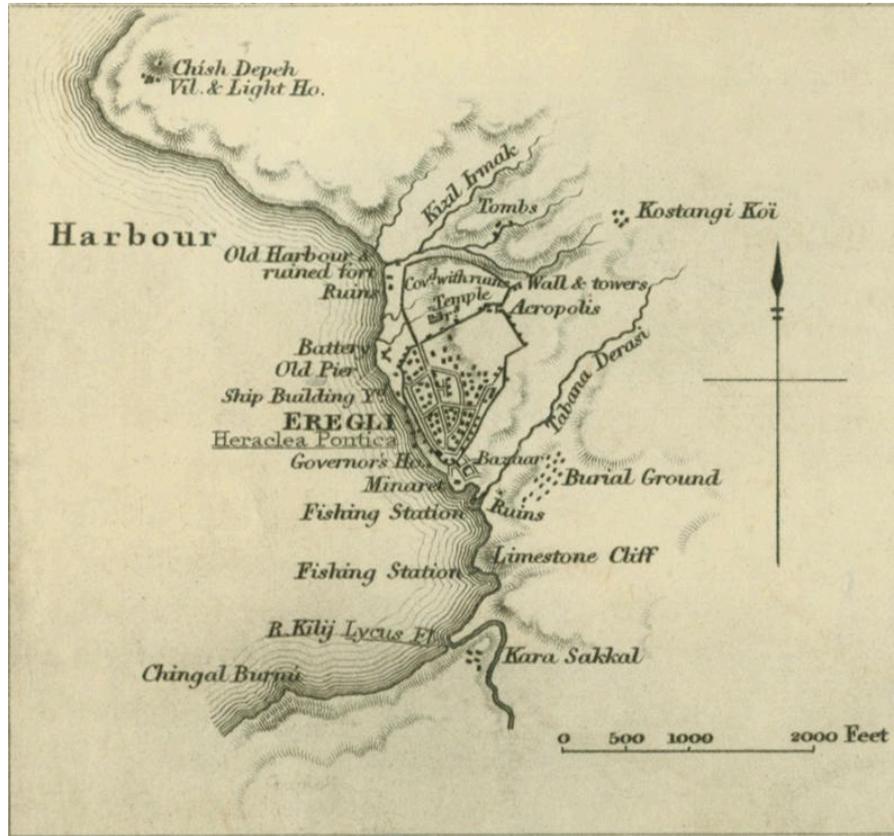


Figure 1. The Map of Kdz. Ereğli in 19th Century (Source: Ainsworth, 1839)

According to the well-known story, Uzun Mehmet discovered the coal in Köseağzı, Kdz. Ereğli in 1829. He was a veteran and he was informed about the coal mine when he was in the military. After he was discharged from the military, he came back to Kdz. Ereğli and discovered the coal mine while doing agriculture (Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 22). He had brought the coal to Istanbul to present it to the Empire, and then he was rewarded by the Sultan (Aytekin, 2007, p. 28). The discovered coal mines were the “richest coal deposits ever found in the Middle East” (Quataert, 1983, p. 41). Thus, the

economic and social transformation processes at region begun almost 200 years ago by the discovery of the coal mine in 1829 (Oskay, 1983, p. 65).

3.2.1. The Coal Production at the Basin

Although the coal had been discovered in 1829, the first production in coal mines started in 1848¹⁷ (Eldem, 1994, p. 41). Then, Kdz. Ereğli became the managerial center of the coal basin and the transportation center since it was a natural port (Quataert, 2009, p. 70). Before the coal mining, the population in at the area was nearly 2.000, and it started to increase because of the immigrant labors. Due to lack of the experienced Turkish miners, the qualified miners were brought from Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia to the region at the beginning of the production (Sarıkoyuncu, 1993, p. 318) (Karauğuz, 1959, p. 7). Also, Ereğli coal basin was a unique case in Ottoman history for several reasons. Firstly, it was the richest coal basin ever in the Ottoman history. Secondly, it was the most significant place for foreign capital in Ottoman history until the opening of Mesopotamian oil fields (Quataert, 1983, p. 43, 44). Thirdly, its revenues were being transferred to religious works, and the produced coal were being transferred to the Ottoman military according to the order of Sultan Abdulmecid (Karauğuz, 1959, p. 6). Therefore, it can be said that the coal mining started to make the area important for the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century.

3.2.2. The Management of the Coal Basin

The coal basin was managed by different corporations and countries since had been discovered. Although there is different periodization in various studies,

¹⁷ According to Öğreten (2006, p. 142), the first production in the basin started in 1841 although the generally accepted date is 1848.

generally the periods are as the followings (Anon, 1955, p. 5) (Oskay, 1983, p. 66) (Karauguz, 1959, p. 7, 8) (Özeken, 1944, p. 518):

- 1) Privy purse (Hazine-i Hassa) of the Ottoman Empire (1848-1865)¹⁸
- 2) The Ministry of Navy (1865-1908)
- 3) The Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (1908-1920)
- 4) National Government and Republic Period (1920-1940)
- 5) Ereğli Coal Company – EKI (1940-1983)
- 6) Institution of Hard Coal of Turkey (1983-...)

The Ministry of Navy period is the most significant period for the management of coal basin and Ottoman labor history. During this period, the Empire tried a new management method for the basin, which begun with the enactment of Dilaver Paşa Nizamnamesi¹⁹ in 1867. Dilaver Paşa Nizamnamesi regulated the working conditions of laborers at coal mines. It was the first time that the Empire was intervening to the working field. However, this directory constituted the first involuntary servitude for 14 villages of Kdz. Ereğli. According to this order, male peasants, who are between 13 and 50 years old and living in that 14 villages of Kdz. Ereğli, had to work in the coal mines²⁰. This order was a milestone for the relationship between the Empire and the workers as it was

¹⁸ During this period, the privy purse of the Ottoman Empire managed the coal basin through concessions agreements. The privy purse was the owner of the mines, and it was transferring the operating rights of mines. The periodization of the operators is generally as the following: Coal Company of Galata Bankers (English) (1849-1854), English Management (1854-1856), Privy Purse (1856-1859), Yorgaki Zafiropulos (Greek) (1859-1860), Coal Company of Galata Bankers (1860-1861), Privy Purse (1861-1865).

¹⁹ Originally, “Nizamname-I Madeni Hümayunu Kdz. Ereğli” and The Directory of Dilaver Pasha in English.

²⁰ In this system, the people must have had to work in mines 12 days of a month, and rest 12 days at their home. The remained six days are for transportation. The first involuntary servitude ended in 1921 (Quataert, 2009, p. 79, 95).

an intervention and a significant approach; therefore, it got intense reactions from people of the region for a long time (Şengül & Aytekin, 2017, p. 24-25) (Aytekin, 2007, p. 43) (Akbaş, 2013, p. 9). According to Quataert (2009, p. 93), the people were working in quite bad conditions under the involuntary servitude. Most of the people under the involuntary servitude were coming from the villages of Kdz. Ereğli and Devrek by walking 6 or 12 hours for working in these mines (Quataert, 2009, p. 198, 204).

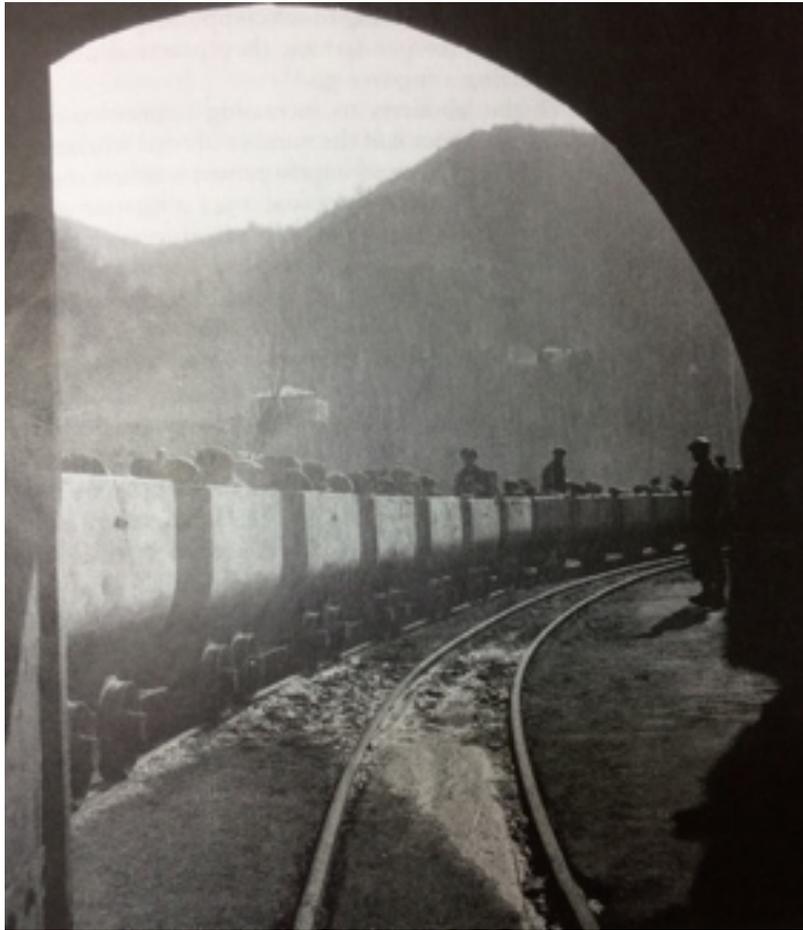


Figure 2. The Miners Under Involuntary Servitude at EOC (Source: Gürboğa, 2009, p. 125)

However, the 1867 regulation has been evaluated as significant document for the protection of laborers and a remarkable change for labor rights in some of the previous studies such as by Quataert (1983, 2009), Karauğuz (1959), and

Aytekin (2007). According to some of the studies, the regulation was an obvious improvement when the articles, which determine the relationship between employers and laborers for the first time, considered. The regulation determined the working conditions, labor rights, and employer duties. Therefore, the working hours, medical assistance requirements, pay schedules, holidays, and required housing facilities were also determined (Quataert, 1983, p. 55).

Nevertheless, through this regulation the Empire positioned itself as the provider for labor force and necessary infrastructures; moreover, also the wholesale buyer of the coal which was produced at the basin (Quataert, 2009, p. 81). In this regard, according to the regulation, the Ottoman Navy had the sole right to buy the coal which was produced at the basin, and the prices would have been determined by the state (Güven, 2015, p. 25) (Karauğuz, 1959, p. 11) (Quataert, 1983, p. 45). In other words, the mine operators were producing the coal on behalf of the Naval Administration, and the Naval Administration was providing labor force through implementing the involuntary servitude and providing the money to the operators through purchasing all of the coal.

3.2.3. The Private Sector at the Coal Basin

Throughout the Naval Administration period, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78²¹ negatively affected the financial management of the coal basin. The Naval Administration indebted to the mine operators due to the increased purchase and need for coal during the war. Because of that situation, after the war, the Empire was not able to pay its debts. However, the operators were not allowed to sell the coal to anyone else than the Naval Administration (Güven, 2015, p.

²¹ The war is known as “The ’93 War” because it happened in the year of 1293 according to Islamic Calendar.

24). On the other hand, they would not be able to continue to operate the mines if they couldn't sell the coal to any other market; although, they were strictly prohibited from selling the coal to anyone other than Naval Administration (Karağuz, 1959, p. 11). In this financial difficulty, the coal mines started to shut down (Quataert, 1983, p. 46) (Oskay, 1983, p. 67). This situation led the Empire to bow to the demands of mine operators. For years, mine operators had been demanding the right to make a sell to the free market (Quataert, 1983, p. 46). Due to this financial collapse, in 1882, the state had to abolish the preclusive right to buy of the Naval Administration, which had been preventing private companies from entering to the market. Thus, the mine operators were allowed to sell 40% of the coal mine to the free market (Özeken, 1944, p. 522) (Quataert, 2009, p. 104; 1983, p. 46) (Issawi, 1980, p. 290). This year was also another significant point in the history of Kdz. Ereğli as the coal basin started to become an important place for foreign capital (Karağuz, 1959, p. 12) (Tak, 2001, p. 253).

According to Sarıkoyuncu (1993), Italians, Greeks, Russians, Germans, English, and the French interested in the basin. Due to the legal change, many private companies were founded between 1883-1908 for the management of the coal basin²² (Oskay, 1983, p. 67) (Eldem, 1994, p. 49) (Karağuz, 1959, p. 12) as the followings:

- 1) Karamanyan Armenian Company
- 2) Georgian Company
- 3) Saraczedeler Mine and Coal Company (Italian Capital)
- 4) French mining company S.A. des Mines de Heraclee²³.

²². The managerial periods at coal basin, established companies, and other detailed information are not included due to the limits of this study. People may look Naim (2014), Quataert (1983, 2009), Aytekin (2007), and Karağuz (1959) for further information.

²³ Incorporated Company of Kdz. Ereğli Mines in English. In this study, this company is named as "Kdz. Ereğli Ottoman Company" and abbreviated as EOC to avoid the confusion between Kdz. Ereğli Ottoman Company, which was the French company, and Kdz. Ereğli Coal Company (EKI-Kdz. Ereğli Kömür İşletmeleri), which was the state company of Turkey.

- 5) Kozlu Coal Mines Ottoman Company (Italian and Greek Capital)
- 6) Eseyan Company
- 7) Ihsaniye Company
- 8) Inâmiye Company

After the 1882, the capitalist economy started to be formed in around the region. However, the working conditions were worsening as the coal production was increasing²⁴. The coal production was 98.000 tons in the 1881, and it increased more than %50 in the 1886 and reached 158.000 tons; however, it was not because of the cumulative success of private companies in mining. There were four companies which were sharing almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total production at the basin among 124 mines in 1893 (Quataert, 1983, p. 47, 48), yet their domination did not last long. They bankrupted after a while when the Ereğli Ottoman Company (EOC), which was the French foreign-capital company, founded in 1896 (Karağuz, 1959, p. 12).

3.2.4. Ereğli Ottoman Company (1896-1936)

One of the significant companies that was founded at the Ereğli coal basin is the Ereğli Ottoman Company (EOC) as it was the first time that Ereğli basin met with the foreign capital²⁵, and after the EOC, a vast amount of foreign capital took action to enter the coal basin (Tak, 2001, p. 255, 256). The EOC made the most significant investment for the coal mining sector in the Ottoman Empire, and also it was the most significant foreign investment after the Mesopotamian oil fields (Quataert, 1983, p. 41). Although the EOC founded in

²⁴ Naim (2014) reveals the lousy working conditions of laborers during the private sector period through the memories of an old miner of Kdz. Ereğli basin; Ethem Çavuş. In this study, Ethem Çavuş tells the accommodation for labor was just made up by trash and brushwood, and the working methods were primitive.

²⁵ During those years, it was not possible for foreigners to directly invest in Kdz. Ereğli (Tak, 2001, p. 253). According to Karağuz (1959, p. 13) and Özeken (1944, p. 543-545), the EOC entered in the basin by a circumvention.

1896, its story had begun in 1891. In 1891, the Empire made a concession agreement with Yanko Bey, an Ottoman subject, for the construction of the port in Zonguldak (Karauğuz, 1959, p. 13). Then, the concession turned over to the EOC in 1896, and the company obtained the administration and exploitation rights of Ereğli coal basin, and also the construction rights for the next fifty years (Quataert, 1983, p. 48); thus, a new critical period began for Ereğli basin (Aytekin, 2007, p. 31).

The EOC started to make infrastructural investments to increase productivity at the basin. The EOC built the port while the Empire built the railroads. There was a laundry, coke oven plant, briquet factory, and a repair shop, which were established by the EOC (Çıladır, 1977, p. 80 as cited in Aytekin, 2007, p. 32). Through these investments, the EOC increased its production to 500.000 tons and dominated 79% of the production in 1902, and 77% in 1907 (Quataert, 1983, p. 49). In 1911, the share of the received value of coal mines was 44% in the whole mining sector. According to Quataert (1983, p. 60) there were almost 10.000 laborers working in the coal basin at the beginning of the 20th century, and according to Eldem, (1994, p. 141) there were 5.185 laborers working in the EOC in 1911, thereby, it was the second biggest company in the Ottoman Empire.

On the other hand, the investments of the EOC were only aiming to increasing the productivity. In this regard, the company introduced the performance-based salary system. This system helped to increase the amount of production in the coal mines, yet it worsened the working conditions of the miners, who were working at underground. In order to meet the goals of the company and earn their money, the laborers started work extended hours and in dangerous fields. They were risking their lives for the money that they had deserved. Therefore, the people were overwhelmed by foreign capital in their own country (Naim, 2014, p. 52, 53). According to Güven (2015, p. 6), the coal basin began to become such a French colony by the EOC.

3.2.5. Nationalization of the Coal Basin

The period that began with the establishment of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) on 23rd April 1920 is accepted as the national economy period (Kara, 2012, p 113). Through the establishment of TGNA, the government decided to emphasize economic issues of the country. Therefore, on 17th February 1923, the Izmir Economic Congress was held. In this Congress, the principle of statism was accepted; thus, the national economy period was officially started (İnan, 1982, p. 12, 14). The new economic roadmap of Turkey was determined as the following (İnan, 1982, p. 14):

- 1) Nationalization through purchasing concessions of foreign companies.
- 2) Establishing coordination between industrialization and transportation facilities.
- 3) Determine the natural resources of the country and decide where to establish industrial companies considering these natural resources.

Ereğli coal basin was determined as the most significant and rich coal basin of Turkey at the Izmir Economic Congress (İnan, 1982, p .35). However, after the 1930s, the foreign capital was the dominant power at the basin. Foreign companies made the two out of three of the production in 1931 (Çıladı, 1977, p. 160-161 as cited in Şengül & Aytakin, 2017, p. 24). Then, accordingly to the decisions of the Izmir Economic Congress, the newly established Republic of Turkey took action to nationalize the foreign mines within the country in 1936 (Anon, 1955, p. 5). Firstly, the state purchased the EOC and the other mines under the French ownership in 1937, and transferred their mining and management rights to the Ereğli Coal Company (EKI), which was a state company that established under the state bank of Etibank (Karauğuz, 1959, p. 23) (Oskay, 1983, p. 68). In 1940, the State decided to nationalize all of the

foreign and local private mines at the basin²⁶. Therefore, another critical period for Ereğli coal basin was started.

3.2.6. Ereğli Coal Company – EKI (1937-1983)²⁷

EKI firstly established under the administration of Etibank to manage the nationalized coal mines at Ereğli coal basin in 1937. In 1940, all of the mines at the basin were purchased by EKI; thus, the basin was nationalized. Therefore, the state became the only one managing actor in the basin and the employer of coal workers.

According to Karauğuz (1959, p. 34), the capitalist and colonialist French capital was removed from the basin through the nationalization. After that, the healthcare needs and social security rights of the laborers became the issues of the state. Thus, the laborers gained the core rights as they were not assets of foreign capital anymore. Therefore, the former assets of foreign capital became the sons of the country.

On the other hand, some problems with laborers also continued during the EKI period. In 1940, Milli Koruma Kanunu (The Law for National Conservation) started the second period of involuntary servitude for the people of the region until 1947 (Yıldırım, 2017, p. 43). Kara (2011, p. 418) reveals that in his study of oral history about the second involuntary servitude, the working hours in mines were reaching 16 hours a day. Also, almost 6.000 children between 16 and 18 ages were working in the mines due to this law (Makal, 2006, p. 123).

²⁶ See Türk (1981) for further information about nationalization of mines.

²⁷ In 1957, “Türkiye Kömür İşletmeleri Kurumu (TKİ)” – (Institution of Turkish Coal Enterprises in English.) established to subsume all of the mining enterprises in Turkey under a single administration. Then, EKI came under the rule of the TKİ. In 1983, EKI formed as a separate institution by the decision of the government. The new institution named as “Türkiye Taşkömürü Kurumu (TTK),” Institution of Hard Coal of Turkey in English (TTK, Hakkımızda. <http://www.taskomuru.gov.tr/index.php?page=sayfagoster&id=6> accessed on 26.02.2019).

The implementation of involuntary servitude for the second time profoundly affected the relationship between laborers and the state. The compulsion shaped the image of the state as a negative entity for the people of the region, and the results of 1950 elections for Zonguldak²⁸ could prove that reaction against the government due to the involuntary servitude (Şengül & Aytekin, 2017, p. 27). Therefore, in 1947, some of the laborers organized and established the union named as Ereğli Kömür Havzası Maden İşçileri Sendikası²⁹. This union was the biggest company union in Turkey. In the first years, the number of members reached almost 19.000, and this number was more than 50% of the total laborer population in the EKI (GMİS, 2019).

Nevertheless, EKI took responsibility for the care of its workers. There were the Social Welfare Department in the structure of the EKI, and the department was in charge of meeting the core needs of the workers (Anon, 1955, p. 25). Besides the productivity and involuntary servitude, EKI improved the working conditions of the workers, too. The company built public houses to improve accommodation facilities. At the same time dining halls were established to provide free meals to the workers, and hospitals, polyclinics, etc. were improved to provide better healthcare for workers and their families. In 1959, 22.000 workers were benefiting from the housing opportunities, 29.000 of them benefiting from the free meals, and 30.000 of the workers and their families were benefiting from the healthcare services (Karauğuz, 1959, p. 35). Also, the company established six primary schools in the basin, and 2.139 children were studying in these schools. Additionally, 107 movies were shown to 574.460 people, and 12.300 workers attended 41 show performances at the movie theater of EKI (Anon, 1959, p. 25-26).

²⁸ Democratic Party took %55.2 of the votes in Turkey and took %63.5 in Zonguldak (YSK, 1950-1977 Yılları Arası Milletvekili Genel Seçimleri, <http://www.ysk.gov.tr/tr/1950-1977-yillari-arasi-milletvekili-genel-secimleri/3007> accessed on 26.02.2019).

²⁹ Union of Coal Miners at Ereğli Coal Basin

Therefore, EKI became the main actor at Ereğli basin beside its industrial activities. The company provided educational services, healthcare services, publications and social studies, and transportation services. The increasing numbers of workers, their families, and the economic growth at the basin accelerated the social and economic transformation at the basin. Through these functions, EKI was shaping and leading the transformation during the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, EKI was the buffer institution during the transformation. It was filling the gap of other institutions which could not meet the needs during the period. As a consequence of that, the previously exploited people of the region started to use that famous motto in during the 1950s: 'Zonguldak is EKI, and EKI is Zonguldak.' (Oskay, 1983, p. 69). However, as it could be understood by this quotation, the company and the mining activities mostly affected Zonguldak in the basin instead of Kdz. Ereğli.

3.2.7. The Social and Economic Transformations Through the Mining

Since 1848, both the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey had tried to manage the coal basin in different ways. As it mentioned above, during some periods the state was in charge of management, while sometimes the management rights were subcontracted. Also, there were some private companies founded after the 1880s and foreign capital invested in the basin. During these periods, both the laborers and the economics of the country were affected in different aspects because of diverse management techniques.

Coal mining became the first event that changed social and economic life in the region. Through the coal mining, the basin met with railroads and a port, for the first time in the late of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (Eldem, 1994, p. 49). These railroads were established to the transportation of coal; however, they also became one of the tools for modernization of Ereğli. These roads affected the latter modernization process of Ereğli as connecting the people with other big cities of Turkey such as

Istanbul. Also, in 1924, a mining school³⁰ was established in Zonguldak (Anon, 1955, p. 5).

Furthermore, the feudal structure of Kdz. Ereğli started to change by the mining. There were two prominent families in Kdz. Ereğli in the 19th century whose powers were mostly depending on the land ownership until the 1850s. However, after the coal mining, their source of power changed from land ownership to company ownership and trade. This change was an evolution from a feudal structure to a modern structure. Therefore, these families started to run coal mines, trade, and other related works because the mining industry had already begun to change the socioeconomic structure and power relations around the city. According to Kiray (1964, p. 64-65), the increased economic and social significance of mining triggered a transformation in Kdz. Ereğli.

According to Akkaya (2010, p. 51), the industrialization process produces the labor class. Therefore, the rise of the class consciousness emerged in Ereğli basin in the 19th century due to the coal mines³¹. This was the most significant transformation, which occurred both in the Ereğli basin and Ottoman Empire. Because of the coal mining, the first mass labor society emerged in the basin (Eldem, 1994, p. 140) and this is why Kdz. Ereğli was accepted as the first place in which labor class had emerged (Şeni, 1978, p. 29, 30).

Table 2. Total Laborer Population at Ereğli Coal Basin. (Sources: Makal, 2006, p. 123; Anon, 1955, p. 8; Roy, 1976, p. 125; Eldem, 1994, p. 51; Quataert, 2009, p. 91; Quataert, 1983, p. 54)

Years	Total Laborer
The 1850s	500
1900	4.300

³⁰ Zonguldak Maadin Mühendisi Mektebi, School of Mining Engineer in Zonguldak. According to Zaman (2004, p. 74 as cited in Kara, 2012, p. 122), it was the first higher education institution in the Republic of Turkey; however, it was closed in 1931.

³¹ The proof is the strike that occurred at Ereğli Coal Basin in 1863.

Table 2. (continued)

1905	6.600
1911	9.600
1914s	10.000+
The 1940s	~25.000
The 1950s	~30.000
1965	~50.000

A vast amount of studies of researchers such as Naim (2014), Karauğuz (1959), Oskay (1983), Aytekin (2007), Şengül & Aytekin (2017), and Eldem (1994) highlighted that the working conditions in coal mines were hard and inhumane. For the first time in the region's history, these rough working conditions, the growing number of immigrants in the basin and the increasing number of workers changed the social life through the emergence of a working class in the basin. Moreover, this transformation transformed the economic activities in the basin from agriculture industry to trade and mining. In this period, there were almost 10.000 people who came from foreign countries and diverse cities in the country to Kdz. Ereğli for work at the coal mines (Aytekin, 2007, p. 41) (Ahmad, 1998, p. 148 from Avni, 1935). Also, there were a lot of workers who came from Montenegro, Croatia, Italy and England (Quataert, 2009, p. 94, 102, 103; 1983, p. 54). In the 1910s, the worker population reached almost 700 engineers and 4500 regular workers only in the EOC (Eldem, 1994, p. 49).

Table 3. Urban Population of Kdz. Ereğli Between 1840-1960 (Sources: Quataert, 2009, p. 73; Kiray, 1964, p. 35)

Years	Population
The 1840s	2.000
The 1880s	4.000
1890	6.274
1899	6.274
1910	6.000+
1927	5.180
1935	5.843
1940	5.415
1945	6.360

Table 3. (continued)

1950	7.132
1955	7.878
1960	8.812

Herewith this social transformation and emergence of the labor class, Ereğli basin started to be familiar with the labor issues³². The very first strike occurred in 1863 at Ereğli coal mines. This was also the first strike which occurred in the Ottoman Empire (Encyclopedia, 1989, p. 1797). In 1908, there were at least four strikes that occurred at Ereğli basin (Güzel, 1996, p. 31). 1908 strikes were tough struggles between the miners and the state. During these strikes, workers blocked the activities at the port and blocked the transportation of coal, and then the strike was quelled by the military (Şeni, 1978, p. 32). These strikes were in line with the other significant labor movements in different cities of Ottoman Empire in 1908, which were known as the most intensive labor movements in Ottoman history (Aytekin, 2007, p. 45). There were several strikes occurred between 1908-1913. These strikes caused an increase in wages and improvements in housings of workers (Quataert, 2009, p. 92). Afterward, at least eight more strikes occurred till 1960 at Ereğli coal basin (Güzel, 1996, p. 68, 176)³³. According to Quataert (2009, p. 379), the immigrant workers affected the local workers regarding labor rights, and they led the strikes especially after 1908. Besides, these strikes affected the labor class consciousness at the Ereğli basin over time (Aytekin, 2007, p. 46).

According to Kıray (1964), local mine workers' relationship with urban area of Kdz. Ereğli was limited. As it was mentioned, neither was the working class nor were the coal mines at the center of Kdz. Ereğli; moreover, the miners

³² See Aytekin (2001), Çıladır (1977), Roy (1976) to further information about labor issues at Kdz. Ereğli Coal Basin.

³³ The study of Güzel (1996) is one of the comprehensive reference sources in order to analyze labor movements in Turkey.

were mostly the people who live in the villages (Gürboğa, 2009, p. 116). The immigrant and local workers were in interaction with each other at the work. These interactions affected local workers and played a significant role in the developments of identities of local workers. Due to the obligation of involuntary servitude, the local workers were spending 12 days of a month in their villages. Also, they were not full-time workers but mostly part-time rotational workers (Quataert, 1983, p. 60). Thus, they were bringing their problems at work to their villages. Therefore, the labor issues affected the people living in the rural area of Kdz. Ereğli instead of the urban population of the city (Quataert, 2009, p. 379). On the other hand, the formation of working class in the basin had a unique character³⁴ as the workers were stuck in the two different identities: a farmer and a miner as they were defined as a semi-proletarian class by Aytekin (2001, p. 6). After 1925, the increased coal mining activity due to the foreign mining companies made out a new job: tahmilatçılık³⁵ (Anadol, 2015, p. 18) (Şeni, 1978, p. 30). This new sector became the primary sector and created new prominent families in Kdz. Ereğli until the construction of the port. Therefore, after the transformation at the basin in the 19th century, Kdz. Ereğli emerged new prominent families whose powers based on trade and economic strength. Kiray (1964, p. 65-66) explains that situation as a consequence of a transformation from a feudal structure to modern structure.

Therefore, the underdeveloped and insignificant region of the Ottoman Empire became one of the most significant places for Ottoman industrialization. Thus, the social and economic structure in the Ereğli basin changed during the 19th century (Aytekin, 2007, p. 27). At the beginning of the 20th century, there were

³⁴ According to Quataert (1983, p. 61, 62), this was one of the problems for the low productivity at EOC. The workers were farmers and they were working as miners because of the compulsory working. However, according to Quataert (1983, p. 62), the most significant consequence of this situation was that the workers remained their peasant identity and could not be organized as a labor class.

³⁵ Transportation of coal from coast to big ships by boats.

at least 10.000 workers at the Ereğli coal basin (Quataert, 1983, p. 60). The population was almost 2.000 in villages in the 1840s, yet the worker population was 5.185 just in the one coal company EOC in 1911. EOC was the second biggest company in the Ottoman Empire after another French company Régie des Tabacs de L'empire Ottoman³⁶ in means of the worker population (Eldem, 1994, p. 141). There were almost 25.000 laborers working in EKI at the 1940s (Makal, 2006, p. 123), 30.000 in the 1950s (Anon, 1955, p. 8), and almost 50.000 in 1965 (Roy, 1976, p. 125) while the total number of coal miners in Turkey was 65.443 (Turkstat, 1965, p. 322). The EKI became the biggest industrial company during the 1950s (Yıldırım, 2017, p. 42). Thus, the labor class consciousness started to rise around Kdz. Ereğli during the 1960s through the urbanization and industrialization (Şafak, 2015, p. 11).

3.2.8. Conclusion

Ereğli basin, a formerly insignificant region in the Ottoman Empire, began to transform in the 19th century. Through the discovered coal mines, the area became one of the most significant places of Ottoman development. Between the 1840s and 1960s, Ereğli Coal Basin contained a considerable portion of workers in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. Through the mining activities, the population of the area increased, and the social structure changed. The railroads and the port in the basin connected the area to country and the rest of the world. There were foreigners and domestic immigrants in the basin who have lived there for years and temporarily interacted with the local people. At the same time, the increased worker population and the rough working conditions emerged a labor class in the basin. In this regard, the very first strike in the Ottoman Empire occurred in Ereğli coal basin in 1863, and several massive strikes occurred afterward. The workers at the basin suffered from involuntary servitude and foreign capital for a long time. The people faced

³⁶ Tobacco Administration of the Ottoman Empire.

with exploitation, maltreating and death due to the mining activities. Accordingly, in 1947, the most prominent trade union was established by the workers at EKI. Therefore, Ereğli basin became one of the first places in which the labor class emerged at the Ottoman Empire.

However, the transformation was at the intermediate level until the 1940s as the workers were both peasants and miners in their lives, and they kept their relationship with the villages. In this regard, Ereğli basin emerged a working class which was in identity confusion as the workers were stuck between the industry and their villages. On the other hand, the mining activities affected the state perception of the people in the basin. The involuntary servitude harmed the workers and their families. Thus, the image of the state changed to a more negative meaning for the people.

Furthermore, the 1950s and the nationalization of the mining industry were turning points for the coal basin. The nationalization started in 1940, but most of the problems in the mines were solved after 1950. In those years, the state company EKI played a crucial role in the basin. The company started to take responsibility for the social welfare of laborers and their families. Therefore, EKI provided housing, healthcare, education, and social services. It was the first time that the people in the basin were cared by a mining company and the state. In the 1960s, the EKI became the most prominent industrial company in Turkey regarding its worker population.

Finally, the social and economic transformation of the people in the basin can be summarized as in the title of Aytekin (2007)'s study. As Aytekin (2007) suggested, they miners had come from croplands to the mines, and they fought for their destiny instead of accepting their misery. In short, the coal mining affected the transformation of Kdz. Ereğli through the construction of the port, railroads, increased immigrant population and labor movements. In the 1960s, Ereğli coal basin become a more crowded area, and an opened society; however, the transformation process was proceeding.

3.3. Kdz. Ereğli from the Perspective of Kıray: The 1960s

After the brief history of the first transformation period of Ereğli coal basin, at this point, the second transformation period of the area should be discussed. Mübeccel Kıray's (1964) study entitled "Ereğli: A coastal town before heavy industry" is the very first field study of a city from a scholarly point of view in Turkey. The study aims to focus and analyze the social structure of Kdz. Ereğli in 1962 through analyzing the transformation of social and economic structure in the city right before the establishment of a heavy industry firm: Ereğli Iron and Steel Company (Erdemir). The main research point of Kıray's study was that the establishment of Erdemir will have affected the town in terms of the social and economic structure of it.

Therefore, in the following sections, I try to reveal the situation of Kdz. Ereğli during the 1960s in the light of Kıray's (1964) prominent study. Thus, firstly, I summarized the theoretical framework of Kıray (1964). Then, I tried to reveal the social and economic situation of Kdz. Ereğli in the 1960s. Although the main reference source is Kıray (1964) in the following sections, I also cited to broader statistical data to take a picture of the situation in the city during the 1960s. Herewith, this section aims to create a reference point through understanding how the city was in the 1960s in terms of economic and social structure as the period was the period of construction of Erdemir and the period of transformation.

3.3.1. Ereğli: A Coastal Town Before Heavy Industry

Kıray (1964, p. 1) states the aim of her study as "determine the functional totality of social institutions, human relations and values system in Kdz. Ereğli in 1962". In this regard, Kıray (1964) uses comparative conceptualization through the two following key concepts: feudal city and modern city. According to Kıray (1964), the feudal city is constituted as a market and trade center

which includes educational, religious and political functions. In a feudal city, handicraft is one of the leading economic tools and there is also a strict segregation both in social and spatial meanings. Moreover, the social segregation is based on economic class as a productive class versus elites such as clergymen or landowners. Additionally, this social segregation reflects on spatial segregation as the exclusion of productive class to the outskirts of the city. Also, in a feudal city, family and relative relations are essential. On the contrary, modern industry city is functionalized as industry, collection, distribution, and economic-administrative center. Therefore, modern society is constituted by peasants, workers in industrial production and in the service sector, the other residents of the city, and the ruling class. In a feudal city, there is a possibility of vertical mobility among the classes, for the classes are not just based on the social status which has gained through birth. Instead, the importance and structure of the family are lower and narrower. At this point, the transformation from a feudal city to a modern city is an essential issue to observing the sociological structure. This kind of transformation reveals the evolution of meanings of similar functions between the two structures such as the evolution of the implications of the family.

Kıray (1964) suggests that social change is not a sudden case as it occurs over time; therefore, it is a gradual process. Also, social change does not create a single form regarding the consequences of it. The intermediate step of social change is also a valuable form as this step includes the different and unique reflexes of the society and diverse relationships between new social institutions and people. The local effects on social change occur in this step, and this situation creates a unique typology for the new social structure. Each social change creates a new social structure which affects the local society, and each social structure is composed by its social institutions, human relations, and social values. Thus, although it seems like an incidental process, social change is a process which is based on its unique variables. The momentum of social change affects the process through society's links

between the new and old structures. For instance, if a social change occurs in a slow process, the old institutions can be seen in the new structure or vice versa. However, if there is a faster process, there would be a new institution or relation/value sets. These kinds of new sets are called as buffer mechanisms, which make the social transformation easier.

According to Kıray (1964, p. 7), “a social structure is consisted of; i) a way of settlement, ii) population composition, iii) social organization, iv) social values system.” and “the change in population, ecologic relation as the way of settlement, differentiation in social organization, openness in society and social inclusion of others, the differentiation in human interrelations are modal forms that can be observed at modernization, urbanization and industrialization processes of feudal societies.” Kıray (1964), many times highlighted that Kdz. Ereğli was not a city formed as a feudal city; instead, it had a modern city character in regard to the housing and settlement styles, its connection with the world through railroads and port, and segregation of business and home places. On the contrary, its trade features were not proper to a modern city as the local economy was not depending on agricultural production; instead, it was mostly based on merchants, small retailer, and handicraftsmen, which rural people sell their products to small retailers and buy the necessary products from them. This kind of barter economy³⁷ characterize the city as a feudal city (Kıray, 1964, p. 25-28). At this point, the explanations of Kıray (1964), which were cited above become meaningful. She stated that there is no unified form of social transformation, and it is a process. Moreover, if there is a slow process, some old institutions or habits may be seen in the new structure. Kdz. Ereğli was such an excellent example for that as a more modern city regarding its urbanization practices, but also a more feudal city in terms of its economic life.

³⁷ Of course, there is a money exchange. The barter economy means here they buy and sell their needs from/to each other.

3.3.2. Social Structure of Kdz. Ereğli

Kdz. Ereğli was a small fisher town until the 1960s, yet its population was increased more than 400% when it was compared to 1840s. The city was famous for its strawberry (Şafak, 2017, p. 13) and its bazaar (Anadol, 2015, p. 19); moreover, it was also described as a coastal town by Kiray (1964). There was no significant economic growth in the city until the 1960s and people had good lives in there (Türk Metal Sendikası, 2006, p.9), and the coal mines were the most important wealth of the area (Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 262). Anadol (2015, p. 18) noted that Kdz. Ereğli was a beautiful city in the 1950s and before the construction of Erdemir, even it could have been one of the most beautiful tourism cities in the black sea region. The population at the city center of Kdz. Ereğli was nearly 2.000 in 1840. After the discovery of coal in 1829, the population reached almost 4.000 in the 1890s, and 6.000 in 1910. In 1960, the urban population was 8.815 and it was expected to reach 80.000 in 20 years after the establishment of Erdemir (Kiray, 1964, p. 34) as the urban population growth rate in Zonguldak was higher than the average rate of Turkey between 1950 and 1970 (Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p.60, 262).

Table 4. The population of Kdz. Ereğli and Zonguldak between 1927-70 (Sources: Kiray, 1964, p. 35; Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 58, 59, 60, 81)

Years	Urban Population of Kdz. Ereğli	Rural Population of Kdz. Ereğli	Total Population of Kdz. Ereğli	Urban Population of Zonguldak	Rural Population of Zonguldak	Total Population of Zonguldak
1927	5.180	37.943	43.123	33.516	235.393	268.909
1935	5.843	44.401	50.244	43.488	278.620	322.108
1940	5.415	46.629	52.044	49.644	300.139	349.783
1945	6.360	47.363	53.723	60.468	323.013	383.481
1950	7.132	54.605	61.737	63.055	363.629	426.684
1955	7.878	59.403	67.281	95.254	395.893	491.147
1960	8.812	67.447	76.259	123.094	445.965	569.059
1965	18.978	77.769	96.747	157.463	492.728	650.191
1970	28.904	82.394	111.298	220.904	522.750	743.654

Table 5. Comparison of Population Growth of Zonguldak and Turkey in 1950 and 1970

(Source: Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 58, 60)

	Zonguldak		Turkey	
	Population	Index	Population	Index
Urban Population in 1950	63.055	100	5.244.337	100
Urban Population in 1970	220.904	341	13.817.717	263
Rural Population in 1950	363.629	100	15.702.851	100
Rural Population in 1970	522.750	145	21.848.832	139
Total Population in 1950	426.684	100	20.947.188	100
Total Population in 1970	743.654	174	35.669.549	170

According to Kıray (1964), the literacy rate of Kdz. Ereğli was 82.2%³⁸ in the 1960s and 45.3% of the Kıray's sample were graduated from primary school. However, the literacy rate of wives was also high as 61.5%, and the rate was 97.3% for sons and 90.3% for daughters. The schooling rate in Kdz. Ereğli was also quite high as 98.4% for boys and 95.6% for girls (Kıray, 1964, p. 126). This kind of sense of education also triggered the demands for technical training in Kdz. Ereğli. Through the construction of Erdemir, the people of Kdz. Ereğli started to dream of a technical school in those years (Kıray, 1964, p. 133). The high rates of both literacy and schooling were the pieces of evidence for the positive view for education in Kdz. Ereğli, considering the city was a small Anatolian city in those years.

Table 6. Comparison of Literacy Rates in Zonguldak (1927-70) and Turkey (1960-70)³⁹

(Sources: Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 63; Turkstat, 1969, p. 40, 42)

Years	Total Population	Male Population	Female Population	Total Literate Population	Literate Male Population	Literate Female Population	Total Literacy Rate (%)	Male Literacy Rate (%)	Female Literacy Rate (%)
1927 Zonguldak	N/A	N/A	N/A	17.001	14.318	2.683	6.3	11.3	1.9
1935 Zonguldak	248.184	120.236	127.948	43.242	33.110	10.132	17.4	27.5	7.9
1940 Zonguldak	278.807	142.272	130.340	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1950 Zonguldak	363.725	184.429	179.296	91.896	70.801	21.095	29	43	13.9

³⁸ This rate represents only the householder men.

³⁹ The people aged 6 and older.

Table 6. (continued)

1955 Zonguldak	392.625	200.108	192.517	114.512	84.927	29.585	31.4	46	16.5
1960 Zonguldak	461.475	235.113	226.362	148.284	110.961	37.323	37.8	55.55	19.4
1960 Turkey	22.542.012	11.491.180	11.050.832	8.901.006	6.157.842	2.743.164	39.48	53.58	24.82
1965 Zonguldak	528.802	265.998	262.804	169.488	125.170	44.318	36.7	53.2	19.6
1965 Turkey	25.664.797	13.073.518	12.591.279	12.505.021	8.372.080	4.132.941	48.72	64.04	32.82
1970 Zonguldak	604.938	302.469	324.690	249.795	174.889	74.906	47.2	65.7	28.5
1970 Turkey	29.494.848	14.933.274	14.561.574	16.126.936	10.302.016	5.824.920	58	68.9	40

Kdz. Ereğli and its relationship with other places was mostly with its villages and Istanbul. The fascinating point that Kıray (1964) revealed was that Istanbul was the most significant place for Kdz. Ereğli. The economic relation between Kdz. Ereğli and Istanbul became a kind of emotional relationship as the participants said that "Kdz. Ereğli is an outside neighborhood of Istanbul" (Kıray, 1964, p. 41). The relationship between Kdz. Ereğli and its villages was mostly established through the city bazaar on Mondays and Fridays. Almost every village had a kiraathane (tea/coffee house) in Kdz. Ereğli where when peasants come to Kdz. Ereğli for the bazaar, etc. visit to see their people. They used the kiraathane as a communication tool to reach some people or put their belongings there. Thus, kiraathane as an old institution changed its role to modern needs and played as a buffer institution role for a social change.

Kdz. Ereğli was not a closed society for Kıray as there were immigrant workers who came the coal basin for trade or working in coal mines. Among the sample of Kıray's (1964) study, 51.2% of householder men were born in Kdz. Ereğli, while 48.6% were immigrants. However, 61.6% of the immigrants came from villages, while only the 22.1% came from other cities. The primary motivation for immigrants was earning more money in Kdz. Ereğli and as it was mentioned before in this thesis, most of the immigrants in Kdz. Ereğli were the people who came from the villages within the region rather than the people from other

cities. Therefore, it wouldn't be fair to claim that Kdz. Ereğli was a completely open society as there were a lot of immigrants in the city due to the coal mining.

Table 7. Population by Place of Birth in Zonguldak and Turkey in 1965 (Source: Turkstat, 1969, p. 36, 37)

	Total Population	Born in the Same Province	Born in Another Province	The rate of the People Born in Same Province (%)
Zonguldak	650.191	556.810	91.582	85.6
Turkey	31.391.421	26.464.040	4.018.770	84.3

The openness of the Kdz. Ereğli comes from people's relations with other cities especially Istanbul as the biggest city of Turkey, and it also comes from domestic laborer immigration. These all made the city more urbanized and civilized. Kıray (1964) revealed that 88.37% of the sample had gone to Istanbul and 56.8% of them had gone to Ankara before. According to her, this situation made people more familiar with different cultures. Also, the relations with Istanbul played an essential role in the development of Kdz. Ereğli (Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 263). Although Kdz. Ereğli was not a closed society, there were some exclude groups such as people from Gümeli, Kiptis, and Lazs (Kıray, 1964, p. 43, 44). This demographic structure also affected the understanding of the concept of stranger in Kdz. Ereğli. In those years 40.9% of people were referring to foreigners through using the term stranger, while 30% were referring to the people who had not been born in Kdz. Ereğli (Kıray, 1964, p. 60-64). According to these rates, there were two main groups for local people in the city: foreigners and non-domestic people as the city area was a considerable international place for those years in Turkey due to the port of Kdz. Ereğli. For many years, ships came to Kdz. Ereğli from foreign countries, and there were always foreigners around the city because of the mining sector. Also, as it was mentioned in the Kıray's (1964) study, during the 1960s Kdz. Ereğli was almost and urbanized city in regards to its population movements, foreigner and non-domestic people population, connections with Istanbul, family type and children population, travel rates and the conceptualization of

stranger. On the contrary, anonym human relations had not existed in the city yet. This situation was one of the few unurbanized characters of Kdz. Ereğli. Also, the social structure was mostly based on income-based class rather than occupation-based classes (Kıray, 1964, p. 79). However, although Kıray (1964) claims that, this classification of Kdz. Ereğli as an urbanized city before Erdemir is not realistic.

The women's economic activities were mainly limited with horticulture or necessary tailoring. The first modern working activity for women in Kdz. Ereğli was working in the new conserve company as seasonal workers. After the construction of the Erdemir, being a charlady or secretary became a new working field for women in Kdz. Ereğli (Kıray, 1964, p. 81-87). According to Kıray (1964, p. 130), there were four main social structure transformations in Kdz. Ereğli in the 1960s:

- 1) The fade of religious reasons for ceremonies in the city.
- 2) The increasing value of women and girls.
- 3) Mothers' buffer role in dad-son relationships.
- 4) The possibility of vertical social mobility; thus, the increase of luxury consumption.

Yardım Sevenler Derneği (Association for Benefactors) was the first and only organized structure for women in Kdz. Ereğli and it was established in 1953. This association was established by the wives of high-level bureaucrats in Kdz. Ereğli. Thanks to the participation of wives of managers of Erdemir, this association did the tailoring works for Erdemir and provided employment opportunity for local women (Kıray, 1964, p. 144).

3.3.3. Economic Structure of Kdz. Ereğli

In the summer of 1962, Kdz. Ereğli started a rapid social transformation due to the construction (Kıray, 1964, p. 170). The city was transforming, and there were both hopes and unrest in this former small, fisher town (Şafak, 2017, p. 18). Afterward, Kdz. Ereğli was described as the third industrial city in the Zonguldak during the 1970s (Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 62), and the city of strawberry, steel, and labor as well. "Due to the construction of Erdemir; Kdz. Ereğli, Zonguldak, and Karabük became the spatial center of import-substituting industrialization of Turkey" (Şengül & Aytakin, 2017, p. 27).

There was no economic diversity, and mining was a significant economic activity in Kdz. Ereğli in the 1950s (Anadol, 2015, p. 18). Commerce, trade, mining, and forestry were the other leading economic sectors in the city. The role of Kdz. Ereğli was a commerce and trade center within the region. Thus, the leading economic groups in Kdz. Ereğli were merchants, civil servants, army officers, and high skilled laborers. Fishers were the middle economic class of the city (Kıray, 1964, p. 59). In Kıray (1964)'s study, only 0.8% of the sample were farmers. According to her, this was a proof of that Kdz. Ereğli was a more urbanized city as a city is where the primary economic sector is not agriculture. However, there was an essential change in Kdz. Ereğli considering the rate of farmers. In her study, the farmer rate was 21.3% among the fathers of the sample. The decrease was highly related to the increase in high skilled laborer rate from 4.3% among fathers to 14.9% among their sons. Among the sample, nearly half of the working people were born in Kdz. Ereğli, while $\frac{3}{4}$ of them were born in Kdz. Ereğli and its villages (Kıray, 1964, p. 65, 75).

The distribution of income among civil servants were highly flexible in Kdz. Ereğli. Thus, as a contradiction to the other Anatolian cities, the civil servants were not a privileged class. Most of the civil servants and laborers were

working at EKI, its port, and railroads. The workers were mostly living in the villages of Kdz. Ereğli. According to Kıray, the most popular and wanted job in Kdz. Ereğli was being civil servant in EKI until the establishment of Erdemir as it was a prestigious and high-incomed job, yet the wages were almost double in Erdemir (Kıray, 1964, p. 75-84) (Akbaş, 2018). The biggest and the most important economic group in Kdz. Ereğli was merchants. This group was the most crucial group for the peasants as merchants were providing the primary products to them. Generally, peasants called the merchants as “ağa.” Also, there was an interesting relationship between peasants and merchants. In most of the cases, a village were trading with the only one and same merchant. Thus, the merchant becomes the key person and authority in the village. Also, the common payment methods were depending on trust and barter. Peasants were exchanging their strawberry or lumber through barter system, or they were paying for them with the money that they had earned from coal mining. Moreover, most of the peasants were selling their products to these specific merchants. In that relationship, merchants were determining the prices and interest rates; thus, they were the main controlling actor on the village rather than EKI. According to Kıray’s (1964) conceptualization, merchants were the buffer mechanisms in Kdz. Ereğli between old feudal structure and new modern structure. They gave credit to peasants, helped to their issues with hospitals or courthouse, and provided their needs for weddings or funerals. In this regard, they were similar to the “ağa” of feudal structure, yet they were also a modern city merchant regarding the beneficiary relationship. Also, the fortune of merchants was not depending on the land ownership; instead, they had gained their fortune in the last 20-25 years from trade (Kıray, 1964, p. 60-67). Furhermore, Kdz. Ereğli emerged prominent and wealthy families. They were merchants as their economic class and ağa in the eyes of peasants. However, they were also a bourgeoisie class for both Kdz. Ereğli and Turkey in those years. Kdz. Ereğli was significant for economy in Turkey because it had also contributed to the emergence of the new economic class: bourgeoisie. These families made their fortune in Kdz. Ereğli through trade, and then most

of them migrated to the big cities of Turkey such as Istanbul (Kıray, 1964, p. 74, 75, 103). Kıray (1964, p. 67) classifies the main socio-economic periods in Kdz. Ereğli as the following:

- 1) 1850-1890 coal mining transition period,
- 2) 1890-1924 coal mining and the power of two prominent families,
- 3) 1925-1940 tahmilatçılık (coal transportation),
- 4) after the 1940 (construction of port and railroads, nationalization of mines)

As proof of becoming a modern industrial city, there was a meaningful increase in numbers of skilled workers, civil servants and self-employment, while there was a decrease in the number of farmers. The most significant and desirable job for people in the city was engineering due to the construction of the heavy industry in the city (Kıray, 1964, p. 69-71). In those days the people of “Kdz. Ereğli were ready to earn their lives through new jobs for the town (Kıray, 1964, p. 72).”

3.4. The Second Transformation: Heavy Industry

Erdemir is the first flat steel company and the third iron and steel company of Turkey after Kırıkkale and Karabük. Fifteen years after the first rejected attempt to establish an iron and steel company at Kdz. Ereğli in 1944⁴⁰ (Şeni, 1978, p. 229), the tidings of the establishment of Erdemir were heard at the beginning of 1959 in the city and villages (Akbaş, 2018, p. 38). These tidings were welcomed ecstatically by the local people (Kıray, 1964, p. 177) because

⁴⁰ According to Şeni (1978, p. 44), the very first plan of the establishment of an iron and steel company at Kdz. Ereğli was made by the Prime Minister Saraçoğlu in 1944; however, the USA authorities rejected this project. Thus, Şeni asks an essential question: “Why the USA found it beneficial to build an iron and steel company at Kdz. Ereğli in 1960 after their rejection of this project in 1944? (Şeni, 1978, p. 45)”

Erdemir was meaning a job, good wages and a future prosperity for them (Şafak, 2017, p. 18).

Table 8. The Founding Stockholders of Erdemir (Source: Şeni, 1978, p. 83)

Stockholder	Share Rate
The Government of Turkey	%51
USA Consortium (Koppers Co., Blow Knox, Westinghouse)	%28
Turkish Private Sector	%12
Chase International	%9

Table 9. The Share of Board Members (Source: Şeni, 1978, p. 83)

Member Institution/Corporation	Number of Members
Koppers	3
İş Bankası	1
Ankara Chamber of Commerce	1
Vehbi Koç	1
Karabük Iron and Steel Company	1
Sümerbank	1

In 1960, the special law for the establishment of Erdemir was enacted; therefore, the company was established⁴¹. However, the company was established on the base of foreign capital from the USA⁴² and nationalized in 1976 through the purchasing of shares of Koppers Company by Devlet Sanayi ve İşçi Yatırım Bankası⁴³ (Şeni, 1978, p. 85) (Akbaş, 2018, p. 49).

⁴¹ Ereğli Demir ve Çelik Fabrikaları Türk Anonim Şirketi Kanunu, Law No. 7462, Date: 28.02.1960.

⁴² The study of Şeni (1978) analyzes the hegemonic industry concept through the case of Erdemir. Her study focuses on the relation between the capitalist system and industrialization considering the concept of economic independence. Iron and steel production is described as a tool for capitalist growth by Şeni (1978, p. 20). In this regard, her study highlights the turnover of the capital in the case of Erdemir. The USA government gave the credits for the establishment of Erdemir, but in return, the required machines and equipment were bought from the USA, even also the technical personnel were from the USA, too. Then, the produced steel was exported to the USA. In this cycle, Şeni (1978) tries to explain this circulation of the capitalist economy through Erdemir case.

⁴³ The State Bank of Industry and Labor Investment in English.

3.4.1. The Situation During the Construction of Erdemir

The construction started in the summer of 1961 within the areas of two critical places for Kdz. Ereğli: the beach and agricultural lands. The expropriated private lands were almost 3.2 million square meters (Akbaş, 2018, p. 53). Halil Posbıyık, the mayor of Kdz. Ereğli, explains the construction period as follows:

...we did not call anybody to come to Kdz. Ereğli and establish the company. They came and decided to establish. They told that to our grandfathers they would buy their lands with low prices, then they established the company here and employed your sons, grandsons (Türk Metal Sendikası, 2006, p. 9).

As it was mentioned before, the Ereğli basin began to the social transformation in the 19th century through the coal mines. However, this time the social and economic transformations happened right in the city⁴⁴. Although the opened mines and constructed railroads around the city affected the social structure for the first time almost 100 years ago (Kıray, 1964) (Şeni, 1978, p. 28), this time the people felt the changing dynamism, nature, population and even the smell of the city⁴⁵ as the whole city was like a building site (Akbaş, 2018, p. 182). The number of workers in the construction almost reached 2.000 in 1962 and 4.200 in 1964 (Kıray, 1964, p. 177) (Şafak, 2015, p. 19). These numbers reached almost 10.000 in 1972. It is clear that this amount of laborer was highly crucial in those years, considering average number of laborers per company in Turkey (Şeni, 1978, p. 102).

⁴⁴. The studies of Akbaş (2013, 2018) are two of the studies about the relation between Kdz. Ereğli and Erdemir. His thesis (Akbaş, 2013) aims to reveal the socioeconomic changes in Kdz. Ereğli till 1980. His book (Akbaş, 2018) is a comprehensive form of his thesis. In these studies, Akbaş mostly refers to the local newspapers and legal documents as it is a study of history. Thus, he explains the unique value of his studies as referring to these kinds of local and archival documents.

⁴⁵ This is highlighted by a text in the Şirin Kdz. Ereğli Newspaper, on 21 July 192. "There is a smell of grease and burned fuel coming from exhausts inside the city rather the smell of strawberry from the mountains and salt from the sea..."

Table 10. Working Statistics (Sources: Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 65; Turkstat, 1965, p. 325; Turkstat, 1969, p. 158, 159; Turkstat, 2013, p. 252).

Years	The Population Work in Mining Zonguldak	The Population Work in Manufacturing Industry Zonguldak	Total Working Population in Zonguldak	The Population Work in Main Metal Industries in Turkey
1955	32.317	12.255	258.879	8.553
1960	39.930	18.682	280.573	9.006
1961	N/A	N/A	N/A	15.723
1962	N/A	N/A	N/A	9.804
1963	N/A	N/A	N/A	10.793
1964	N/A	N/A	N/A	13.210
1965	37.661	25.150	283.390	16.651
1970	47.504	28.206	296.902	31.081

Also, six companies began to operate in the construction as subcontractors (Şafak, 2017, p. 15). However, these subcontractors employed 1.479 people, yet 1.127 of them were not from Kdz. Ereğli. This situation caused to the first reactions from the local people. Although Erdemir hired laborers from Kdz. Ereğli, they were mostly from villages of Kdz. Ereğli, who were the low-income people. However, Erdemir was satisfying their needs — even the needs of the women as some of them worked in Erdemir as cleaning ladies. (Kıray, 1964, p. 191, 192). Moreover, the second reaction was about the incoming strangers to the Kdz. Ereğli to find a job in Erdemir. The vast amount of strangers in the city disturbed local people (Şafak, 2017, p. 18) (Kıray, 1964, p. 192) (Akbaş, 2018, p. 73).



Figure 3. “There is no place to sleep. Public parks, graveyards are full of people. Bread stocks are insufficient. Chairs in the coffeehouses are renting out at nights till the morning.”
(Source: Şirin Kdz. Ereğli Newspaper, 1 March 1962.)

3.4.2. The Social Transformations During the Construction of Erdemir

Erdemir was the most significant breaking point of both sociology and economy of Kdz. Ereğli, and its values as well⁴⁶. In the summer of 1962, Kdz. Ereğli was in a rapid social transformation by the construction of Erdemir (Kıray, 1964, p. 170). The city was being transformed, and there were both hopes and unrest in this former small fisher town (Şafak, 2017, p. 18). There

⁴⁶ According to Akbaş (2013 & 2018), Kdz. Ereğli was known as a port town, and its geographical limits affected its economic and social growth. Regarding this, Erdemir was an opportunity for Kdz. Ereğli to become a more developed city. Although, there was an economic growth in Kdz. Ereğli after the establishment, the city was also affected negatively, too. The population growth in the non-domestic laborers in the city socially, culturally, and politically affected Kdz. Ereğli. The growth caused housing problems in the city as the rental flat prices were increased. There was insufficiency at the infrastructure of the city and supply for electricity, clean water, and transportation, too. However, the city was also positively affected through establishments of new schools, hospitals, and increased entertainment facilities. There were many clubs and associations founded in Kdz. Ereğli at those times. His studies highlight that, Kdz. Ereğli were begun to transform into a labor city from a small, coastal town by Erdemir as the company emerged the labor class within the city.

was a hope for future prosperity as the people believed that their children would work in Erdemir with high wages; thus, they would have a wealthy life in the city. In accordance with that, during those days the news in the local newspapers was mostly about Erdemir (Kıray, 1964, p. 192, 193). During that transformation, Erdemir tried to establish good relationship with the people of Kdz. Ereğli. In order to do that, Erdemir started to organize social meetings, football matches, and events; therefore, this transformation changed the social life. Then, the newspapers started to arrive day by day, new magazines and journals were begun to read, and even the clothing styles started to change. Erdemir supported football clubs and associations or orphanage, organized concerts and social meetings, provided clean water, and opened its beach to the public. Nevertheless, the people blamed Erdemir both for the water pollution and insufficiency and loss of their beach (Akbaş, 2018, p. 70, 84) (Kıray, 1964, p. 192, 193, 196). However, the most significant social transformations in the city at the construction period were the existence of two new types of human relations and mass action: peasant movements and labor movements. Peasant movements were emerged as the organized resistance against to the construction trucks that had damaged their lands. Also, they arranged mass applications to courts⁴⁷ claiming the prices, which had been paid for their lands, were insufficient⁴⁸ (Kıray, 1964, p. 195) (Akbaş, 2018, p. 55).

⁴⁷ 133 landowners opened the case against the price appreciation (Akbaş, 2018, p. 55).

⁴⁸ However, Halil Posbıyık, the former mayor of Kdz. Ereğli, said that the people of Kdz. Ereğli gave their lands to the company just for almost 1 lira per square. This was the sacrifice of Kdz. Ereğli people to the development of Turkey (Türk Metal Sendikası, 2006, p. 9).



Figure 4. Öncü Newspaper, 13 August 1962⁴⁹

Therefore, Kdz. Ereğli began to transform as a labor city and form the organized labor class. In this regard, the most prominent breaking points both for both the social structure of Kdz. Ereğli and Turkish labor class were the Kdz. Ereğli labor movements and the establishment of Yapı İşçileri Sendikası Kdz. Ereğli Şubesi (Union for Construction Labors – Branch of Kdz. Ereğli) (Kıray, 1964). This union started to organize laborers and objected to accommodation conditions of workers and precarious work⁵⁰ (Akbaş, 2018, p.

⁴⁹ The title says "Labor start to talk in Kdz. Ereğli."

⁵⁰ The second study of Şafak (2017) is a narrow but specific study for Kdz. Ereğli. This study depends on local newspapers, journals, and secondary sources. Also in that study, Şafak uses oral history. This book is "heroical story of a rebel, of clamor rise from Kdz. Ereğli and struggle of construction labor." According to Şafak (2017), this is a significant case because of its actors, too. Bülent Ecevit was the Minister of Labor, Süleyman Demirel was the Turkey representative of Morrison Company, and Tahir Öztürk was the leader of resistance as the leader of Turkey Construction Federation in those years. These people were the critical figures in the political history of Turkey, and they were connected to each other through Kdz. Ereğli, Erdemir in the 1960s. This study of Şafak (2017) also gives an introduction to the transformation of Kdz. Ereğli by Erdemir and then mostly focuses on the 1962 labor protest. This protest was the first protest in the history of Erdemir, and it was against the inhumane

183). The union in Kdz. Ereğli organized “the biggest labor protest movement not only the biggest of Kdz. Ereğli but also the biggest of Turkey on 12th August 1962⁵¹ (Kıray, 1964, p. 195) (Şafak, 2017, p. 59) (Şeni, 1978, p. 111).



Figure 5. 12 August 1962 Protest in Kdz. Ereğli. Photo: Öncü Newspaper (Source: Şafak, 2017, p. 60)

Moreover, seven years later, this day would be the day of the first strike in Erdemir, 12th August 1969 (Şafak, 2015, p. 53). This was the first and the most significant effect of Erdemir to the sociological structure of Kdz. Ereğli. This protest was a crucial clash of a multinational, experienced and historical capital power between a newly emerged, young labor class. This organized labor

working conditions at the Morrison Company, which was one of the subcontractors at the construction of Erdemir.

⁵¹ Nazım Hikmet, the famous poet, wrote his well-known poetry on this day, entitled as “Türkiye İşçi Sınıfına Selam” (Greetings to Labor Class of Turkey in English).

movement was an indicator of social transformation. As Şeni (1978, p. 115) explains, this amount of -nearly 5.000- laborers who were working in the same industrial company started to emerge a class consciousness. The place created this class consciousness, and then the class consciousness started to reshape the place where it had been created⁵².

These labor movements in Erdemir were precious considering the labor rights history in Turkey⁵³. Their successes were depending on the enormous number of organized laborers⁵⁴, and the consciousness of this young class (Şeni, 1978, p. 102, 103, 110, 114, 115). After years, also the people of Kdz. Ereğli supported their laborers in 1970 during the clash between the two unions Maden-İş and Türk-İş (Şeni, 1978, p. 112).

⁵² According to Şeni (1978), Kdz. Ereğli is the core place for labor class in Turkey because of the managing coal mines. Kdz. Ereğli was one of the first places where vast amounts of laborers have been organized. The very first and tough strikes occurred in here, too. Besides the history of iron and steel industry of Turkey given in the study, it also emphasizes the labor movements and the creation of labor consciousness in Kdz. Ereğli. This study reveals that Kdz. Ereğli and Erdemir had an excellent labor consciousness in the 1960s since there were nearly 5.000 laborers in Kdz. Ereğli working within the same company. Thus, they began to be organized. Şeni (1978) highlights that the labor organization and its quality were higher than the average labor class in Turkey. The study also summarizes the chronology of labor struggles in Erdemir. Thus, this study reveals that Erdemir affected the people, then the people affected Kdz. Ereğli, too.

⁵³ The study of Şafak (2015) is a study of labor history in Kdz. Ereğli. It mostly depends on documents and primary sources. However, the unique value of the study is the use of oral history as a source. In that study, Şafak reveals crucial memories about Turkish labor history, Turkish political history, and Kdz. Ereğli, as well. This study puts the chronology of union clashes in Kdz. Ereğli and tells the period by witnesses. This is critical because Kdz. Ereğli was an essential place for the labor class in Turkey. The construction laborers at Erdemir then began to work in Erdemir, and many non-domestic people also began to work in Erdemir and so that started the transformation. In the 1960s, Kdz. Ereğli was a place for well-known unionists and opinion leaders. Through the first protest in Kdz. Ereğli in 1962, the city began to become a city of labor. The 1970s were the years both the class and political consciousness were developed in Kdz. Ereğli.

⁵⁴ In 1969, 2636 out of 2669 laborers unionized in Erdemir. This ratio was quite high considering Turkey's average unionized labor ratio (Şeni, 1978, p. 111).

3.4.3. The Economic and Spatial Transformations During the Construction of Erdemir

The former small, fisher, coastal town, Kdz. Ereğli, was described as the third industrial city in the Zonguldak at the 1970s (Zonguldak İl Yıllığı, 1973, p. 62) and the city of strawberry, steel, and labor. “Because of the construction of Erdemir; Kdz. Ereğli, Zonguldak, and Karabük became the spatial center of import-substituting industrialization of Turkey” (Şengül & Aytakin, 2017, p. 27). The economic effects of Erdemir started to being obvious during the construction period. The technical personnel who were working at the construction began to stay at the hotels, and the workers who came outside spent their money in Kdz. Ereğli for their daily needs. The demand for tenements emerged the tenement market in the Kdz. Ereğli for the first time. Most people started to clean and prepare spare rooms in their houses for rent, and they began to earn money (Kıray, 1964, p. 179) (Şafak, 2017, p. 16) (Akbaş, 2018, p. 71). The population growth because of the laborer immigration caused to difficulties about housing in the city. Thus, Erdemir decided to build public houses to solve this problem. However, some of the people reacted to the desired location of the public houses which would have been built for high-level managers and workers of Erdemir (Akbaş, 2018, p. 71-72). The place was an isolated location from Kdz. Ereğli, and some people stated that this isolation would negatively affect the possible social development in the city. Therefore, it is fair to say that in those years some people expected contribution of Erdemir for a social transformation in the city (Kıray, 1964, p. 193). However, the population growth enormously increased the home rental prices, and caused to insufficiency in bread stocks and clean water. Also, a lot of new stores were opened to satisfy the demand for construction materials in the city, and some of them were opened by local merchants while the others were opened by the immigrants who came from other cities. This situation also accelerated the economic life in the city. However, this economic transformation and rapid economic growth disturbed

a group of merchants in the city as they were annoyed because of the transformation of the economic power from their hands to the new, powerful and beloved company. They thought that they would lose their significance and status in the city. However, there was also unrest in the city due to the increasing rents from 50 liras to 500 liras and increasing prices of foodstuff. Also, people were complaining about the crowd at the city center and about the situation that motor vehicles stuck in the alleys. As a significant outcome in Kiray's (1964) study, 38.8% of the sample stated that the construction of Erdemir would affect the economic life in the city such as the increase in the prices. These conditions made people to integrate the new lifestyle in the city and develop new life plans due to the transformation (Kiray, 1964, p. 193-198) (Akbaş, 2018, 71-73).

The following quotation from Mübeccel Kiray perfectly matches to summarize the exact situation in Kdz. Ereğli during the 1960s: "...for its people, the big Kdz. Ereğli is a city in which the employment opportunities are more, wages are higher, yet more expensive (Kiray, 1964, p. 197)."

3.5. Conclusion

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the Zonguldak area was in a transformation. The small village nearby the Black Sea has become the city of coal, labor, trade and finally heavy industry over time, and these different roles affected the city in various aspects. Although each one of these roles could seriously transform a city, in a century, Kdz. Ereğli went through with all of these incidents which affected its social and economic structure.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Zonguldak area became one of the biggest labor areas in Turkey as its laborer population reached almost 50.000 in the 1950s. Foreign capital and private companies were settled around the city; thus, the city became an open place to immigration. The railroads and the

port affected the heterogeneity, and prevented the city to be disconnected from the world. The small, non-progressive city of the 1800s changed in all meanings. However, it can be seen that there have been some repetitions in the city's history during these transformations. The first strike in the Ottoman Empire had occurred at Kdz. Ereğli in 1863; later, in 1962 the biggest labor movement of Turkey also occurred in Kdz. Ereğli, too. The area was the place of the emergence of the labor consciousness in the Ottoman Empire for the first time, and then Kdz. Ereğli created the most prominent labor class of Turkey during the heavy industry period.

All the work that were mentioned in this chapter focus on different dimensions, periods and events for the city and the area. In this specificity, each of them tries to reveal a specific situation of Kdz. Ereğli regarding their field of study. However, although each study mentions a process of transformation in Kdz. Ereğli, the process that were analyzed by these studies generally focused on either the mining period or the construction period of Erdemir. Even if some studies evaluated the later periods, yet they did not solemnly analyze the periods after 1980. However, Kdz. Ereğli has another milestone after the previous two breaking points: the privatization of Erdemir in 2006. Until that time, Kdz. Ereğli was transformed through something that was given to the city such as coal mines and Erdemir. On the contrary, in 2006 Kdz. Ereğli was transformed through something that had been taken away from the city. Thus, this period created the third breakdown for Kdz. Ereğli.

Although Kiray (1964) mentioned that the transformation of the city was begun with coal mines, I argue against that idea. I provided the information about the background of Kdz. Ereğli before the Erdemir and the situation during the establishment of the company to discuss the issue. The studies regarding the coal mining period mention Kdz. Ereğli and the effects of mining on the city. However, the geographical location of today's Kdz. Ereğli does not represent the same location which was referred to for the mining period. I recognize the

fact that the city had also been affected through the mining activities; however, the first biggest transformation in the city occurred through the establishment of Erdemir.

In this study, I examine the breakdown process and all the transformations of Kdz. Ereğli especially the transformations through the establishment of Erdemir and the privatization of it. What distinguishes this study from the others is that the assumption of Erdemir as the essential institution for the sense of place of Kdz. Ereğli. In this study, Erdemir is considered as the institution that shaped the city's character, identity, and the collective memory in the city as it had affected the social and economic structure of Kdz. Ereğli for more than 60 years. Erdemir is the institution that created the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli, created the feeling of belonging to the place, and emerged the locality. Therefore, it affected the collective memory through the interventions on social and economic life; thus, reproduced the sense of place. This is the reason that I suggest the concepts of institutionally mediated collective memory and institutional reproduction of sense of place.

CHAPTER 4

FIELD STUDY OF THE CHANGING SENSE OF PLACE IN KARADENİZ EREĞLİ

4.1. Introduction

Karadeniz Ereğli is one of the districts of Zonguldak Province. It is located on the north side of Turkey as a coastal city near to the Black Sea.

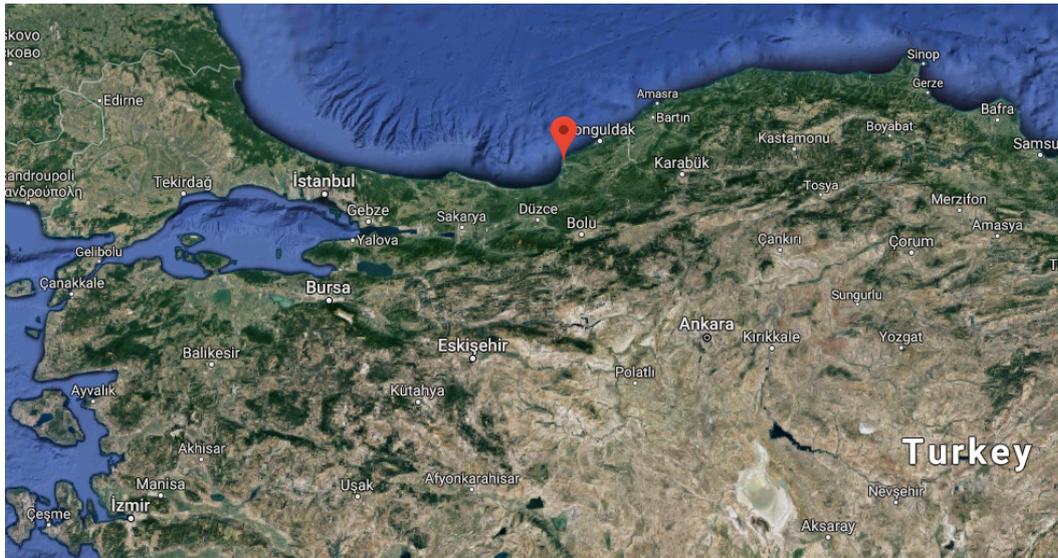


Figure 6. Place of Kdz. Ereğli on the Map of Turkey (Source: Google Maps.)

The population of the city, which is 175.605 according to the last data of TURKSTAT, has not significantly increased in the last 11 years.

Table 11. Population of Kdz. Ereğli Between 2007-2018 (Source: TURKSTAT)

Year	Population
2007	170.371
2008	174.283

Table 11. (continued)

2009	174.727
2010	174.750
2011	174.456
2012	173.933
2013	174.185
2014	174.151
2015	173.886
2016	174.619
2017	175.351
2018	175.605

Erdemir is the major industry in the city. There are several related private companies working in the city; however, Erdemir is the biggest one in regards to its population, area, and endorsement. The other important thing is, Erdemir is not separated from the city center unlike the other heavy industry companies in the country. It owns significant part of city coasts, it is visible from all over the city, it is possible to see workers everywhere in the city; thus, it is not possible not to think about or not to feel Erdemir during daily life in Karadeniz Ereğli.



Figure 7. Place of Erdemir on the Map of Kdz. Ereğli (Source: Google Maps)

Erdemir's direct relationship with the city has made it the most important actor in the city. As the single-industry of the city, almost every person could find a connection point between himself or herself and Erdemir. It has become a tradition to work in Erdemir for generations. Since the company was offering a swap system, which makes it possible to start working in the company instead of one's father when he retires, there are a lot of people in the city who worked with their father's coworkers. Besides, Erdemir was offering lodgments for its workers and these were not big and high-populated apartment complexes. Instead, they were small buildings that generally consist of 6 independent apartments, yet there were a lot of lodgments. Thus, the majority of the employees of the company were living in those lodgments with a reasonable number of residents. This unique living style has helped to reflect the relationships and culture in Erdemir to the family lives; therefore, to the rest of the city through interaction.

Erdemir, as the major actor in the city, has also contributed the social life of the city through its movie theater, the events that they organized, dining halls, restaurants, beaches, sports clubs, and etc. Another important and interesting point about Erdemir was its multicultural structure. Although it was a public-owned corporation, its managerial and technical teams mostly consisted of Americans. At the same time, there were a lot of workers working in Erdemir who had come from almost every region of the country. This multicultural environment, undoubtedly, contributed the social and political life in Karadeniz Ereğli. Therefore, Erdemir reproduced the collective memory within the city through shaping the identities, causing the demographic change, and affecting the economy and social life.

Although Erdemir had been affecting the city in almost every aspect for a long time, everything started to change with the milestone between city and company relationship: the privatization. In 2006, the company was privatized

and sold to OYAK⁵⁵. After that, everything in the city started to change as people call as the fall of the city. The previous relationship between Erdemir and Kdz. Ereğli was demolished by the new management, a lot of workers lost their jobs, salaries were dramatically cut down, and all of the support of the company was gone. These facts affected the social life and economic life in the city, and the politics as well. People started to discuss about Erdemir's positive and negative impacts on the city, and argue about its so-called contributions to the city. That controversy is still the number one topic among the people living in the city since they feel Erdemir at every time and from everywhere in the city. Therefore, it has been seen that Erdemir affected the collective memory for the second time by making people to inquire about the city's values, own sources and destiny.

This chapter analyzes the changing sense of place, in Karadeniz Ereğli, with regards to institutionally mediated collective memory. Within this framework, the study used the data of the field research that was conducted with 20 people from the city to understand how they perceive the city's present situation and how they re-evaluate the past from today. All interviews mainly aimed to reveal the impact of Erdemir upon the city regarding two breaking points: the establishment of Erdemir and the privatization of it. In order to analyze this process, Kdz. Ereğli. is examined by dividing into three periods as emergence, rise, and decline. The emergence is used for to understand the city and its structure before Erdemir, the rise was used to analyze the transformation started by the establishment of Erdemir, and finally, the fall was used to understand how privatization changed the city. At the same time, the changing sense of place is tried to categorize within the scope of theories mentioned under 'theoretical framework': reactionary sense of place and progressive sense of place. Nevertheless, during the whole chapter, it is tried to be

⁵⁵ OYAK is the Turkish Armed Forces Assistance and Pension Fund, founded in 1961 (OYAK, 2019).

revealed that the institutionally mediated collective memory and its impacts on sense of place in this case.

4.2. The Sense of Place at Emergence of Kdz. Ereğli

Either reactionary or progressive sense of the place, both mention the historical roots of a place while conceptualizing sense of place. The progressive sense of place promotes routes within a place than its roots; however, the reactionary sense of place emphasizes historical roots and the internalized history of the place as the essential components of producing a sense of place.

During the field study, some of the interviewees showed their interpretation of Kdz. Ereğli in regards to a reactionary sense of place. Most of them, the ones who are originally from Kdz. Ereğli, expressed their sense of place by its history. The important point here is that the history they referred is the period before Erdemir. Nevertheless, some of them used a long historical background to define the city.

I would start with the coming of Vikings by ships to here. I would start with the events happened at Cehennemagzı caves, and other historical events. (Yusuf)

The city has a historical background which almost reaches 2,500 years back from today. Roman, Byzantine and Genoese periods have been lived here. This place was a secret religious center for Christianity. This place could be found in mythology as the city of Hercules. It could be found in Ottoman history. That city is the place in which the only naval warfare happened during the Independence War. Ereğli is the only town which overcome the invasion by fighting during the first world war. That city is the city of Uzun Mehmet who found the coal for the first. That city accepted immigrants from all over the country and provided them jobs after the establishment of Erdemir, although it had been a beautiful natural city and agricultural place before. (Murat)

Ereğli is a coastal town. We mention about 4,000 years of history when we tell about Ereğli. (İsmail)

Before Erdemir, Kdz. Ereğli was a lovely, small coastal town or a holiday destination, according to the historical roots of sense of place for the interviewees. Additionally, some of them shared their desires about how the city would have been without Erdemir.

Before the expropriation for Erdemir in 1961, those places were opened to tourism. For instance, we had a land near to the sea and EKI used it as camping site. Çatalağzı power plant also rented our lands. There were tents during the summer on those lands. The people would have come to here during their annual leave. The sea was completely clear, fishery was perfect, yet everything has destroyed by Erdemir. (Ogün)

The place on which the factory was built was just a sandy beach. So, if the factory had not been built, those coming from İstanbul and Ankara would have spent their time and left. It was a small town only. (Samet)

I know Ereğli as its quite old situation. The sea was so clean as I remember, even we were catching fish from the pier. The place was completely clean, proper fishing town. Moreover, everyone would mention about Ereğli as a fishing town. The field of Erdemir was a beach, and it had perfect sand. Foreigners were coming here for camping, and they were spending their summer holiday in here. I remember that every time when we came to Ereğli I was hearing the sound as DANG DANG DANG... Everyone in Ereğli heard that noise. That was the noise coming from the construction of Erdemir. It lasted for months. When someone says Ereğli, I remember that sound. Ereğli was an agriculture town that deals with farming, and then became a bigger, industrial place by Erdemir. (Sefa)

I grew up in a good neighborhood and I played games on the street with too many friends. I got all of my education in Ereğli. It was a small and warm place that one could have found the food in every house that he or she went to. Visiting the neighbors was really important for socialization, and we had a lot of friends around. (Murat)

Ereğli was such a beautiful and cute place! It was also calm, the bazaar, the other things... everything was unique in there. Ereğli

was feeding Zonguldak. It was a small and beautiful town. In the history you can find a lot of documents that praise Ereğli as a perfect place... The place has an antique history which traces to 2,000 years ago. Such a place that much rich and beautiful... There were many tribes and civilizations have lived in that area. This proves that there was a beauty, productivity or something like that... So, there was something that kept people at here. Now, some people say that it was a village, fishing town... Those people are the ones who came to Ereğli from outside, who doesn't know anything about Ereğli and ignorant, miserable people... They underrate the place... In fact, Ereğli has been a perfect place for centuries. (Aykut)

The people who came from other cities evaluated that city as there was nothing in here. They think that the city was a small, bad place. No. we had everything here. People were going to rowing race at İstanbul from here can you imagine that? There were always concerts, theaters, movies... (Ogün)
Until the 1965s, every year we had the presidential symphony orchestra in Ereğli. We had the movie theater here... (Aykut)

I know the situation before Erdemir from my father, who is 83 years old now. I know that the field of Erdemir was a beach that people were coming there for camping and swimming. I also know that people were coming there by small boats. My father has told me that the city was smelling like strawberry, and the fishery was quite perfect. When he told me something about Ereğli before Erdemir I thought that Ereğli might have been a touristic place such as Marmaris, Didim or Aydın. The living expenses also might have been cheaper... People could have been working in the agriculture, tourism could have developed... We might not have had this much money, yet it would be a perfect place. (Hamza)

We had a family type of environment before in that city. There was a culture of neighborhood before. There were no buildings, we all had private houses. No one would lock their door; we could go to any other house for eating when we felt hungry while we were playing at outside. We were all together. But today this is not the case here. (Enes)

The reactionary sense of place is mainly about producing a sense of place through a reaction, in short. The reaction comes from inside to the outside by producing the sense as perceiving the place as a secure location. This concept emphasizes on defining a place by its own local, strong history, or its roots. It

also requires to create groups as 'them' and 'us' to shape the borders of the place. According to the results field study, it could be suggested that there was a reactionary sense of place before Erdemir. The interviewees' general interpretations of the city before Erdemir include yearning and glorifying. The argument of this study depends on these sentences belong to one of the interviewees:

Now, some people say that it was a village, fishing town... Those people are the ones who came to Ereğli from outside, who doesn't know anything about Ereğli and ignorant, miserable people... They underrate the place... In fact, Ereğli has been a perfect place for centuries. (Aykut)

This older man, originally from Kdz. Ereğli, created the 'others' and 'us' to categorize the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli. According to him, their sense of place is different because the others are not from here. In short, these people are not the people of Kdz. Ereğli for him.

To conclude, this is the sense of place during the emergence period in Kdz. Ereğli: small, lovely, with amazing nature and developed agriculture, historical and even mythological place. Being a historical place or described by historical roots are controversial to being categorized as reactionary; however, the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli before Erdemir, at the emergence period, can be described as the reactionary sense of place. Even if being a coastal town and a place defined with the historical aspects look like an opened sense for the place, they are indicating a reactionary intent. The reactionary feeling under this approach is about the effort to distinguish the place from others through promoting unique features of it. Since history and nature are the most unique features for the place, the emphasis during the interviews leads to categorizing the sense of place at the emergence period as a reactionary sense of place. However, as it is open to change, the sense of place changed in the city according to my inferences from the interviews.

4.3. The Sense of Place at Rise of Kdz. Ereğli

Erdemir had a significant role in producing a sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli. Starting with its building process, Erdemir has become the main actor in the city. It created the class structure, changed the smell in the city, shaped the landscape, and affected the economic and social life. Therefore, Erdemir affected the city in many ways. In this section, it is tried to be analyzed how the city changed after Erdemir. As stated in the thesis head, this period is categorized as the rise of Kdz. Ereğli, since it was a favorable period, both economically and socially, in the history of the city. By the establishment of Erdemir, the social life developed, the economy boomed; therefore, wealth increased in the city. This period was the rise of the city until the privatization, which was also pointed out by interviewees.

Many people were talking about that Ereğli was little Germany. It was because of the economic growth here. (Cengiz)

Zonguldak and Ereğli have always competed. When an investment came to Zonguldak, while Ereğli was expecting to investments from the state, they have always said that you are rich as you have Erdemir. (Mert)

There were a lot of car dealer shops and bank branches here. Why? Because money was in transaction. (Deniz)

Surprisingly, not all of the interviewees mentioned the positive effects of Erdemir on the local economy. Some people criticized Erdemir because of increasing the prices in the local market. Moreover, some of the interviewees expressed their complicated feelings or thoughts on Erdemir. They indicated that Erdemir created the economic growth within the city in a positive way, while it also negatively affected the local market because of the inflation that it caused.

Erdemir determined even the prices in the farmers market; it determined the price of tomato. Why? Because the salaries of Erdemir workers were high. Thus, the market was high. With the money you buy a house on the beach side, you can buy only apartment here. Why? Because Erdemir provides high salaries. (Hamza)

One of the critical effects of Erdemir was on social structure and diversity of the city. It was highly mentioned by interviewees that, Erdemir had been the main actor for the social cohesion of different cultures in the city.

Erdemir was a breach to connect people from regions and backgrounds... (Yusuf)

Now the new generations continue with that diversity. For instance, the immigrant workers from Ardahan got married in Ereğli; therefore, became a person from Ereğli. They caused the new diverse generations here with full of colors. (Serhat)

The society has changed because of the out comers, the population also boomed. There were some arguments happened between the immigrants and local people. However, they were not big incidents and ended after a while when people had been together. The immigrants also understood their faults. (Samet)

There were people from Trabzon, Kars... The local people of Ereğli were not interested in Erdemir at the first time. The immigrants came, technical people came, the hardworking people came... Maybe it's not a good idea to categorize the people like that, but the city allowed a lot of immigrants. So, almost more than 100,000 people have worked in here since the 1960s, for my opinion. This immigration has changed the structure of Ereğli, the political structure... The immigrants opened hometown associations here and they organized. Therefore, they put their people in the local politics through local elections. Thus, Erdemir's this effect on population also affected the local politics. (Hamza)

Thanks to Erdemir, we could find a home here. If you were an Erdemir worker, it was easier to get married. Through intermarriage, people get to know each other closely. (Yusuf)

One interviewee pointed out that the children of the workers had established the social cohesion. Although there were some cultural differences among the first-generation immigrant workers, their children became friends after years.

And we have witnessed the cultural clashes. At those times, the swearwords of the immigrants from south were completely different for us.. They were swearing to God which is really problematic for us. Sometimes we had the disputes between the people from Adana and the local people. However, we integrated as the time went by. As the second generations, we became friends with their children and went to the same high schools. (İsmail)

Two interviewees explained a different situation from another point. According to them, Erdemir created a different kind of labor class in the city which was socially labored, but economically elite and this situation could be noticed throughout, mostly from children's education.

What kind of working class is this, sending their children to the private school? They are in the same class with the children of doctors and engineers? Parents sometimes complain about that. (Tunahan)

The effect of Erdemir on social structure is great. Erdemir workers can go to vacation, send their children to the private school... At this time, the rich people in Ereğli such as managers, merchants become angry to see a worker's child in the same classroom with their children. (Hamza)

Nevertheless, Erdemir had significant impacts on the city, and it also built a good relationship with the city. These sentences of an interviewee are just like a perfect summary of the effect of Erdemir on Kdz. Ereğli:

Yes, Erdemir affected everything such as life style, entertainment, clothing, education... Erdemir is the oxygen tank of the city as it was really close to the city, both physically and emotionally. If people hear a bad noise from Erdemir or if something bad happens, they would come to the main gates to understand what happened in the

company. They care about Erdemir and the workers as they have the relationship. But that is not the same today. (Yusuf)

Almost all of the interviewees pointed out that Erdemir affected the people of the city in many different ways. It developed people by providing them better education opportunities, and even sometimes it had become a school for people. Additionally, the company had also developed the local culture.

They came with their own culture, where all cultures blended together to create a different structure. They usually didn't lose their essence. Mutual relations, solidarity and social life have reached a different dimension. They learned to live together (Cengiz)

For example, Erdemir's labor population is mainly from outside of Ereğli. There were a lot of different personnel from different parts of the country, but they all contributed to the culture here. They changed the culture. Erdemir also caused the educational development. For instance, the TED College greatly contributed the young generations future. The communication between Erdemir and Ereğli was also good because the economy was depending on Erdemir. The development happened because of Erdemir. (Samet)

Possibly Erdemir affected the culture in the city because at those times a lot of immigrants from different regions of the country came to Erdemir for working. When the workers came here, they were also in solidarity with each other. The culture and solidarity have affected the local people both socially and politically. (Enes)

The creation of strawberry and steel. Can you imagine that, a person who grew up in the middle of the Anatolia coming to Erdemir and have a voice on heavy industry of Turkey. How? By the culture of Erdemir, by the taste that he got from Ereğli, and by the solidarity here. When you look at the Ereğli from above and cover the field of Erdemir, at least 80% of people would leave the city. Erdemir is a life style in Ereğli. Erdemir is the engine of Ereğli, the engine for life, the oxygen of the city. I see it in that way. I'm in favor of this chimney. When that chimney goes out, I am sure that the lifestyle in Ereğli will permanently change. It would be an ordinary place. (Yusuf)

The people from black sea region formed a group among themselves, easterners formed a group... They were close to each other in their groups. But there has never been such a fight between those groups. It can't be said that people were integrated very well

at the first time as it takes time. Then, naturally, everyone started to get married with people from Ereğli. Then, the people who used to say that I am from X province started to say that I'm from Ereğli. (Aykut)

I also witnessed the development of education here. I realized that Erdemir also trained people; thus, it created a qualified community because the people working here have made great efforts for their children's education. Even in the big provincial centers there were 3-4 prep schools, while there were almost 20 in Ereğli. This showed the importance that they gave to their children's education. Ereğli has always made a difference in the country by its people, by the people's successes in their working lives, by the education. So, there is no single person in the country who does not recognize Ereğli. This is the result of Erdemir as it has pioneered for that. (Sefa)

One day, I was invited to an event that organized by Erdemir. We went to one of the dining halls of Erdemir. While we were eating, the lights were turned off, suddenly. Then I saw the red lights on the walls, a curtain fell down and they started to play a movie. I was really surprised... I thought that they brought the cinema to the dining hall as the cinema was really important at those times. Then I realized, Erdemir also contributed a lot to the social life, not only the working life at Ereğli. Since there was Americans at the establishment of the company, they also unconsciously reflected their cultures on to the city. They established the social facilities like the ones in the USA at those times, they played football games with workers... It's not just about social life, education, working, everything... The TED college at Ereğli was opened because of the Americans as they wanted to provide education in English to their children. Then, also the workers started to send their children to TED college; thus, they learned English language very well. Their children were also really successful at national standardized exams because of the high quality of education at that college. Erdemir; therefore, has affected generations for a long time. (Sefa)

I had not seen hamburger until I started working here. In the Erdemir canteen, foreigners made a new menu that includes hamburger. I thought it was dough, but I got meatballs. That menu remained in Erdemir for the years from the 60s to the 90s. (Özgür)

Erdemir affected everything in the city. Because the Americans were here... They even changed the eating and drinking culture here. After they left Ereğli, the food list in the dining halls, which they had given before, was used for almost ten years. (Mert)

In regards to the sense of place, Erdemir is also evaluated as the main actor to advertise the city to the country. This can also be accepted as one of the indicators for shifting the sense of place in Kdz Ereğli. As it is mentioned before, the difference between the progressive sense of place and the reactionary sense of place is basically about being introverted, having strong historical roots, and creating 'others' and 'us' as exclusionary practices. As one of the interviewees said, Kdz. Ereğli had become more open to the country after Erdemir, the city started to be known across the country, and people started to come to Kdz. Ereğli because of important reasons such as work and education opportunities.

In my opinion, Erdemir Iron and Steel Factory has contributed to Ereğli much more than anything else... (Serhat)

Actually, Erdemir advertised Ereğli for the first. We had the coal mines before but it was not the same. The miners were coming to the area for temporary working, then they were going back to their hometowns. However, Erdemir caused a settled population here. They were also going back to their hometowns for vacations, yet it contributed to advertising to Ereğli. Erdemir workers started to mention about Ereğli and Erdemir when they went back to their hometowns. Therefore, Ereğli became known in Turkey because of Erdemir. Even the coal mines in Ereğli became known because of the Erdemir workers. (Yusuf)

If we did not have Erdemir, there would not be so many schools here today. (Deniz)

There were almost 20 prep schools in the 1990s. We grew really successful students. You can see a successful person from Ereğli in anywhere in the country. (Sefa)

This effect shifted the sense of place from the previous reactionary one to the progressive, global one. After the establishment of Erdemir, Ereğli lost its previous characteristic and unique features. The city was once tagged as a coastal town and known for its specific kind of strawberry, its smell, beaches, and the sea which is all changed by Erdemir lately. The city, then, was tagged

as an industrial city and started to be known for its industrial production, factories, labor class, economy, and also pollution. This was an obvious shift from local, introverted features to global, extroverted features.

People who earned money in Erdemir took the money to various places in Turkey's. So, they contribute to the economy there too. In other words, Erdemir has made a great contribution not only to Ereğli but also to the outside world. (Sefa)

When it came to the destiny of the city without Erdemir, there were two groups of answers it could be seen. One group claimed that the city would not be a great place as great as today without Erdemir. However, the other group suggested that Kdz. Ereğli would have been a better place without Erdemir. When the reasons for these two groups is tried to be categorized, it is seen that most of the interviewees, who are not from Kdz. Ereğli, supported the idea that Erdemir is crucial for the city's today. However, the other interviewees, who are originally from Kdz. Ereğli or Zonguldak, emphasized that Erdemir harmed nature of the city, changed its destiny inevitably in a bad way, and negatively affected the public health at the city. Thus, it is seen that they desire a better Kdz. Ereğli, without Erdemir. This desire has a direct relationship with the concept of privatization; however, the study will not focus on this point.

[Without the factory], Ereğli would remain a small town, or would be a small province, but definitely could not develop. (Serhat)

Without Erdemir, Ereğli would not have improved. In terms of tourism, there was no chance because of the natural events, in convenient weather conditions. Ereğli would have remained a run-down fishing town. (Yusuf)

Maybe if we didn't have Erdemir, Ereğli would be an ancient city because the history of Ereğli is really important. Maybe Ereğli would be a way better place today without a huge population. (Aykut)

The city wouldn't be the same without Erdemir. It would be a small town in which the fishery was the main livelihood. Tourism wouldn't be a main industry in Ereğli since the summer season is 2-3 months

here. The economic contribution of Erdemir to the city is great. (Enes)

But I can also comment that it would probably be a tourism city like Akçakoca or Amasra. (Murat)

Even if the privatization didn't happen, I would say it would be better if we hadn't had Erdemir. The city could be a tourism city. Erdemir took a lot of things from Ereğli. Increased the population, demolished the agriculture... It would be a better life without Erdemir. Ereğli was smelling like strawberry, yet Erdemir killed that. Ereğli was able to fulfil its own needs. (Deniz)

The difference existing between the two groups in terms of interpreting the city can be explained as in the following quotation from an old resident:

Now, some people say that it was a village, fishing town... Those people are the ones who came to Ereğli from outside, who doesn't know anything about Ereğli and ignorant, miserable people... They underrate the place... In fact, Ereğli has been a perfect place for centuries. (Aykut)

These interviews revealed that Erdemir significantly affected the unique values of the place. Many of the interviewees told that Erdemir took away the former specificities of the city such as natural beauty, natural resources, and agriculture, and instead, it produced new values for the city. It affected the character of the city by transforming it into an industrial city, changing its demography and population concentration through new immigrant workers, and bringing a new economic structure and lifestyle. Therefore, Erdemir institutionally created a new sense of place in Ereğli, which is slightly different from a sense of place of a coastal town. On the other hand, some of the interviewees indicated that they are not feeling like Erdemir was in good relationship with the city.

The lodgments... They were unapproachable at those times. In the 1960s, the teens at Ereğli weren't allowed to enter the lodgments area as they had private security systems. They were a closed

community in there, like separated from the city. Then they started to integrate with Ereğli; therefore, they contributed the development of the culture in the city and diversified it. (Cengiz)

51% of Erdemir was belong to the government. At those times, it had good relations with the city even it was not as good as we wanted. Erdemir was like a separated community. It had its own, special dining halls, beach, sports centers, wedding places... It was like the military as they also have their special and closed places. The local people were not able to benefit from these facilities only the elites were able to. Also, at some times Erdemir was completely closed to the outside according to the management's approaches (Sefa)

At the same time, Erdemir was also institutionalizing itself. It opened the movie theater, football stadium, and it established the choir. So, a different Erdemir, different life style were started to emerge. A new life had started in Erdemir...For example, English language movies played in Erdemir cinema, so it became a completely different world. Before Erdemir was founded, there had been another world, then we had another world. (Oğuzhan)

Beyond the good or bad relationship between Erdemir and the city, an interviewee told that Erdemir, sometimes, affected the social structure within the city in a negative way.

The effect of Erdemir on social structure is great. Erdemir workers can go to vacation, send their children to the private school... At this time, the rich people in Ereğli such as managers, merchants become angry to see a worker's child in the same classroom with their children. (Hamza)

All of these interviews mainly focused on that Erdemir somehow affected the city, either positively or negatively. These effects were significant effects on the character of the city. The main points that Erdemir affected were education, culture, social life, and the economy of the city. Most of the interviewees' perception was that Erdemir affected the city positively until the privatization. Thus, Erdemir transformed the city into an entirely different form from its previous character. It made the city to rise and grow, and a famous location in the country. On the other hand, Erdemir also positively contributed to the social

cohesion between immigrants and local people in the city. Although the company was the reason for immigrants to come to the city, it made it easier to establish the coherence through the working environment, social features, and relationships it created with the city. Even there are some interviewees told that they were not feeling like Erdemir had been in good relationship with the city, this was not the general opinion.

These interviews also helped to support the study's argument that the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli was affected by Erdemir. As indicated before, the sense of place in the city for the emergence period was in the form of a reactionary sense of place, since the interviewees had focused on unique, introverted, and local features of the city. Moreover, some of the interviewees were named the people as impertinent 'strangers' or 'outsiders' who had said the city could not have been a good place without Erdemir. These also supported the categorization for the reactionary sense of place as exclusionary practices. As conclusion, these are all like the features of a reactionary sense of place.

In this regard, for the emergence period of Kdz. Ereğli, firstly, the place had a single identity, and there was one shared sense of place: a coastal town. Moreover, the sense of place was commonly about the natural beauty, agricultural features, and unique features of the city. Secondly, its historical roots were significant determinants for claiming the value of the city. Lastly, interviewees drew boundaries of the place by mentioning the 'outsiders'. Because of the aforementioned reasons, this can be accepted as a reactionary sense of place.

After the establishment of Erdemir, the sense of place apparently started to change. Moreover, the features of the sense of place also changed. After the establishment, the city became a more diverse, multicultural, and open city. Kdz. Ereğli was always like an open city when compared with the other Anatolian cities; however, this time, it became a more multicultural place with

a lot of new and diverse immigrants inside. It also became an open city because of its reputation around the country as a new industrial city. Erdemir had an impact on this open situation with the new transportation opportunities like new roads and telecommunication, railroads, and the developed port. These opportunities all made the city more opened to the world and new people.

When the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli after Erdemir tried to be conceptualized, it is realized that it shifted from a reactionary sense of place to a progressive sense of place for several reasons. Firstly, the transformation in the city after Erdemir showed that the city is not static but open to change. Social interactions were changed in the city; thus, the place gained a different meaning. Secondly, the city started to demolish its boundaries against the outside by new immigrants. That point looks like controversial, yet there exist clear supporting points to defend this view. Although it had always been an open place for new people who are outsiders, after Erdemir, the migrant workers in the city were no longer outsiders but the new permanent residents of the city. Contrary to previous times such as the mining period, that was the first time that many immigrant people settled down within the city center, not the around, and became permanent residents of the city instead of being temporary guests. Therefore, the city broke the closed local identity to a new, diverse and more open identity; thus, the place became more open. Thirdly, the city gained new identities contrary to the previous single identity such as an industrial town, labor town, and a political center. Lastly, the cities internalized and long historical became less important after Erdemir since the new historical breaking point of the city was determined as the establishment of Erdemir. Although Massey claims that places become more global and inclusive in regard to a progressive sense of place, being progressive and global is also about whether the new incomers interiorize the place or not. In the case of Kdz. Ereğli, it is apparent that the newcomers also interiorized the place as they became to the people of Kdz. Ereğli.

In conclusion, an apparent shift occurred of sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli by the establishment of Erdemir. That is important for the theoretical discussion because it was the shift from a reactionary sense of place to a progressive sense of place; thus, it was a reproduction process of sense of place in urban scale. Moreover, this shift has significance since it was caused by an institution, Erdemir.

4.4. The Sense of Place at Fall of Kdz. Ereğli

Erdemir was established as a publicly-owned corporation in 1960, and it was the first flat steel company in the country. Also, it was established by a particular law, which makes it a state-owned company but being ruled by a consortium, not only by the state (Erdemir, 2019). Furthermore, it was not only a publicly-owned corporation in terms of its ownership, but it was also the primary tool of the government to make investments in the city and the development of it. Erdemir was building and opening schools in the city, directly and indirectly making investments to the city and acting as the state as solving the problems of the city. For instance, because of the Erdemir and the high-income and high-education levels, a lot of private schools have opened in the city. TED College, which is one of the most famous and successful private schools in Turkey, opened in Kdz. Ereğli in 1967 to educating children of the American engineers who were working at Erdemir (TED, 2019). Erdemir was the main actor in fulfilling the needs of the city in any circumstances. Nevertheless, it was taken into the privatization program of the government firstly in 1987 (Hürriyet, 2006), but the final actions were only taken in 2005 to complete the privatization process.

This section provided a brief history of the privatization of Erdemir and about what happened afterward. Newspapers to narrate the privatization process, and the interviews that is conducted to analyze how the privatization affected the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli as the fall period of the city was used. In this

thesis, I named the privatization period and afterward as the fall of the city because of its profoundly adverse effects on the social and economic life of the city. The breaking point of my analyzes is the privatization of Erdemir. I suggested that the privatization of Erdemir changed people's sense of place as it caused the economic and social decline in the city.

4.4.1. Privatization of Erdemir and Afterward

The privatization of Erdemir officially started in 1987 but came to the main agenda of Directorate of Privatization Administration in 2005 (Sendika63, 2005)⁵⁶. The privatization process was conducted as a tendering procedure. At that time, the people of Kdz. Ereğli and workers at Erdemir highly criticized the privatization process. There were many protests were held by unions, workers, municipality, and people of the city during the process. The biggest protest was the march that made on 30 May 2005. There were almost 10.000 people marched against the privatization (Evrensel, 2005).

These protests were highly about the dependence on Erdemir at Ereğli. Besides, it was an economic dependence, as it was explained before, it was also an emotional dependence on Erdemir. On the other hand, most of the people were worrying about selling Erdemir to a foreigner company. It was not just about that the working conditions would be hard under the rule of an international company, but it was also about the apprehensiveness of the labor class considering their working field as a national issue and should remain national. Accordingly, most of the interviewees also intensely highlighted this point. Some of them explained the main breaking point against the resistance for privatization as the appearance of OYAK for a possible buyer.

⁵⁶ The prime minister at 2005, Erdoğan has said that "Erdemir is full of dirty, let's sell it!" (Hürriyet, 2005).

Erdemir came to such a point during the privatization process, I was one of the spokesmen at the assembly that established in the city.. In fact, the city was against the privatization. However, when the national capital vs. foreign capital issue had been emphasized, the resistance in the city was broken. The union was the main responsible for the breaking, also the merchants and the municipality. (Oğuzhan)

The local people didn't want Erdemir to be sold to a foreign company. Everybody was assuming that the company would be sold to a French company. In the meantime, there were some local consortiums established to buy Erdemir. We had many controversies and arguments. (Sefa)

The interviewees all focused on that the resistance to the privatization was broken after the appearance of OYAK at the tender. On the other hand, privatization is still a feeling of a loss for local people because it is a loss of both emotional and economic things.

I think that when we say privatization, privatization is something that is taken from the hands of the state and the nation. (Aykut)

However, Erdemir was privatized on 27th February 2006 and bought by OYAK group (Erdemir, 2019). Afterward, according to interviewees, a lot of people started to think that at least Erdemir was still a company in Turkey.

Finally, we watched everything from televisions, OYAK bought Erdemir and we were happy about that. (Sefa)

The only thing that I am happy about is, at least OYAK bought Erdemir as the only one national company among the other foreign companies. (Aykut)

Truly, it took a piece of me. I really can't accept that the logo changed. (Yusuf)

However, discussions just began right after the privatization. Many of the people in the city were not satisfied with the privatization in regards to the price of the company and the development of Erdemir.

I do not believe that privatization is ever beneficial. (Serhat)

The factory was sold for \$2 billion. As someone who had worked in the factory for many years and knows a little about the market, the value of the material in the finished goods and spare parts warehouses of our factory was more than \$2 billion. Erdemir had started 300,000 tones of the capacity, and the goal is 6,000,000 tones now. We had already achieved 4,000,000 tones before the privatization, yet the company hasn't been improved even in a small scale since the privatization. (Aykut)

The greatness of Erdemir, the local people's embracement for Erdemir workers, the solidarity, the integration, the sharing of cultures... The culture in Ereğli is about to end right now. (Yusuf)

Therefore, after the privatization, the fall period of the city started. Firstly, the monthly wages at Erdemir were decreased 35% below (Radikal, 2009). That was a significant effect on both the families of workers and the crafts at the city. This wage-cut was also highly criticized and protested by people. Then, the company established its own transportation firm and terminated the steel commerce within the city. Steel commerce was one of the crucial sectors for the city as there were nearly 1.000 merchants buying steel from Erdemir to sell it to any other destination of the world. These economic interventions of Erdemir caused the economy to worsening in the city; therefore, a lot of protests were held after the economic depression. The image below is from a protest in front of the Erdemir in 2014 and it shows the massive decrease of merchants after privatization, and high increase in the quantity of execution files against merchants in the city.



Figure 8. Protest in Kdz. Ereğli (Source: OdaTV, 2014)

The increase in the bankruptcy was an extraordinary trajectory and caught the attention of the national mainstream press⁵⁷. One of the interviewees explained what happened in the city afterward the privatization as quoted below:

When I look at it today, I can't see the city where it deserves. For example, while the city had already met the requirements for being a province, it could not be developed in terms of economy and tourism. By the time Erdemir had started production in 1965, an economic rapid development was experienced. However, the collapse began with the privatization of the institution in 2006. When compared to the past, those that has changed in Ereğli are... The city migration rate turned to negative, we are losing our people... Young people who go to university education do not return, instead they go to other cities to work or even abroad, and retired people commonly move to the Aegean region. (Murat)

Also, according to some of the interviewees, some changes happened in the Erdemir after privatization. The most highlighted change was the change in the working environment and culture in Erdemir.

⁵⁷ The number of execution file was nearly 35.000 in 2013 according to Hurriyet (2013), and reached 60.300 in 2014 according to Sabah (2014).

The people, who had been working in Erdemir for a long time, could have guessed whose child you are. I know a lot of people who worked as three generations at Erdemir. Unfortunately, this culture has ended by privatization. The connection between Erdemir and Ereğli was also lost after privatization. Truly, it took a piece of me. I really can't accept that the logo changed. (Yusuf)

These quotations and the news, which is referred before, show that Erdemir significantly affected the city during the privatization process and afterward. Because of the privatization the local economy worsened and people felt bad due to the privatization as it was a loss in their lives. Moreover, the working environment in Erdemir was also negatively affected. However, the most apparent effects were on the economy. The cutoffs in wages and interventions to the local steel merchants greatly harmed the economic life of the city, and that explains why I used the term fall of Kdz. Ereğli. Furthermore, some of the newspapers also used the phrase in their titles as "A city that has fallen like this (Radikal, 2013)" and "Privatization ends this city (OdaTV, 2014)."

4.4.2. Erdemir's Attitude to Kdz. Ereğli After the Privatization

The privatization of Erdemir was the breaking point for the future of the city because it also affected the company's actions in the city. While, before, it was acting like the main actor in the city, the company started to act as if the city and people are not important for it. This situation was absolutely about the difference in management approaches between a private company and a publicly-owned corporation.

During the interviews, most of the interviewees told the same stories about Erdemir and its privatization from different perspectives, and they emphasized the similar points. The common sense among the interviewees was that Erdemir let the city down, turned its back to the city and kept its hands off from the city. One interviewee also mentioned that the mutual relationship between the city and Erdemir was broken down.

The greatness of Erdemir, the local people's embracement for Erdemir workers, the solidarity, the integration, the sharing of cultures... The culture in Ereğli is about to end right now. (Yusuf)

Erdemir turned its back to the city not only for economic life but also regarding the contributions for social life.

When the 51% of Erdemir was belong to the government, it was greatly contributing to social life in Ereğli through its movie theater, dining halls, restaurants, the social aid that they did to villages... Now its zero! It has no contributions anymore. The only contribution to social life is, the personnel earn their money from Erdemir and then spend it at Ereğli. There is no direct contribution of the company anymore. (Aykut)

As was mentioned before, Erdemir was acting as the protector of the city and it has changed after privatization. For example, it cut off the daily food allowances of the city orphanage.

After the privatization, Erdemir started to prioritize the profit; therefore, stood back from the social aid. They cut off the aid for orphanage. They were providing the food for orphanage, but then they said that they wouldn't continue to do that. It caused a big reaction; it was really strange for us. They tried to charge public schools for water and electricity. We're not allowed to enter the dining halls, restaurants, even the beach. The gym and sport facilities that they have are empty now. They also closed the sports clubs. (Sefa)

After 2006, they analyzed the structure and culture in Erdemir. After 6 or 7 years, they established culture groups the change the culture at Erdemir with OYAK culture. (Ömer)

Anyway, that's it. The people broke off from social life after the privatization. There are many people working in Erdemir but they don't employ as many workers as the technology has increased. Gradually they began to reduce staff. Then they moved the general directorate to Istanbul, Ereğli was the general directorate for the company. There were also steel traders who take the steel from the factory to sell elsewhere. But after the privatization Erdemir said, "No, brother, I'm not giving steel to anyone anymore, I'm going to

sell it by my own. I don't want you to get in here, and I'm gonna do the transportation." Therefore, the company monopolized and put everything into his own hands. Erdemir does not do anything to Ereğli anymore, it turned its back. METU, ITU, Bilkent graduates were coming to work in the factory as very high-quality people before, but now they are not coming. The company began to break away from the people, and it's broken now. Now the Erdemir workers go to restaurant and pay 20-25 Turkish Liras for eating, while the outsiders pay the twice. (Ömer)

By the time Erdemir had been privatized, the headquarters of the company was moved to Istanbul. It also demolished the steel traders and their industry, there were almost 2,000 steel traders in the city. It terminated the sports clubs, shut down the cinema, gym... It ended all of the social contributions to the city. Now, there is an Erdemir which no one can benefit from it. (Oğuzhan)

There was a management policy in Erdemir. Erdemir had a mission, it was meeting the needs of the social shareholders at utmost. The social shareholders were the people of Ereğli. For example, Erdemir was helping to municipality during the festivals, supporting many of the social facilities, schools... Now, it is doing these things after calculating the costs. So, the difference between before and after is huge. Now, we have an Erdemir in Ereğli which completely aims to profit and which forgot about its missions for the city. (Hamza)

They were helping to their workers for the price of wedding saloon, but now they don't. Also, there is nothing social that is open to people now. Even the beach is closed. (Enes)

All of these interviews showed that Erdemir has significantly altered its attitude after privatization. As a publicly-owned corporation, Erdemir acted as a government for the needs of the city for years. It built schools, helped the people and cared for the city more than today. Here, the study aims to show that privatization greatly affected the relationship between Erdemir and the city. If the city is a single-industry town, the industry becomes the dominant actor in the city; and if the company is publicly-owned, the power and the effect of the company on the city increases. However, it becomes a devastating issue if the company is privatized after a long period. Because the managerial

approaches of a state-owned company and a private company are quietly different, the privatization affects the single-industry towns in many aspects.

That is what happened to Kdz. Ereğli after the privatization. The private company management could not maintain the same relationship with the city. They cut off the wages and the donations to the city, they moved-out the head office from Kdz. Ereğli to Istanbul, they shut down the sports clubs, etc. These were all impacted people's thoughts on Erdemir, therefore, collective memory, and therefore, the sense of place.

4.4.3. People's Thoughts on Erdemir After the Privatization

The privatization dramatically changed people's perceptions and thoughts on Erdemir. The interviews conducted within the scope of this study are significant because they clearly show how people's perceptions and feelings on the company have changed right after privatization. Therefore, the interviews also showed how the sense of place affected by privatization.

Privatization has significantly impacted life in the city and those effects were quite apparent in social life. Thus, people started reacting against Erdemir. Those reactions were mostly criticisms about the company's adverse effects on air quality, natural resources, and social life. As an inference from the interviews, it is important that except for the economic issues, Erdemir had been affecting the air and nature nearly as the same after the privatization, yet people mostly started to criticize these problems after the privatization. It has two importance regarding this study: Firstly, it shows that people started to change their positions regarding Erdemir and the city after they looked back to the past, and reevaluated the history. They were not criticizing Erdemir before the privatization in means of the same issues; however, they changed the position and even started to think about what they might have been wrong about Erdemir for the whole time. That was an important breaking point for

people. Secondly, through the criticisms on Erdemir after the privatization, people also started to inquire about the city's future and they questioned the decision to become an industrial town. That also had significance in regards to changing sense of place, because that was the questioning for the legitimacy of the transformation of the city.

It is polluting the air here. I mean, I'm from Ereğli and Erdemir owe to here. I watch it at nights, it releases the gases from the chimneys. They don't do the periodic maintenance and they don't change the filters at the chimneys because they are expensive, yet they don't care about the pollution. (Ömer)

Especially after the privatization, the cancer rates have dramatically increased. Even my wife had the breast cancer because of the polluted air here. For sure, also Chernobyl affected the region in respect of cancer rates. My son is an oncologist and he said that he had a lot of patients from Ereğli. (Sefa)

Erdemir also harmed the Ottoman Strawberry in Ereğli. It was a special type of strawberry, and many people tell that Ereğli was completely smelling like that strawberry. But now, we can't grow strawberry because of the Erdemir. (Hamza)

One of the interviewees explained his criticisms by providing a reason for them. That was, as mentioned before, mostly about the privatization. The interviewee told that he knew that Erdemir had done good things and bad things to the city. However, he was also aware that Erdemir had taken back the good things from the city after the privatization.

Erdemir both made good things and bad things to Ereğli. Firstly, it provided tens of thousands of jobs for people who earned good money and went to good schools. However, it made a really bad thing also: it poisoned, killed us. Erdemir built social facilities, provided and supported cultural and art activities; however, took all of them back by the privatization. (Oğuzhan)

It was better before the privatization. Erdemir limited the social rights and opportunities after the privatization. (Samet)

Another interviewee revealed that the local dependence on Erdemir continues. The strength of the local dependence makes people feel gratitude for Erdemir even if it is harming the city. The previous economic contribution of Erdemir is still the most important issue for some of the people.

The contributions of Erdemir to Ereğli before the privatization are undeniable. They were perfect in regards to economic, social, cultural supports. However, it is not the same after the privatization. For instance, the movie theater is closed, the sports clubs are terminated... Anyhow, Erdemir is still important for that city and it will always be as there are still people who are working at Erdemir. (Murat)

Erdemir and the city had a two-sided relation. So, it was not only Erdemir that gave something to the city. Also, the people of the city sacrificed a lot of things for Erdemir such as the city's nature, their health, and their precious labor.

Erdemir gave schools, sports fields, cultural and social facilities, and jobs to the city, and the people gave their labor to Erdemir. Erdemir also created jobs for traders in the city. (Oğuzhan)

However, people also felt like the relationship is broken down after privatization. People have become aware that they sacrificed many things for Erdemir and interviewees were also focused on that issue. This change in Erdemir was significant because it showed that people do not feel any emotional dependence on it anymore. Therefore, they started criticizing what they gave to Erdemir and what Erdemir gave them back. Privatization made people inquire about their relationship with Erdemir.

There were steel traders, other side-companies, sports clubs until the privatization. For instance, I was one of the boxers at the company's club. Erdemir was creating opportunities for us. However, Erdemir also took something from us while providing these good things. We have the air pollution now. It took the natural life from us. Ereğli gave everything for free to Erdemir, and Erdemir gave jobs in return. However, it also took something valuable for

free: our health, nature, sea... Every child who will be born here is under the risk of having the asthma. (Oğuzhan)

We cannot say that Erdemir belongs to us. Why? Because I cannot say that until Erdemir starts to care about the people who live in that area. (Cengiz)

Because of the privatization, people started to realize the adverse effects of Erdemir. Its negative effects were not only about pollution, but also the market within the city.

Erdemir is both beneficial and harmful for Ereğli. It is harmful because it determines the market prices in the city through the salaries. The salaries are higher than the minimum wage outside of Erdemir; however, it causes the increase of the prices for all of the people. (Hamza)

One interviewee, who still works in Erdemir, stated a different view about the relationship between Erdemir and the city. He highlighted that this was normal for a private company to act like this; moreover, people should have thanked Erdemir for its previous contributions.

Erdemir has done everything to Ereğli for the last 50 years. From now on, people should think about what they can do for Ereğli on their own. (Deniz)

We have earned money from Erdemir, we have sent our children to good schools, we have had good retirement conditions thanks to Erdemir. It has been really beneficial for us. (Samet)

It was also highlighted by another interviewee that the emotional relation with Erdemir has broken down after the privatization.

We could say that Erdemir was a family, before. A family of Erdemir... But now, the friends who work at Erdemir cannot say it anymore... It is OYAK now, not Erdemir family... (Enes)

There was a culture like Erdemir culture in Ereğli since the establishment of Erdemir. However, after the privatization it started to be gone. (Serhat)

Some of the interviewees also shared their ideas about what would happen if Erdemir was not privatized.

Erdemir shouldn't have been privatized because it could have been pioneer for the region. It could have promoted the organized industrial sites; therefore, it might have provided new job opportunities for the development of the region. At this point, today we have an Erdemir here that releases poisonous gases from its chimneys. My children and I are breathing those gases, but I am not able find a job for my children at Erdemir. (Oğuzhan)

The adverse effects of Erdemir came to light after its privatization. Some interviewees think that it would be better in the name the city if Erdemir had never been established. That is the most powerful indicator of the changing sense of place. After long years, people started to look back to the history of the city and make a judgment of what happened to the city since the establishment of Erdemir until the privatization of it. It is an important consequence of privatization that people started to inquire about what happened to their city. However, this inquiry only came to the agenda after privatization because privatization negatively affected people's living in the city.

The city could have been rich without Erdemir. What happened after Erdemir? Discrimination has started, the social balance has broken. Some people earned a lot of money, while others were working for minimum wage.... I had asked that question for many times to myself, then I made my decision. I wish we hadn't had Erdemir never ever. I wish would remain virgin, there would be tourism... I wish we had hotels and beaches here. All of those places were beaches when I was a kid. It could be better I think, we wouldn't have that much immigration also. (Hamza)

However, their negative thoughts on Erdemir were clearly about the privatization of the company. The privatization broke down the mutual relationship between the city and the company. Thus, some of the interviewees said they would still want the presence of Erdemir if it was not privatized.

The privatization... I would say I want Erdemir if it was not privatized because Erdemir was sharing its revenues with people at those times... Sharing with both with workers and local people. (Hamza)

The privatization also affected local dependence. Some interviewees indicated that they do not want their children to work here, anymore. Thus, their dependence on the city and company started to be broken.

It was like that at those times. Now, after all of those things, you cannot find anyone to think about that. I don't want my children to either stay here or work at Erdemir. (Enes)

Finally, the privatization affected the sense of place in the city. After privatization, the weakened relationship between Erdemir and the city changed people's ideas about the city's specificities. The weakened feeling and commitment to being an industrial city caused looking for new roles and identities for the city. Therefore, people started to look for a new role for the city as a touristic place preferable to an industrial city. That was one of the critical shifts of sense of place, caused by the institutionally mediated sense of place. After people's relationship had become weakened with Erdemir, they started to looking for a new identity for the place and for a new sense of place, as well.

For the last three years, we have been working on tourism opportunities for Ereğli. We are trying to add Ereğli to tourism routes. However, it is too hard to change it right now because Ereğli made its decision at the 1960s as becoming an industrial city. (Mert)

It was also highlighted during the interviews that the destiny of the city had been determined by the establishment of Erdemir. At that time, the city decided to become an industrial city, and this situation cannot be reversed today. One of the interviewees showed that there is also regret about being dependent on Erdemir for years. Because Erdemir had given everything to the city since the establishment, the city attached itself to Erdemir and relied on it. However, the privatization took Erdemir from the city and weakened the relationship between them. Therefore, the people realized that it might have been a mistake to only relying on Erdemir for years.

To conclude, it is obvious that people's thoughts and feelings about Erdemir have changed after the privatization because of two reasons. Firstly, the sense of ownership of Erdemir changed; thus, people started to feel like Erdemir does not belong to them. The second reason is about Erdemir's approach to the city and people after privatization. The company's harmful socio-economic interventions to the city made people take a reaction against the situation. Therefore, they started the inquiry negative impacts of Erdemir on the city and to judge who gave what for this relationship. However, most of the interviewees emphasized that they could not ignore the contributions of Erdemir, yet.

4.5. Institutional Reproduction of Sense of Place

Sense of place is about the perception of a place, in short. In the previous sections, it is explained how people perceive the place, how their perceptions were changing, and what the main actors are for the sense of place. All the data in hand revealed that Erdemir is the main actor for the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli. Furthermore, Erdemir was the shifting power for changing the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli, from a reactionary one to a progressive one.

Massey, Tuan, Harvey, Relph, and many geographers have argued that sense of place is the relation between human and nature, place, or locations.

However, here it should be focused on the shifts in the sense of place and causes for that. Therefore, institutions would be added as a factor for analyzing sense of place. Institutions are important entities in urban areas as they could have tremendous power on the city to shape its identity, character, unique or non-unique features, history, demography, and socio-economic structure. These institutions might be public organizations such as a municipality or civil initiatives such as NGOs, or companies. In each case, they could achieve different levels of power and they might affect the place because of distinct reasons. However, this study focuses on a company; furthermore, a former publicly-owned corporation which has been privatized after 40 years in a single-industry town.

Basically, institutional reproduction of sense of place refers to the transformation of sense of place through the effects of institutions. In my opinion, the institutional reproduction of the sense of place is a significant concept to understand the relation between city and company in single-industry towns. Single-industry towns are exceptional cases because their economic and social life mostly depends on one major industrial company. In this kind of city, most of the residents earn their money from the same company, work together as close co-workers, live together in same or close public housings, go to work together and leave together. Moreover, their families become closer, and their children mostly go to the same school, even they study in the same class. These kinds of relations create an industry-centered environment. It means the relations at the working place reflects on social life. Moreover, the company becomes the main actor in every aspect of the city. It acts like sub-government to solve the problems, support the people, and provide and preserve wealth. The relationship between people, the city, and the company becomes a unique and valuable relationship if that is a single-industry town. For instance, the Republic of Turkey has used publicly-owned corporations since the early period of the republic for both the economic development of the country and the socio-economic development of those

cities or regions. These companies were acting like main actors and sub-governments to share the burden of the central government. After for a while, the state-owned companies became responsible for local needs which is the exact case in Kdz. Ereğli.

However, as I had claimed that institutional reproduction of sense of place is a fact, which changes the sense of place in urban areas, I had to provide tools for analyzing that effect of institutions. Therefore, I used local dependence and collective memory, which I argued the theoretical details in theoretical framework, to provide the better understanding for how the institutions change and affect the sense of place. In the following part, I revealed how Erdemir affected the collective memory in the city from its establishment to privatization; therefore, how the sense of place has changed.

The study suggested that the sense of place completely changed after the establishment of Erdemir and the transformation started to be questioning after the privatization. There are pieces of evidences that show the sense of place is changing in the city again; however, the new sense of place after privatization is not categorized as it is still on progress. The most important part is, I argue that Erdemir has done all of these shifts because of its effects on collective memory and local dependence.

4.6. Institutionally Mediated Collective Memory

It is previously mentioned that place dependence is one of the crucial components for producing a sense of place since it has significant effects on one's relationship with place. From the perspectives of Stokols & Shumaker (1981), it refers to the satisfaction of a place for someone's needs, rather than any other place (Nanzer, 2004, p. 365) which is a rational evaluation that people made (Backlund & Williams, 2004, p. 321). Also, it is similar to the local dependence concept of Kevin Cox and Andrew Mair (1988). For them, social

relations are being produced in spaces/places, and they are interrelated (Cox & Mair, 1991, p. 199). Therefore, these two terms in the same meanings is used within the scope this study.

In addition to that, Urry (1985, p. 39, 40) argues, spatial issues affect the characteristics of society. Cox & Mair (1988, p. 312) suggested that the strongest local identities are shown in mining towns or single-industry towns, that it matters where one lives and where one works in regards to one's identity and interpretation of place. In single-industry towns or mostly mining towns, most of the people work in the same factory or company, and then most of them live together in social houses or labor dwellings built by the company. Thus, their social identities became stronger and affected by each other. They work together, and they live together. They become neighbors, family friends, sidekicks, and even confidants. Their children go to the same schools and probably in the same classes. Thus, they become more than work follows. Their tight relationship impacts their self and local identities. Moreover, if they are working in hard conditions like heavy industry or mining, they become more dependent on each other because of the risks at work. The dependence also reflected on their out of work life. That is also seen in the field study. The interviewees repeatedly highlighted the culture and solidarity at Erdemir:

There was Anadolu culture at Erdemir. There were a few people from Ereğli, working in Erdemir. There was massive participation from Anatolia. Erdemir was the yeast of Turkey. (Yusuf)

It is important to have inner peace while working in heavy industry. I was a team leader. I was following all of the movements of each people at my team. I will solve their problems if they have any. Because they have to have inner peace. (Deniz)

As Cox & Mair suggested, the identities in Kdz. Ereğli are also strong as in mining towns. Erdemir causes this as the one industry in the city; thus, a single-industry reshapes the identity relations in a city. On the other hand, the city

met with the labor class because of Erdemir. Even the area was also a mining area for years, the miners were not living close to city center and the mines were not in the city. Therefore, Erdemir created a labor class within the city center; therefore, it affected the lifestyle, culture, political thoughts, and local politics of the city.

When the Workers' Party of Turkey established here, the people who worked in the building of Erdemir participated in it. At the same time, there was also an intelligentsia that occurred in the city. That is also related to the establishment of the Workers' Party of Turkey. Here, the people from Workers' Part of Turkey were leading the social life, trade union movements, and the movements for seeking rights. DEVGENÇ, Workers' Party of Turkey and The Movement of Left-of-Centre mostly became apparent in Ereğli. (Oğuzhan)

The main reason for being politicized for Ereğli in the 1970s is Erdemir. In those years, there was not any other city like Ereğli which contains that much laborers inside. Erdemir affected the transformation of the social and political structure in the city. (Melih)

The Workers' Party of Turkey was established here in 1963. Ereğli was almost one of the first places where the party has been established. (Abidin)

On the other hand, some interviewees stated that there was solidarity within Erdemir, although political diversity.

How could you be cross with each other? You are from revolutionist union, your co-worker from the fascist union. You have to trust him for your life, how could you fight? Erdemir has a significant effect on today's political structure. (Deniz)

In those years, there was an intensive labor class at Erdemir. While there were lots of fights against labors all around the country, there was no big issue at Ereğli. (Cengiz)

There is also one another essential and exciting effect of Erdemir. As it has mentioned before, Erdemir created a new and different labor class within the

city. This class was not familiar with the labor politics before, yet the nature of working in heavy industry and being an organized and massive amount of working-class affected workers' political and social thoughts. Nevertheless, this created a unique mixture of Anatolian culture and an organized labor culture. The labor consciousness and class conflicts at Erdemir, which were mostly fed by unions, emerged a new figure: the Anatolian type of organized labor class. This situation is quite visible in the city; thus, anyone could observe that fact in any part of the city. It is fair to say that Kdz. Ereğli has been a place of the mixture of cultural Islam and social democracy as one interviewee explained as in the quotation:

I am only graduated from primary school. The union was sending us to the training camps. At one of these camps, a teacher told us that everything comes from nature. He was trying to teach evolution, but it was against our thoughts and beliefs. Thus, I told him that: 'The pencil in your hands is found as a tree in nature. There should be labor to transform it into a pencil. It's like we do to the steel. So, it cannot be done without labor and effort. Well then, how the world could be made without labor and effort? In this regard, can't we say that the most prominent labor is Allah?' (Deniz)

Not only the politics of labor class but also the diversity of origins of labors affected the political and social life of the city. The people who immigrated to the city for work at Erdemir created different neighborhoods to be organized, tried to be effective in local politics, and created a multicultural structure in the city.

The immigration changed the political structure of Ereğli, too. The people from Kars, Ardahan, Gümüşhane collected under the associations. Thus, they directed the local politics through mayor elections, city councils... Therefore, Erdemir affected the political life in Ereğli. It gave diversity to the politics of Ereğli. (Hamza)

The working conditions in a heavy industry factory is harsh. These factories have high rates of deadly work-accidents. The hardness of the work itself and

the life risks create a unique, tight, and strong relationship among labors in heavy industries.

In heavy industry, there is no chance to become permanently disabled after an industrial accident. You would die. It will be worse if you become permanently disabled. (Hamza)

Furthermore, if the company is a single industry in the city, the relationship among the workers begins to affect the whole city. Therefore, the industry shapes the character, culture, identities, and relations within the city. It has also been seen in Kdz. Ereğli.

Can you imagine, a person who was a farmer in Anatolia comes to the Erdemir and has a voice on the heavy industry of Turkey. Why? Through the culture, he gets from Erdemir, the taste he gets from his work, the taste he gets from Ereğli. That is because of the solidarity at Erdemir. (Yusuf)

I am graduated from primary school, but I can discuss Mao, Marx, Lenin with you. I know them. I learned them in Erdemir. We even got our driving licenses at Erdemir. Erdemir educated us. You can be more educated compared to me in regards to a diploma. But I am more cultured rather than you, because of Erdemir. (Deniz)

The children of the people, who even got their primary school diplomas thanks to Erdemir, now working at the top working fields in Turkey. I have two children, one of them is an environmental engineer, and the other one is a mechanical engineer. That is because of Erdemir. (Yusuf)

Erdemir is a school. You can ask whomever you want; they will all say the same thing. (Enes)

Erdemir aspired to rule the city, too. Erdemir rules the politics of the city. You cannot document this. Erdemir became a structure that controls everything in the city. At least, it was ruling the unions. (Oğuzhan)

We have learned the concept of the union at our childhood. Because of the Erdemir. (Mert)

Then, Ereğli became a mixed, messy place. It was nothing like before. This period is too way different. It is a time that everybody has an identity crisis. (Oğuzhan)

Dependence to Erdemir was mostly related to modern local dependence as Cox & Mair (1988) conceptualized. Modern local dependence is generally the dependence produced by working opportunities, career and future projections at a particular place. If a place provides better conditions to one for working, career or wage, and if one rationally prefers to live here, it makes that dependence on the modern type of local dependence.

I did not think to leave Ereğli. That is both, because of the education of my children and my dependence to the Ereğli and Erdemir. I could not ignore Ereğli and Erdemir. Then I did not leave. My children also stayed here. My daughter works in Erdemir now. It is proud of me. They all say that 'are you the daughter of' when they see her at work. That is the culture of Erdemir. That is the relation of the people who work in Erdemir. That is culture. (Yusuf)

The dependence was also produced by the working system in Erdemir. It was a usual thing to work in Erdemir if one's father was working there now or worked in Erdemir before. Therefore, Erdemir became a dependence on the future, too. Although that situation was negatively affected by privatization, it is still an essential factor for dependence to Erdemir.

Two of my children work in Erdemir. One of them still working, the other one recently retired. (Aykut)

I told my children that work in Erdemir if you do not want to go to a college. But if you want to go to college, do not come back to Erdemir. (Deniz)

One of the interviewees told an example of the shift from traditional local dependence to modern local dependence. The traditional local dependence is mostly produced by familial, religious, or ethnic values. On the other hand, a

modern local dependency is not related to that type of relations. Instead, it highlights more rational relations and dependencies.

Before, the people could say guess that whose son or daughter you are When they look at their ID cards. I know some people work in Erdemir 3 generations. We lost this relationship today. Today, the engineer does not know even you. The children from here also do not work here. (Hamza)

There is also another significant effect of Erdemir on Ereğli, in regards to producing local dependence and sense of place. By the construction of Erdemir, a lot of workers had come into the city to work in construction. This situation had created an enormous diversity in the social structure of Ereğli instantly. However, most of them stayed in Ereğli after the construction, as a worker of Erdemir. Therefore, they had started to become a real part of the city; they had started to being settled, socialized with the local people. Even sometimes, they had some conflicts with local people of Ereğli; there had not a significant conflict seen in the history of the city. By this, Erdemir became the main linking actor between local people and immigrants. The people who became a part of Erdemir started to become a part of Ereğli, too.

Firstly, I am an immigrant child, I came to Ereğli as a children of immigrant family who had come here for job. Then, I am a part of that city. I mean, I am a part of social and economic structures of that city. I was born in 1961. When my family came here, they thought that it was temporary. They were thinking about working, earning money then go back. They didn't think about settling here, yet then the construction of Erdemir completed and my brothers found job in the company. Therefore, whole family moved in to that city because of the job. As being a part of everything in that city, I am also a part of Erdemir because it is the cause of my existence here. (Oğuzhan)

About the 1970s, firstly one of our relatives came to here, then he took my uncle, my dad... We settled down because of Erdemir. I am originally from Kars but I can say that I am from Ereğli because I was born here, I have lived here, I'm earning my money here...

There is nothing to do with that, I feel like I'm from Ereğli already. (Enes),

For my opinion the most important thing is where you live, not where you were born. Everyone who lives in that city is a person of this city. Thanks to Erdemir, the third generation of immigrants who came to Ereğli for working are living here now. Most of the people in Ereğli were born in here finally who have never seen their fathers' or grandfathers' hometowns. Being a fellow countryman is all about sharing the same place, drinking the same water, and consuming the same air. (Murat)

Some of the interviewees also highlighted the unifying effect of Erdemir. After its establishment, Erdemir created an institutional culture and built tight relationships among workers. Then, the company reflected this culture and these relationships to the city through its workers. Moreover, Erdemir reflected its emotional relation to the city through its contributions to the city's social, cultural, and economic life; therefore, some interviewees explained the effects of Erdemir on the culture and lifestyle of the city.

The fact that the social life in Ereğli is so alive is a consequence of Erdemir. (Melih)

The culture at Erdemir reflected on Ereğli, the civilizations that we call as Anatolian culture... Today we celebrate Nowruz here. We started to teach everything about our culture, what Kete is, what the etli ekmek is, what the çif köfte is... My friend from Konya, from Antep taught us what they are through family connections and relations out of work. (Yusuf)

There was a perfect harmonization at Erdemir. It was connected to the local people. It had the movie theater, beach, theater stage... It was organizing social events at nights. People were going to movie theater with their families at every weekend... Not only the people from Erdemir but also the local people of Ereğli... (Sefa)

The ID card of Erdemir was like a credit card. Erdemir workers were respected by all of the people at the city. (Deniz)

I found my personality, myself, because of Erdemir. We call it as Erdemir culture, which is culture of Ereğli right now. (Cengiz)

The dependence on Erdemir also lies in the single-industry town character of Kdz. Ereğli. By the transformation from a coastal town to an industrial city, people in the city changed their economic and social habits. They started to become labors in Erdemir rather than being farmers at their lands. That transformation also increased the dependence on Erdemir, too.

Chicken and eggs were being sent to Istanbul from here by ships at every week. We were sending strawberry at its season. The peasants became lazy because of Erdemir. (Ogün)

At the first times, the local people of Ereğli didn't show interest in Erdemir. Since they had been doing agriculture they didn't want to work at the company. They were earning more money from agriculture. But after the 1980s, the increasing demand for steel in the country also increased the demand for laborers at Erdemir. Then, Erdemir increased its profits; therefore, offered more money for workers. (Hamza)

The famous liquor company at Istanbul, which is demolished now, were producing the most beautiful strawberry liquor by the strawberry coming from Ereğli. (Aykut)

There were plenty of vegetables. We were growing vegetables at the field of the company before. There was no financial difficulty. Our Ereğli was a good and historical place. The sea was completely clean. Nevertheless, the air has polluted because of Erdemir. (Samet)

During the 1970s, the local people were not working at Erdemir, they were earning more money from agriculture. However, when Erdemir started to harm the agriculture, local people also started to work at Erdemir because their income level was decreased. (Deniz)

But local people are always the same at everywhere. They think that they have their lands, their houses, gardens here. On the contrary, the immigrants live as tenants, they try to build their lives for themselves and families. Trade is really weak among local Ereğli people. There is no merchant who is originally from Ereğli today. (Abidin)

There is also a conscientious dependence on Erdemir, which means a feeling that derives from a sense of obligation. Most of the interviewees stated that

they feel grateful to Erdemir. Although they criticize its adverse effects on both the economy and health today, they mostly have gratitude to Erdemir because they pointed out that Erdemir had always provided them a beautiful life, education or future.

I had a comfortable childhood. I mean, because of the high salaries at Erdemir, which were above than the national average, we all had perfect childhood. We got that all we wanted; we travelled a lot. The situation is different now. (Enes)

My father is a retiree from Erdemir, my uncle as well, also a lot of relatives. At the end, we earned our money from Erdemir, we can't deny that. We also benefited from its social features. (Murat)

I would see a blank, white picture. Believe me, I have always been looking for the smoke coming from the chimneys of Erdemir either when I was working and after I retired to be sure about that production still continues. Today, we are less people who care about that, a lot of us have left already. (Yusuf)

The private school opened, there were perfect teachers at the school. The students who studied there with those teachers have become very successful today. They are graduated from best universities at İstanbul and Ankara, and they are working at higher levels at the government. (Samet)

If we didn't have Erdemir here, Ereğli wouldn't be the Ereğli today. Before anything else, I wouldn't be here. I'm only graduated from high school, yet I traveled all of the Europe because of Erdemir. Erdemir improved me. I have seen the whole Anatolia lands and I have lived together with Anatolian people at Erdemir. (Yusuf)

4.7. Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter tries to analyze how people perceive the effects of Erdemir in their lives. The field study conducted revealed that Erdemir affected the city and people in many different ways. The significant effects of Erdemir on education, local culture, identity, local politics, and economic life undeniable. Erdemir affected both the workers' education and their children's,

created and shaped the local culture through providing a multicultural environment at work. Moreover, it reflected the culture of the city as it was the one industry of the city, and as most of the people living in the city were working there. It also affected the local politics of the city in two ways: through affecting the real politics of the city at local elections and affecting the political education of people by unionization.

Although these are not considered as directly related to the sense of place, they are essential components of it because the sense of place is a product of collective memory. Erdemir and its effects on people and the city determined the local dependence; therefore, it shaped the collective memory. Moreover, the educational and cultural opportunities that Erdemir had created in the city changed people's identities. Therefore, the institution affected people's understanding of the world, social relations, political approaches, etc. They are all critical to producing a sense of place because they all affect the human's perception of their surroundings. Thus, the sense of place is mostly about the human's perception of its environment and surroundings. That had created Erdemir as a vital component for a sense of place in the city in two aspects: affecting the local dependence and shaping collective memory. Through these effects, Erdemir shaped the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli. However, since the sense of place, is a progress which is always ongoing, Erdemir's effects on sense of place in the city couldn't be remained as the same.

From the establishment until today, Erdemir has affected the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli. It can be asserted that, through the field study and the study's theoretical suggestions are institutional reproduction of sense of place and institutionally mediated collective memory. The field study revealed the shift of sense of place in years in the city; moreover, it showed that the shifts have been directly related to Erdemir, the major institution in the city. As a coastal town before the 1960s, Kdz. Ereğli was a small-populated, considerably developed but mostly an agricultural area. The coal mines and the mining

activities around the city did not affect the city as much as Erdemir because Erdemir was located near to the city and the worker population was almost equal to the city's whole population. Contrary to the mining period, the establishment of Erdemir affected directly the city for the first time. Also, although the city had always been a coastal town, and had always been open to foreigners, Erdemir caused a permanently settled foreigner community in the city; therefore, extended and diversified the city's identity. Furthermore, Erdemir created a proper industrial city through the labor population, the major role in the city, and the social and economic effects on it from a coastal town. It opened the city not just to the country but also to the world as it caused the city to be more known; however, it changed the major features of the city by doing so.

The contributions of Erdemir to the city continued until the privatization. However, by the privatization of the company, everything regarding the city started to change again. The city faced with economic and social declining because of the company's new attitudes for the city and its workers. The cut-offs and dismissals unsettled the local economic structure; moreover, the company shut down most of the social facilities and stopped the social aid for the city. This put the city in another situation different from the previous industrial city character. People started to blame Erdemir and its effects on the city and started to think about a different future for the city. Instead of being an industrial city, some people tried to find the solution in looking for a new character and identity for the city such as a holiday destination. Therefore, it is fair to say that the sense of place in the city has started to change again in a different form. This situation is different from the previous shifts and transformations regarding the sense of place as the collective memory which is still being established after the privatization, and the people are still in the process of creating the sense of place. Erdemir institutionally reproducing the sense of place in the city, again. Since the privatization, people have been looking for new characters and a new future for the city as they have been

mentioned before. The most important feature of privatization is, the complexity that it made in the city regarding the sense of place. There have been existing criticisms, reevaluations, and regrets about the company and the history of the city. Some of the people have been thinking about transforming the city as a new holiday destination, which is promoting the natural beauties and historical values and uniqueness of the city. These are pointing the reactionary sense of place, again. However, this time the difference between the reactionary and the progressive sense of place is not as clear as it was before. Because it is not completely promoting exclusionary and introverted feelings. Some of the people want to open the city to the world, change the industrial character of the city, while others dream about a smaller and preserved place. Some interviewees expressed their regret about Erdemir and the development of the city when they looked back to the 1960s from today. Although they were thinking about the contributions of the company in the past, privatization led some people to reevaluate the past because of the negative consequences of the place. That situation caused a complicated environment regarding the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli.



Figure 9. The Periods for Sense of Place in Kdz. Ereğli

In regards to categorizing sense of place, the two prominent theories were used for the concept: the reactionary sense of place and the progressive sense of place. Although this study aims to reveal the shifts of sense of place and highlight the reasons for them, it would also be a valuable contribution to the literature to categorizing the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli by using these two theories. To determine the shifts of the sense of place, the field study was utilized and the characteristics were summarized as in the table below. Another important point is that the study also revealed the breaking points for

the city as the establishment of Erdemir -the starting point of the rise of the city- and the privatization of Erdemir -the starting point of the fall of the city⁵⁸.

Table 12. The Changing Sense of Place in Kdz. Ereğli

Period	The Components of the Sense of Place	Categorization of the Sense of Place
Emergence (Before the 1960s)	History, unique features such as agriculture, natural sources and beauty, being a coastal town, not diverse.	The Reactionary Sense of Place
Rise (After the 1960s until 2006)	Erdemir, industry, labor city, opened to the country and the world, multicultural and diverse, economically and socially strong.	The Progressive Sense of Place
Fall (After 2006)	Economically and socially collapsed, regret about past and being an industrial city, looking for new identities. Positive thoughts about being a future holiday destination. At the same time, criticizing the development of the city.	The Reactionary Sense of Place + The Progressive Sense of Place

The table shows that sense of place in the city changed accordingly to the breaking points in the city which are related to Erdemir. The ability of Erdemir to affect the sense of place as an institution stems from its effects on local dependence and collective memory. Erdemir, as it is tried to be reveal through the interviews within the whole chapter, shaped the collective memory in the city. The collective memory, as shared common moments and common senses by a certain group, is being shaped during daily life through the events. Also, the senses are important to shaping collective memory such as vision,

⁵⁸ I truly recognize that there might be other reasons or breaking points for the shifts of sense of place. It is still a controversial issue to whether the coal mining period has a meaningful effect on the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli or not. However, I suggested that these two about Erdemir directly affected the city in respect of sense of place, collective memory, and local dependence. Nevertheless, the mining period is important for the history of the area and the city, as well.

smell, and hearing. In Kdz. Ereğli, people whose most of them are immigrants because of Erdemir, created their perceptions for the city through the company. It has been the most visible and apparent institution in the city since the year it is established. It has changed the social life, the economic structure, the landscape, and even the smell in the city. People have always been aware of the presence of the company in their daily lives. Their stories, memories, feelings shaped around the effects of the company, as well. Therefore, Erdemir, as I suggested, shaped the collective memory in the city; thus, shaped the sense of place. Furthermore, the privatization of Erdemir has started to shape collective memory again, and it is still causing problems regarding the sense of place. The process of reproduction of the collective memory and the sense of place is still continuing in the city because of the devastating effects of the privatization. In short, Erdemir has reproduced the sense of place in the city over time through shaping the collective memory. Therefore, this is the process of institutional reproduction of the sense of place through institutionally mediated collective memory.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Kdz. Ereğli was a coastal town before the industrial transformation. As Mübeccel Kıray (1964) argued, the city was not like a regular Anatolian town in the 1960s, but it was still a small a mining town and natural port since the 19th century. Although these periods are important for the history of the area, they did not affect the city directly for several reasons. The city center of Kdz. Ereğli was mostly used as a trade center for villagers and miners; moreover, miners were not living in the city but in its villages. Thus, the city was not a regular labor town or mining town in those years. On the other hand, although the natural port of the city was an essential tool for opening the city and people to the country and world, which also Kıray (1964) mentioned to suggest that the city was kind of a modern city rather than a feudal one, the city had not been as diverse before the establishment of Erdemir as it was after. However, there were also some short railroads for transportation; thus, the city was not completely disconnected from the world. There were a few foreigners visiting the city both, yet there was not a big population of foreigners. Nevertheless, the city was mostly referred to as a coastal town, a small town and a lovely place to live. However, when the construction of Erdemir started, the city also started to change in terms of its sociology, economy, and landscape.

In this thesis, I use Kıray's (1964) study for a starting point to understand the transformation of Kdz. Ereğli. In her study Kıray (1964) argued that through the construction of Erdemir a rapid transformation had started. Although she stated that this was not the first time that the city had started to transform, the transformation after Erdemir was quite different. Kıray (1964) emphasized that the first transformation of the city was the discovery of coal and the opening

the mines around the city. However, I do not agree with this idea for obvious reasons. Firstly, this transformation, due to the coal mines, was not a rapid and radical transformation for the city. The laborer population in Kdz. Ereğli was not affected by the mining, and the city did not see a huge influx of immigrants but the area did. Secondly, the location of the city when Kıray mentioned about the mining period does not represent the actual location of Kdz. Ereğli as the mining activities were around the city and miners were not living in the city. Undoubtedly, the mining period also affected the area and the city in a historical aspect; however, in respect to the sense of place I cannot say the same. On the other hand, Erdemir caused the population of the city to increase by nearly 10,000 people, who were from all different regions, in a short period of time. To further this point, there were a lot of American engineers who came to the city to work at Erdemir. Therefore, immediately after the construction of Erdemir began, the city started to become a much different place. Moreover, the city started to change its character from a coastal town to an industrial city. Its social and economic life were significantly affected by this transformation. Almost 10,000 laborers, who were working in Erdemir, emerged as a new class within the city. The new class was the labor class, and it was also new experience for them to being a member of labor class. This large amount of organized labor class within a single-industry would inevitably change the dynamics of the city. Additionally, many of the workers were living close areas or the same neighborhoods, such as public houses. Also, their working conditions in heavy industry allowed them to become closer both at work and in their social lives. If the average family size is considered to be four people, it can be said that there were approximately 40,000 people in the city who were in a direct relationship with Erdemir. This is a considerable amount of people when compared to the population of the city. This amount of people obviously affected the social life and relations within the city; therefore, Erdemir started to change the character and the identity of the city, and to affect the memories of the people.

As Erdemir was the major power in the city, the people became locally dependent on Erdemir, therefore, on the city. It was a local dependence which Cox & Mair (1988) conceptualized as the traditional form of local dependence. This local dependence was produced by family relations, ethnic/religious identities, and social status. During the first years of Erdemir, people mostly associated their identities with their social status, which they gained through Erdemir.

Sense of place, which means the relationship between people and place, or their perception of a place, started to change in Kdz. Ereğli by Erdemir. The previous coastal town character of the city started to erode as Erdemir affected the economic life in the city and changed the work environment. Most people left their lands and started to work for the company because Erdemir overshadowed the natural beauties of the city and harmed the agriculture industry. Thus, the city started to lose its previous specificities, and started to produce new features as an industrial city instead of them.

Reactionary sense of place, is coined by Doreen Massey (1991, 1994) in her writings, which represents the understanding of place as a home (Tuan, 1974), as a dwelling in Black Forest (Heidegger, 1971), as a fundamental element for experiencing the world (Relph, 1976) and being secure, safe and fixed in the flux (Harvey, 1989). Reactionary sense of place conceptualizes place as an introverted and exclusionary practice. The sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli before Erdemir is an example of the reactionary sense of place since it mostly relied on the introverted and mystic history of the city, its own natural and agricultural features. However, Erdemir changed the sense of place in the city. It was the rise period of Kdz. Ereğli, when Erdemir gained the wealth in the city, developed the economy, and improved social life of the city. Therefore, the city lived its rise period from the establishment of Erdemir until the privatization. These significant changes undoubtedly affected the sense of place in the city. In that study, the emergence period has been used to refer to the time before

the establishment of Erdemir. In that period, sense of place was in a reactionary mode and mostly relied on historical roots of the city, natural landscapes, and agricultural specificity. The interviews have shown that people in Kdz. Ereğli remember the city through its reactionary features. The city before Erdemir is not that much diverse and populated place when it compared to the years after the establishment of the company. The interviewees mostly highlighted that the unique historical features and natural beauties of the place to describe it. Therefore, it is possible to claim and argue that the sense of place before the establishment of Erdemir was in the reactionary category.

On the other hand, according to Massey (1994 & 2005), progressive sense of place is a new understanding of place. It is against the reactionary sense of place in regards to its exclusionary practices through criticizing the introverted interpretation of place; therefore, a progressive sense of place could be conceptualized as an extroverted interpretation of place that rejects the idea that the places should have strict boundaries. During the rise of Kdz. Ereğli, the sense of place was changed to a progressive sense of place. The previous sense of place was mostly about the introverted and mystic history of the city, its own natural and agricultural features, while the new progressive sense of place after Erdemir was mostly about its multicultural, diverse, and opened character.

Due to many new immigrants coming to the city to work at Erdemir, the population in Kdz. Ereğli started to diversify; moreover, the working environment at Erdemir positively affected the social cohesion process in the city. Therefore, Erdemir became the main actor for the shift of sense of place in two ways. Firstly, Erdemir was the main source of the diverse and multicultural structure of the city. Secondly, Erdemir created a working and social environment to increase the social cohesion at the city. The question here is how Erdemir did that. Erdemir, as the major institution of the city,

maintained many social facilities within the city. These places and social gatherings were not closed events or areas that were limited to Erdemir workers, they were open to all of the citizens of the city. Furthermore, the working environment in Erdemir was also an important factor for the social cohesion of the city. Because of the nature of heavy industry and the risks associated with working in such an industry, there were many people working together in harmony which formed strong relationships with the company. However, it was also about the culture in the Erdemir. There was a perfect and peaceful working environment at the company; thus, it also affected the city.

Therefore, the rising period has been used to refer to the period after the establishment of Erdemir. In that period, the city lived its most prominent period in terms of social and economic life. Moreover, Erdemir affected the collective memory during that period by its interventions to every aspect of the city. Therefore, Erdemir affected the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli and reproduced it. Thus, Erdemir became the main actor to reshape the sense of place in Ereğli. The new sense of place was in the mode of a progressive sense of place as it was not established on historical roots of the place anymore. Instead, the place began to be perceived as a multicultural and diverse place, in which people live in social cohesion and the economy is good, and where the working environment is better. Therefore, this study showed that it is possible to reproduce and shift the sense of place from a reactionary one to progressive one through the contributions of an institution.

When the privatization process started in 2005, everything changed in the city. Because of the privatization, the fall of the city was officially started. It was the fall of Kdz. Ereğli because the privatization negatively affected the city. It was the fall of the economy, social life, and feelings for Kdz. Ereğli. Furthermore, it also affected the sense of place in the city, for the second time. The privatization of Erdemir directly affected the workers either economically or socially. Erdemir started to shut down most of the social facilities such as the

sports clubs, the cinema, theatre, beach, dining halls, etc. Furthermore, Erdemir cutoff its financial supports to the city and stopped to supporting schools, social events, and even the orphanage. Additionally, it deeply affected the economy. After the privatization of the company, the monthly wages were decreased by 35%. In addition, Erdemir founded its own transportation company to eliminate local steel merchants from the market. These were how Erdemir started to treat to the city and caused the fall of the city after the privatization. Therefore, the fall period has been used to refer to the privatization period of Erdemir. During that period, the social and economic life in the city began to worsen, and then the city went through its fall. The privatization of Erdemir affected the city in many ways, but mostly in social and economic ways. The adverse effects of privatization changed people's thoughts on Erdemir and made them criticize the value of Erdemir in their lives. It is important to note that after the privatization of the company people started to think about the past and re-evaluated the specificities of the place in terms of looking for a new identity for the place instead of being an industrial city.

In this thesis, one of my contributions is to argue the institutional reproduction of sense of place and institutionally mediated collective memory. Institutional reproduction of sense of place is about how institutions shape and change the place and the senses here. On the other hand, the institutionally mediated collective memory, which is a significant indicator especially in single-industry cities, is the main factor behind these reproductions and shifts in respect of sense of place. Single-industry cities are industrial cities which have only one major industrial company as its base. This major company is the biggest or the only one company in the city in terms of its structure and worker population. In single-industry cities, there is a specific type of relationship between the city and company, which could be observed. Since there is only one or one major industrial company within a city and most of the people in the city work there, the company gains strong power in the city. Therefore, the company gains

enormous power to affect the city and people; furthermore, if it is a publicly-owned corporation, it becomes even more powerful.

Since the first days of the Republic, the publicly-owned single industries have been seen as one of the social and economic development tools for the Republic of Turkey. It was a technique for governments to use the publicly-owned industrial companies to develop a city and region in terms of social and economic aspects. In this case, Erdemir also obtained this role in Kdz. Ereğli; thus, this is the reason why privatization became problematic for the city and people. Erdemir, in many ways shaped the collective memory of the city. It changed the social structure and economic habits through new production and consuming methods, it created an industrial city from a coastal town, and it maintained the diversity in the city. Therefore, the institution gradually affected the daily lives of people in Kdz. Ereğli and shaped people's common feelings, memories, moments, pasts, and futures as a collective memory. While shaping the collective memory, which I named as institutionally mediated collective memory, it affected the sense of place in the city. Therefore, Erdemir, institutionally reproduced the sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli two times: at its establishment and after its privatization.

This thesis revealed that institutional reproduction of sense of place is a fact that could be analyzed. Institutions are capable of affecting the social life and economic structure of a city to change the collective memory. Therefore, a collective memory that has been shaped around an institution could produce a sense of place. Since the sense of place is a process which is open to change, it can be reproduced for many times. Institutions, if they gain power in a particular place, could affect the collective memory; therefore, changing and reproducing the sense of place. Moreover, the field study that I conducted in Kdz. Ereğli and in the case of Erdemir have proved that this theoretical approach on reproduction of sense of place is meaningful and valuable contribution to the literature.

This thesis aims to show how the sense of place can be affected and reproduced by an institution in a city. Furthermore, it aims to reveal the tools which make it possible for an institution to reproduce the sense of place. This thesis doesn't aim to reveal the senses of place; instead, I focused on the shifts of sense of place and the reasons behind these shifts, and their relationship to Erdemir. By doing that, I categorized the sense of places for three periods in Kdz. Ereğli: emergence, rise, and fall. In history, Kdz. Ereğli has always been a place where significant changes were made through making some additions to the city such as opening mines and establishing the heavy industry. However, in 2006, it was the first time that Kdz. Ereğli changed through a loss as the privatization of Erdemir which had an enormous impact on the city in many ways.

The field study has revealed that sense of place could be affected by an institution. Moreover, it has been proved that the sense of place could be affected more than once at a time by an institution and its effects on collective memory. This thesis also showed that single-industry cities have a unique type of relationship with a primary or single company. They establish a strong connection with each other; therefore, these institutions become capable of shaping the collective memory. Especially in heavy industry towns, if the company is the primary company of the city or the only company in the city, the company could have significant effects on the city. Moreover, it is essential to understand that being either a publicly-owned company or private company has an effect on the relationship between place and institution. The different kinds of managerial approaches affect the relationship between place and institution. The field study also revealed that sense of place in Kdz. Ereğli has been significantly affected by Erdemir. From its establishment to privatization, Erdemir was always the main actor in the city and for the sense of place since it had affected the collective memory.

Lastly, this thesis has also showed that the central government decisions could significantly affect life on the local scale. Erdemir was a state-owned company that was established by the decision of the central government. As a publicly-owned company, Erdemir had always positively contributed to the city until its privatization. Because of the privatization decision, the sense of place, economy and social life in Kdz. Ereğli inevitably changed. The privatization decision of the central government negatively affected the city in regards to its economy and sociology. It caused many economic hardships in the city, the unusual increase in bankruptcy and loss of jobs. It also affected the social life of the city as the private company closed so did the sports clubs, beaches, cinemas, and theatres in the city. Therefore, it is fair to suggest that before making these kinds of central decisions, it must be analyzed how these decisions could affect the local people's lives.

To summarize, in this study I tried to analyze how the sense of place has been affected and reproduced over time by Erdemir through using the perceptions of people of the city. Finally, this study has clearly proved that an institution could significantly affect a city; moreover, it can reproduce the sense of place of the city as it has the power to shape the collective memory. Therefore, it is a significant contribution on the literature to focus on institutional reproduction of sense of place through the institutionally mediated collective memory as these concepts are essential and useful to understand and analyze the urban sociology.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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09 Nisan 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın H.Tarık ŞENGÜL

Danışmanlığını yaptığımız Atahan DEMİRKOL'un "Karadeniz Ereğli ve Erdemir Örnekleri Üzerinden Yer ve Yer Duygusu Kavramlarının İncelenmesi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 197-ODTÜ-2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız

Prof. Dr. Tulin GENÇÖZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR (4.)

Üye

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI

Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye

Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye

B. SAMPLE QUESTIONS OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

1. Kendinizden kısaca söz eder misiniz? Nerede doğdunuz, ailenizin geçmişi, ne zaman Ereğli'ye geldiniz? Evliyseniz, eşiniz nereli, eğitim durumu, ailesinin nereli olduğu konusunda bilgi verir misiniz?
2. Eğitim durumunuz? Çalışma hayatınız ve mesleğiniz konusunda bilgi verir misiniz? Kaç yılında nerede çalışmaya başladınız. Ne kadar süre nerelerde çalıştınız? Şu an ne yapıyorsunuz?
3. Ereğli'de nerelerde yaşadınız? Yaşam çevrenizi, mahallenizi kısaca anlatır mısınız? Ereğli kırsalından geldiyseniz, oradaki yaşamınızı Ereğli ile olan ilişkinizi de anlatabilir misiniz?
4. Şu an (çekirdek) ailenizin fertleri ne iş yapıyor? Okuyanlar vs. nerelerde okuyor: Ereğli ile ilişki düzeyleri nedir? Ailenizin geleceğini ne derece Ereğli'de görüyorsunuz?
5. Sizin için Ereğli'yi Ereğli yapan şey nedir, Ereğli'yi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Sizce Ereğli denince ilk akla gelen şey nedir? Bunun sizin için anlamı nedir?
6. Ereğli'nin tarihiyle ilgili bildikleriniz nelerdir? Kısaca anlatabilir misiniz? Ereğli'nin tarihi bir geçmişi olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Bu tarih ne kadar geriye uzanıyor? Size Ereğli'nin tarihi geçmişi hatırlatan şeyler neler?
7. Sizce Ereğli'nin geçmişindeki önemli olaylar nedir? Bu olayların size bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsanız bunlar nelerdir? Ereğli'de sizin hayatınıza etki eden değişimler nedir?
8. Bugün baktığınızda Ereğli'yi nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Geçmişle kıyasladığınızda sizin için Ereğli'de değişen şeyler neler?
9. Ereğli'de özlediğiniz şeyler varsa bunlardan bahsedebilir misiniz? Bugün Ereğli'de göremediğiniz, ama geçmişte olduğunu bildiğiniz/gördüğünüz/duyduğunuz ve özlediğiniz şeyler varsa paylaşır mısınız?
10. Ereğli'nin daha iyi bir yer olması veya daha kötü bir yer olması sizce nelere bağlıdır?
11. Ereğli'de sizin için en önemli yerler neresi? Bu yerler sizin için neden önemli? İş dışında nerelerde vakit geçiriyorsunuz?
12. Sizin için hangisi Ereğli'yi daha çok çağırıştırıyor?: Çilek / Erdemir / Kömür / Sahil
13. Ereğli size göre hangisi?: Sanayi şehri / Sahil Kasabası / Ev / Memleket / İşçi kenti
14. Sizce kimler Ereğlilidir? Ereğli'de doğmamış kişilerle ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Hemşehri sizin için ne ifade ediyor?
15. Bir yabancıya Ereğli'yi anlatacak olsanız nelerden bahsedersiniz?
16. Ereğli'de hangi konularda, ne zamanlarda bir değişim olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Bu değişimlerden nasıl etkilendiniz?
17. Eski Ereğli diye bir kavramın sizdeki karşılığı nedir?

18. Erdemir sizin için ne ifade ediyor? Fabrikanın geçmişi ile ilgili neler biliyorsunuz?
19. Fabrikanın Ereğli ile olan ilişkisini nasıl görüyorsunuz? Sizce, Erdemir Ereğli için ne ifade ediyor?
20. Erdemir'den önceki Ereğli'yle ilgili neler anlatabilirsiniz? Sizce Erdemir'den önce Ereğli nasıl bir yerdi? Erdemir ile nasıl değişimler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
21. Erdemir'in inşaat sürecini hatırlıyorsanız, o dönemlerde gördüğünüz değişimleri anlatır mısınız?
22. Erdemir'in kuruluşundan bugüne, Ereğli'nin ne şekilde değiştiğini düşünüyorsunuz? Bunlar içerisinde sizce Erdemir'den dolayı yaşanan değişimler nelerdir?
23. Erdemir'in Ereğli için önemli olduğunu düşünüyorsanız, neden önemli olduğunu düşündüğünüzü paylaşır mısınız?
24. Erdemir olmasaydı, Ereğli'nin nasıl bir yer olacağını düşünüyorsunuz? Nedenleriyle anlatabilir misiniz?
25. Fabrika binaları sizin için ne ifade ediyor? Fabrika binalarının oradan kalktığını düşündüğünüzde ne hissediyorsunuz?
26. "Erdemir Ereğli'ye ne yaptı?" Sorusuna kısaca ne cevap verirsiniz?
27. Özelleştirme süreciyle ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Bu süreçte neler hissettiniz?
28. Özelleştirme olduktan sonra düşüncelerinizde değişme olduysa bunları nedenleriyle anlatabilir misiniz? Özelleştirmenin şehri nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
29. Erdemir'in isminin değiştirilmesi sizde ne hissettirdi? Erdemir'in logosu değiştiği zaman ne hissettiniz anlatır mısınız?
30. Erdemir tamamen kapatılsa, ekonomik faktörler dışında, Ereğli'de neler değişir anlatabilir misiniz?
31. Erdemir sizin hayatınızda ne gibi şeyleri etkiledi? Erdemir'in hayatınıza olumlu/olumsuz etki ettiği olayları/anılarınızı anlatabilir misiniz?
32. "Erdemir olmasaydı..." cümlesini nasıl tamamlarsınız?
33. Yaşamınızın herhangi bir aşamasında, bir ya da birden fazla kez Ereğli'den ayrılmayı, göç etmeyi düşündünüz mü; ettiyseniz nedenleri neydi? Nereye göç etmeyi düşündünüz niçin?
34. Çocuklarınız ya da aile fertlerinden bu tür karar alan oldu mu; niçin? Çocuklarınız Ereğli'den ayrılmak istese, sizin yaklaşımınız nasıl olur?
35. Çevrenizde, akraba ve ailenizden göç edenler oldu mu? Bu duruma ilişkin bir değerlendirme yaparsınız? Ne gerekçelerle nerelere göç ediliyor? Bu durum sizde nasıl bir duygu yaratıyor?

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKEÖZET

Karadeniz Eređli, bir sahil kasabası olarak Türkiye'nin kuzeyinde konumlanmış ve uzun yıllar boyunca bir kasaba görünümünde olmuştur. Bunun yanında, tarihi bir geçmişi de olan kent, ismini Yunan mitolojisindeki Herkül efsanesinden almaktadır. Kdz. Eređli, bir sahil kasabası olması sebebiyle tarih boyunca birçok medeniyet açısından önemli bir konum haline gelmiştir. Tarih içerisinde kent, temel geçim kaynaklarının madencilik, balıkçılık, tarım ve ticaret olduğu bir yer olarak bilinmektedir. Bununla birlikte, tarihin belirli dönemlerinde kenti tanımlayan ve kentin bilinirliğini sağlayan farklı unsurlar olmuştur. 1960'lara kadar kent, belirli zamanlarda madencilik ile, belirli zamanlarda ise tarım ve doğal limanı ile, belirli zamanlarda ise doğal güzellikleri ile bilinmiştir. Ancak, son olarak kent 1960'lı yıllarda Eređli Demir ve Çelik Fabrikalarının kurulmasıyla ağır sanayi ile anılmaya başlanmıştır.

1960'lı yıllara kadar olan dönemlerde Kdz. Eređli'ye atfedilen sosyal ve ekonomik değişimler ve büyük olaylar genellikle kentin etrafındaki merkezlerde oluşmuştur. Ayrıca, Kdz. Eređli'nin bugünkü sınırları tarih içerisinde zaman zaman değişikliğe uğramış olup, tarihte Kdz. Eređli'nin önemli olayları arasında sayılabilecek her olay bugünkü sınırlar içerisinde yaşanmamıştır. Bu mesele tezin odak noktası açısından önemlidir; çünkü her ne kadar 19. Yüzyıldan itibaren kentin etrafında kömür madenleri bulunmuş ve işletilmeye başlanmışsa da Erdemir, Kdz. Eređli'nin bugünkü sınırları içerisinde ve kent merkezinde ortaya çıkan ilk aktördür. Yine de Kdz. Eređli bölgesinin temelde üç tarihsel olaydan etkilendiđi söylenebilir: kömür madenleri, Erdemir'in kuruluşu ve özelleştirilmesi.

19. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren bölge kömür madenciliđi sebebiyle hareketli bir yer haline geldi. Madencilik faaliyetleri bölgedeki nüfusu arttırarak sosyal ve ekonomik yapıyı değiştirmeye başladı. Farklı ülkelerden göçmen maden

işçilerinin de gelişiyile bölgede sosyal bir değişim yaşanmaya başlandı. Ayrıca bölgede örgütlenmeye başlayan işçi sınıfı da yine ekonomik ve sosyal yapıyı etkiledi, öyle ki köylerde tarımla uğraşan nüfus madenlerde işçi olarak çalışmaya başladı. Bu sebeple, bu çalışma Kdz. Ereğli’de Erdemir’le yaşanan değişimin anlatılabilmesi için kent ve bölgede süregelen tarihsel değişim anlatılarak başlatılmıştır. Ancak bu tezin odak noktası 1960’lar öncesi değildir; çünkü her ne kadar köylerdeki nüfusun bir kısmı madenlerde çalışmaya başlamış olsa da Kdz. Ereğli’nin bir madencilik kenti olduğunu söylemek pek mümkün değildir. Bu argümanın temel dayanağı, madenlerin şehrin etrafında ve geniş bir alana yayılmış olması, Ereğli Kömür Havzası denilen bölgenin bugünkü Kdz. Ereğli sınırlarından çok daha büyük bir coğrafyayı kapsamaması ve madencilerin büyük çoğunluğunun Kdz. Ereğli ile yoğun ilişkisi olmayan civar köylerdeki insanlardan oluşmasıdır. Bu nedenle, madenciliğin Kdz. Ereğli için en büyük ve direkt etkisinin kentte artan ticaret ve esnafılık olduğu söylenebilir. Bunun aksine, kentte doğrudan bir işçi sınıfı yaratmadığı ve kentin dokusunu doğrudan değiştirmedeği görülmektedir. Madencilik faaliyetleri ile birlikte Kdz. Ereğli daha çok madencilerin toptan alışverişlerini yapabildiği ve belirli zamanlarda uğradıkları bir ticaret merkezi olarak şekillenmeye başladı. Bu durum, Mübeccel Kıray (1964)’ın çalışmasında belirttiği gibi 1960’lardan önce de Kdz. Ereğli’nin sıradan bir Anadolu kasabası olmamasının sebebidir. Her ne kadar kent kömür madenlerinden etkilenmeye ve değişime başlamışsa da asıl büyük ve ciddi atılım Kdz. Ereğli’nin bugünkü gerçek merkezinde ortaya çıkan Erdemir’in kurulmasıyla olmuştur.

1960’lara gelindiğinde, kent tarihindeki en büyük olayı yaşamak üzereydi. Bu olay, kentin geçmişini, geleceğini ve bugününü kaçınılmaz bir şekilde etkileyen Erdemir’in kurulmasıydı. Erdemir’in kurulmasıyla başlayan dönüşüm sosyo-ekonomik çalışmalar için heyecan verici bir gelişmeydi ve bu sebeple Mübeccel Kıray da Kdz. Ereğli’nin bir sahil kasabasından sanayi kentine dönüşümünü incelediği en önemli çalışmalarından birisini bu dönemde hazırlamıştı. Kıray (1964) bu çalışmasında kentin Erdemir ile birlikte hızlı bir

dönüşüm sürecine girdiğini; ama bu değişimin ve Erdemir'in kente etkisinin ancak yıllar sonra bakıldığında anlaşılabilceğini ifade etmiştir.

İnşaatın tamamlanmasıyla birlikte, kentteki sosyolojik ve ekonomik yapılar hızla değişmeye ve dönüşmeye başlamıştı. Ekonomik yapı, tarım ve balıkçılık gibi geçim faaliyetlerinden ziyade insanların Erdemir'de çalışmaya yönelmesiyle değişmeye başladı. Aynı şekilde, sosyolojik yapı da Erdemir'de çalışmak için ülkenin dört bir tarafından gelen göçmen işçilerin nüfusu ve çeşitliliği arttırmasıyla değişmeye başladı. Tüm bu olaylar kenti farklı şekillerde etkilemiş oldu.

Erdemir'in kuruluşundan sonra kentin ekonomik gelişimi göz kamaştırıcı derecede iyiydi. Hatta öyle ki, kentteki ekonomik refahı vurgulayacak şekilde Kdz. Ereğli için 'küçük Almanya' benzetmesi yapılmaya başlanmıştı. Kentteki insanların büyük çoğunluğu madencilik zamanında kömür madenlerinde çalışmaya rağbet etmezken, Erdemir'de çalışmak prestijli ve yüksek maaşlı olduğu için fabrikada çalışmaya ilgi yüksekti. Maaşların yüksekliği sebebiyle işçiler kentte yaşamaya yetecek miktardan daha fazla para kazanmaya başlamıştı ve bu durum da kentteki tüketim alışkanlıklarını değiştirmeye başladı. Dahası, fabrikada çalışmak üzere kente gelen göçmen işçi nüfusu kentin sosyal yapısını etkilemeye de başlamıştı. Böylelikle kent, farklı kültürlere, yemeklere, alışkanlıklara ve kültürlere daha açık bir hale gelmeye başladı; ancak yine de böylesine hızlı ve büyük bir sosyal değişim ortamında uyumun kolaylıkla sağlandığını söylemek mümkün olmayacaktır. Yine de Erdemir'deki çalışma şartları ve ortamı sebebiyle bu uyum sürecinin görece kolay atlatıldığı söylemek yanlış değildir. Erdemir ve Kdz. Ereğli, 1960'lı yıllarda Anadolu'nun medeniyetleri için bir kaynaşma noktası haline gelmiş ve bu kaynaşma ile de kentin karakteristik özellikleri ve kentteki kimlikleri değiştirmiştir. Erdemir kentteki tek sanayi olması sebebiyle sosyal ve ekonomik yapıyı etkisi altında tutan en güçlü yapı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Erdemir'in neredeyse kentteki nüfusun tamamıyla bir şekilde ilişkisi olması,

onun nüfus üzerindeki etkisinin bu denli yüksek olmasına neden olmuştur. Kentin Erdemir'den önce yaklaşık 10.000 olan nüfusuna Erdemir on yıldan kısa bir sürede neredeyse 10.000 işçi ekleyerek nüfus yapısını ciddi şekilde etkilemiştir. Ayrıca, bu işçilerin aileleri de hesaba katıldığında Erdemir'in nüfusun ne kadar büyük bir yüzdesine etkisi olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Böylelikle, Erdemir'in uzun bir süre boyunca kentteki temel aktör olduğunu söylemek yersiz olmayacaktır. Ayrıca ağır sanayinin doğal yapısı sebebiyle Erdemir'deki çalışma koşulları başka bir meslek veya sanayi grubuna benzememektedir. İşçiler fabrikada hayati risk taşıyan işlerde gün boyunca ve tüm vardiyalarda yan yana ve beraber çalışıp, iş çıkışı yine fabrikanın inşa ettiği lojmanlarda yaşamak üzere beraber evlerine gitmekteydiler. Böylelikle iş ortamındaki yakın ilişkileri, evlerine döndüklerinde ailelerinin ilişkilerini de etkilemekteydi. Ayrıca, yoğun bir işçi nüfusu olarak işyerinde de örgütlü bir işçi topluluğu olmuşlardı. Bu sebeple Erdemir ve Kdz. Ereğli aynı zamanda sendikacılık, işçi hareketleri ve siyaset için de önemli bir nokta haline geldi. Tüm bunlar, Erdemir'in işçileri ve aileleri üzerine doğrudan etkileri ve kente olan dolaylı etkileriydi. Bunun yanında, Erdemir'in kente doğrudan sosyal ve ekonomik etkileri de oldu. Erdemir, kentte kantinler, restoranlar, sinemalar, plajlar, barlar, dans kulüpleri ve spor kulüpleri açtı. Bu mekanlar başta çalışanlar için açılmış olsa da kentte yaşayan diğer insanların da kullanımına izin verilmekteydi. Ayrıca fabrika okullar açmış ve hatta TED Koleji gibi bir özel okulun ilk defa küçük bir şehirde açılmasına imkân sağlamıştır. Bunun yanında fabrika konserler, yarışmalar ve özel gün kutlamaları gibi etkinlikler ile de sosyal hayatı hareketlendirmiştir.

Bu dönemin ve Erdemir'in önemli olmasındaki temel sebep yaşanan dönüşümün hızı ve dönüşümün yaşandığı konumdur. Madencilik döneminde yaşanan dönüşümlerin aksine, bu dönemde yaşanan dönüşümler iki açıdan farklılaşmaktadır. Nüfus artışı, bu dönemde çok kısa sürede çok hızlı şekilde artarak on yıldan kısa bir sürede neredeyse iki katına çıkmıştır. Ayrıca, yaşanan göçlerle birlikte demografik yapı kentin tarihinde hiç olmadığı kadar çeşitli hale gelmiştir. Bunun yanında, önceki dönemlerin aksine Erdemir ile

yaşanan dönüşüm köylerde veya kentin etrafında değil, bugünkü kent merkezinde yaşanmıştır. Bu sebeple madencilik döneminde kent merkezinde yaşanan dönüşümü incelemek pek mümkün değilken, Erdemir ile yaşanan dönüşümün incelenmesi konumların eşleşmesi sebebiyle mümkündür. Bir diğer önemli mesele de kentin bir liman kenti de olması sebebiyle her zaman dış etkilere açık olmasına rağmen bu döneme kadar yabancıların kentte kalıcı bir etkisinin olmamasıdır. Erdemir'le yaşanan dönüşümde dışarıdan gelen yabancı nüfus önceki dönemlerin aksine kent merkezine yerleşmiş, yoğun bir nüfus oluşturmuş ve uzun süreli olarak burada kalmıştır. Bu sebeple uzun süreli ve artan karşılıklı etkileşimler ile yabancıların yerel nüfus üzerinde etkileri daha önceki dönemlerde görülen kısa ve geçici etkileşimlerden çok daha derin ve büyük çapta olarak büyük sosyolojik değişimlere kaynaklık etmiştir.

40 yıllık bir yükselme döneminden sonra, Kdz. Ereğli tarihindeki üçüncü büyük ve önemli olayla yüzleşmiştir: özelleştirme. 40 yıldan uzun bir süre boyunca Erdemir, kentteki sosyal ve ekonomik yapının temel besleyicisi olmuştur. Tek sanayi ve kentteki baskın güç olarak Erdemir, kamu şirketi olmasının da desteğiyle kentteki neredeyse her ihtiyaç için temel sorumlu kurum olmuştur. Fabrika verdiği yüksek maaşlarla kentteki ekonomik besleyen, yetimhane ve belediye gibi yerel kurumlara destek olan, sağladığı sosyal ve entelektüel faaliyetlerle sosyal hayatı da hareketlendiren bir yapı olmuştur. Bu özellikleriyle fabrika, tüm ihtiyaçları karşılayan yapı olması sebebiyle Türkiye toplumu açısından devlet figürüyle birebir uyumaktadır. Diğer yandan fabrika yerel kimlik ve bağlılık için de önemli bir aktördü çünkü fabrika kenti bir sahil kasabasından bir sanayi kentine çeviren, nüfusu çeşitlendiren ve ekonomiyi geliştiren kurumsal yapıydı. Ayrıca neredeyse kentteki herkese bir şekilde dokunuyor olması sebebiyle, kentteki insanlar fabrika ile duygusal bir bağ da kurmuştu. Öyle ki, bazıları kendilerini Erdemir ailesinin bir ferdi olarak kente bağlı ve ait hissediyordu. Erdemir, 2006'da bu ilişkinin çökmesine kadar

Erdemir ailesine ait olmakla Kdz. Ereğli'ye ait olmak duygularının neredeyse aynı anlama gelmesini sağlamıştı.

Özelleştirme, tüm bunların aksine insanlar ve fabrika arasındaki bu özel bağı tamamen koparttı ve böylece insanların kente ait algılarını da etkiledi. Dahası, özelleştirme sebebiyle kentin ekonomik ve sosyal yapıları da çökmeye başladı. Özel bir şirket olarak Erdemir önceki durumundan farklı olarak, kentin ihtiyaçlarından ziyade kendi kârlılığını öncelemeye başladı. Bu kapsamda fabrika, işçi maaşlarında ciddi kesintilere giderek, işçi çıkartarak, genel müdürlüğü İstanbul'a taşıyarak, sosyal binaları ve spor kulüplerini kapatarak ve hatta insanların restoran ve kantinlerden faydalanmasını engelleyerek bu kenti büyük ölçüde etkiledi. Tek-endüstri kenti olarak Kdz. Ereğli'de ekonomik yapı Erdemir'den gelen maaşların kentteki dolaşımına dayanmaktaydı. Ayrıca nüfusun büyük bir çoğunluğunun burada çalışması sebebiyle iş sahası da genellikle Erdemir'e bağlıydı. İşçi çıkartmaları ve maaş kesintileri kentteki ekonominin çöküşünü başlattı. Bunun yanında sosyal imkânların da sonlandırılması ve kısıtlanması kentin bir dönem için bir hayalet şehri andırmasına sebep oldu. Bu dönüşüm, son derece hızlı ve keskin bir şekilde oluşarak kentin çöküşünü başlattı. Böylelikle, insanların Erdemir'in kentin üzerindeki etkilerini tartışmaya ve eleştirmeye başlaması sürpriz olmadı. Bu eleştirilerin çoğunluğu, özelleştirme öncesinde de aynı olmasına rağmen, Erdemir'in kente yaptığı olumsuz etkiler üzerineydi. Bu durum, aslında Erdemir ile insanlar arasında kurulan duygusal bağı özelleştirme ile yaşanan kaybetme hissinden kaynaklı olarak kopmaya başlamasının bir göstergesiydi. İnsanlar Erdemir'le birlikte kimlikleri de kaybettiklerini hissetmeye başlamış ve özelleştirme sonrasında kesilen Erdemir'in önceki katkıları sebebiyle fabrikaya karşı kızgın hissetmeye başlamışlardı. Bu çöküş, kentteki insanları kentin geçmişi hakkında eleştirel şekilde düşünmeye itti. Bazı kesimler, yaşanan son olaylar ışığında Erdemir'in kurulmasıyla bir sanayi kentine dönüşmüş olmanın pişmanlığını yaşamaya başlamıştı. Burada açık olan şey, özelleştirme ile birlikte insanların yer duygusunun da etkilenmeye başlamış olmasıdır.

Buraya kadar anlatılan hikâye, tezin temel meselesini oluşturmaktadır. Anlatılan sürecin sonunda yaptığım gözlemler, beni insanların düşünce ve hislerindeki değişimin nedenini araştırmaya itti. Bu kapsamda, cevabı kolektif bellek ve yer duygusu kavramları üzerinden aramaya başladım. Buraya kadar anlatılan tarihsel perspektif, kentin Erdemir öncesinde küçük, doğal ve güzel bir sahil kasabası olduğunu açığa çıkartmaktadır. Erdemir'in kuruluşuyla birlikte ise, kentin ekonomik ve sosyal olarak değişmeye başlamasıyla kentin karakteri bir sanayi kenti olarak değişmeye başladı. Kentteki tek sanayi olarak Erdemir, kentin ekonomik ve sosyal yapılarını etkileyerek kenti kontrolü altına aldı. Kentin küçük bir sahil kasabası olan eski algısı, çeşitlenmiş bir nüfus yapısı ve gelişmiş bir ekonomiyle güçlü bir işçi kentine evirildi. Daha sonrasında, özelleştirme Erdemir'in kente karşı bakışını ve böylelikle insanların da kente ve fabrikaya karşı duygularını ve algılarını değiştirdi. Özelleştirme sonrasında insanlar kentin 1960'larda başlayan ve Erdemir çevresinde oluşan yeni kimliğini ve karakterini tartışmaya başladılar. Yerin algılanmasındaki bu değişimi anlayabilmek için bu çalışmada kolektif bellek kavramını kullandım, çünkü bu çalışmada kurumların kentsel alanlarda kolektif hafızayı şekillendirerek yer duygusunu oluşturduğunu tartıştım.

Yer duygusu, kısaca insanlarla yerler arasındaki ilişki veya hisler bütünüdür. Bu kavram insanların yeri nasıl algıladığı, yer hakkında neler hissettiği ve neler düşündüğü ile alakalıdır ve sosyoloji, psikoloji, coğrafya ve siyaset bilimi gibi birçok disiplin tarafından incelenmiştir. Her bir disiplinin farklı bir açıdan incelediği bu kavramı ben, doğrudan belirli bir yerin belirli bir grup insan için anlamını araştırması sebebiyle bu çalışmada sosyal ve coğrafi açıdan ele aldım. Yer duygusu kavramına coğrafi yaklaşımda temel olarak iki teori bulunmaktadır. Bu teorilerin ikisi de Doreen Massey (1991, 1994 & 2005) tarafından adlandırılmakla birlikte, ilki tepkisel yer duygusu, ikincisi ise ilerlemeci yer duygusu kavramlarıdır. Tepkisel yer duygusu kavramı temel olarak bir yeri güvenli ve güvenilir bir konum olarak görerek, ev benzeri bir duygu ile o yeri tanımlamak için dışlayıcı özelliklerin kullanılmasını ifade

etmektedir. Bu teorideki tepkisellik, doğrudan bir tepki göstermeyi ifade etmek zorunda değildir. Bunun ötesinde, tepkisellik yerin oluşturulması ve tanımlanmasında dışarıya ve ötekiye karşı öznel değerlerin ön plana çıkartılmasını, yerin kendi içsel özelliklerinin vurgulanmasını ifade etmektedir. Bir yer içerisindeki insanların yabancılara karşı herhangi bir tepkisel davranışının olmamasının burada tepkisel yer duygusunun olmadığı iddiası ile bir ilişkisi bulunmayabilir. Böyle bir durumda insanlar kendilerini öteki ilan ettikleri yabancı gruptan farklılaştırmaya ve ayırmaya çalışarak kendi yerlerini tanımlıyorlarsa, burada tepkisel yer duygusundan bahsetmek mümkün olacaktır. Tepkisel yer duygusu, yeri tanımlarken etrafındaki katı sınırları ön plana çıkartarak, yerel topluluk ve ötekiler arasında bir gruplaşma yaparak ve yerin tarih ve doğal güzellikler gibi özgün değerlerini vurgulayarak içe dönük bir yer tanımlaması yapılmasını ifade etmektedir. Bunun yanında ilerlemeci yer duygusu ise yer kavramının daha geniş ve açık algılanmasını ifade etmektedir. Tepkisel yer duygusundaki durumun aksine, bir yerin tanımlanmasında o yerin diğer yerlerle veya diğer insanlarla olan ilişkileri ön plana çıkartılıyor ve herhangi bir dışlama yapılmıyorsa, burada ilerlemeci yer duygusundan bahsetmek mümkün olacaktır. Bu kapsamda ilerlemeci yer duygusu, yerler arasındaki ortaklık ve benzerlikleri, sınırların ön plana çıkartılmamasını ve daha açık bir yer algılamasını ifade etmektedir.

Yer duygusu kavramı çok boyutlu bir kavram olduğundan dolayı, yer duygusunun bireysel mi kolektif mi olduğu sorusu her zaman bir tartışma konusu olmuştur. Bazı çalışma alanları için her insanın özgün yer duygusu olduğundan ve bu özgünlüğün önemli bir özellik olduğundan hareketle yer duygusunu bireysel bir kavram olarak tanımlamak faydalı olabilir. Ancak kent çalışmaları açısından bu şekilde bir tanımlama iki sebepten yanlış olacaktır: bireyci bir bakış açısıyla tüm kent ölçeğinde yer duygusunun ölçülmesinin imkansızlığı ve kentin kolektif bir sosyal yapı oluşu. David Harvey'in de işaret ettiği gibi yerin kolektif belleğin bir ürünü olması (Cresswell, 2004, p. 62), kent ölçeğinde yer duygusunun analizi için bireysel boyuta odaklanmayı imkânsız

kılmaktadır. Her ne kadar bazı açılardan yer duygusu kavramının tamamen öznel bir içeriği olduğu doğru olsa da kolektif bir bellek tarafından etkilenecek şekilde şekillendiği de yadsınamaz bir gerçektir. Bir kentteki her insanın o yere veya kente karşı şahsi algıları olmakla birlikte, bu algılar kolektif bir anlayışla şekillendirilmektedir. Buradaki kolektiflik yer duygusunda tek bir baskın görüş olduğunu ifade etmemektedir. Aksine, kolektif bellek yer içerisindeki farklı grupları farklı kümeler halinde şekillendirebilir, çünkü hatıralar ve bellek farklı gruplarda farklı yansımalar oluşturabilir. Yine de burada her durumda kolektif belleğin insanların yer duygusu üzerinde etkisi olduğu varsayılmaktadır. En önemli soru ise, kentsel alanlardaki kolektif belleği nelerin etkileyebileceğidir.

Bu tez çalışmasında, derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanılarak Kdz. Ereğli’de yapılan saha araştırması üzerinden kentteki yer duygusunun Erdemir’in kuruluşu ve özelleştirilmesi eksenindeki değişimleri analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın araştırma sorusu, yer duygusunun kurumlar aracılığıyla nasıl şekillendirildiğidir. Erdemir, kuruluşundan itibaren kentteki tek sanayi ve kamu şirketi olmasının gücüyle kent nüfusunun neredeyse tamamı üzerindeki baskın güç ve belirleyici aktör olmuştur. Saha araştırması kapsamında yapılan görüşmelerde, Erdemir’de çalışan ve çalışmış kişiler ile Erdemir’le doğrudan iş ilişkisi bulunmayan kişilere ve kentin 1960’lardan bugüne dönüşümünü değerlendirebilecek yaşta kimselere başvurulmuştur. Bu mülakatlar kapsamında kentteki yer duygusunun tepkisel yer duygusundan ilerlemeci yer duygusuna dönüşümü ve sonrasında da özelleştirme ile bu kurulan yer duygusunun tekrar sarsılarak yeniden bir üretime girmesi süreci incelenmiştir. Tez çalışmasının özgün katkısı, yer duygusu kavramının literatürdeki iki teorisine ek olarak yer duygusunun kurumsal yeniden üretimi ve kurumsal merkezli kolektif bellek kavramlarının saha araştırması verileriyle tartışılmış olmasıdır. Çalışma kapsamında Kdz. Ereğli’nin tarihinde üç önemli olay aşağıdaki gibi gruplandırılmış olup, çalışmanın odak noktası Erdemir’in kurulması ve özelleştirilmesi süreçleridir.



Figür. Kdz. Ereğli'de Yer Duygusu İçin Dönemler

Daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi, kömür madenlerinin bulunması kent çevresinde ciddi etkiler yaratmakla birlikte, kentin bugünkü sınırları ve merkezi dahilinde ciddi değişimler yaşanmamıştır. Bu değişimin sınırlı kalmasındaki temel etken, madenlerin kentin çok da yakın olmayan çevresinde bulunması ve madenlerde çalışan işçi nüfusun kent merkezinde değil, görece uzak köylerde yaşamasıdır. Bununla birlikte, böyle bir dönemin kente hiçbir etkisi olmadığını söylemek de gerçek dışı olacağından ve Erdemir'in inşası sürecine kadarki tarihsel arka planı sağlayabilmek amacıyla tezde bu döneme de değinilmiştir. Ancak, yer duygusu kavramının değişiminin ve yeniden üretiminin incelenmesi anlamında tezin odak noktası Erdemir olmuştur. Buraya kadar sık sık vurgulandığı gibi, Erdemir tek sanayi ve kamu şirketi olarak kentin sosyo-ekonomik yapısına doğrudan ve dolaylı müdahalelerle en çok etki eden kurum olmuştur. Erdemir, bunu yaparken kentin kokusu, görüntüsü, sesleri, sosyolojik yapısı, kültürü, özgün değerleri, tüketim alışkanlıkları gibi birçok öğeyi etkilemiştir. Tüm bu öğeler, Durkheim (Shahzad, 2012, p. 379) ve Halbwachs (1925 & 1950)'in çalışmalarında işaret ettiği kolektif bellek üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Lewicka (2008)'nın ve Halbwachs'ın tanımladığı şekliyle kolektif bellek toplumsal bir kavram ve belirli bir grup insanın paylaştığı belirli anlar ve hislerdir (Ardakani & Oloonabadi, 2011, p. 968). Bu anlamda Erdemir, kuruluşuyla birlikte kentin eski özellikleri olan küçük, doğal, tarımcılık ve balıkçılıkla geçinen, tarihsel bir önemi olan bir yer olarak şekillenmiş yer duygusunu; işçi ve sanayi kenti, dışa açık ve çok kültürlü bir algıya doğru değiştirmiştir. Massey'in (1991 & 1994) tanımlaması çerçevesinde incelendiğinde, saha araştırmasından elde edilen verilere göre Erdemir'den önceki döneme atfedilen yer duygusu tepkisel yer duygusu olarak

kategorilendirilmiştir. Bu kategorilendirme için ilgili dönemin tanımlanmasında içe dönük ve kentin özgün değerlerine dönük vurgular göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Gerçekten de mülakatlarda Erdemir öncesi kent için küçük bir sahil kasabası, doğal güzellikleri ve denizi temiz olan bir yer, tarihsel önemi bulunan mitolojik bir yer ve kendi kendine yeten bir yer yönünde tanımlamalar yapılmıştır. Bu dönem tezi içerisinde Kdz. Ereğli'nin oluşum dönemi olarak adlandırılmış ve Erdemir'in inşaatına kadarki dönemi ifade etmiştir. Bu sebeple, oluşum dönemi için Kdz. Ereğli'de tepkisel yer duygusu sınıflandırması yapılmıştır. Buna karşın, Erdemir sonrasındaki süreç için ise sanayi kenti, işçi kenti, çok kültürlü ve Anadolu'nun kaynaşma merkezi olarak vurgular yapılmıştır. Bu dönem, aynı zamanda Erdemir'in kente olan ekonomik ve sosyal kazanımlarından dolayı yükselme dönemi olarak adlandırılmıştır. Yükselme döneminde ise yine Massey'in tanımlaması çerçevesinde yer duygusu incelenmiş ve dışa dönük, tarihsel ve özgün değerlerden uzaklaşmış ifadeler itibariyle bu dönem için ilerlemeci yer duygusu sınıflandırması yapılmıştır.

Bu iki dönem arasındaki yer duygusu değişiminin sebebine odaklanan çalışmada, dönüşümü açıklamak için yer duygusunun kurumsal yeniden üretimi ve kurumsal merkezli kolektif bellek kavramları tartışılmıştır. Erdemir, yükselme dönemindeki olumlu katkılarıyla ve ağır sanayinin verdiği özellikleriyle kentteki sosyo-ekonomik yapıyı ve dolayısıyla kolektif belleği şekillendirmiştir. Özellikle kente gelen yeni göçmen işçi nüfusun neredeyse eski nüfus kadar olması ve bu yeni nüfusun çok kültürlü bir yapıda olması, tekrar özgün bir kolektif belleğin oluşmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu kolektif belleğin şekillenmesinde Erdemir'in sosyal hayatı şekillendirici etkileri ve ekonomik alışkanlıklara olan etkileri belirleyici olmuştur. Kentin en büyük aktörü olan Erdemir, tüm bu gücüyle kentteki kolektif bellek üzerinden yer duygusunu yeniden üretmiştir. Yeniden üretilen bu yer duygusu, Mübeccel Kıray'ın (1964) kitabına da başlık olan bir sahil kasabasından, bir sanayi

kentine dönüşümün duygusu olmuştur. Ancak bu dönüşüm, 2006'da yaşanan özelleştirme ile yeni bir sayfaya girmiştir.

Daha önce de bahsedildiği üzere, özelleştirme ile birlikte bir kamu şirketinden özel şirket statüsüne geçen Erdemir, kentle o güne kadar olan tüm ekonomik ve sosyal ilişkisini kısıtlamaya başlamıştır. İşçi çıkartmaları ve maaşlarda yapılan kesintiler ile sosyal faaliyetlerin durdurulması, kenti yükselme döneminden sonra düşüş dönemine sürüklemiştir. Bu sebeple çalışmada 2006 ve sonrası dönem için düşüş dönemi adlandırması yapılmıştır. Özelleştirmenin çalışma açısından en büyük etkisi ise, saha araştırmasında net şekilde ortaya koyulduğu haliyle insanların bugünkü durumlar ışığında kentin geçmişine bakarak yeniden bir değerlendirme yapmaya itilmiş olmasıdır. Bu yeniden değerlendirmede, yer duygusu kavramının yıllar içerisindeki değişimi ve bugün kendine aradığı yeni anlam görülmektedir. Aşağıdaki tabloda yer duygusunun dönemsel değişimi ve öğeleri saha araştırması verileri kapsamında özetlenmiştir.

Tablo. Kdz. Ereğli'de Değişen Yer Duygusu

Dönem	Yer Duygusunun Öğeleri	Yer Duygusu Sınıflandırması
Oluşum (1960'lar öncesi)	Tarih, tarım, doğal kaynaklar ve güzellikler gibi özgün değerler, sahil kasabası, çeşitliliğin olmadığı bir yer.	Tepkisel Yer Duygusu
Yükseliş (1960'lar sonrası 2006'ya kadar)	Erdemir, sanayi, işçi kenti, ülkeye ve dünyaya açılmış bir yer, çok kültürlü ve çeşitli, ekonomik ve sosyal olarak güçlü bir yer.	İlerlemeci Yer Duygusu
Düşüş (2006 sonrası)	Ekonomik ve sosyal olarak çökmüş, geçmişe dönük sanayi şehri olmaktan kaynaklı pişmanlık, yeni kimlikler için arayış. Gelecekte bir tatil kenti olmak yönünde pozitif bir yer duygusu, aynı zamanda geçmişte yaşanan ekonomik ve sosyal ilerlemenin eleştirisi.	Tepkisel Yer Duygusu + İlerlemeci Yer Duygusu

Tablodan da görüleceği üzere, düşüş döneminde yaşanan yer duygusu sınıflandırması iki kavramı da beraberinde getirmiştir. Saha araştırmasında

açığa çıkan geçmişe yönelik değerlendirmeler ve geleceğe yönelik düşünceler, insanların yer duygusunu yeniden üretme aşamasında arada kaldıklarını göstermektedir. Bir grup katılımcı kentin Erdemir olmadan bugün yine de çok kötü bir yer olacağını değerlendirirken, bir diğer grup da Erdemir'in kentte bugün yaşanan çöküşün sorumlusu olduğunu, bugün Erdemir olmasaydı daha küçük ancak huzurlu bir yerin olabileceğini düşünmektedir. Geriye dönük yapılan bu değerlendirmelerde bazı katılımcılar kenti bundan sonra turizm ile ülkeye ve dünyaya açarak çok kültürlü ve gelişmiş bir kent hayal etmektedirler. Bu yönüyle ilerlemeci yer duygusu özelliği taşıyan bu ifadeler karşın, bir grup geriye dönük pişmanlıklarında kentin bir sanayi kentine dönüşmesini büyük bir hata olarak değerlendirmekte ve daha küçük, dışarı açılmamış, kendi kendisine yetebilen bir Kdz. Ereğli hayali kurmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, bir grubun da tepkisel yer duygusu sınıflandırmasına girdiği görülmektedir. Genel olarak değerlendirildiğinde ise, yer duygusu kavramının kolektif bir ürün ve bir süreç olması açısından düşüş döneminde yaşanan bu belirsizlik kavramın bu özelliklerini de doğrulamaktadır. Erdemir, kuruluşu ve özelleştirilmesiyle kentteki kolektif belleği etkileyerek yer duygusunun yeniden üretimini tetiklemiştir.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışma kapsamında, yer duygusu kavramının değişimi analiz edilmiş ve bu değişimin nasıl gerçekleştiği araştırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunu yaparken temel araştırma sorusu yer duygusunun kurumlar tarafından nasıl etkilendiğinin incelenmesi olmuştur. Çalışma göstermiştir ki, yer duygusu kentsel ölçekte kolektif belleğin bir ürünüdür ve sürekli değişime açıktır. Kurumsal etkilere açık olan yer duygusu, güçlü bir kurumun kolektif belleği şekillendirmesiyle kurumsal olarak yeniden üretilebilmektedir. Somut örnekte Erdemir, kuruluşuyla kentteki yer duygusunu sahil kasabasından sanayi kentine hızlıca dönüştürmüş ve özelleştirilmesi ile geçmişe yönelik olarak bu dönüşümü sorgulatmaya sebep olarak kendi ürettiği yer duygusunun yeniden üretimi için bir süreci başlatmıştır. 2006'dan bu yana Erdemir'in yerel ölçekte yaptığı etkiler ve insanlarda yaşattığı hisler, kolektif belleği tekrar etkileyerek

yeni bir yer duygusunun aranmasına sebep olmaktadır. Ancak sürecin halen devam eden belirsizlikleri ve tartiřmalar iřıęında, yeni bir yer duygusu kentte henüz oluřturulamamıřtır. Bu kapsamda alıřmanın yer duygusunun kent öleęinde deęiřimlerinin ve deęiřim sebeplerinin incelenmesinde katkı saęlaması beklenmektedir.

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