

(RE)PRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL TERRAIN VAGUE: THE CASE OF THE
NATIONAL TEXTILE FACTORY IN ADANA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY



BY
GÖZDE GÜLDAL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
URBAN DESIGN IN CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

JULY 2020

Approval of the thesis:

**(RE)PRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL TERRAIN VAGUE: THE CASE OF
THE NATIONAL TEXTILE FACTORY IN ADANA**

submitted by **GÖZDE GÜLDAL** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Urban Design in City and Regional Planning Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Halil Kalıpçılar
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok
Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun
Supervisor, **City and Regional Planning, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok
City and Regional Planning, METU

Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun
City and Regional Planning, METU

Prof. Dr. Ela Babalık
City and Regional Planning, METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yücel Can Severcan
City and Regional Planning, METU

Prof. Dr. Nihan Özdemir Sönmez
Real Estate Development and Management, Ankara University

Date: 24.07.2020



I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Surname: Gözde Güldal

Signature:

ABSTRACT

(RE)PRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL TERRAIN VAGUE: THE CASE OF THE NATIONAL TEXTILE FACTORY IN ADANA

Güldal, Gözde

Master of Science, Urban Design in City and Regional Planning

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun

July 2020, 249 pages

In this thesis it is aimed to reveal a value model that can be referred to be able to reevaluation of the abandoned industrial assets which are industrial heritage, in the urban context. The main purpose is to construct a holistic approach for preservation and improvement of the abandoned industrial assets.

In accordance with this purpose, the situation of abandoned industrial assets is expressed as industrial terrain vague, because of their values in the historical process in one hand and their obsolescence on the other hand. Spatial trialectic of Lefebvre clears up the required space inquiry for reproduction of industrial terrain vague in the basis of values. Accordingly changing dimensions of the industrial space (mental, physical and social) from genesis till presence of industrial terrain vague are examined. At the end, a cultural value model is presented which is supported by Lefebvrian analysis method.

In this context Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory] which is in the old industry district at the city centre of Adana has been chosen as the research area. The factory, which is constructed in 1906, abandoned in the 1990s step by step and reserved for preservation in 2013, is examined with its environs. Factory and its environs are examined at five different time intervals based on the changes happened

in mental, physical and social dimensions and different value gaining or value losing processes are seen. A new criticizing vision based on cultural value model is constructed for the reproduction of abandoned factory.

Keywords: Industrial Heritage, Industrial Terrain Vague, Spatial Triad, Cultural Value Model, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory]



ÖZ

KARARSIZ ENDÜSTRİ ALANININ (YENİDEN) ÜRETİMİ: ADANA MİLLİ MENSUCAT FABRİKASI ÖRNEĞİ

Güldal, Gözde
Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım
Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun

Temmuz 2020, 249 sayfa

Bu tez, günümüzde terkedilmiş durumda olan ve endüstri mirası kapsamına giren endüstri varlıklarının kent bağlamında yeniden değerlendirilmesinde başvurulabilecek bir değer modelini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Temel amaç endüstri varlıklarının korunması ve geliştirilmesine yönelik bütüncül bir yaklaşım geliştirmektir.

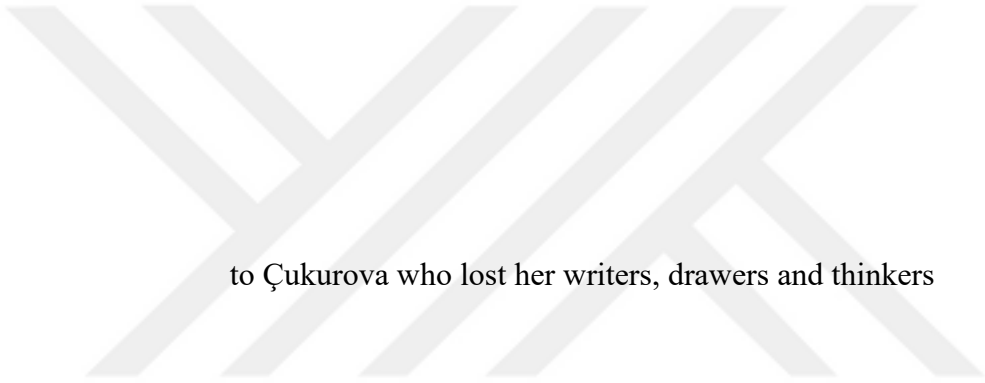
Bu amaç doğrultusunda, terkedilmiş endüstri varlıklarının geldiği aşama bir tarafta tarihsel süreç içinde taşıdıkları değerler, diğer tarafta geçirdikleri değer yitim süreçleri nedeniyle kararsız endüstri alanı olarak tariflenmiştir. Lefebvre'in mekânsal triyalektiği kararsız endüstri alanının değerler temelinde yeniden üretilebilmesi için gereken mekan sorgusuna ışık tutmuştur. Bu doğrultuda mekanın, doğuşundan kararsız endüstriyel alan olana kadarki süreçte değişen boyutları (zihinsel, fiziksel ve sosyal) irdelenmiştir. En sonunda Lefebvreci analiz yönteminden beslenmiş bir kültürel değer modeli ortaya koyulmuştur.

Adana'da kent merkezinde eski endüstri alanı içinde yer alan Milli Mensucat Fabrikası bu kapsamda araştırma alanı olarak seçilmiştir. 1906 yılında inşa edilen, 1990lı yıllar itibariyle aşama aşama boşaltılan ve en sonunda 2013 yılı itibariyle korumaya alınarak müzeye dönüştürülen fabrika ve yakın çevresi bu kapsamda incelenmiştir. Fabrika ve çevresi beş farklı dönem içinde zihinsel, fiziksel ve sosyal boyutların değişimi

üzerinden incelenmiş farklı değer üretim ve değer yitim süreçleri ile karşılaştırılmıştır. Fabrikanın yeniden üretiminde kültürel değer modeli üzerinden eleştirel bir yeniden bakış geliştirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Endüstri Mirası, Kararsız Endüstri Alanı, Mekansal Üçlü, Kültürel Değer Modeli, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası





to Çukurova who lost her writers, drawers and thinkers

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Nil Uzun for her encouragements and insight throughout the research. I would also like to thank the examining committee members; Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok, Prof. Dr. Ela Babalık, Prof. Dr. Nihan Özdemir Sözmez and Asist. Prof. Dr. Yücel Can Severcan for their valuable suggestions and comments for the thesis. Besides, I owe earnest thankfulness to Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok for encouraging me to think on the modern city where laborers are at the heart of it.

I thank Halim Karataş for his cheerfulness, loving support, encouragement and endless tolerance throughout my study. I would like to express my appreciation to my parents, Şeref Güldal and Rukiye Güldal, for all their love and support. I sincerely thank my beloved sister Göksu Güldal for the joy and hope she gave me throughout the thesis. I am also indebted to all my friends who touched my life and make me the person who I am.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank all laborers who narrate labor and the city. As I read and listened to them, I saw that I was doing something right.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ÖZ	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	x
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Problem Statement and Aim of the Study	1
1.2. Structure of the Thesis.....	4
2. ABANDONMENT OF INDUSTRIAL SPACE	7
2.1. Industrialization.....	7
2.1.1. Spaces in the Industrial Era	10
2.2. Deindustrialization	13
2.2.1. Spaces in the Post-Industrial Era	15
2.3. Industrial Heritage and Archaeology	17
2.3.1. Industrial Heritage and Archaeology in Europe	19
2.3.2. International Documents.....	21
2.3.3. Industrial Heritage and Archaeology in Turkey	30
2.4. Concluding Remarks	34
3. A THEMATIC APPROACH FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE SITES	35
3.1. Drosscape	36

3.2. Brownfield	38
3.3. Terrain Vague	38
3.3.1. Industrial Terrain Vague	45
3.3.1.1. Obsolescence in Industrial Terrain Vague.....	45
3.3.1.2. The Values in Industrial Terrain Vague	51
3.3.2. A Value Model for the Reproduction of Industrial Terrain Vague	56
3.3.2.1. An Analysis Method for the Value Model based on The Spatial Triad of Lefebvre.....	63
3.4. Concluding Remarks.....	67
4. CASE STUDY: MİLLÎ MENSUCAT FABRİKASI [THE NATIONAL TEXTILE FACTORY]	71
4.1. Research Methodology	71
4.1.1. Selection of the Site.....	72
4.1.2. Periodization.....	73
4.1.2.1. Time Intervals of Embedded Values Period.....	75
4.1.2.2. Time Intervals of Obsolescence Period	80
4.1.3. Scale and Content.....	84
4.1.4. Sources for Triadic Analysis	85
4.2. Brief Look on the Spatial History of Adana and the Place of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in Adana	88
4.3. Embedded Values Period: Production of Industrial Space	93
4.3.1. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the First Interval (1876-1923).....	95
4.3.1.1. Representation of Space: Baghdad Railway Line	96
4.3.1.2. Spatial Practice: Train Station-Industry Togetherness	105
4.3.1.3. Space of Representation: Döşeme Neighbourhood	110

4.3.2. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Second Interval (1923-1950).....	116
4.3.2.1. Spaces of Representation: Nationalized Properties	116
4.3.2.2. Representation of Space: Industrialization Plans and Jansen Plan ..	126
4.3.2.3. Spatial Practice: Agriculture-Industry-City Center Togetherness ...	134
4.3.3. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Third Interval (1950-1980)	157
4.3.3.1. Representation of Space: Marshall Plan and Provincial Bank Plan.	158
4.3.3.2. Spaces of Representation: Spaces of Urbanized Labor.....	168
4.3.3.3. Spatial Practice: Changing Agriculture-Industry-City Relation	175
4.4. Obsolescence Period: (Re)Production of Industrial Terrain Vague	185
4.4.1. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Forth Interval (1980-2000).....	187
4.4.1.1. Representation of Space: Revised and Additional Master Plans	187
4.4.1.2. Space of Representation: Industrial Terrain Vague	190
4.4.1.3. Spatial Practice: Fragmented Relations	196
4.4.2. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Fifth Interval (2000-2019).....	199
4.4.2.1. Representation of Space: Urban Transformation and Reuse Projects	199
4.4.2.2. Spaces of Representation: Urbanized Capital	206
4.4.2.3. Spatial Practice: Preservation of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] as a Lone Ranger	213
4.5. Findings of the Analysis: Reproduction of Industrial Terrain Vague by the Cultural Value Model	218
5. CONCLUSION.....	235
REFERENCES.....	243

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 3.1. Different definitions of functional obsolescence.....	48
Table 3.2. Different definitions of locational obsolescence	48
Table 3.3. Historic definition of the values affected by the change of the three components of the space.....	69
Table 4.1. Timeline of the components of space	220
Table 4.2. Overall synthesis.....	233

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Conceptual diagram on the conservation of an industrial heritage site	4
Figure 2.1. Expanding scale and content in cultural heritage approach.....	22
Figure 2.2. Timeline of the development of preservation of industrial heritage in Turkey and Europe.....	33
Figure 3.1. Drosscape diagram (Berger, 2007)	37
Figure 3.2. Rafaelli's painting-Terrain Vague, 1882	39
Figure 3.3. A frame Michela Carne's 1960 movie named by Terrain Vague on the left and surrealist photographer Man Ray's 1929 frame on the right.....	40
Figure 3.4. Constant Nieuwenhuys's 1970,1972, 1972, 1975, 1973, 1982 works on Terrain Vague (Source: archive of Fondation Constant, retrieved from https://stichtingconstant.nl/search?search_api_views_fulltext=terrain+vague)	40
Figure 3.5. Terrain vague as a word.....	42
Figure 3.6. Examination of terrain vague.....	44
Figure 3.7. Obsolescence side of terrain vague.....	50
Figure 3.8. Value typologies developed by different authors for the preservation of cultural heritage sites.....	52
Figure 3.9. Grouping of value typologies in terms of being culturalist or economist.....	53
Figure 3.10. Value side of terrain vague	55
Figure 3.11. The dynamic interaction of forms, practices and relationships (Stephenson, 2008, p. 135).....	57
Figure 3.12. Embedded and surface values (Stephenson, 2008).....	58
Figure 3.13. Spatial triad.....	64
Figure 3.14. Interaction of the spatial triad and the components of the cultural value model.....	67
Figure 4.1. Periodization	74

Figure 4.2. Scale and content of the research	84
Figure 4.3. The momentum of the space and disrupted momentum of the space by various particular interventions	84
Figure 4.4. Development of the macroform of Adana.....	91
Figure 4.5. Location of the industrial district in Adana and Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] site in the district (base map is obtained from https://hebstreits.com/).....	93
Figure 4.6. Baghdad Railway Line (Cuda, 1939).....	98
Figure 4.7. Map of Adana 1872 showing the historical town center and city gates 1872 (Source: Reel, 2006, Master thesis, Premiership Ottoman Archive).....	100
Figure 4.8. Map of Adana showing the town center and railway 1892 (Source: Reel, 2006, Master thesis, Premiership Ottoman Archive).....	100
Figure 4.9. Adana City Plan 1/2500, 1910 (Source: Cengizkan, 2010, p.42)	103
Figure 4.10. Kuruköprü Square, 1914 (Source: İzzet Gönenç's personal archive)..	109
Figure 4.11. Old Station Street, 1920s (Source: Orhan Kapılı's personal archive) .	109
Figure 4.12. Ravaged Armenian neighbourhoods in Adana (Source: archive of Armenian Genocide Intuitute Foundation)	111
Figure 4.13. Current urban fabric and development area planned by the French (Cuda, 1939)	114
Figure 4.14. Industrial District in Plan de la Ville d'Adana prepared by the French Military Forces in 1918 (Source: combined from the original copies at TU Berlin Architekturmuseum Inv.Nr.23370-23381 and retrieved from https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=51&SID=15653228255534)	115
Figure 4.15. People who occupied the abandoned properties in Döşeme and Çarçabuk neighbourhoods (Üngör & Polatel, 2011, p. 177)	120
Figure 4.16. Opening ceremony of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory], 1927 (Source: Emine Ela Özgür's personal archive).....	125
Figure 4.17. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory], 1920s (Source: City Library of Adana Science and Technology University)	125

Figure 4.18. Posters of South Industry, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and Sümerbank	126
Figure 4.19. Pre-restoration visualization (Taylan, 1939)	129
Figure 4.20. Industrial district - city relations in Jansen Plan, 1940 (Source: (TU Berlin Architekturmuseum Inv.Nr.23368 retrieved from https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=33).....	132
Figure 4.21. Adana International Agriculture Expo (Source: archive of Salt Research Center).....	136
Figure 4.22. Adana School of Agriculture, 1929 (Source: Arslan Görgün's personal archive).....	136
Figure 4.23. Adana Farmers' Association (Source: Mehmet Baltacı's photograph in Sabri Gül's personal archive).....	137
Figure 4.24. Cukurova Cotton Sales Cooperative (Çukobirlik) (Source of the photograph on the left: Gülsen Tüzüner Şenses's personal archive and source of the photograph on the right: Çağatay Keskinok's personal archive)	138
Figure 4.25. Transportation of cotton to the factories (Source: İzzet Gönenç's personal archive).....	139
Figure 4.26. Garden of the Hospital of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], 1947	143
Figure 4.27. A teacher in the garden of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] Elementary School on the left, 1952 (Source: Haldun Coşkun's personel archive) and students in a school trip on the right (Source: Kevser Pekkoçak Göçener's personal archive)	144
Figure 4.28. Members' of Sport Club Visitation to Anıtkabir (Source: Hakan Timur's personal archive)	145
Figure 4.29. Basketball club and football school of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] (Source: Cengizhan Köksal's personal archive).....	146
Figure 4.30. The field of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], 1932 (Source: İzzet Gönenç's personal archive)	146

Figure 4.31. Adana City Stadium and Döşeme Neighborhood spectators while watching a football game.....	146
Figure 4.32. Youth Center on the left (Source: Sabri Gül's personal archive) and Indoors Sports Hall on the right (Source: archive of Salt Research Center)	147
Figure 4.33. (1) Flag raising ceremony in 1940s in the stadium and (2) Flag raising ceremony in the Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] (Source: Mehmet Baltacı's personal archive), (3) Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] workers who celebrate the foundation of Republic (Source: Tuncay Özer's personal archive), (4) National Sovereignty and Children's Day celebration (Source: Ahmet İşisağ's personel archive), (5) The arch of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] for the 10 th anniversary celebration of Foundation of Republic (Source: Nuri Erbaz's personal archive), (6) Wreath of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]in the Commemoration of Atatürk in Atatürk Park.....	150
Figure 4.34. Union identity of a worker, 1947 (Source: Hüseyin Yapıcı's personal archive)	151
Figure 4.35. Female worker in Cigarette Factory on the left (Source: Nuri Erbaz's personal archive) Labarotory of Sumerbank Factory on the right (Source: archive of EBA).....	153
Figure 4.36. Döşeme Neighbourhood- Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] relation (Source: Şeyda İnep's personal archive).....	153
Figure 4.37. Daily life in Kuruköprü Square in 1940s (Sources: personal archives of Zeynep Uğurlu, Ayşe Zariç, Hakan Yurdakul and Lütü İstanbulluoğlu).....	156
Figure 4.38. Daily life in Atatürk Park (Source: İdil Ece's personal archive)	157
Figure 4.39. Conceptual diagram related to the development of rural areas from plan explanation report of Provincial Bank Plan (Source: Maps and Plans Documentation Unit in METU Faculty of Architecture)	164
Figure 4.40. Conceptual diagram related to the development of urban areas from plan explanation report of Provincial Bank Plan (Source: Maps and Plans Documentation Unit in METU Faculty of Architecture)	165

Figure 4.41. Living-working scheme from the supplemet of Provincial Bank Plan (Source: Maps and Plans Documentation Unit in METU Faculty of Architecture)	167
Figure 4.42. Industrial district-city center relation in Provincial Bank Plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)	167
Figure 4.43. (1) Adana agricultural workers and technicians 1944, (2) cotton picking machine in a ceremony in city center (Source: Cevdet Naci Gülalp's personal archive), (3) Students of agricultural school (Source: Nuri Erbaz's personal archive), (4) Agriculture and industry fair in Atatürk Park 1970	170
Figure 4.44. Physical environment and daily life at Adana's irrigation canals	179
Figure 4.45. Atatürk Swimming Pool in 1960s (Source: Behçet Kurtiç's personal archive)	180
Figure 4.46. Physical space and daily life in Döşeme neighborhood (Source: Hadi Sindel and Ahmet İşisağ)	182
Figure 4.47. Physical space and daily life in Adana's vineyards (Source: Seval Önen, Cevdet Gergin, Mine Çaygür Sencer, Ali Pekçetin)	183
Figure 4.48. a meeting in Kuruköprü square, 1973	185
Figure 4.49. 2 nd stage of 1992 master plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)	189
Figure 4.50. 3 rd stage of 1992 master plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)	190
Figure 4.51. Advertisements in the 1930s (Source: Türksözü Newspaper, 4 July 1937, 9 July 1937, 10 May 1941)	192
Figure 4.52. Advertisements in the 1950s (Source: Türksözü Newspaper, 8 June 1950, 2 May 1950)	192
Figure 4.53. Advertisements in the 1970s (Source: Yeni Adana Newspaper, 1978)	192
Figure 4.54. Advertisements in 1980s (Source: Yeni Adana Newspaper, 1988)	193
Figure 4.55. Locational obsolescence (Source: Yeni Adana Newspaper, October 2, 1984)	194
Figure 4.56. Functional obsolescence (Yeni Adana, n.d.)	195

Figure 4.57. Highway passing through the south of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] (Source: Nuri Erbaz’s personal archive, 1978).....	198
Figure 4.58. 1/25000 scale master plan on the left, 2010 and 1/5000 scale revised plan on the right, 2013 (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality).....	200
Figure 4.59. 1/1000 scale Implementation Plan Change in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] Area, 2013 (Source: archive of Adana Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism)	201
Figure 4.60. 2017 master plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)	202
Figure 4.61. Areas declaring Urban Transformation and Development Areas in 2017	203
Figure 4.62. Registered buildings as cultural heritage	204
Figure 4.63. project image of Park Adana Shopping and Life Center built instead of the South Polgat Factory on the left (Retrieved from http://wowturkey.com/t.php?p=/tr736/onens_parkadana2.jpg) and its amusement park on the right, 2017 (Source: author’s personal archive)	207
Figure 4.64. project image of the Esas 01 Burada Mall built on the site of old Tekel Factory on the left (Retrieved from http://www.esasgayrimenkul.com.tr/) and its construction (Source: author’s personal archive)	208
Figure 4.65. (1) German Factory 2013, (2) South Industry site 2018, (3) Paddy Factory 2018 (Sources: author’s personal archive), (4) Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] 2018 (retrieved from http://www.milliyet.com.tr/adana-muze-kompleksi-nde-cevre-duzenlemesi-adana-yerelhaber-2774928/).....	210
Figure 4.66. Project image of the museum of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] on the left (retrieved from https://arkeofili.com/adanada-tarihi-fabrika-muze-olma-yolunda/) and its entrance yard 2018 (source: author’s personal archive)	211
Figure 4.67. Industrial district-city center relations, 2019 (Source: author’s personal archive)	214

Figure 4.68. Factory - industrial district relations, 2019 (Source: author's personal archive).....	215
Figure 4.69. Interior of the museum site 2018 (Source: author's personal archive)	216
Figure 4.70. Obsolescent parts of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] 2018, (1) and (2) Officers' entry, (3) and (4) Workers' entry, (5) Clubhouse, (6) Single lodgings (Source: author's personal archive).....	217





CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Statement and Aim of the Study

At the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century with the industrial revolution, a large-scale industry leap was seen in many countries starting from Europe. This leap had shaped the cities until a certain time. There was a lot of new urban problems at an unprecedented scale because of this new industrial life. Several successful and unsuccessful solutions were sought for some urban problems/constraints that emerged in the industrialization period, such as insufficient housing supply, environmental pollution, transportation problems for production flow, etc. Migration to cities, improvements in transportation and workers' housing, suburbanization processes, different utopia ideas are some results in this industrialization period. At the end of this interdependent industrialization-urbanization (r)evolution that lasted for nearly two centuries, industrial production spaces (factories) start to move out from the city center from the mid-20th century onwards. Ultimately, post-industrial period in the world began.

The industrialization and deindustrialization processes are the processes to increase the profit of the capitalists by making strategic changes in the capital accumulation model adopted by the capitalist states. With an endless tactical changes, the impulse of capital accumulation constantly pursues new products, new technologies, new lifestyles, new ways of traveling and new exploitation spaces (Harvey, 2011). New strategies that lead to deindustrialization are evolving in the light of the debates on globalization, flexibility and Post-Fordism. With these discussions, it is claimed that the *industrial society* is being replaced by the *information society*. It is assumed that the West has shifted its industry to underdeveloped countries and that the

accumulation of capital is based on pure knowledge production. Thus, rather than industrialization, the essential vein of development was to reach the information society. (Ekiz & Somel, 2007) In contrast, Türel states that the abstraction of an international division of labor in which the advanced center produces technological knowledge and the underdeveloped countries produces industrial goods is a fantasy. This process also undermines the deindustrialization processes, one of the main chains of dependence in underdeveloped countries. On the other hand, an important basis of the hegemonies of the developed countries is that they have the most advanced industrial branches. Well-established industrial infrastructures have been the lifesaver for the central capitalist countries to easily overcome the ups and downs crisis experienced since the 1970s. (Türel, 2003)

While industrial spaces are transformed according to different strategies within the economic and political structures of nations, developed Western Countries carried out the process of industrialization and deindustrialization in an economically and socially controlled manner to prevent the disruption of their economy. Developed countries who reached the target of industrial society in terms of social, cultural, political aspects have embraced the abandoned industrial spaces as cultural assets and tried to integrate it with a new use in the urban context. Besides, developing countries experience industrialization and deindustrialization in a financially uncontrolled manner. The deindustrialization policies, which are shaped according to the policies of the countries who control the financial system in the globalized world, have led to a loss in social progress for states that have not fully achieved the goal of an industrial society and have not yet completed their development.

The industrial experience of Turkey can be identified with the case of *late industrialization*. During industrialization attempts in countries like England, France, Italy and Germany, Turkey is the country providing raw materials out of the country during the Ottoman Period. The industrialization experience in Turkey accelerated in Tanzimat Reform Era at the end of the 1800s. The factories were established for the production of the goods which the state needed, and the modernization of the existing

factories was provided. Early Republican Period was the first breaking point in terms of industrial production. State factories based on domestic raw materials were developed, and factories were modernized in the Early Republican Period (1923-1950). This acceleration did not last too long. Significant breakdowns which downgrade the industrial production were experienced in Turkey's economy-politics. Many factories began to be closed one by one in Turkey after 1980. The remainder was ruins of the factories as important cultural assets within the cities.

What do we do with these industrial reminders? This question brings out the relation of abandoned industrial assets with urban conservation planning and urban design. In many countries, academia, international and local institutions begin to deal with the processes, conservation, the transformation of industrial remains. Integrating abandoned industrial spaces which located in the city centers to the city again based on their physical values with an effort similar to the Western Countries' without evaluating the obsolescence processes, is the central problematic of this thesis.

The reassessment effort for integrating abandoned industrial spaces, located in the city centers to the city again can be examined through a question:

*“Are “values” dealt with **contextually** and **holistically** in their efforts to embrace the abandoned industrial spaces as cultural assets and to reintegrate them into the city?”*

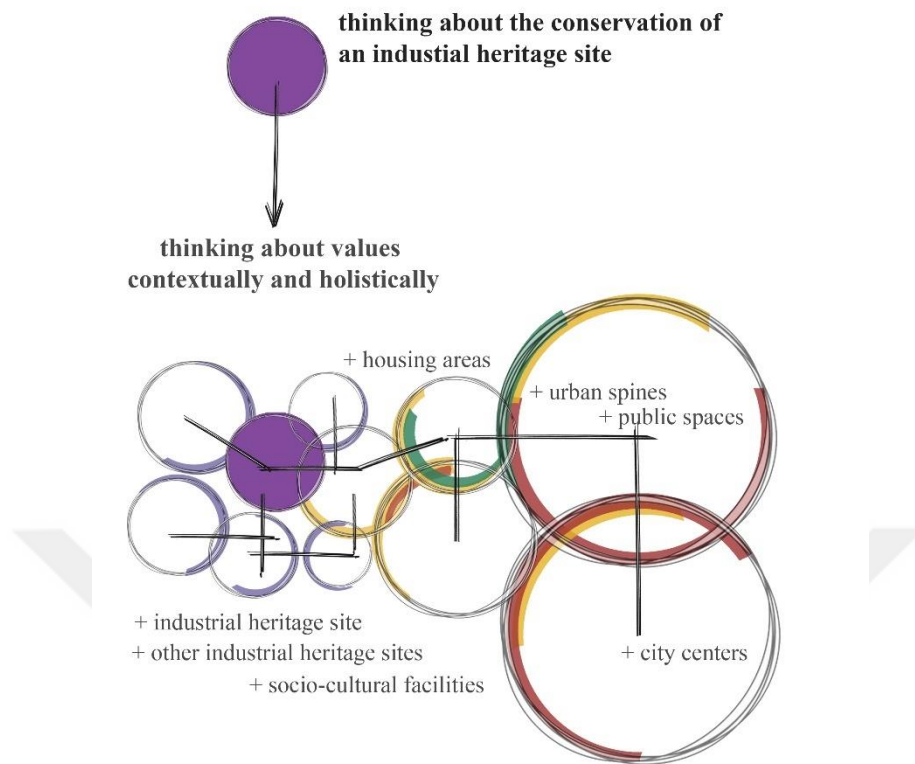


Figure 1.1. Conceptual diagram on the conservation of an industrial heritage site

In this study, it is argued that a genuine and holistic value model must be developed in the preservation of cultural assets in countries where early deindustrialization is experienced, an urban design path which is predicated on a public policy must be built on this value model. This thesis aims to represent this approach through a factory site, which is described as a cultural asset within the city. This approach is to be developed on the basis of underlying issues such as *industrialization-deindustrialization*, *industrial heritage* and *industrial archaeology*.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five main chapters, including the introduction. Chapter 2 is addressed to explain the abandonment of industrial sites and industrial heritage approach, which is the central research area in this thesis. Therefore, it begins with the

explanation of the industrialization process. Industrialization and urbanization relation is defined by examining the spaces of industrialization. The primary focus is on the factory. It proceeds to deindustrialization and its spatial outcomes. The abandoned factory is represented later on. The process of accepting abandoned factory structures as a cultural asset (industrial heritage site) in the conservation legislation is elaborated at the end of the chapter. By reviewing the concept of industrial heritage and industrial archaeology, conservation problem of industrial heritage in Turkey is revealed.

Chapter 3 explains some thematic approaches for abandoned sites and adopts terrain vague theme in order to answer the research question of the thesis. After observing the industrial terrain vague with its two sides – values and obsolescence, reproduction of an industrial terrain vague are examined thoroughly by overcoming the obsolescence processes and disclosing a cultural value model after studying the value typologies entered in conservation literature. An analysis method (Lefebvrian method) for the cultural value model for the reproduction of industrial terrain vague is proposed.

The case study research is presented in Chapter 4 to perform the cultural value model. Chapter 4, first, explains the research methodology for the case study. According to the method, the history of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory] regarding two main periods: *embedded values* period [including foreign-dependent industrialization times (1876 – 1923), national independent industrialization times (1923 – 1950) and import substitution industrialization times (1950 – 1980) as sub-periods] and *obsolescence* period [including the years of liberal economy excluding industrialization (1980 – 2000), and the years of neo-liberal economy, which puts built environment production instead of industrialization (2000 – 2019) as sub-periods] is investigated according to *Lefebvrian analysis* method for revealing *the cultural value model*. Then, in the last part of this chapter, findings about values are interpreted.

Chapter 5 is the Conclusion of this thesis. It summarizes the findings of this research and gives the prominent values and obsolescences of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the

National Textile Factory] over approximately one hundred years in relation to theoretical findings. Finally, it provides the contribution of the thesis to the literature and future studies.



CHAPTER 2

ABANDONMENT OF INDUSTRIAL SPACE

2.1. Industrialization

The beginning of the industrial revolution is addressed by two different approaches. Arnold Toynbee, the economist historian at Oxford University, assumed the discovery of steam engine (the 1760s) as the starting point of the industrial revolution. Half a century later, the American historian Nef argued that *continuity* is the essence of history and said that the beginning could be taken up to the 16th century. According to him, *industrialization* is a long process that extends to the middle of the 16th century and ends with the victory of the industrial state towards the end of the 19th century. Rostow proposed a theory that saw the period between 1783 and 1802 as a turning point in the life of modern societies. He defines this period as a process in which modernization has achieved limited success, and an irreversible process has begun in economic growth (Hobsbawm, 2007).

According to Deane, who identifies these approaches as differences in historical analysis and interpretation, pointed to significant changes that provide a holistic view of the industrial revolution. He identifies four revolutions that interact with the industrial revolution. The population revolution that coincides with the industrial revolution is involved in a complex cause and effect relationship. He analyses the complicated relationship between population growth and the industrial revolution as interdependent phenomena. Also, he explains the industrial revolution in connection with the revolution of agriculture. Increased grain prices due to urbanization and industrial development, cost-cutting technical developments, immigration are the results of the interaction between industry and agriculture. The third is the commercial revolution. The progress of industry and the development of commerce are so closely

interwoven and mutually influence each other in so many ways, that it is often difficult to discover on which side a new development has been started (Deane, 1965). The geographical discoveries that began in the 15th century and continued in the 16th century to find new trade routes led to the creation of new markets. The expansion of the marketing area of raw materials converted to the product with simple machines and hand labor imposed new ways of diversifying products and increasing the number of products. Demand for different and inexpensive products and development of trading cities are the results of the interaction between industry and commerce. The last one is transportation revolution. Industry demands *the ease of movement of ideas and goods*; raw materials need to get to the factory, finished merchandise must be distributed, and fuel had to be delivered to factories to fire their furnaces (Berens, 2011). There was a need for new modes of transportation because of the increase in the volume of goods, the need to transport them faster and longer distances and for the development of trade. Railways, steamboats, trams, motor vehicles, airplanes are the results of the interaction between industry and transportation.

These five revolutions, which were initiated by the industrial revolution, began in Europe and spread across different geographies. Finally, a new era has already started with the industrial revolution, which has completely changed the agriculture, trade, transportation and demographic structure of the society in the world.

Mantoux approaches to the essential features of the industrial revolution from technical, economic and social points of view (Mantoux, 1961). From the technical point of view, the industrial revolution consists in the invention and use of a process which made it possible to speed up and continue to increase production. From the economic point of view, the industrial revolution is characterized by the concentration of capital and the growth of large undertakings. These large firms ceased to be exceptional and their existence and working became the prevailing structures of the industrial era. From the social point of view, the industrial revolution had such extensive and profound results that it did not alter the legal form of society, yet it modified its real substance by creating social classes.

Another issue to be mentioned together with all these changes coming by industrial era is the *modernity*. The enlightened approaches of modernity based on the 17th century was instrumentally rationalized by the industrial revolution lived in the 19th century. This is a fundamental transformation process (a paradigm shift) depending on the renewed development, which has a socially and spatially upheaval (Asiliskender, 2009).

Modernity began with the Renaissance and Reform movements in Europe. It progressed with the philosophy of Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment and became socialized by British, French, American and German National Revolutions. It created a new mode of production with the industrial revolution. Modernity has four dimensions. The economic dimension of modernity is related to industrial society in which products and labor become commodities and liberalist ownership approach institutionalized. Approach to knowledge which contains an objective social science and universally valid field of *ethics* and *law* is the other dimension of modernity. An individual who has become an *equal member* of a larger society, who has become a *citizen of modern society* and who has become disconnected from traditional loyalties constitutes the third dimension of modernity. The institutional structure that can be summarized as a form of a nation-state that transcends the form of social relations in a local context and forms *anonymous social ties* in a more common time and space is the fourth dimension of the modernity (Tekeli, 2001, p. 8).

All these dimensions have many effects on the urban environment. Harvey describes modernization as a mostly urban phenomenon that continues with its explosive urban growth (a few cities will cross a million thresholds at the end of the century), with intense migration from the rural to the urban, industrialization, mechanization, massive change in the architectural environment and an uneasy and complicated relationship with urban political movements (Harvey, 1997, p. 39). It is possible to reach general conclusions by considering industrialization and modernity together when analyzing the industrial society and its urban space.

As a result, new social relations have been established and new values have emerged in all new urban spaces that emerge in connection with the processes of enlightenment, modernization and industrialization.

2.1.1. Spaces in the Industrial Era

According to Lefebvre, urbanization is the end and the *sense of industrialization*. Industrialization does not only produce firms (workers and leaders of private enterprises) but various offices - banking, financial, technical and political. The population, agriculture, commercial and transportation revolutions and associated spaces with the industrialization transformed the traditional structure in cities. The changes wrought by the industrial revolution shaped the built environment, influencing how and where cities developed (Berens, 2011). Opening of factories as the new production spaces, the development of *transportation and communication networks*, the formation of large *industrial and commercial cities* were the developments that affect and change the urban space. Urbanization is a process that creates a growing organization, *division of labor* and *specialization* in the structure of the society. Urbanization has resulted in different changes in human behavior and relationships in the cities.

There is a complexity of the process in which historically a violent clash between urban reality and industrial reality, it reveals itself more and more difficult to grasp. That is, there is a process with two aspects: industrialization and urbanization, growth and development, economic production and social life. The two 'aspects' of this inseparable process have a unity, and yet it is a conflictual process. (Lefebvre, 2000, p. 70).

In the connection between industrialization and urbanization, it has created numerous contradictions that go far beyond the simplest and innocent progression of applying technology and shaping nature in line with the needs of society. They are in fact contradictions in the context of capitalist production and urbanization. These are the conflicts between capital and labor, and nature and urban. In the historical process, as

a result of the meeting of industrialization with modernity, comprehensive planning approach has been adopted in the control of rapid urbanization in the process of transformation of traditional structure. With the understanding of modernist urban planning, *rationalization of spatial form* and transportation emerged as a force to increase economic growth, social welfare and equality in the cities which are both socially and economically transformed and faced with many complex problems after the industrial revolution (Tekeli, 2011, p. 30).

Briefly, there is a necessity of rearrangement of infrastructure and superstructure in the cities in the industrialization-urbanization conflict. Modern city features have occurred and developed completing the industrial spatial organization. Although it is a development imposed by the struggle of capitalism to create a physical environment appropriate to its needs and aims, planning modern city features is the most comprehensive and progressive approach for urbanization.

Factory

In the broadest concept, the industry can be defined as obtaining a new product from raw material or intermediate product as a result of a predetermined process. Industrial structures are components that make a place possible for production and thus indirectly contribute to the production process. (Saner & Severcan, 2009)

Before the Industrial Revolution, a large part of the production was based on human power. Apart from administrative structures, religious buildings and housing, there is no definite spatial divide for early-stage manufacturing. Windmills, watermills and home-dependent workshops where hand labor is used are the first manufacturing sites. The factory system, which emerged from the industrial revolution, has led to the gathering and centralization of the small and scattered units of handicrafts and households under one roof. Thus, since the industrial revolution, the number and size of organizations have increased, their complexity has become more complex and their fields of activity have diversified (Saraçoğlu, 2011).

Factories are physical structures that shelter the organizations that use people and machines to make raw materials into the products. However, it is an incomplete description to describe the factory as a structure in which the machines are located. It would be incomplete to define it as a people's workplace with a simple description in a similar way. The means of introducing and disseminating a new way of life and culture in the factory should come to mind. Mantoux describes the 'factory system' as a particular system of production that affects the whole economic system and consequently the entire social system, which is controlled by the growth and the distribution of wealth (Mantoux, 1961, p. 25). For this reason, the social and cultural transformations that develop in parallel with the new life rising from this new production type should be taken into consideration in the evaluation of factories.

From the eighteenth century onwards, factories have been markers: of revolution, technical and social, of innovation, in design and process, of their moment, politically and economically (Darley, 2003). At this point, "what features that makes a factory revolutionary, innovative and economical and political marker of its moment are" is the question comes to the minds. Darley examines the factory as an image, as an icon, as an innovator, and as a laboratory in his book *Factory* published in 2003.

The factory is one of the essential tools of the modernization project. The factory, which emerged as a product of capitalism, industrialization and scientific rationality, is one of the most fundamental characteristics that constitute modernity (Tekeli, 2001). Cengizkan clarifies that factory can be assumed as the public space of societal transformation ranging from class division arisen from the industry to working place relations regarding the modernity (Cengizkan, 2009). A factory which represents a new way of life is a place where the dimensions of modernity can be read from the scale of a single building to the scale of campus. This reading can be made from the working class created by the factory and from the social and technical bases created for this working class. Division of labor, class relations, new social and cultural relations generated by the changing technology have begun to show themselves for

the first time with the factory life. The spatial configuration is shaped according to these new forms of relations.

Factories, which are a significant player in the country's modernization process, have become a particular area of interest for architecture with their buildings, for urban design with their sites and social sciences with their new way of life. Factories attracting people as newly established workplaces in the cities have changed the geography of the city, starting from its immediate surrounding to the regional scale. Within this spatial change, they have been the most crucial factor in the lower income groups' participation in modern life. As a result, factories should be considered not only as a place producing commodities but also actors producing life and space (Erzen, 2015, p. 242).

2.2. Deindustrialization

The industrial revolution that started in the 17th and grown up towards the end of the 19th century entered a period of decline in the 20th century. Ersoy (2001) describes the deindustrialization process as a structural transformation and explains this transformation with three developments integrated. The first one is that the capital prefers industries that are starting to use high technology, where the profitability ratio is high, and the competition is limited. With this situation defined as reindustrialization by Ersoy, industrial sector opens a limited number of jobs, and therefore the share of the industry in total employment falls. The second development is the participation of the rest of these high-tech industries to the competition on a global scale, including underdeveloped countries. These industrial branches, which use low-paid and unqualified labor force, cannot compete in cost with similar commodities produced in underdeveloped countries. For this reason, it either closes or shifts its production activities to this geography by keeping their administrative, supervisory and design functions. As the third, parallel to all these developments in the industrial sector, employment in the service sector increases in two opposite side. One side consists of production services that are finance, management, advertisement,

design, entertainment, information technologies, etc. The other consist of regular services where there are low tuition fees and no qualifications (Ersoy, 2001). Cheshire and Hay summarize the causes of deindustrialization as shifts concerning the internationalization of world economy, diffusion of technological innovations, declining productivity rates, the fall of transport and communication costs; the increase in personal, economic, and financial mobility. (Cheshire & Hay, 1989)

The outcomes of this process of deindustrialization should be assessed differently in developed and underdeveloped countries. There is a chance to read the process of deindustrialization in different geographies in different dimensions by the conditions outlined above. Economic and social aspects of deindustrialization and their psychological, sociological and spatial consequences can be a research topic that can be explored in different disciplines in different countries with different perspectives.

Another issue which should be mentioned together with all these changes coming by the post-industrial era is the postmodernity. Harvey raises a critical question; are we going to connect postmodernism to a radical restructuring of capitalism, the emergence of a post-industrial society? (Harvey, 2010, p. 58) He defends the idea that the transformation of capitalism produces the conditions which will ensure that the forms of postmodern thinking and movement are in great demand (Harvey, 2015, p. 163).

Postmodernism confronts modernism with scattered dimensions according to its nature. In contrast to modernism, postmodernism opposes the installation of knowledge on objective and universally valid ethic and law and the production of rationality from it. According to postmodernism, modern life is so chaotic that it can not be adjusted entirely by rational thought. With fragmented, pluralistic and even temporary production of information, this chaos can be cleared up, and aesthetics and efficiency can be obtained.

Deindustrialization with *postmodernization* has many effects on the urban environment. Dissociation of production structures, dissolution of the urban systems

that were previously produced in a rational-integrated approach, and the control of the kinesis through project fetishism and urban design approaches, not by planning, have put the urban environment in a new era. It is possible to reach overall conclusions by considering deindustrialization and postmodernity together when analyzing the post-industrial society and its urban space.

2.2.1. Spaces in the Post-Industrial Era

Lefebvre says that it is inevitable that the pre-existing space is entirely occupied and new spaces are produced in the fluid process in which production-consumption relations are rapidly regenerated with economic concerns (Lefebvre, 2014). With the change of production relations in the process of deindustrialization, urban space oversets and the process of transformation of the space was experienced.

The notion of building economic growth, social welfare and equality within the framework of the rational-comprehensive understanding of modernist planning in the process of rapid urbanization due to the industrialization has been replaced by the concept of postmodernist urban planning approach as a result of the global liberal order and deindustrialization processes.

Postmodernism is based on the assumption that space is autonomous, independent and is formed by aesthetic goals and principles, and this formation is not related to social goals (Tekeli, 2011). Therefore, the planning concept placing the production spaces to the particular areas of the city and relating to each other, trying to establish the urban aesthetics in a holistic way and doing all of these things favoring the benefits of society was abandoned. A new urban development strategy of overlapping fragmental, different forms of past, a collage of different utilizations where most of the elements are temporary was preferred (Tekeli, 2011).

Spatial outcomes of deindustrialization can be observed and discussed at three different scales, which are region, city and neighborhood. There are two fundamental reasons for spatial dimensions of deindustrialization at regional scale. The first is the decision to carry out development over other sectors instead of industrial-oriented

development and second is the spatial change in the investment decisions of the state because of an opportunity of lower production cost appears in another place. These lead the change and abandonment of the industrial spaces on the regional scale. This regional remove can be defined as changing geographies of production. In the city scale, it can be observed that the identity of a city has changed in fact with the economic and social dimensions of deindustrialization. Property and real estate changes, land use transformation, changing physical environment leads this identity change. It can be said that the industrial cities of the past have lost their designation. The neighborhood is the scale that changing lifestyle due to deindustrialization can be observed. Social and physical organizations that establish the industry-city connection have altered by the closure of the industrial area, which has established a close relationship with the city.

Urban dynamics at all the different scales listed above cannot be managed easily. The region is left alone with the economic crises by the abandonment of the region where the industry is located. Many cities struggle with numerous derelicts, partially or fully abandoned, and often contaminated old industrial sites in their midst (Tötzer & Gigler, 2005). Besides, industrial areas, especially in the urban core, are confronted with destruction and new development, usually with their environment.

The evaluation of deindustrialization in the neighborhood scale concerning the effect of specific socio-spatial phenomena on the locality is worthwhile for analyzing and understanding wide, multi-layered and multi-parameter industrialization or deindustrialization phenomenon by urban design perspective.

Abandoned Factory

The deindustrialization process left a legacy to the urban space producing many abandoned industrial assets. The story of the impact of the arrival of industry and establishment can be read from their remains today – urban population concentrations, patterns of the transportation network, and the evocative ruins of factory and warehouse buildings (Berens, 2011).

Abandoned sites of the industrial era mark industrial absence and sign a crumbling modern world with its infrastructures and superstructures. It would be a somewhat incomplete interpretation to treat abandoned factory buildings as ordinary abandoned structures.

Abandoned factory sites can be studied by many different disciplines because of sociological and physical changes that occur as a result of abandonment. From the politicians and lawmakers who have sought to regulate the cleanup or conservation of abandoned industrial sites, to the communities, developers, lawyers, planners, engineers, designers who work to regenerate them and reuse them, environmentally disturbed sites and their reclamation have become a focus of private-public initiatives and partnerships (Kirkwood, 2005). The initiatives on the issue of transformation of industrial assets, their processes and their all kinds of accumulation into the new generations and on the issue of evaluation of their building stock are the one workstream of different studies. Abandoned factory sites for urban designers and architects who have not a design experience on a production space stand as a new design/redesign problematic in the city center. The field of industrial archaeology is also a discipline that accompanies these new design processes.

In this context, this thesis focuses on the importance of a multi-dimensional values of industrial space, which must be taken into consideration for the reintegration of an abandoned industrial asset to the urban context. This emphasis on multidimensionality is based on the physical values of these assets as well as the social values that change all spatialities and society in the city.

2.3. Industrial Heritage and Archaeology

While the research discusses the planning and redesign of an abandoned industrial asset, it also feeds and aims to contribute to the fields of industrial heritage and archeology. For this purpose, before revealing this space inquiry, it is necessary to explain the fields where the contribution is made. In this part of the thesis, the field of industrial archaeology and their evolution will be introduced. After this introduction,

it will be forged a link between the industrial archaeology and urban design discipline which integrates industrial heritage sites with the urban context.

Archaeology is a scientific discipline that studies on and documents of remnants of today and interpret the cultural and social order of human communities that lived in the past examining the development process. Remnants cover everything that is directly or indirectly affected, used, altered, structured, or formed by a human.

Classical Archeology (which has begun with the Renaissance and concerned with antique theatres, palaces, and sculptures left behind by Greek-Roman civilizations), Biblical Archeology (which try to uncover the places mentioned in the Torah and the Bible), Paleolithic Age Archeology (which clarifies “strange objects” as the remnants of ordinary societies and the technologies they used) and the new nation states’ curiosity about their origins generated the mainstream types of archaeology (Özdoğan, 2006).

From the 20th century onwards, archaeology went through the process of change and development through exploring approaches and theories of archaeology and through diversifying the methods used. “New Archeology”, headed by L. Binford in 1968, has emerged in response to the stylistic and formal classification of the traditional archaeology. Between 1968 and 1980 has elapsed through different perspectives under the new archaeology approach based on functionalism, processual, and cognitive. Different patterns such as *feminist archaeology*, *progressive archaeology*, *cultural history archaeology* also developed at that time. After the 1980s, especially in the 1990s, the disagreements between the new archaeology and traditional archaeology diminished gradually. Such as *post-processual archaeology*, *neo-Marxist archaeology*, *post-feminist archaeology*, *landscape archaeology*, *symbolic archaeology* has been observed after diminishing disagreements. (Özdoğan, 2011) After all these developments, *underwater archaeology*, *settlement archaeology*, *urban archaeology* and *industrial archaeology* are the most contemporary concepts or approaches of the twentieth century.

The first use of the term industrial archaeology begins with the opposition to the disappearance of industrial assets. According to Tanyeli when the industrial archaeology term was first put forward and emphasized the importance of old industrial facilities and assets, the aim was to express the anxiety that arises from the rapid removal and destruction of these assets rather than a scientific purpose. (Tanyeli, 1998). In the middle of the twentieth century, when crucial evidence from the industrial architecture was demolished, the concept of industrial heritage, industrial archaeology and consequently the interest in its conservation appeared. (Canaran, 2009, p. 13). Industrial heritage is underground and aboveground structures and machines which are subject to industrial archaeology. The most general definition for “*what industrial archaeology is*” can be studying the industrial heritage for protection. “*What are the stories behind the industrial heritage*”, “*What is to be done with these structures*”, “*How to evaluate these?*” are the main questions of industrial archaeology.

2.3.1. Industrial Heritage and Archaeology in Europe

The term *industrial archaeology* was first defined in print in 1955 by Michael Rix, Staff Tutor in Architectural History in the University of Birmingham’s Department of Extramural Studies, who was running extramural classes in the Black Country; he and his students became aware of the destruction of the industrial landscape going on around them. Rix wrote an article in *The Amateur Historian* in 1955, which concluded that there are still many monuments to be scheduled, many books to be written and much fieldwork to be done before industrial archaeology can take its rightful place among the studies of these islands. (Palmer & Orange, p. 2)

The CBA (The Council for British Archaeology), established in 1944 as an educational charity working throughout the UK to involve people in archaeology and to promote the appreciation and care of the historic environment for the benefit of present and future generations, has taken industrial heritage to the agenda in 1959. A Research Committee on Industrial Archaeology was established in the same year within the Council, and a one-day Conference on this subject at London University

was held on 12 December 1959. Green, lecturer in the Department of History at Manchester University, summarizes this first conference which took place in the field of industrial heritage in his article in 1960. According to the Research Committee, to organize the recording of industrial remains must be the first task in the field of industrial archaeology. Producing a handbook of industrial archaeology as a guide for groups and individuals and to organize a pilot survey as soon as possible were another proposition coming from the Conference. The CBA has purposed bringing together the scattered organizations and individuals by way of this handbook. The coordination of the work of different societies in the field and the maintenance of corporation between them were adopted by CBA. The primary purpose is establishing the industrial archaeology as a coherent discipline (Green, 1960). One of the significant developments was the CBA record card adopted as an aid to the Industrial Monuments Survey. After that, this record study forms the basis of the National Record of Industrial Monuments (Falconer, 2005).

After the leadership of the CBA, the number of local industrial archaeology societies increased in Britain in 1960s. The Centre for the Study of the History of Technology was set up by Angus Buchanan in Bath in 1964. A series of annual conferences at Bath was held beside the ongoing CBA Conferences. In 1973, after a meeting in Bath, the Association for Industrial Archaeology as an umbrella organization came into being. At the same year, the First International Congress on the Conservation of Industrial Monuments (FICCIH) was held in Ironbridge, where it is regarded as the symbolic place of the industrial revolution. The importance of Congress was that it is a meeting that brings the issue to the international level to the greatest extent. This Congress was followed by the second, the Second International Congress on the Conservation of Industrial Monuments (SICCIH), after two years in Germany. The third of these Congress was hosted by Sweden with a significant change in detail in the name as the Third International Congress on the Conservation of Industrial “Heritage” (Saner, 2012).

As a result of the various meetings between 1973 and 1978, TICCIH (The International Committee for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage), as an essential international organization dealing with the topic of industrial heritage, was established after this Third Congress in 1978. After this stage, TICCIH organized the congresses in different countries once in three years. For that year's organization, every country is invited by TICCIH to form their National Committee. Also, TICCIH is an organization formed by representatives of these national committees. That is, industrial heritage has been moved to the international level with the foundation of TICCIH. Significant developments were now taking place in the international arena and conservation of the industrial heritage has become institutionalized more quickly and widely.

While this institutionalization of conservation has been going on, the series of colloquies such as *"The industrial heritage, what policies?"* in Lyon, *"Engineering and public works: a new dimension of the heritage"* in Madrid, *"Mining engineering monuments as a cultural heritage"* in Bochum and *"Recording the industrial heritage"* in Durham has highlighted the role of industrial heritage.

There is a growing body of organizations which are interested in the conservation of industrial heritage such as ERIH (European Route of Industrial Heritage), E-FAITH (European Federation of Associations of Industrial and Technical Heritage), DOCOMOMO (DOcumentation and CONservation of -buildings, sites and neighbors of the- MODern MOvement).

Industrial heritage is classified as technical and industrial structures, sites and landscapes in Europe, which has carried out all the experiences outlined above on industrial heritage. In most European countries, industrial monuments are under legal protection within the context of protection laws. In countries like Denmark, England and Norway, there are particular articles of law for the protection of industrial monuments (Köksal, 2005, p. 113).

2.3.2. International Documents

The concept of industrial heritage has continued to develop on the global platform. International congresses and regional meetings, doctrinal texts coming from these meetings and charters lead to the institutionalization of industrial archaeology and heritage from the 1980s and along with 1990s. It is possible to read both the development of the conservation and the development of the industrial heritage through these series of texts. As seen in the documents, there is an expansion of scale and enrichment in content in the research and conservation of industrial heritage. This expansion starts by reading the abandoned industrial assets under the headings of first as an architectural heritage or one kind of monument. This is an approach that refers to too many physical values. Then it expands to see industrial assets as cultural heritage and finally as a cultural landscape. This indicates that non-physical values and relations also gained importance. While the content varies, the scale of conservation changes. The conservation practice that has changed over time from building scale to landscape or urban scale that has contributed to a more holistic approach for the conservation of cultural or natural assets. It is vital to follow this scale development, which spans larger areas than a monument for industrial assets. For this reason, it is beneficial to examine the international documents in terms of subjects of the conservation together with the conservation practice.

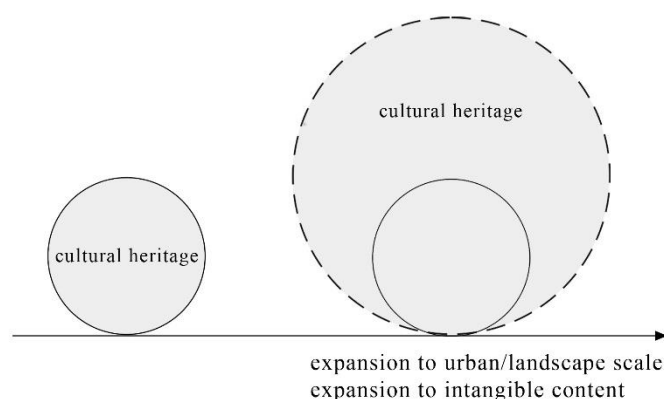


Figure 2.1. Expanding scale and content in cultural heritage approach

In this context, all documents have been examined because that they constitute the conservation literature of the world which sheds light on the redesign of industrial heritage sites.

The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931) is coming from First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments where there are discussions of what the subject of preservation is and what the subject of preservation should be (Kamacı, 2014). This document defines obligatory rules for the protection of monuments. There is a warning about that all constituents that have artistic value and historical memory must be preserved. One of the seven main resolutions contained in the Charter is that; “*Attention should be given to the protection of areas surrounding historic sites.*”¹

The principles of preserving the historical and physical content of a site or building are put forth in The Venice Charter (1964) by emphasizing aesthetic and historic values. Conservation of monuments not only as works of art but also as historical evidence is stated in this Charter. It is also crucial in terms of expanding the urban scale in conservation. Article 1 of the Charter states that;

“The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with time.”²

The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage (1975) is important for the first time to draw attention to different dimensions beyond the physical dimension of conservation thought (Dinçer, 2013). The architectural heritage is considered to be cultural, social and economic capital, and there is emphasized that humanity will become weak if any part is destroyed.

¹ Retrieved from <https://www.icomos.org/en/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments>

² Retrieved from https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, prepared by UNESCO and entered into force in 1975, has identified cultural heritage under the topics of monuments and groups of buildings which have outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science; and sites which have exceptional universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view. UNESCO established a committee, World Heritage Committee, who will determine the properties to be listed as World Heritage with this Convention. World Heritage List is designated by the criteria of two Advisory Bodies of UNESCO, which are International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for cultural properties and International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) for natural properties. Stott draws attention to one of the six criteria for inscription as a world heritage that is to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. He matches this criterion with the industrial heritage by adding the interpretation of the Secretary-General of ICOMOS. His interpretation is from unfinished manuscripts on the history of the World Heritage Convention as “*we are thinking primarily of engineering structures, such as bridges, tunnels canals, etc.*” for the fifth criteria (Douet, 2012, p. 23). In 1978, Wieliczka Salt Mine (in Poland) entered to the World Heritage List as a first industrial heritage site. Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans in 1982, the Pot Du Gard (France) and Roman Aqueduct (Segovia) in 1985, Ironbridge Gorge in 1986 followed respectively Wieliczka Salt Mine.

Burra Charter for Places of Cultural Significance was adopted in 1979 and lastly updated in 2013 for preserving natural, indigenous and historic places with cultural values. Site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views are the places. Aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations are the cultural significance embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.

The Washington Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, prepared by ICOMOS to complete the Venice Charter in 1987, expresses the historical character of the urban area and the material and spiritual components that make up this character as what to be preserved. The Charter aims to promote the harmony of both private and community life in conservation areas and to encourage the preservation of cultural properties that constitute the memory of humankind within modest in scale.

The Granada Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1987) defines architectural heritage under three topics which are monuments, groups of buildings and sites that are conspicuous for their historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest. In there, some decisions which will be based on the protection of the industrial heritage in the following years has determined (Saner, 2012).

Recommendation on European Industrial Towns (1987) is for the traditional industrial towns that have undergone decline through a combination of exhausted resources, technological obsolescence of products and production processes, loss of markets and overdependence on a limited number of primary industries, such as coal, steel, textiles and shipbuilding. Rehabilitation, turning into assets and opportunities, mainly through the re-use and redevelopment of public services and infrastructure and the mobilization of existing human resources are the recommendation for the historic and architectural heritage of industrial towns and regions.

Recommendation on the Protection of the Twentieth Century Architectural Heritage (1991) emphasizes the traditional and modernist values of twentieth-century buildings. The buildings produced in the twentieth century must be considered as heritage by drawing attention to their qualities and the wealth and diversity of their different forms.

Recommendation on the Integrated Conservation of Cultural Landscape Areas as Part of Landscape Policies (1995) sees a landscape that helps to preserve the folk memory

and cultural identities of human communities. Cultural landscape areas are identified as;

“specific topographically delimited parts of the landscape, formed by various combinations of human and natural agencies, which illustrate the evolution of human society, its settlement and character in time and space and which have acquired socially and culturally recognised values at various territorial levels, because of the presence of physical remains reflecting past land use and activities, skills or distinctive traditions, or depiction in literary and artistic works, or the fact that historic events took place there.”³

Recommendation on Measures to Promote the Integrated Conservation of Historic Complexes Composed of Immovable and Movable Property (1998) says that a complex of historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social, technical or cultural interest cannot be confined to buildings alone but also includes the moveable heritage which constitutes an irreplaceable expression of the richness and diversity of cultural heritage. Historic complexes composed of immovable and moveable property includes;

“moveable property situated inside or outside a building and associated with it on account of historical, artistic, archaeological, scientific, functional or cultural links which give these complexes a conspicuous coherence which ought to be preserved.”⁴

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) identifies the intangible cultural heritage. Domains of this are oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, traditional craftsmanship. These are;

“the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated in addition to that – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their

³ Retrieved from https://www.culturante.pt/fotos/editor2/1995-recomendacao_relativa_a_conservacao_dos_sitios_culturais_integrada_nas_politicas_de_paisagem-conselho_da_europa.pdf

⁴ Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/09000016804eda6b>

history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.”⁵

Faro Convention, Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005) emphasizes the need to put human values at the center of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is defined as;

“a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.”⁶

Recommendation No. R (90) 20 on the Protection and Conservation of the Industrial, Technical and Civil Engineering Heritage in Europe arose from the need to implement protection and maintenance policies which take into account specific nature of industrial heritage. It is the basic text of the Council of Europe about industrial heritage. The aim of the recommendation has explained emphasizing that the aim is not to consider only buildings, technical monuments, sites or objects, but also a physical environment, a corpus of knowledge, techniques and ways of life. The aim is;

“The rapid development of industrial civilisation, the new types of production and employment resulting from the recent economic crisis and the technological explosion, which is typical of our age and society, have led to far-reaching upheavals in whole sectors of industrial activity, with the consequent major changes in urban or suburban landscapes involving the sometimes total disappearance of buildings, installations or vestiges of industrial activity. Today, Europe is becoming aware of the technical, cultural and social value of this heritage as a whole which conceals an important part of the collective memory and European identity, some of whose elements deserve to be protected as part of the heritage.”⁷

⁵ Retrieved from http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17716&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

⁶ Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090001680083746>

⁷ Retrieved from https://culturante.gov.pt/fotos/editor2/1990-recomendacao_relativa_a_protecao_e_conservacao_do_patrimonio_tecnico_industrial_e_das_obras_de_arte_na_europa-conselho_da_europa.pdf

The Congress, held in Russia in 2003, was one of the turning points in the conservation of industrial heritage. TICCIH, which is the expert committee of ICOMOS from 2000, hammered out a charter, signing it in the great steel-milling and tank-manufacturing town of Nizhny Tagil in Russia (Douet, 2012). Nizhny Tagil Charter, which has been specifically addressed to the industrial heritage, has been formulated using other international charters. Later, this charter was evaluated together with the other international documents, and new expansions were made in practices and academic studies on industrial archaeology. The Charter defines industrial heritage as;

“the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural, or scientific value. These remains consist of buildings and machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites for processing and refining, warehouses and stores, places where energy is generated, transmitted and used, transport and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education.”⁸

The industrial archaeology is defined as an interdisciplinary method to increase understanding of the industrial past and present in this Charter. All the evidence, material and immaterial, documents, artifacts, stratigraphy and structures, human settlements and natural and urban landscapes created for or by industrial processes are the study objects of the industrial archaeology.

Joint Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes (2011) is drawn attention about both tangible heritage of industrial activity that is engineering, architecture and town-planning and intangible dimensions that are skills, memories and social life of workers and their communities. Industrial heritage is defined as;

“sites, structures, complexes, areas and landscapes as well as the related machinery, objects or documents that provide evidence of past or ongoing industrial processes of production, the extraction of raw materials, their transformation into goods, and the related energy and transport infrastructures.”⁹

⁸ Retrieved from <https://www.icomos.org/18thapril/2006/nizhny-tagil-charter-e.pdf>

⁹ Retrieved from <http://ticcih.org/about/about-ticcih/dublin-principles/>

It is indicated that the significance and value of industrial heritage are intrinsic to all these physical parts and in the intangible records contained in memories, arts and customs.

The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns, and Urban Areas (2011) gives importance to intangible elements between tangible elements. Intangible elements include activities, symbolic and historic functions, cultural practices, traditions, memories, and cultural references that constitute the substance of their historic value. There is an emphasize on that the loss and/or substitution of traditional uses and functions can lead to the displacement of communities and the disappearance of cultural practices, and subsequent loss of identity and character for these abandoned places. Therefore, all tangible and intangible elements, urban patterns with green and open spaces, forms with structure, volume, style, scale, materials, color and decoration, the relationship between the urban area and its surrounding setting and the context of the site must be protected.

The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (2014) acknowledges the cultural heritage and landscape as the living memory of past generations and can provide tangible and intangible connections to future generations.

It can be observed from all these documents that there is an increasing emphasis on the social dimension as well as on the physical dimension of protection of the industrial heritage. The tendency to evaluate this social dimension and the physical dimension together has also led to an attempt to address the industrial asset for conservation in a larger scale with its surroundings, which will provide a better assessment of the social dimension. Köksal also emphasizes the concept of *industrial culture*, including the period of the industrial revolution and its afterlife, urbanization initiatives, workhouses, places where workers live and their social rights. According to her, industrial culture reflects the impact of industrialization on human life and urbanization between the forms of use of industrial products and their equivalents in daily life. She says that industrial culture allows the understanding of the

industrialization process as much as the archaeological findings and architectural products (Köksal, 2005, p. 108).

The reason why all this conservation approaches is explained above is that planning and design practice must be developed in the light of a scientific approach compatible with the current conservation literature. All these developments, which emphasize social dimensions and point to the practice of conservation of a cultural heritage together with the spheres of influence in the historical process, need to be reinterpreted within the own dynamics of the countries.

2.3.3. Industrial Heritage and Archaeology in Turkey

While the industrial heritage was defining, relevant legislation was developing, and the scale of conservation practices was expanding in most countries according to their own dynamics until the 2000s, Turkey has lagged in this research area. There is no institutional structure that could draw a frame for a public policy related to the conservation of industrial heritage except for a few legislative regulations through the reaction to the abandoned industrial assets in Turkey.

Turkey has accepted many international documents mentioned above and has become a party to many of them. Also, although Turkey has shaped its general preservation legislation almost by these international regulations, it cannot be said that the industrial heritage covers an important place in this legislation of Turkey. Between no specific definitions related to the industrial heritage, conservation practice is also in limited availability. It is not possible to find too many applications except a few limited examples.

Conservation of industrial heritage is a very recent phenomenon in Turkey. Indeed, the story begins with a reaction to the lost industrial structures in Turkey, just as that it is in Europe. The story which begins in Europe in the 1960s corresponds to 1990s in Turkey. Moreover, there is no theoretical and practical development in the reproduction of abandoned industrial assets at a similar speed in Europe.

The first reaction for the protection of industrial structures emerged due to the transformation project for Golden Horn in Istanbul. Industrial development had started by the 1936 Proust Plan in Golden Horn which surrounded by shipyards, merchant houses and warehouses during the Byzantine period. Until the 1980s, the Golden Horn continued to be developed as Istanbul's industrial zone. However, the area became the main topic of urban clearance by the plan prepared in 1986, the Golden Horn Waterfront Revitalisation Project. As a result of the reaction against this project, which aims to demolish some of the old industrial structures in the Golden Horn, some of them have been registered as cultural heritage by Cultural and Natural Conservation Board. Even if registered industrial structures in the area after this decision are re-used instead of cleanup, it cannot be said that this is done explicitly in consideration of the preservation of the industrial heritage. Therefore, this has not opened the way for any conception of industrial heritage to fall into the conservation legislation in Turkey.

Immediately after the Golden Horn project, the industrial structures faced with the threat of transformation and destruction were gas and electric factories. These factories have been abandoned because the energy demand provided by air gas for some time is supplied by natural gas. The danger of destruction of these factory sites, which are no longer needed, has emerged. Saner finds that the use of the term *industrial archaeology* has begun to spread during reactions to the destruction of gas factories. In the legal action initiated against the destruction of these factories, it is stated in the expert reports required by the court that these industrial facilities are within the scope of industrial archaeology and so must be protected. This is where the term is first expressed in Turkey (Saner, 2012).

In conclusion, there is no statement regarding the industrial heritage in the Law on The Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (1983), which is the most significant law dealing with the conservation of cultural heritage and sites in Turkey. Law on Renovating, Conserving and Actively Using Dilapidated Historical And Cultural Immovable Assets, which is the other law also does not contain any specific approach for industrial assets.

ICOMOS Turkey says that specific laws and regulations governing the protection area contain judicial sentences that directly or indirectly threaten to protect. A declaration for the conservation of architectural heritage was prepared by ICOMOS National Committee of Turkey as a result of the National Architectural Conservation Experts Meetings held between May 30, 2012, and March 17, 2013. Under the title of basic definitions and protection values for architectural heritage in this declaration, the definition of industrial heritage has been included;

“They are structures in which industrial production processes take place and/or produced by industrial revolution technology. The obsolete constructions, production equipment, building components and settlements and natural and urban landscapes that they are in are the industrial heritage.”

This is the most recent development in the field of industrial heritage in Turkey.

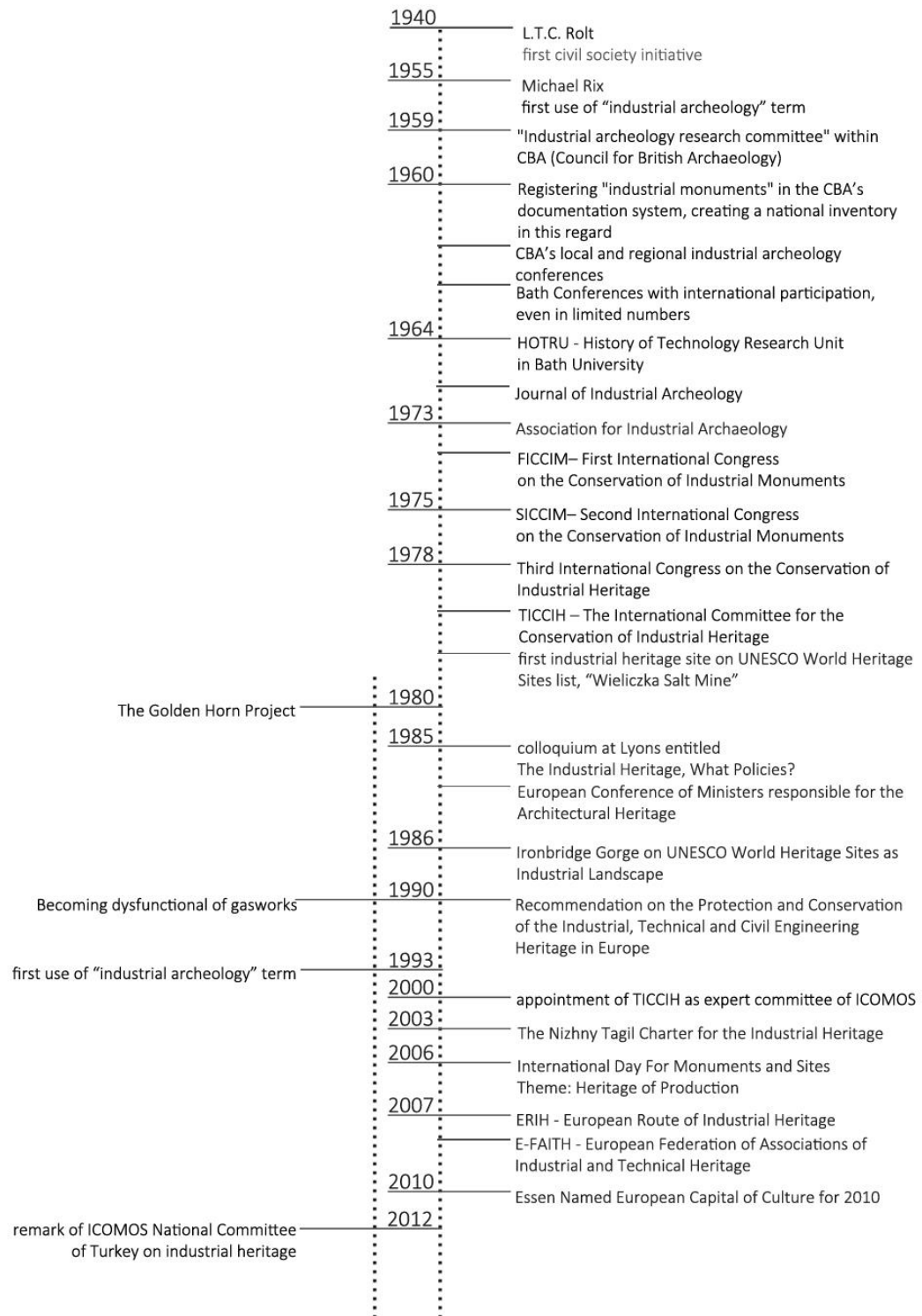


Figure 2.2. Timeline of the development of preservation of industrial heritage in Turkey and Europe

2.4. Concluding Remarks

The patterns of production, the mode of production, the technological process, the structure of the industry and the most importantly the social structure and level of development vary in each country. Industrialization emerged as a development that changes people's thoughts and ways of life and creates different impacts in different countries with economic, cultural, spatial and social manner. Thus, exploring countries' differentiated industrialization and deindustrialization experiences and their effects on space and society will be methodologically different in economic, cultural, spatial and social manner.

A public policy on conservation and redesign of abandoned industrial areas as cultural heritage should begin to be improved by considering all these specific differentiations. In this way, it will be possible to develop an approach that goes beyond a few practices that are directly inspired by the practices of developed countries, which do not go well beyond a few successful practices.

Saner identifies the problem as a *lack of know-how* about the institutionalization and conservation of industrial heritage in Turkey. (Saner, 2012) While building up remarkable theoretical and legislative system about why the industrial heritage should be conserved, it is necessary to increase the number of researches and practices that support how to conserve industrial heritage.

Consequently, planning and design approaches based on multidimensional socio-spatial values should be reviewed again and developed in the industrialization practice of Turkey. One of the most important steps is to take into account the expanding scale and content of industrial heritage led by emerging international conservation approaches. It is essential to analyze the values and spatial constraints that space has in order to achieve a place-specific conservation practice in expanding scale and content.

CHAPTER 3

A THEMATIC APPROACH FOR THE REPRODUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE SITES

A thematic approach will be developed in this part of the thesis on the design problem of industrial heritage sites in urban context. This paves the way for the development of know-how for the reintegration of an abandoned industrial site to the urban context in Turkey.

Many urban design theorists are interested in the abandoned or empty places examining their characteristics and development potentials. A lot of conceptual labels were developed for these kinds of spaces to develop a somewhat philosophical approach. Since the concept of Peterson's *anti-space*, many theorists have increasingly turned their attention to similar vacant or abandoned spaces. Peterson has defined the concept of *anti-space* in the 1980s as open and flowing space with its formless layout and similar situation by any urban use. Almost in the same period, Trancik identified *lost space* as;

“Lost space is the leftover unstructured landscape at the base of high-rise towers or the unused sunken plaza away from the flow of pedestrian activity in the city. Lost spaces are the surface parking lots that ring the urban core of almost all American cities and sever the connection between the commercial center and residential areas. They are the no-man’s-lands along the edges of freeways that nobody cares about maintaining, much less using. Lost spaces are also the abandoned waterfronts, train yards, vacated military sites, and industrial complexes that have moved out to the suburbs for easier access and perhaps lower taxes. They are the vacant blight-clearance sites - remnants of the urban-renewal days - that were, for a multitude of reasons, never redeveloped...” (Trancik, 1986, p. 2)

Throughout the 1990s, when different abandoned spaces were studied in the context of many similar derivative concepts, if we briefly look at the concepts specific to

abandoned industrial places, *drosscape*, *brownfield* and *terrain vague* are the prominent concepts.

3.1. Drosscape

Berger (2007) uses the term for empty, undefined, often ecologically and topographically damaged places resulting from the process of deindustrialization. Berger sees master planning approaches as traditional and absurd. He put forward *drosscape* as an approach which has a potential to coexist with landscape architecture, urban design, planning and architecture. A model by new programs or new sets of values that remove or replace real or perceived wasteful aspects of space is in the center of the approach (Berger, 2007, p. 236). Scavenging, transformation, production of more productive urbanized landscapes, redevelopment are emphasized keywords.

Berger (2007) put the concept in negative polarity side of wasteland schema (figure 3.1.) in his book, *Drosscape Wasting Land in Urban America*. It can be said that a starting from this negative position gives way to bringing back the abandoned land to the city by clearing or destroying its cultural assets, especially in the cities where destructive activities are increasing.

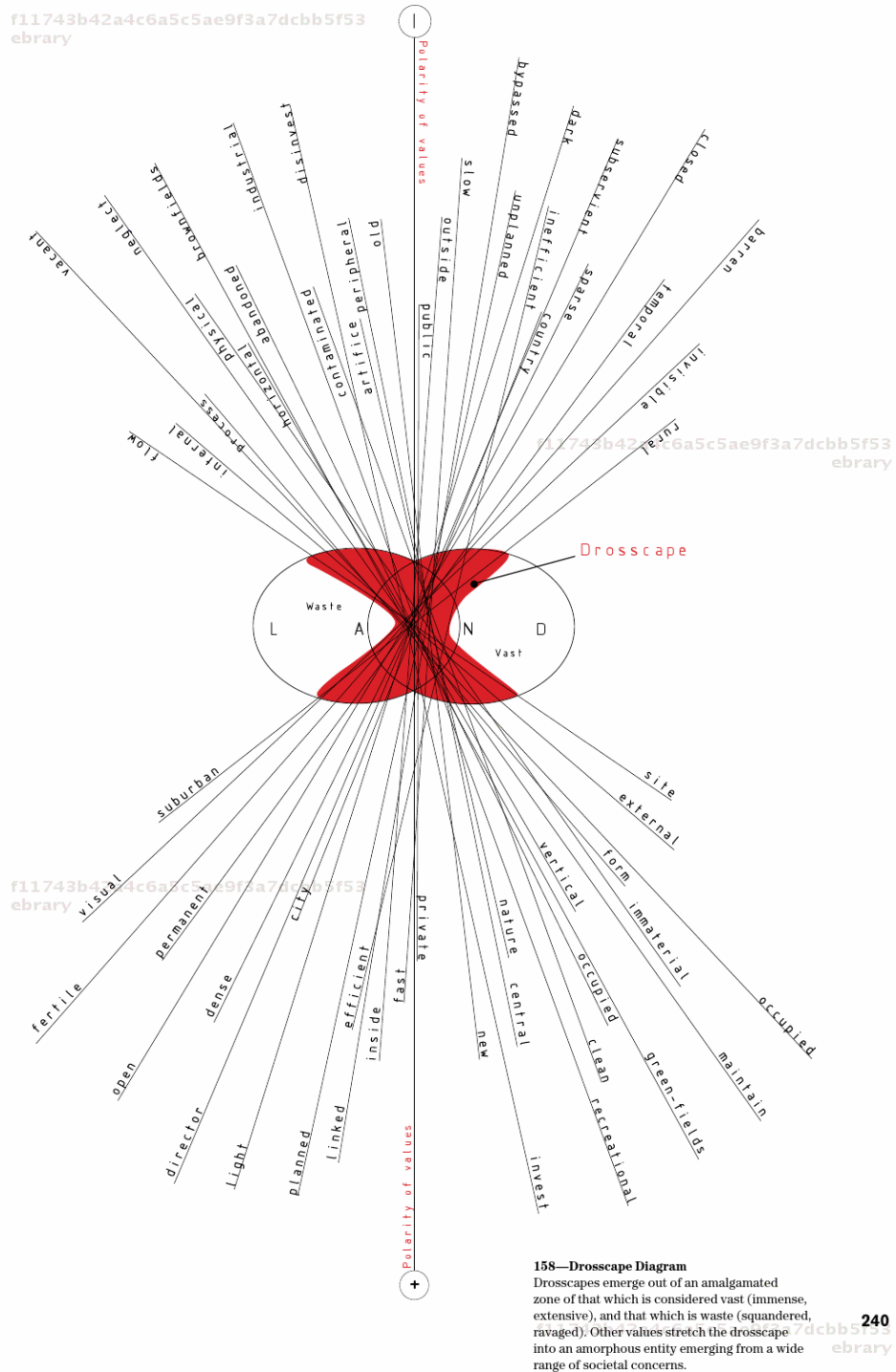


Figure 3.1. Drosscape diagram (Berger, 2007)

3.2. Brownfield

Like drosscape, the concept of *brownfield* emerges as a frequently used concept in urban renewal studies specific to abandoned industrial areas.

UK Ecoland tackles the brownfield issue together with *greenfield* side. When greenfield is land that has not previously been developed, a brownfield is about the carrying out of the building, engineering, mining or other operations, in, on, over or under land, or the making of any material change in the use of any building or another land. UK Ecoland is a financial and investment-based approach. The concept gets used in the USA for the development of environmental protection policies for derelict industrial and commercial areas. US Environmental Protection Agency defines brownfields as;

“real property, the expansion, redevelopment, or reuse of which may be complicated by the presence or potential presence of a hazardous substance, pollutant, or contaminant. Cleaning up and reinvesting in these properties protects the environment, reduces blight, and takes development pressures off greenspaces and working lands.”¹⁰

Description of “environmental contamination” in this most frequently cited definition has a direct emphasis on the environmental constraints resulting from industrial activity. It should not be overlooked that this definition is an approach that can be used to legitimize the removal of industrial production sites from urban centers where land rent is high.

3.3. Terrain Vague

Terrain vague is another concept developing for abandoned places, and this concept was selected as a thematic approach in this thesis for abandoned industrial sites. This concept is a successful conceptualization of post-industrial space of the postmodern era. This concept makes it easy to explain how space went through the processes of disintegration and disruption. It could be the basis for a space inquiry that could

¹⁰ Retrieved from <https://www.epa.gov/brownfields/overview-epas-brownfields-program>

illuminate the future from the past by giving alternative ways of thinking by analyzing space in all the multidimensional aspects.

The terrain vague name was first seen in Jean-Francois Raffaelli's painting in 1882 (Figure 3.2.). There is a woman who chooses something useful from the remains on one side of the border that separates the lands. It can be observed that the remains sitting at the border and there is something useful inside caused to put the terrain vague name to this painting. Is it garbage, or are there still valuable or useful things in?



Figure 3.2. Raffaelli's painting-Terrain Vague, 1882

The name of surrealist photographer Man Ray's frame in 1929 is also terrain vague (Figure 4.3.). There are stairs, and metal remain apparently belonging to a bench under a tree in the frame. In Michela Carne's 1960 movie named by Terrain Vague, vacant apartment blocks, ruins, abandoned industrial areas in outskirts of Paris have become places where young people have gone from their daily routines (Figure 3.3.).



Figure 3.3. A frame Michela Carne's 1960 movie named by Terrain Vague on the left and surrealist photographer Man Ray's 1929 frame on the right

In the 1970s, the name of terrain vague was still being shown in the field of art. In Constant Nieuwenhuys's drawings, terrain vague is portrayed through dashed masses, objects, and silhouettes resembling human body (Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4. Constant Nieuwenhuys's 1970, 1972, 1972, 1975, 1973, 1982 works on Terrain Vague
(Source: archive of Fondation Constant, retrieved from https://stichtingconstant.nl/search?search_api_views_fulltext=terrain+vague)

All these demonstrations help us to create initial ideas about the terrain vague for planning discipline. From now on, the word will be interpreted as a concept for developing a planning decision for abandoned urban areas. The term is first introduced by Spanish Architect Ignasi de Sola-Morales (1994) to urban design and architecture disciplines in the early 1990s.

Terrain vague supplies a general framework for various development or transformation strategies for abandoned places and their structures. It is necessary to reveal the features of terrain vague in order to discuss these strategies. Terrain vague can be approached from two aspects for revealing the characteristics of it; first is based on the definition of it as a word and the second based on the definition of it as a concept. The examination of it is obtained from the examination of two words, *terrain* and *vague*, on the basis of urbanism.

If the lexical meaning of the phrase is first examined to find out the features, the French term *terrain* corresponds to a part of the earth surface in the most general definition. Its transition to the English according to Oxford Dictionary is that is “*stretch of land, especially with regard to its physical features*”. From this aspect, it is a concept commonly used in geography discipline. However, Elden emphasizes that terrain encompasses human interaction besides the physical aspects of the earth surface (Elden, 2010, p. 807). An approach can be developed that it has a broad meaning, comprises natural or built environment and human relation. With this attitude, just a geographical feature of it is eluded, and its sociological characteristics are beginning to emerge.

Examination of the etymological origins of the term *vague* is significant for examining the notion of vagueness and its relationship with space (Figure 3.5.). There is no definite transition of the French term *vague* to English. Therefore, the roots from the other languages will be briefly examined. If we look at the Latin and Germanic etymologic roots of the word *vague*, we see three roots. First is *vagus* which means *imprecise and indeterminate* in Latin root, second is *woge* which means *wave* in the

Germanic root that refers to *flux and passing of time* and third is *vacuus* which is empty and available in Latin root.



Figure 3.5. Terrain vague as a word

This triple signification determines the various physical features of the terrain. Space with its empty, available, uncertain, non-classifiable, flux and elapsing features can be reexamined for production of space by determining it as terrain vague. To make a spatial analysis of terrain vague in the current state and to identify vagueness in the space is fundamental for the answer to “what kind of space is terrain vague?”. This is the examination of the term with a conceptual approach.

Morales defines terrain vague as “*mentally exterior in the physical interior of the city, its negative image*” (Sola-Morales, 1995, p. 120). This is a fundamental discussion to be developed for the analysis of the current spatial situation of terrain vague. Spatial analysis of terrain vague must be done from two sides based on this definition. First is visual analysis associated with the physical interiority, and the second is analysis in terms of place in social life associated with the mental interiority.

Terrain vague is essentially a space of which its physical components start to disappear. They are illegible parts of the city that are not visually perceived. Losing

legibility corresponds to a changing perception and a memory which begins to erase. Therefore, not only the visibility changes because of disappearing components but also memory begins to change in time. “*Empty, abandoned spaces in which a series of occurrences have taken place*” is a critical definition that explains that terrain vague is not just an abandoned space of which visual perception is interrupted. The relation of terrain vagues, which are forgotten spaces, with past occurrences is established by emphasizing that the memory of the past seems to predominate over the present. Barron describes terrain vagues as counter-spaces that are containers of a fragmented shared history and illumination of the imperfect process of memory that continually attempts to recall and reconstruct the past (Mariani & Barron, 2014, p. 1). The issue that needs particular attention at this point is that the deleted thing is a collective memory associated with the urban experience rather than just a history. Günay states that memory is related to the *lived experience* and warns about that it cannot be reduced to an abstract, intellectual, faked and debated reconstructed history (Günay, 2009, p. 128). Terrain vagues are the places that offer the opportunity to create a new urban experience by the investigation of its shared history by building on collective memory.

With the *awareness* that both physical and social values of the space have disappeared, the *vagueness* in the space should be addressed. Disappearance does not occur spontaneously; it is due to some external effects. It would be erroneous to say that terrain vague has arisen directly from a particular spatial problem. Accepting purely that the terrain vague is abandoned as a result of some real and valid problems and approaching the remains from this direction will take us directly to the process of clean-up and regeneration of the space. This point of view would be an inference that directly legitimizes the process leading to the disappearance of values in the space. The last remaining values in the space are going to be cleaned by this attitude for a problem-free place. As a result of an urban problem, the abandoned place does not become a terrain vague. That is, there is no vagueness in the space. It becomes an urban area waiting for an urban clearance that has experienced the opportune

abandonment process. Problems that occasioned opportune abandonment can be war, contamination, crime, unhealthy conditions which can be environmental or structural. Abandonment and clearance become an inevitable ending resulting from these reasons. However, none of these problems has been experienced in the terrain vague.

Process of the emergence of *vagueness* must be read from a series of problematic discharges and destructions. These problematic reasons can be collected under the obsolescence definition. The forces that produce terrain vague is not wholly and directly related to certain constraints. That is, the problematic side of vagueness is clarified by obsolescence processes.

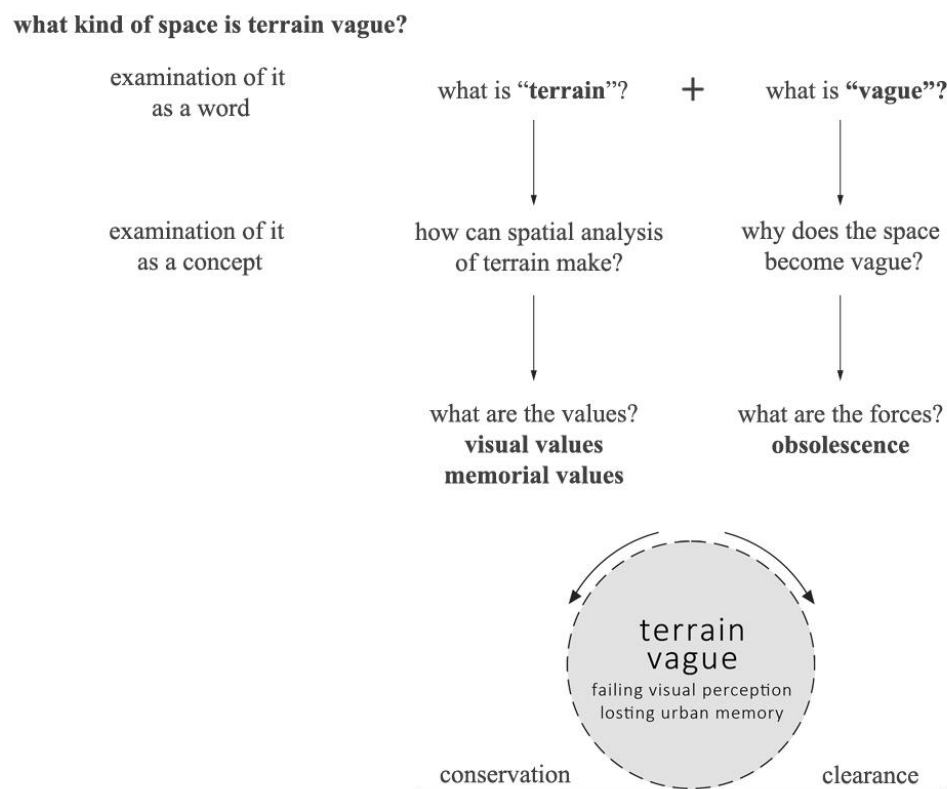


Figure 3.6. Examination of terrain vague

What matters is related to the development of planning and design approaches that can inventively reconstruct the values of past lived experiences in the space during the

reproduction of space. It is obvious that obsolescence-based approach quickly causes the replacement of lived experiences by changing them with entirely new. However, the challenge here can make the value-based approach a subject of planning and urban design. It is important to develop a value-based approach which will create new and diversified spatial experiences by feeding all past and present spatial values.

Space which became a terrain vague could be different places which have different land-uses or activities and areas in different locations in the city. Accordingly, the values and processes of obsolescence would surely be judged in these differentiated contexts. In this thesis there will be a focus on a space inquiry which is specific to abandoned factory sites so industrial terrain vagues in the city centers.

3.3.1. Industrial Terrain Vague

In this part of the thesis, industrial terrain vague will be portrayed for the reproduction of abandoned industrial spaces defined as the cultural heritage in the light of the expanding scale and content of conservation policies. For this purpose, firstly, how space turns into industrial terrain vague will be investigated. This is also about how a process caused the disappearance of the past content and made the space vague? Secondly, values which terrain vague possesses will be covered. This is also research on the content of the industrial heritage as a cultural heritage. Lastly, industrial terrain vague will be addressed at the urban scale for a holistic view. This is expanding the scale-based approach for industrial heritage as a cultural heritage. As a result, an overall evaluation of the space will be made for the reproduction of the space. The process from the first occurrence of the industrial space to the abandonment of it will be investigated in terms of values and obsolescence. This will contribute to the reproduction of the space by ending the vagueness in the terrain. The aim is to demonstrate a holistic and distinctive evaluation of the space for a new planning and design decision.

3.3.1.1. Obsolescence in Industrial Terrain Vague

Before directly developing any reproduction policy for industrial terrain vague, and in order to provide a basis for further discussions about conservation of industrial heritage, some consideration must be given to the process of emergence of vagueness.

Abandoned industrial sites that have remained specially in the city center have become terrain vague by some “problems” and “constraints”. These “problems” and “constraints” cause deterioration in the industrial assets and gives rise to the abandonment of space. The process of abandonment and deterioration can be read through different obsolescence processes.

Cities are complex, and the built environment is a product of economic, political and social processes that evolve over time and across spatial entities; they are gradually transformed in the process of continual creative destruction and reconstruction (Hughes & Jackson, 2015). Abandoned factory buildings as a consequence of changing technology or state’s economy-politics of the day became a subject of destruction and probably after reconstruction. Destruction arises as a result of some problematic processes. Obsolescence term describes a process that results from a series of problematic discharges and destructions.

The lexical meaning of “obsolescence” is *“the process of becoming obsolete or outdated and no longer used”*. The word comes from Latin *obsoletus*; ‘grown old, worn out’, past participle of *obsolescere*; ‘fall into disuse’. Oxford English Dictionary puts it as that obsolescence is *“the process whereby or state at which machinery, consumer goods, etc., become obsolete as a result of technical advances, changes in demand, etc.”* (Oxford University Press, 2015). This word, which is often used for products or goods, can also be dealt with in the context of an urban structure.

The first point to be emphasized at this stage, obsolescence is not directly related with aging. For example, when some of the buildings made with similar materials and technology in time and of similar ages continue to be available, some are completing their economic life and are left to collapse. This suggests that it is necessary to explore

what causes obsolescence and what aspects of a building or site result in it becoming obsolete (Grover & Grover, 2015).

Doratlı identifies that buildings in poor conditions; non-contemporary sanitary conditions; insufficient parking spaces; uses (activities) move to more accessible districts of the cities; narrow roads; buildings used for other, less suitable purposes; changes in the pattern of ownership; changing social composition; decreasing attractiveness; high number of incompatible uses; increasing vacancy rate as the symptoms of deterioration and decay are the things which lead obsolescence (Doratlı, 2005). Lichfield defines obsolescence as *“the mismatch between the services offered by the fabric of the historic quarters and the contemporary needs”* (Lichfield, 1988). At the end of everything, obsolescence can be defined as a condition that justifies demolition because of that no precaution is particularly preferred.

Obsolescence is a multidimensional process which involves environmental, legislative, financial and structural aspects. The RICS Red Book (Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS), 2014) uses a threefold categorization of obsolescence: physical, functional, and economical. Tiesdell et al. expresses several interrelated dimensions of obsolescence (functional, locational, legal, image/style, economic/relative), some are attributes of buildings and/or their functions, while others relate to the area as a whole.

There is a need for an industry-specific approach and categorization to understand the concept of obsolescence better and to examine how factory sites were being terrain vague because of this concept. It is generally regarded as technological change as the main reason for the emergence of obsolescence. It is suitable for many industrial assets. Beyond this, multidimensional aspects must be searched.

Functional obsolescence

Table 3.1. Different definitions of functional obsolescence

Definition	Source
a property in its existing form being unable to support the contemporary functional demands of occupation	Mansfield and Pinder (2008)
the design or specification of the asset no longer fulfils the function for which it was originally designed	Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors (RICS) Red Book (2014)
a building may fail to meet the contemporary standards and requirement of the user/potential user, on account of its design and fabric	Doratlı (2007)
the diminished utility of the building's fabric for the function for which is was designed, or currently used, with regard to the contemporary standards or requirements of the occupier or potential occupiers	Chaplin (2003)
where the building is no longer suitably sited for essential communication links to be satisfactorily maintained	Cowan et al. (1970, p. 35)
the implications of location on [land and building] values	Golton (1989, p. 270)

There are many different dimensions of functional obsolescence. Uncontrolled interventions on industrial equipment, disaster situations, especially fire that is common in industrial areas, technological changes that waste the function are the reasons for functional obsolescence.

Locational obsolescence

Table 3.2. Different definitions of locational obsolescence

Definition	Source
loss in value due to factors outside the property itself	Wofford (1983), cited in Baum (1991, p. 57)
resulted from the attributes of the functional activities in their environment	Dokmeci et al. (2007, p.158)
a loss in value due to factors external to the property	Wurtzebach and Miles (1984), quoted in Mansfield and Pinder (2008, p. 194)
occurs when the location of a building becomes less attractive to tenants due to lack of amenities ... and poor accessibility to the building	Khalid (1992, p. 2)
a building can become locationally obsolete when the economic activities in the area change	Medhurst and Lewis (1969), cited in Khalid (1992, p. 33)
where the building is no longer suitably sited for essential communication links to be satisfactorily maintained	Cowan et al. (1970, p. 35)
the implications of location on [land and building] values	Golton (1989, p. 270)

One of the most significant causes of obsolescence is the demand for putting away the factory sites located very close to the city center from their place due to the damage they cause to the environment. There is an assumption that industrial areas are not compatible with central commercial uses or housing uses. Also, these are the areas which are firstly removed from the city center when there is a need of any intervention to be made in the city center, such as new building or open public space needs, road opening works, etc.

Legal obsolescence

It is about regulatory issues. Conservation principles coming from the legislative regulations are an important issue which accelerates a place become obsolescent. Absence of preservation strategies for different scales, absence of any regulation on the maintenance of a protected structure, depreciation of the heritage sites by changing site levels are the main reasons that lead to obsolescence.

Image/Style Obsolescence

It is related to perception. In the absence of any industrial urban use that can be experienced by large segments of the public, it is common for society to perceive industrial structures as dirty, harmful and ugly as the image.

Economic/Relative Obsolescence

The economic obsolescence of a building or a site is associated with property value. Economic obsolescence may be related to the approach that the structures do not offer the necessary contribution to the economy or offer less than they can as a result of the evaluation of the land development around the structures on the land. When it is taken from this base, it is correct to consider the economic obsolescence as a kind of relative obsolescence. This is because the economic contribution of the factory can be calculated in different ways within the diversity of top-level economic structures

formed on a national scale, such as economic developments based on agriculture or industry or construction.

Evaluation

The reason for the abandonment of an industrial space is, of course, possible that this activity will inevitably be unsustainable by its conditions and location because of the threat to the environment and human health. However, this is beyond the scope of this thesis because it is another research area. This thesis deals with industries that have been forced to be abandoned in a sort of way out of prevailing reasons. These forces are collected under the heading of obsolescence.

Industrial terrain vague is formed as a result of the coexistence of one or several of obsolescence types described above. Obsolescence is the reason of vagueness. It makes the terrain vague and does not leave it as long as no precautions are taken to stop. It can continue until the assets in the space are annihilated or became a void (Figure 3.9.).

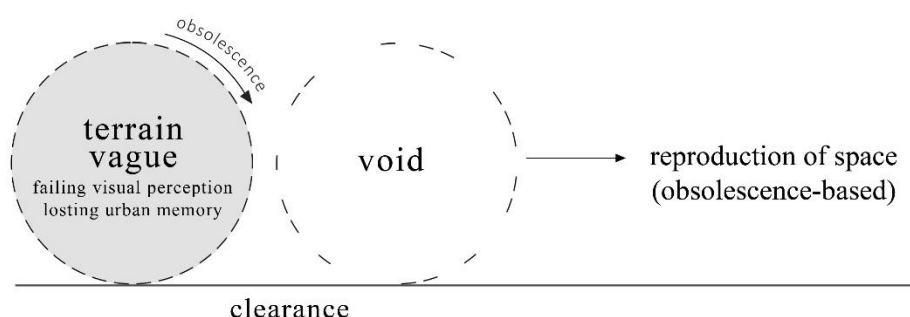


Figure 3.7. Obsolescence side of terrain vague

Obsolescence can be seen as a particular method in urban areas where it is planned to be transformed on the side of an individual or private interest rather than public interest. Obsolescence is a kind of deliberate ruining. It is a means for those who want to transform urban space on the private benefits. The essence of the issue concerns the cessation of the obsolescence process. This is related to deciding to end the

obsolescence process on the side of conservation and revitalization. Canaran says that an analysis in terms of type/level/range and rate of obsolescence must be done in order to develop conservation and revitalization strategies for post-industrial obsolete structures/sites (Canaran, 2009, p. 36). Different types of obsolescence cause different perceivable problems. Different socio-spatial values in the space will disappear as a result of these different problems. Therefore, determination of the type and level of obsolescence is essential for the protection and disclosure of values. It is also important to determine what kind of problematic processes are experienced in the space in which content and scale. It means what kind of value losses in different scales and contents. Here are the questions pointing to some spatial values damaged as a result of functional, locational, legislative, image and economic obsolescence processes;

1. Which functions are lost because of a disaster?
2. Which functions have been wasted after technological changes? Depending on this, to what extent were space and the machines related to this waste damaged?
3. Which uses have they left the industrial area or were forced to abandon due to locational obsolescence?
4. What kind of legislative regulations has been enacted that would cause the space to become obsolescent?
5. Which changes seemed in the space in terms of visibility?
6. What kind of injudicious interventions stepped in the space and consequently, how much did the image damage?
7. What kind of economic-political reasons and associated spatial practices caused economic obsolescence?

These questions can be used to determine type/level/range and rate of obsolescence and take precautions. After the determination of obsolescence, conservation and redesign of space comes. The most important thing is making the values in the terrain vague clear in a holistic approach.

3.3.1.2. The Values in Industrial Terrain Vague

In the corpus of conservation planning, a wide range of value typologies for heritage sites has come down under different headings (Figure 3.10.).

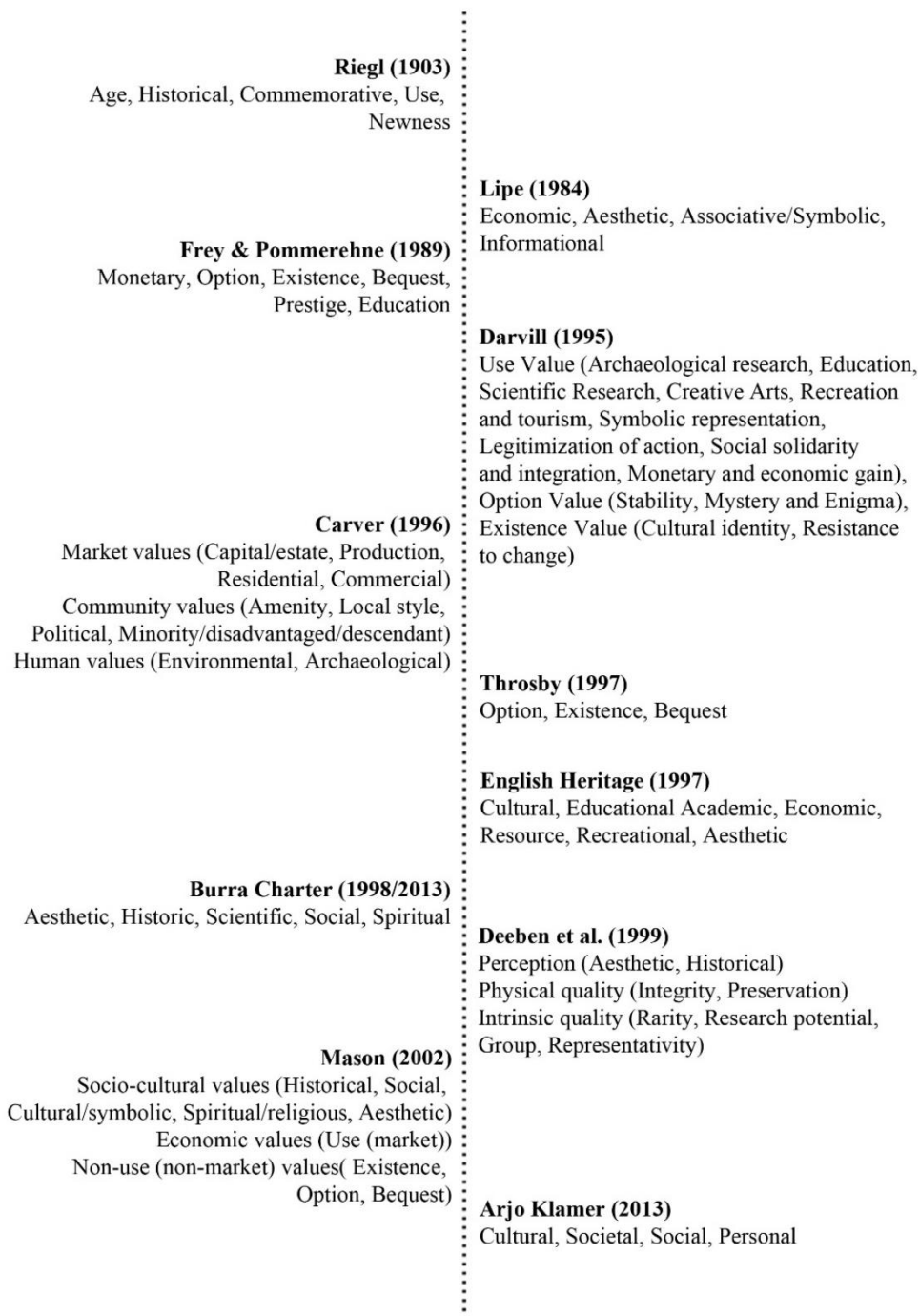
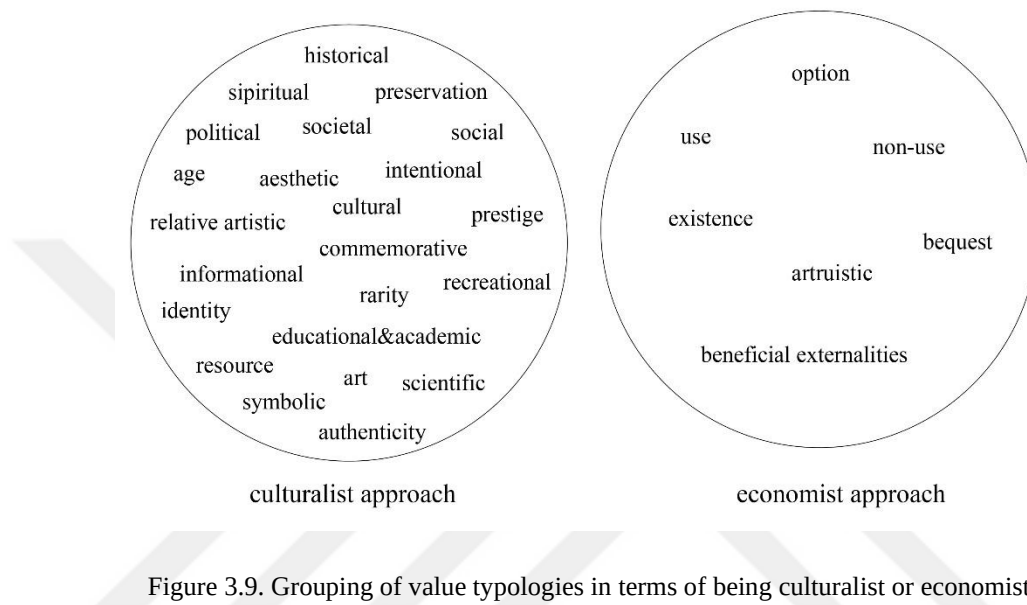


Figure 3.8. Value typologies developed by different authors for the preservation of cultural heritage sites

Differentiated values ranging from socio-cultural to economic values can be addressed in two main approaches; culturalist approach and economist approach (figure 3.11). While exchange and use value of heritage is the main focus for economists, culturalists concentrate on the cultural and social values of a cultural asset (Klamer & Zuidhof, 1999).



While cultural assets seek to be protected in accordance with the above-mentioned values, conflicts in prioritizing values grows due to the increasing contradictions of capitalist urbanization. In this conflictual situation, preservation of industrial assets is intrinsically a problematic in the midst of culturalist and economist approaches. There are two important reasons. The first area of conflict is related to the economic value of an industrial area before being abandoned. In the evaluation of an industrial, cultural asset from an economist point of view, confusion about its past contribution to the economy and future possible contribution to the economy is usual. In other words, the existence of an abandoned industry has created an economic value in history, and how will it be addressed in the implementation of conservation planning practice? The second problematic is that the models created within the culturalist approach often leave the values of an industrial, cultural heritage missing. While by mostly adopted

models monumental, architectural, more aesthetic and form-based values are attributed to industrial, cultural assets, social values were utterly kept out of model or kept aside. It is easy to understand that the emphasis on social values is not a priority in western countries where industrial society goal has been reached. However, it is important to prioritize this value for developing countries.

Evaluation

Preservation policies that will bring values to the forefront are being developed against utilizing the space by clearance of the abandoned buildings. Policies are based upon distinct values. A value-based decision against the obsolescence-based decision by putting an end to the obsolescence processes in the terrain vague can differ in itself.

All the planning decisions are essentially related to the reproduction of the space in a sort of way. At this point, it should not be forgotten that the produced space is a highest cultural product which contains beings of the past together with beings of their time, ready to contain beings of the future (Günay, 2009, p. 129). Assets of past, present, and future are what terrain vague exactly contains. It is one of the main issues of planning and urban design to produce a new space from this content that can be varied under different urban policy approaches. Policies concerning renewal, redevelopment, and clearance have always concentrated on the total removal of the existing urban fabric. Policies concerning the preservation and protection of cultural beings are refined applications associated with restoration skills. Rehabilitation, revitalization and improvement have emerged as modest policies where existing ownership patterns and those beings that are *there* are protected (Günay, 2009). Whatever the policy is, there should be took a stand on conservation of past and development of present spatial values related to the beings that space contains.

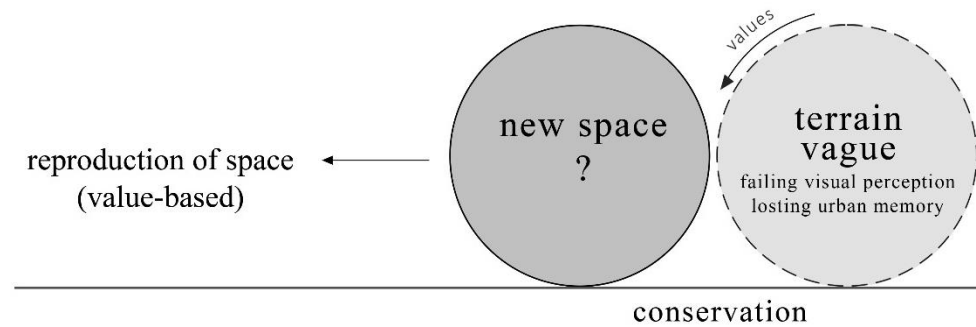


Figure 3.10. Value side of terrain vague

It is possible to make different decisions on a wide scale that will change by taking the values with different priorities against the decision to completely clean the space based on the obsolescence. Re-designing an industrial space, transformation to another production area, creating an exhibition or memorial space where values can be observed, designing a brand-new space using only architectural features are certain approaches within this wide scale by taking the values with different priorities.

While type/level/range and rate of obsolescence are identified and precluded in industrial terrain vague, values must be evaluated in a way both for protection of asset physically and for contribution to development economically, socially and culturally. Industrial, cultural assets must be protected in a holistic way, as indicated by developing conservation literature. For this reason, a holistic model needs to be consulted for value assessment.

Spaces are designed and produced in accordance with a predetermined purpose. Space is a product of a conscious projection, and in this direction, a specific form is given to space. After the form of the space, a dialectical relationship between people and space begins to develop. This dialectical relation is a relation that the form of the space is transformed in the direction of human needs and practices, and a relation in which practices are limited in the form of the space. There is an effort to protect the place in the conservation discipline in terms of the values that are derived from the dialectics

of *forms, practices and relations* produced in the space. In this effort, contextuality is the most important issue to be considered while trying to understand the produced space and its values. Evaluating the past from today's metrics, value judgements and rationality is the most significant issue to be careful at this point. Evaluation of *forms, relationships and practices* in a way that is remote from their context means to distort the information, to instrumentalize it as desired, to develop a fictitious or selective fiction that does not fit the truth. In order to avoid such distortions, the physical, social and political analysis of the space needs to be done historically in the context of the principle of contextuality. It is one of the basic tasks of the space producers to evaluate and re-design values not only coming from physical sides but also from sides about social human fields. It is also a way to end culturalist and economist conflicts.

It is the investigation of the space as a history in the conservation discipline with these points of attention. Investigation of the space as a history refers to understanding the space umbilically and to comprehend what all the periods added to the previous one and what each of them has changed in the previous period. The reading of the history of the space is reading the change of the *forms, practices and relationships* in time.

There is a need for a critical stance because of that the aim of the planning, and urban design discipline is more than investigation, the ultimate aim is the production of space. When the formation, strengthening, and disperse of values in the circle of *form, relation and practice* are analyzed as a result of specific obsolescence processes; their reconstruction corresponds to the production of a new space.

3.3.2. A Value Model for the Reproduction of Industrial Terrain Vague

How to make the selection of values under purposive headings is substantial in furtherance of a holistic value-based framework fed by different value typologies. An approach is going to be developed based on Stephenson's *cultural values model*. Proposed model will lead to a systematic exploration of values in the space. This method will also make it easier to resolve conflicts between economic values and cultural values.

Cultural value model collects different values under three headings. First is *form*, which consists of the physical, tangible and measurable aspects of space. Second is *relationship*, which consists of aspects coming from people–people interactions and people–space interactions. The third is *practice*, which consists of past and present actions, traditions and events. *Forms*, *relationships* and *practices* are in continual dynamic interchange which shapes not only the physical environment but also perceived environment (Figure 3.13.). While these three components can be analyzed separately, they interlace when creating the space. In the simplest definition, if a remark on a place is made by a user; when a value in this place is formulated in terms of *forms*, it will always be mentioned other values in terms of *relations* and/or *practices*. Consequently, these three components and their subcomponents which constitute values at the same time product space by creating and influencing each other. The questions that need to be kept in mind when examining values in the context of creating and influencing each other are;

1. How can the *forms* of space shape *practices*?
2. How *practices* shape *forms* of space?
3. How cultural *relationships* determine the significance of *forms*?
4. How can *forms* themselves engender *relationships*?

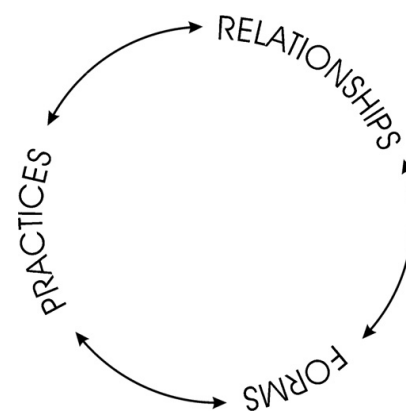


Figure 3.11. The dynamic interaction of forms, practices and relationships (Stephenson, 2008, p. 135)

Process of creating and influencing each other continues dynamically since the genesis of the space. Especially after the turning points in the space, such as abandonment situations, urban transformation processes, new contractions, there are breaks in the triad, then re-creations of them. The change in the connections makes the place different from the old. Urban planning and urban design disciplines shape the process of setting up new *relationships* and *practices* by playing more on *forms* in these turning points. Accordingly, to do a preliminary analysis of what values will change with respect to *relationships* and *practices* beyond *forms* and to design space according to these conclusions will provide a dynamic reproduction of the space successfully. In the end, we are confronted with changing *forms*, *practices* and *relationships* spontaneously or as a result of plan decisions. Furthermore, we are aware that the values change depending on these changes.

At this point, the changing values can be handled in two sides; past values and present values. Stephenson defines them by the terms as *surface values* which are the perceptual response to the directly perceived *forms*, *relationships* and *practices* and *embedded values* which arise out of an awareness of past *forms*, *practices* and *relationships* (Figure 3.14.) (Stephenson, 2008).

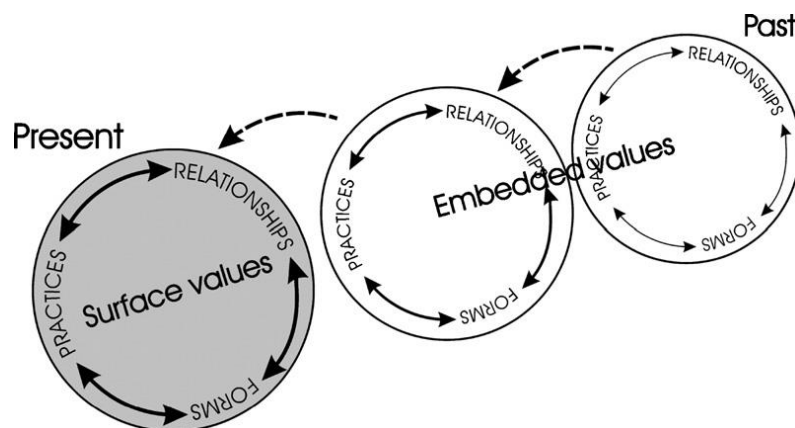


Figure 3.12. Embedded and surface values (Stephenson, 2008)

The surface values standing in the industrial terrain vague are paths and ruins of industrial assets. These are the components of a manifestation which will be composed by visual and socio-spatial integrity formed by the reproduction of space. This investigation leads to a recomposition of ruins in the space with their *immanent values*, in other words, *embedded values* between *surface values*.

Industrial ruins are remains of industrial assets which industrial terrain vague contains and which will be the subject of before industrial archaeology and after urban design disciplines as surface values. Industrial ruins are the remains of production structures, supplementary structures such as warehouses, transportation areas, administrative buildings, workers' housing and social facilities and technical equipment. These are semantic markers of both object itself and the subject it represents or indicates. This means that the ruin is both an abstract marker due to its reference to the past experiences or spatial practices and a concrete marker due to its present physical existence. This semantic approach takes us on a journey in the material and immaterial world of the ruins.

The material and immaterial characteristics of industrial ruins are the subjects of a new physical and social order that will be reproduced in industrial terrain vague through planning decisions and urban design. From this aspect, there is a stance against purely aestheticization of ruins in this study. There is an emphasis on the both aesthetic or physical side and social side. If the double life of the industrial ruins is investigated, material life corresponds to physical order or visuality, and immaterial life corresponds to the social order of industrial sites. Briefly, industrial ruins are joints of a disjointed socio-spatial narrative.

Immaterial characteristics of the industrial ruins call the embedded values from the past. In addition to physical fragmentation in space, there is also a disruption in *spatial practices* and *relations*. So, the other important clues that ruins give us are clues of a *productive life* and *colectivity* based on the industry that is worthy to investigate and now we have lost. Maurice Halbwachs's *collective memory* term, which means the

shared and socially constructed memory of a group of people, accords with the investigation of productive life, namely immaterial characteristics of industrial ruins. Components of collective memory are still living in these ruins primarily for the local community and then for the entire city and region. At this point, when taking collective memory as a generic approach for immaterial characteristics of ruined space, the main issue that needs to be taken into account is being careful about nostalgia which is a problematic theme in conservation and planning. It is a miserable representation of public remembering. Miserableness underlies the effort of bringing and showing the spatial and temporal memories back.

Holistic Perspective for Values

While space is analyzed, it is divided and taken into pieces as a general approach; the contents of the space, things, various objects in the space are just taken into account, and the social relations involved in the space are ignored. As a result of such a space analysis and effort of space production, it is fallen into the trap of space fetishism (Lefebvre, 2015, p. 115). The holistic view does not only cover the handling of integration of surface and embedded values within the strict boundaries in the terrain vague. In order not to fall into such a space fetishism, industrial terrain vague should be considered together with the environment it affects and the values it creates in that environment. The design of the city should be based on the evaluation of the elements of urban space, the important historical and urban traces, the points of change and differentiation where people have certain meanings. This view leads us to think of the industrial terrain vague in the urban context. The transformation of such areas, which affected its environment or even the whole city once upon a time, will be able to influence the whole city again as a result of a value-based or obsolescence-based decision.

Momentum metaphor can be used by taking the risk of reductionism criticism in order to understand better holism in space and what happens in an urban space when a part of it became a terrain vague. The features that will connect the momentum metaphor

with the urban space and afterwards the abandoned industrial urban spaces are as follows;

- The momentum starts with a power which forms it.
- The momentum has a distinct duration. It has a beginning, a process and an end; a relatively well-defined pre- and post-.
- The momentum has its own form.
- The momentum has its own content.
- The momentum has its own memory.
- Changed and disrupted momentum has its own specific negativity.

If a planned urban space is considered from these aspects, firstly the momentum in urban space was created by a planning decision that is equivalent to momentum-generating power. With the initial planning decisions, space is formed, and the content is settled into space. It can be metaphorically said that masses represent every different part of the space and velocity represents diversity and density of land use activities and experiences in the spaces. All parts of the space have a specific setup and circulation in itself. Momentum is produced in a space, this produced momentum is transposed to another space, and it is reproduced in there. This situation continues in motion and harmony. Within this harmony, specific forms, contents and memory are produced.

For example, a health service district in the city has its own momentum. With a planning decision, a district of the city becomes a health area. Health units, transportation, hospital landscaping, accommodation and commercial areas all work together. Another example can be given as university campus areas. Educational spaces, transportation, student houses, cafes, restaurants, stationers work together. The alteration or disruption of any spatiality, such as the closure of associated business activities with health services or schools, means the deterioration of the conserved momentum.

The designed space and its environment are in harmony, and an external influence causes the disruption or change of the momentum. Disruption of the momentum means disruption of the form, content and memory of the space. This creates specific negativity varying according to the different context that every space has. An

intervention is planned for overcoming this disruption. The diversity of the intervention can be improved in planning discipline according to the specific negativity of the space.

Here is an example of a disrupted momentum in terms of an industrial area, which is the subject of this research. The urban space regarding the industrial outcomes and necessities have been produced in the city. With particular factors, a rational place for factory building was selected. Then, around the factory, the other urban features/uses were designed and organized to sustain the productivity of the industry. When a designed factory site and planned transport, facilities and housing areas associated with this production area is considered together, it can be mentioned as the situation of the conservation of momentum.

The momentum is conserved by planned developments and interventions that developed in different historical processes. The industrial area has its own form, content and memory within distinct durations. The momentum is disrupted by the abandonment of the factory in the deindustrialization period. All first industrialized and then deindustrialized countries have begun to develop intervention strategies for these abandoned areas to connect the city again, or - by refer to our metaphor - to re-establish the momentum. These intervention strategies are developed variably from scale to the content for the conservation of momentum.

A successfully planned production site has brought a new life in relation to the facilities in the immediate surroundings and city centers where commercial activity is developed. Observation of the development of the production space with this environment and to deal with the transformation of the whole environment as a result of the abandonment of the space is essential in order to develop know-how holistically. This approach is a way of taking into account how the conservation of momentum is achieved, what causes it to fail, what values have been lost or changed and it is a method of considering the required scale when reconstructing the distorted momentum with a new decision.

3.3.2.1. An Analysis Method for the Value Model based on The Spatial Triad of Lefebvre

Cultural values model is adopted for the manifestation of a holistic value-based conservation framework for the reproduction of an industrial terrain vague. It gives the values coming from *relations*, *practices* and *forms* of cultural heritage. At this point, Lefebvre's triadic approach to explain the production of space, *dialectique de triplicité*, is confronted as an analysis method for revealing the values coming from *form*, *relation* and *practice*. He analyzes the production of the space under the social space in which tribology is in harmony. If the produced industrial space, industrial terrain vague and new space to be reproduced later is examined in the context of social space, successful know-how that will build a new social space can be achieved. Lefebvre says that space is produced based on three fields. By examining the formation and change of these three fields through a place in the historical process, the values related to *form*, *relation* and *practices* mentioned in *cultural values model* can be achieved. First and foremost, the theory does not merely provide analysis but claims that space can be produced by the combination of these three fields.

The theory which Lefebvre named as unitary space theory aims to form a unity between physical, mental and social (sub)spaces which exists separately in the space. In this unitary space, social practice space, the space covered by experienced phenomena, projects, symbols and utopias works together (Lefebvre, 2015). While some of these correspond to mental spaces, some correspond to physical spaces, and some correspond to social spaces.

These spaces are experienced through *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived* components. Lefebvre introduced the conceptualization of these components as *a spatial practice*, *space of representation* and *representation of space*. Through these three concepts, mutual relations, oppositions and arrangements of *physical*, *mental* and *social spaces* are examined. Merrifield defines this triad as a weight-bearing epistemological pillar of *the production of space* (Merrifield, 2006). They are not separate spaces, realities

or phenomena, but features of a single – and ever-changing – reality brought forth by analysis (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 352).

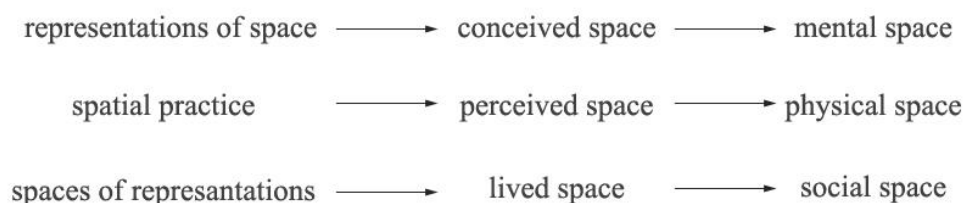


Figure 3.13. Spatial triad

The basic argument of Lefebvre is to remove the mental and physical disintegration about space and to lash the mental, physical and social dimensions together in the production of the space.

Representation of Space

Representations of space correspond to the *conceived space* and so *mental space* which is identified by planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers who identify what is *lived* and what is *perceived* with what is *conceived*. They ‘theorise’ space and present an abstract form of lived experience in space (Carney & Miller, 2009). There is a figured space to be lived. This space comprises the various arcane signs and jargons, objectified plans and paradigms used by the agents and institutions. *Representations of space* play a substantial role and specific influence in the production of space (Lefebvre, 2015, p. 41), finding *objective expression* in monuments and towers, in factories and office blocks, in the *bureaucratic and political authoritarianism immanent to a repressive space* (Merrifield, 2006).

In short, it is the space envisioned by the technocrats. This envisions establishes the regulations of the space such as which road will go where, what house will stay where,

how large the square will be, where will the factory be established etc. Space starts to be produced physically according to this mental description.

Spatial Practice

Spatial practice corresponds to *perceived space* and so *physical space*. The *spatial practice* of each community designs its own space. This *spatial practice* reveals the space in a dialectical interaction and gently and precisely produces it, dominating it and taking possession of it. The *spatial practice* is discovered by deciphering its space.

According to Merrifield (2006), *spatial practice* structures lived reality. It includes routes, networks, patterns and interactions that connect places with people, images with reality, working places with leisure areas (Merrifield, 2006). *Spatial practices* are perceived in the commonsensical mode and therefore involve daily life and routines under the logically rationalized urban (Shields, 1999). Avar presents spatial interaction networks in which interlinkage of the housing and the workplace, or the production and exchange in the production process as examples for *spatial practice* (Avar, 2009). Lefebvre gives an example of *spatial practice* as the everyday life of someone living in a mass housing in a suburb.

Space of Representation

Spaces of representations correspond to *lived space* and so *social space* living through images and symbols accompanying to space. It is the space of inhabitants and users. The concept of *lived space* alludes to beliefs, memories, myths, hopes and fears rather than external datum of physical space and professional conceptualisations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). According to Merrifield, *spaces of representation* are *the café on the corner, the block facing the park, the third street on the right after the Cedar Tavern, near the post office*. Shields defines loosely that *spaces of representation* can be considered discourses *of* space as opposed to discourses *on* space (Shields, 1999). In addition, he emphasizes different dimensions of *spaces of representations*; the possible or potential, the non-paramount or ‘other’, the qualitative and unknowable, the ‘authentic, practical, and ‘fully lived’.

Harvey gives a good summary description for *the spaces of representation; lived spaces* of sensations, enthusiasm, imagery and meanings which are integrated with our way of life day by day. *Spaces of representations* read through the citizens' expressions, traces left by the users, symbols that did not come up with the design but formed by *spatial practice* in time. They are not often observed in everyday life but occasional events, such as festivals, carnivals, meetings, rites and ceremonies.

It is necessary to open up the dialectical relation of the three moments with each other for a better understanding. Lefebvre states that *lived, perceived and conceived spaces* approach to each other. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 69).

Conceived space is spatial fabrics which the knowledge and the ideologies of time produce. These fabrics are designed by the plans and projects while the results coming from their analysis give *form* values of the *cultural value model*. Space which appears by experiencing after applying the *conceived space* is *perceived space*.

Perceived space is the space which daily reality and the urban reality firmly merge. This space arises from *spatial practices* corresponding to daily realities and is analysed based on *spatial practices*. However, the *spatial practice* is determined and defined by architecture, urbanism, the arrangement of tracks and lands and urban reality (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 410). The levels like spatial fabric, physical environment, urban situation arose from the knowledge and ideologies of the time, in other words, *conceived space*, affects *perceived space* and they exist simultaneously. So, the analysis of this field gives us the values corresponding to *practice* and the *form* sides of the *cultural values model*.

The origin of *the lived space* affected by imagination and symbolism is the history of public and a person belonging to this public (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 70). Of course, this history cannot be written independently from *perceived* and *conceived spaces*. The history feeding from the daily experiences happening in the *conceived space*, containing the actions happening and ending at that moment and surpassing them is *the lived space* from now on. There is a history of urban life and the relations

established in this space. Therefore, the results coming from the analysis of this space give us the *practice* and *relation* values of the *cultural values model* (Figure 3.14).

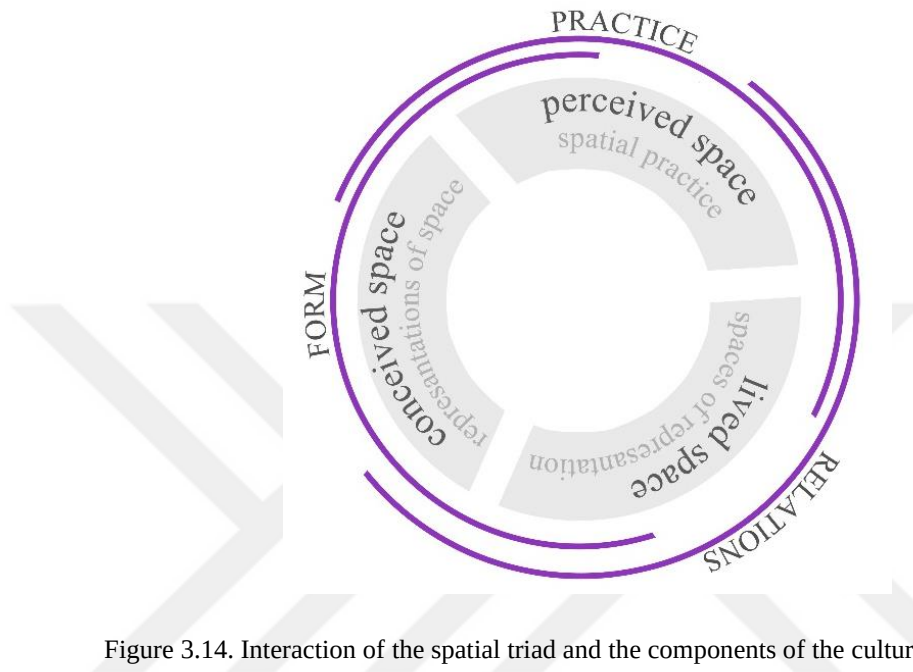


Figure 3.14. Interaction of the spatial triad and the components of the cultural value model

3.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter is a search for conservation and design approach for the integration of an industrial terrain vague with urban context through a theoretical understanding of values in the space in the light of Lefebvre's triadic approach. Lefebvre's triad is a tool of analysis and invention of a space (Lehtovuori, 2005). This tool should not be accredited as an abstract model statue because of the risk of scope lost. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 69). This tool is a method to find the values to present value-based know-how about industrial assets within the scope of this theses. A presentative evaluation and a proposition will be made in accordance with this method.

In a city by some decisions, plans or projects in other words *representations of space*, the form of the industrial space starts to arise. The *spatial practices* of the life of an

industrial city start to appear in the planned place, and the designed form and daily life go on. While daily life goes on in the space, the social relations in the intersecting daily lives of the individuals start to grow. In other words, the first signs of *spaces of representations* start to appear.

The form of the space usually proceeds with the new plans and projects and sometimes in the direction of the requirements of daily life. The progressing *conceived* and *perceived spaces* strengthen growing social relations. In other words, the representation involving the symbolic life of an industrial society improves in the *conceived space*. In this progress with three dialectical relations, the values of the space had appeared and reached the most advanced level. The *trialectic analysis* of this period presents us the *form, relation* and *practice* values of the space, which once was a production space (industrial space) but now have become an industrial terrain vague. These values are embedded values.

However, the deindustrialization process draws a portrait of abandoning the produced space where its values are being erased. At this point initially, an obsolescence process starts to appear in the parts of the space and a process of deterioration in the form of the space, change in the *spatial practices* and a fade out in the symbolic relations starts to occur. In this period, can be called as terrain vague, a significant collapse in the form of the produced space, ending of the daily industrial life and symbolic spaces and a break in the social history of the production space can be observed. In the terrain vague *representations of space, spatial practice* and *spaces of representations* are in a pending statue, till space is reproduced. *Trialectic analysis* of this period gives us the surface values left behind as a result of obsolescence process.

At last, we are faced with the reproduction process of the terrain vague. In the reproduction process, a new urban space, as a whole or in pieces can be planned and designed according to different scenarios. The form of the space starts to be given by the new plans and projects. Dependent on the usage of the reproduced space, daily life takes its form, and new social relations develop.

Within this thesis, a spatial analysis of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its environs will be carried out involving the reproduction of the space and the terrain vague formation processes. This analysis will present us the values of the space so a base idea for the new production decision in the terrain vague will be obtained.

Table 3.3. Historic definition of the values affected by the change of the three components of the space

value obsolescence	representations of space	spatial practice	spaces of representation
establishment	establishment of forms	generation of practice	appearance of new relations
development	development of form	development of practice	improvement of relations
production of industrial terrain vague	destroying of form	disintegration of practice	fading of relations
	collapse of form	disappearance of practice	breakdown of relations
reproduction of industrial terrain vague	reproduction of form ?	regeneration of practice ?	reestablishment of relations ?

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: MİLLÎ MENSUCAT FABRİKASI [THE NATIONAL TEXTILE FACTORY]

4.1. Research Methodology

In this thesis, a case study research is preferred for the dissertation of cultural value model for the reproduction of industrial terrain vague. The selected case study is an example that can be observed how the industrial spaces became industrial terrain vague as a result of some obsolescence which are processed in the deindustrialization periods in Turkey.

In line with the argument that the cultural value model should be handled on the basis of holism and contextuality, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] will be analyzed with related social facilities and housing areas in its vicinity and in content in which both physical and social relations can be observed. Furthermore, expanding scale and content of conservation in the light of the contemporary approaches will be practiced in particular to Turkey.

There is a retrospective space analysis method which reviews space by going to its genesis, and then presents a way of assessing the current situation which provides opportunities and future vision (Lefebvre, 2015, p. 27). In the guiding principle of this method, there is three core parameters: (i) the historical timeline (through the genesis, development, degeneration, abandonment and current phase of the space); (ii) multiple scales (factory site, neighborhood scale and city scale); and (iii) the multiple dimensions (mental, physical and social dimensions of space) based on Lefebvre's theory. The data is going to be collected, analyzed and assessed with the guidance of these parameters.

The values arising from mental, physical and social dimensions of space and which constitute the cultural value model will be reinterpreted together with current physical situation. It is aimed to reach values gathered under the headings of *form*, *practice* and *relation*, not to allow more loss of value through the analysis of obsolescence processes and to consider these values as a model in the reproduction of industrial terrain vague. This method reinterprets the reproduction of terrain vague in a holistic way due to the exploration of it retrospectively and multidimensionally.

4.1.1. Selection of the Site

The determined factory site and its environs continue to exist as an industrial terrain vague as a district. There are three factory sites in the district which physically survives to some degree in today. While all them are trying to survive in today's destruction and conservation dilemma, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was chosen as the focus. The prominent reason is that it is the only structure that has been taken under preservation and has entered into a design process within the former industrial zone of Adana. When one part of the factory site has been a subject of a reuse policy – as an archaeology museum since 2017, the remaining parts are currently in a transformation process, still as a museum.

The second reason is that in addition to the production areas, the factory has both housing and social reinforcement areas spreading in and out of its site and spreading into the neighbourhood. This is an important opportunity to develop a value model in both the site and the neighbourhood scale out of the design practices, which is widely discussed in the building scale as in many studies.

The third reason is that this factory is a private enterprise. There is a tendency to choose mostly state-owned factories as a case study in the studies conducted for the preservation of industrial heritage sites in Turkey. For sure, the contribution of the state-owned factories established in the Republic Period to the development of the country and urban life is immense. It is important that Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] as a private enterprise has a spatial organization similar to

the state-owned factories of Republic Period. It is an essential indicator that state-controlled private enterprises may have a socio-spatial organization and a service production model that can contribute to the development of the community.

4.1.2. Periodization

Each of the time intervals discussed in this study has its own economic and physical planning approaches that work together in itself. These intervals are adjusted based on commonly used periodization method on the researches on history of economy and planning. So that the periodization is based on the breaking points of Turkey's in terms of economy and urban development experience.

Firstly, two main periods were described. There is an apparent breaking in 1980 in which industrialization terminates and deindustrialization institutes in Turkey. Therefore, the previous times of 1980 are one main period, which is defined in here as *the embedded values period*, and after 1980 is the other main period, which is defined as *obsolescence period*. The first period involves the intervals with regards to industrial-based economic and planned development. It is observed that the industry is embraced as an important production facility, and the cities are developed in a holistic urban planning approach. On the other side, obsolescence period involves intervals where national and transnational market-based development strategies were embraced. The industry is no more an accumulation model in the economy of Turkey. Instead it is in the hands of the free market, besides its spaces are transforming in a piecewise and project-based urban development approach.

In this context, the times during which the industrial space is produced and which can be defined as the embedded values period includes 3 sub-periods; the first is the period from Tanzimat Reform Era until the declaration of the Republic, the second is the period from the establishment of the Republic until 1950, and the third is the period from 1950 to 1980 military coup. The obsolescence period, which lasted from 1980 until today, will be examined in 2 intervals between 1980-2000 and 2000-2019.

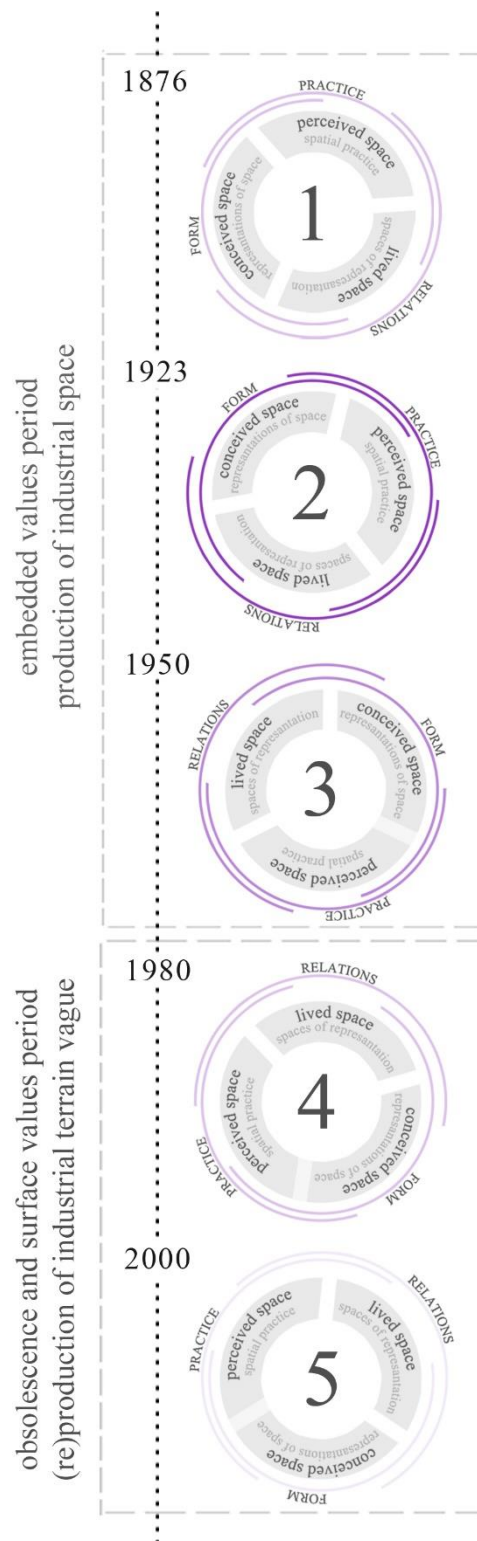


Figure 4.1. Periodization

Since each of these five intervals contains different socio-political and economic representations, and each representation aims to produce its own space, each of them has its own *conceived, perceived and lived components*. Consequently, what is done here by examining the change of these components is the periodization of the emergence of an industrial cultural entity as a sum of both social and physical values and the loss of certain values.

4.1.2.1. Time Intervals of Embedded Values Period

First Interval: 1876-1923

The first interval had continued from the second half of the 19th century when the Ottoman Empire was articulated to world capitalism to the declaration of the Republic. Boratav defines the Ottoman economy in the 19th century as a semi-colonized society structure. In this period, in countries like England, Germany and France, there was an industrial production which is based on natural resources and can be classified as low-tech when looking from today. The Ottoman State was the country that supplies raw materials to this industry. The textile was the motor sector of European industrialization and capitalization. European technology and capital started to turn towards Adana due to cotton in this period.¹¹ Adana has begun to be reshaped socially and spatially with the usage of the technology, which increases cotton production and usage. Until the World War I and National Struggle years, Adana became an important cotton production center in Anatolia as a result of the technical support of Germany.

Production of cotton goods in Adana had also begun on the one hand during the time of the rapid increase in cotton farming and exports. In the middle of the 19th century,

¹¹ In the mid-19th century, the raw materials needed for the British textile industry were supplied from the United States. Then American Civil War started in 1861. Britain had begun to identify new regions where cotton can be grown in order not to be affected negatively due to this civil war between American northern industrialists and southern agricultural producers. Manchester Cotton Supply Association (MCSA), founded in 1857, identified India and Turkey as countries suitable for cotton cultivation and provided a lot of support to increase cotton production. Adana is the selected city in Turkey for cotton production. However, Britain's support for Turkey saw a cut as a result of the ending of the American Civil War and consequently a decrease in cotton production has occurred. After that cotton production was revitalized again in Adana because of the world cotton crisis which started at the end of the 1800s and Germany wanted to meet the needs of cotton from Çukurova.

there was a small-scale industry in Çukurova, which was not in an advanced position in technology. In the 1850s there are individual gin machines in Adana, which are usually used at houses or in very small manufacturing facilities. According to Langlois, there are 50 cotton manufacturing plants, 10 felt manufacturing plants, 22 print works and 40 press ateliers in 1852 in Adana (Ener, 1960, p. 250). It is stated in the 1876 yearbook of Adana Province that a few cotton impregnation factories which operate with coal and wood had been established for a few years. During this period, an industrial school was opened to increase the interest of young people in industrialization. Adana has developed as a cotton production center and in addition the first local industrialization steps have started to be taken in developing Adana with the support of Europe. The study area has started to be formed in this period.

During this period there was not an institutionalized planning practice yet in Anatolia. While the urban economics was maintained by the effort of integration to Europe, the same effort also led to the first planning practices. The infrastructure projects which were managed to carry the raw material or the primary material produced from the raw material to Europe led the urban development. Therefore, while the agricultural and industrial production areas based on cotton were developing, transportation and the infrastructure investments which strengthened the business connections supported by these areas led the urban development.

In summary, factory spaces were produced in the city during this period and these assets started to reshape social life while forming the basis of urban economy. *Conceived space* developed in line with infrastructure investments. The first representations of these investments, the train station and the factories, have started to be perceived and experienced by the society. The cultural and the social accumulation and development that will be carried to today have been born within the city space.

Second Interval: 1923-1950

The second interval comprises the times from establishment of the Republic until the end of the World War II. The years of national struggle and early years of the Republic

were the preparatory phase of the industrialization. Active industrialization policies began to be applied in between the years of 1930 and 1940 after the economic revival, which was acted by the privileges after the war of independence.

When the whole world was in economic depression in 1929 and after, Turkey adopted a self-enclosed economy policy and entered a period of national industrialization experience by the etatism (Boratav, 2014, p. 59). Government enterprise has been practised, industrialist tendency had increased, and domestic investors had been stepped up.¹² The state was in the effort to create import-substitution industrial enterprises via industrialization plans. Nationalisation of factories, financial support to new industrial establishments, credit facility for cooperation with commercial organizations have been carried out through the Bank of Industry and Mines (İnalcık, 2008, p. 151). However, because of World War II, all plans, including previously planned industrial investments, got to be postponed. For this reason, the economic development process was interrupted. National output, industrial and agricultural production were steadily declining.

According to the 1925 yearbook of the state, ten industrial establishments that could be considered as big were all cotton-based industries in Adana. An oil factory established in 1926. This is an important development to get out of production only in the weaving sector. Between 1923 and 1950, 28 weaving industrial structures were established. In short, these were the years when Adana started to become an industrial city. Some factories which were later grown into modern sites were established in this period. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] is one of these sites.

In other respect, urban development seen in the cities by the infrastructure, transportation, raw or processed export material production activities in the prior

¹² State monopolies began to be operated by privileged private individuals and companies. That is, it was a period when the industry began to revitalize with privileges and so handovers. Bank of Industry and Mines, which will later become Sümerbank, established in 1925. After that, the Industrial Incentive Law was enacted in 1927. Grant of land up to 10 hectares were given. Beyond that communication, tax, customs and transportation costs of factories were discounted. Price reduction in some of the raw materials and obligation to buy products manufactured in the factories for public institutions and some private companies were also imposed by this law (İnalcık, 2008, p. 151)

period were replaced by the holistic development of the nation state's spaces in these years. Therefore, besides the construction of independent economics, also an institutionalized planning approach were constructed. Industrialization plans and master plans were devised for the whole of Turkey. The spatial plans improving the cotton-based agricultural and industrial production areas led the urban development in Adana.

In summary, the factory spaces that emerged in the previous period modernized and developed in line with the industrial leap in this period. At the same time, spatial connections have been established between these modern factories and other urban uses within the urban area designed in line with the comprehensive planning approach. Therefore, this time interval is the period in which factories, which are defined as cultural assets today, have the strongest economic and socio-cultural spatiality along with other associated urban uses.

Third Interval: 1950-1980

There was World War II between the years of 1939 and 1945. After the war, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and United States of America (USA) were two different winning parties and the USA took its place on the world stage as the greatest of world capitalism. Its role was a superstate. In this direction, the process of design of neighboring countries went into operation on the side of the USA. The development of Turkey as one of the clients was canalized in a completely different direction from the previous period in terms of economy policies and position in this incubation period (Boratav, 2014, p. 83). The World Bank and International Monetary Fund who act under the auspices of the USA began to design dependent economies for clients. By this purpose, Turkey was included in the Marshall Plan initiated for the reconstruction of devastated Europe. According to this plan, the entrusted task to Turkey is an agricultural country which exports raw material to capitalist camp. In addition to this, unskilled labor-based and agricultural and mining-based industry development were supported in order to substitute imports providing the private sector. At this point, it

is crucial to state that Turkey had achieved a new momentum to perform industrialization leap based on scientific developments and technological innovation on the legacy of industrialization practice from the previous period. Consequently, a development program focusing on foreign markets and prioritizing investment in agriculture, mining, infrastructure, and the construction sector was on the agenda (Boratav, 2014, p. 94).¹³

According to the Census of Industry and Business Establishments, 43 of 85 companies operating in Adana in the first half of the 1960s were established between 1950 and 1959 (Varlık, Emiroğlu, & Türkoğlu, 2008, p. 157). In the 1960s, the capacity of large-scale cotton spinning factories increased. This increase was the fastest development observed in the weaving industry. Gin and prese factories had become subsidiaries of the textile and oil industries. In 1965, there are eight weaving factories employing more than 25,000 workers in Adana (Aktan, 1967). The textile industry constituted 27% of the Adana industry in 1972, which continued to diversify during the 1960s. According to the industrial census carried out in 1978, there are 207 large industrial establishments in Adana, 14 of which belong to the public sector and 193 belong to the private sector, and 56 of them constitute the weaving industry. (Varlık, Emiroğlu, & Türkoğlu, 2008, p. 179).

Besides the economic restructuring, urbanization had also been reshaped. Main factors affecting the urbanization are mechanization in agriculture and highway-weighted transportation policy within the scope of the Marshall Plan. A fast urbanization

¹³ The years between 1946 and 1953 are mainly years of relative growth based on agriculture in open market conditions (Boratav, 2014, p. 101). The years between 1954 and 1961 was the time where the world economy had begun to recover after the world war and the demand for export was falling. Liberal foreign trade policies ended in this period. The Democratic Party, who gave great weight to the private sector, had got to expand public investments in addition to private investments. While the state investments, which have been regarded as the economic power of the industrialists for centuries, have strengthened in quantitative terms, the concept of mixed economy has emerged, where the support of the state to private sector come into prominence. When public investments in sugar and cement industry were being made, private sector responded with new investments to the declining textile supply due to interrupted importation. Briefly, an import substitute industrialization policy had been adopted as a necessity due to the blockage of foreign trade at the end of this period. The years from 1960 to 1980 that the economy started to be approached based on a planning policy after the stabilization and cohesion policies.

process was seen caused by rural to urban immigration as a result of these factors. The housing problem arose from this rapid urbanisation could not be solved with the spatial planning practice learnt in the former period by the state. In other words, the employment and housing problems arose from the enlarging factories and the population migrating from the wide agricultural land to these factories, could not be solved with the planning practice in hand. Following these problems, in the 1960s, new institutional arrangements were prepared, and it has been a reorganization period for cities. As a result, the urbanization of Adana until 1980 did not immediately produce a solution by the state for the fundamental economic change and the demographic change it has imposed, but it was transformed and developed with the new planning activities in the second half of this interval.

Summarily, in this period, the rapid transformation of the conceived urban space as a result of the unexpected wave of migration and the subsequent attempt to control this transformation through a comprehensive plan affected the factory sites and its associated spaces as an industrial asset. The concentration of workers and their families in the city has brought industrial assets into new representations and practices. Therefore, this period is the period in which the value of industrial spaces added to the city changes due to unexpected issues. Industrial spaces and environment have been redesigned and re-perceived and experienced by the new society.

4.1.2.2. Time Intervals of Obsolescence Period

Forth Interval: 1980-2000

There was a global economic crisis in 1979, and some radical regulations were made on the world scale. This interval covers the years in which the world economic order has changed by globalization and liberalization wind. There were an international division of labour in the world and the new paradigm imposed foreign expansion on the inward-oriented-industrialized countries. It was compelled to integrate within the capitalist world economy within the bounds of their possibility and ability. Active

(state-mandated) industrialization politics fall into abeyance in many developing countries. This period smoothed the way for a *free market economy*.

January 24 decisions (1980), which are the compatibility decisions of Turkey with economy agenda of International Money Found (IMF) and World Bank (WB), laid the foundations of the neo-liberal economy in Turkey. As a result of these decisions, the effect of state on economy decreased. Before 1980 the state has a dominant role in agriculture and industry sectors after 1980 its role weakened. In the period after 1980, while the manufacturing industry lost its priority, importance was given to other service sectors such as transportation and tourism, especially after the Tourism Incentive Law in 1982 (Şenses & Taymaz, 2003).

After 1989, arrangements were made to enable all kinds of foreign capital to enter the country more freely in most of the developing countries. This was an imposition of limitlessly opening of the markets of nation states to the market rules of global capitalism. Foreign capital inflows and hot money flow to developing countries was got easy. Turkey completely gave up the active industrialization policies with the increase in inpayment as a result of this free market economy. There is no state policy for the fastening of industrialization and technological transformation. Although an increase was observed in the first half of the 1980s due to the reuse of the existing but unused capacity of industrial enterprises, there was no expansion or growth on the existing situation (Boratav, 2014, p. 162). These times brought the question of "*should I invest in gold or foreign currency or real estate or equity share etc.*" and caused to forget the question "*in what production area should I invest?*" (Boratav, 2014, p. 169).

The 1980s did not become just the era of renunciation of the industry-based planned economy. Compatible with this situation, the arrangement of urban space with a comprehensive planning approach was quitted. The approach which sees the cities as a common place of planned sectoral developments and planned settlements were abandoned. Cities began to become a part of the capital accumulation process.

National and international large scaled capital groups preferred capital accumulation with projects like shopping malls, hotels, trade centers, highways, bridges instead of investing in agricultural or industrial production areas. With the preference of capital accumulation model based on the production of the built environment, the cities started to expand and transform. At Adana, land uses were started to ease this accumulation with the patchwork plans. Plans which convert industrial areas to central business districts and open agricultural areas to urban development began to be produced.

In summary, industrial assets started to lose their importance in the city during this period. The values of factory sites developing within the design of the comprehensive plans of previous period which combine different urban uses with various publicities have started to disappear. The production capacities of the factories rapidly decreased and various spaces culturally and socially feeding the production have started to disappear with the publicities in the city.

Fifth Interval: 2000-2019

The fifth interval began with an economic crisis in Turkey in 2001. IMF-imposed “*structural reforms*” were on the agenda to quit this crisis. These structural reforms included some strategies that focus on privatization in order to close out public finance deficits and some arrangements related to the banking sector. Turkey’s economy has entered into full control of international financial institutions as a result of these reforms. As a result of the perfect capital mobility emerged after 1989 and 2001 IMF programme, international funds increased dramatically compared to the previous period. There were no national savings, no import substitution, no foreign currency return-generating economic activity.

In this period, the economy had gained stability, all income generating areas and assets had opened to international capital, and there was one party regime which can be intervened in the face of any distressed situation. In response to this, excess liquidity in the world flowed to Turkey. In the abundance of foreign currency, Turkey did not

prefer to invest in real productive sectors such as the manufacturing industry or export-oriented agricultural growth. The share of the manufacturing sector in the growing economy of Turkey began to decline. Instead, investments in the construction area gained speed. Turkey has preferred the production of the built environment as a locomotive sector for economic growth. Private capital, with the support of the state, has moved away from the real sectors and has started to act in the direction of speculative and rent-seeking short-term goals.

With the construction-oriented growth model adopted in the 2000s, more intensive construction activities have started in urban areas as never before. As a result of the decline of the agricultural sector and the rise of the services sector after the 1980s, the degree of urbanization has increased. While in the first half of this interval, the construction sector was first designed to respond to the demand for housing that emerged as a result of rapid urbanization, it was tried to ensure the continuity of the sector through provoked demands in the second half. Therefore, planning activities in cities were reduced to the creation of urban rents through projects. The urban transformation projects for the production of luxury residential units and shopping mall, social reinforcement projects to increase speculative rent and mega-projects were sought to be kept out of Turkey's economy alive. This kind of transformation projects, which are rapidly increasing in Adana, erased the title of *industrial* from the name of the city. The industrial district at issue which is located in the city center of Adana and started to be liquidated in the previous period has been one of the production areas of these rent-seeking projects.

In short, during this period, the factories and residential areas within the industrial district of Adana whose urban connections were broken and whose landuse was changed in the previous period entered the transformation process. The values added by the industrial district to the city were either completely destroyed or tried to be reconsidered in a sector other than production (culture sector) as in the case of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory].

4.1.3. Scale and Content

Within the scope of this thesis, a holistic value assessment will be done within five intervals due to the expanding scale and enriched content approaches in the process of researching the *representations* and *practices* developed for Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its environs.

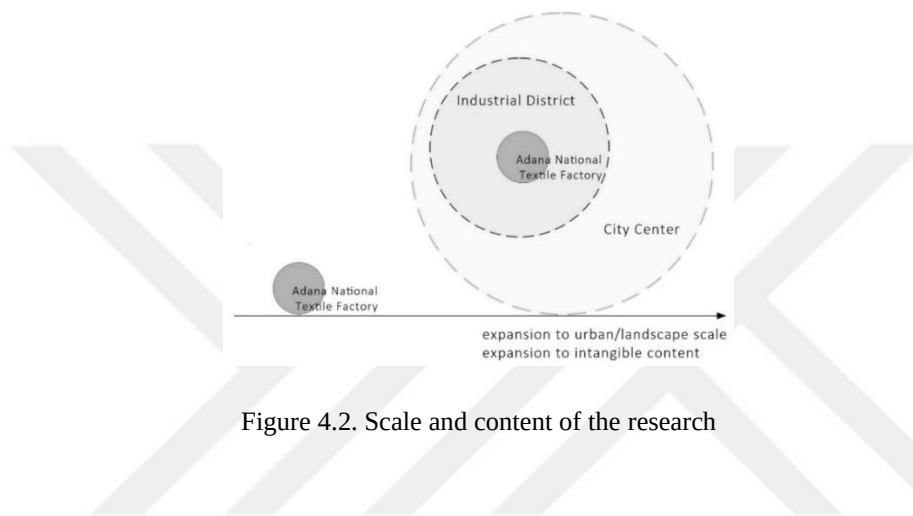


Figure 4.2. Scale and content of the research

1. Space will be analyzed with its vicinity in an urban context.

The industrial district, which developed quite close to the city center, was home to eight factories including Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] which compose a living environment in a settlement. The momentum of the space, which is a crucial production center at the time, is disturbed as a result of separate obsolescence processes.

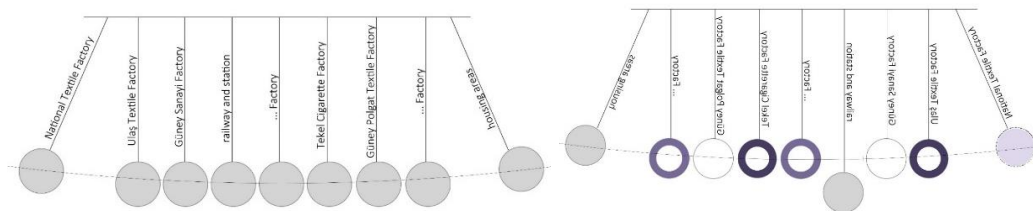


Figure 4.3. The momentum of the space and disrupted momentum of the space by various particular interventions

In brief, there are physical connections in three areas; agriculture-industry-city relations. An analysis that roots in these relations will help to achieve a holistic view and bring a broad perspective on the reintegration of the space to the city.

2. It is aimed to reveal the social values besides the physical values that the place possesses.

The sporting fields, health facilities, commercial areas, cultural facilities and residential areas associated with factories have turned into a district that in time, co-operates inseparably and creates everyday routines. Connection of the industrial district to the city center within walking distance contributed to the evolving everyday life. The relations with agricultural lands supply a different *spatial practice* which is not easily formed in every city. Eventually, looking at their demolishments will give societal change in an industrial city.

4.1.4. Sources for Triadic Analysis

In the scope of this study, it is targeted to reach *form, practice, and relation values* of the space on its *perceived, conceived* and *lived components*. These values cannot be reached only by examination of plans and projects. General historic knowledge is not also sufficient to explain the values arisen from the *lived* and *perceived areas of the space*. Consequently, several documents and narratives will be used to analyze the space. One set of documents reveals the mental space and shows the *conceived* components of the space. The other set describes the physical properties of the space in daily life. The third set presents components which have not belonged to daily life yet. They give the components which are just appearing with the effect of social, economical and physical conditions of the era and which are entered to daily life slowly.

1. **Master plans, projects and government agency decisions:** These are the official documents which constitute *the conceived space*.
2. **Travel Books:** These documents, which have been prepared for a large number of travelers and geographers, include much information about the

city's physical structure and economic activities. Therefore, some data about *conceived*, *perceived* and *lived components* can be obtained, even if they are limited and fragmental.

3. **Literary Texts:** The qualities of literary space are often equal to the qualities of the places where everyday life passes. For this reason, it is necessary to examine that the everydayness crops up in the field of literature with great care. In this way, everyday life is included in the field of thought and consciousness through literature, language and writing. (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 10).

In the embedded values period of the thesis, *the perceived* and *lived dimensions of space* analysis were expressed through Orhan Kemal' some novels. Orhan Kemal lived between 1914-1970 and wrote several realistic and autobiographical novels and stories. He wrote about the social and physical change in Adana as he lives through this change. The writer was born in Adana and lived a part of his childhood in this city. In 1930 he migrated to Beirut with his family, lived there for two years and returned to Adana back. He became an industrial worker in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]. All the characters and the scenes in his novels are based on the research area of this thesis. In short, his work is an oeuvre for this thesis because his writings about modernization, individuals, society, experiences, daily life all happen in the spaces of the subject of this thesis. Historical changes in the production areas (both agricultural and industrial areas) of Adana, information about improving public space, description of modernizing or nonmodernising individuals are conveyed to the reader by being imagined by a writer. For this reason, it is possible to reach important information about both *spatial practices* and *spaces of representations*. The novels used as references in this thesis are:

- Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde [on the Fertile Lands] (2008)
- Baba Evi [the Paternal Home] (1942)
- Cemile (2004)
- Eskici Dükkanı [The Ragman's Shop] (1973)

- Murtaza (2003)
- Hanımın Çiftliği [The Farm of the Mistress] (1961)
- Kanlı Topraklar [Bloody Lands] (1972)
- El Kızı [Stranger Girl] (1960)

4. **In-depth interviews:** Along with the literary text, for the post-1950 times of the study, there were referred to the narratives of some people who lived, worked or experienced in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and Döşeme Neighbourhood. Especially for the post-1980 period, there is no such literal production for or in the space. This is one of the most important indicators of the weakness of agriculture and industry in urban life, which is strong enough to enter in novels, stories, poems and films in or about Adana. At this point, in-depth interviews have closed the gap and completed the methodology of the research. Interviews were conducted with eight people who were born between the years 1945-1955, spent their childhood and their youth in Döşeme Neighbourhood.

- interviewee 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are the workers who had worked in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in the 1960s.
- interviewee 1 had also lived in lodgement of the Factory.
- interviewee 2 had also played football in the sports club of the Factory.
- interviewee 6 is the worker who had worked in another factory (German Factory) but played football in the sports club of the Factory.
- interviewee 7 is the worker had worked in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in the 1980s.
- interviewee 8 is an inhabitant of Döşeme Neighbourhood since 1956.

All interviews were made in an unstructured interview format. Each interview lasted for approximately one hour and some information was gathered about *the spatial practices* and *the spaces of representations*. All interviews started with general inquiries in relation to everyday life and memories about industrial district and urban centers. The common inquiries directed to all interviewees were about the place of birth, age, where the childhood and youth

was, where s/he worked, the daily life between the place where s/he worked and lived, relations with the city center and public spaces, and situation in spaces during special occasions. During the interviews, questions were deepened on different focus spaces or activities mentioned in the general narrative of the interviewee. These focus spaces or activities differentiated such as lodgements, cinemas, public spaces in the city, social aid of factories, sports club, abandonment of factories etc. While the workers gave information about the factory they work, the neighborhood they live in and the public life they experience with enthusiasm and coziness, the narratives about the abandonment of the factories have been funereal and timid.

5. **Media Archives:** Visual and written advertisements in newspapers are other sources to give information about some *representations* and *practices*.

Besides, the social media was used as a tool for reaching some *representations* and *practices*. Facebook groups such as ‘Adana’nın Eski Fotoğrafları’, ‘Adana Ansiklopedisi’, ‘Adana Kent Kitaplığı’ ‘Döşeme Mahallesi’ and ‘Eski Döşemeliler’ which were founded to share old photos of Adana, reached 77,000 members in total and with the people sharing their old family photos, memories and informations; the groups turned into an oral-collective memory group. Lots of photos were retrieved from these groups. Some comments and notes with the photos and discussions submits the *representations* and *practices* in the area from the inhabitants perspective.

4.2. Brief Look on the Spatial History of Adana and the Place of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in Adana

Adana is a delta plain created by Seyhan and Ceyhan Rivers and bounded by the Toros Mountains from the north in the eastern Mediterranean region of Turkey. According to the written sources, the first settlements in Adana began to appear in ancient times. Agriculture in the bottomlands and husbandry in the mountainside were carried out for many years. The city was very convenient to be a commercial center as a result of the construction of gates on the Toros Mountains and adjacent to some port cities.

When it is interpreted in the light of these developments, the city had developed based on agricultural and commercial activities for many years.

In the XVI century, Adana had a macroform surrounded by Seyhan River in the east and gardens in the north, west and south. There is a Ulucami-based settlement in the city (Saban, 2006). According to the records of the Ottoman archives, the population of Adana city in XVI century is composed of Muslims, non-Muslims and migrant settlers. According to the information in cadastral record books, non-Muslim people living in Adana are only Armenians in those years. It is known that the Greeks and Jews also came after XVI. Century. Shortly, the city began to develop as a result of the development in trade, agriculture and industrial production, the increase of population and immigration, public improvements and housing policies after this period.

The real expansion of the city was during Ottoman reign. The city showed a rapid development towards the north, south and west directions out of the historical center; new neighbourhoods were formed in these garden parts of the city. From this point on, developments constituting the urban macroform, which will also include the study area of this thesis can be observed.

The most significant contribution to the development of the city was through the railway line which was built in 1883 and opened in 1886. The first station was built to the northwest of the city and out of the settlements. The cotton gin and yarn workshops and the first manufacture selected the area around this station and the first factories established in the city were built here. With the construction of a new station building in the north-western part of the city in 1912, the former station began to be referred to as "Old Station". The old station becomes a stop for freight transport while the new station is for passengers. With the opening of the new station, the city has begun to develop in this direction.

The factors affecting and contributing to the development of the city of Adana until the early years of the Republic can be summarized as international investment decisions, migrations, disasters and projects that executives can be put forth in the context of the city vision. Studies on the development of the city based on a plan document began for the first time in 1938. **The first master plan of Adana** designed by H. Jansen and approved lastly in 1940, foresees the city to grow northward towards the new station. This plan designed new residential areas towards to railway station and made strong connections between administrative and public areas, workspaces, residential units and recreational areas.

In 1943, an additional 1/1000 scale master plan for the city center covering an area of 113 ha was prepared by Necmi Ateş and the development of the eastern side of the city accelerated. **In 1948, a new plan was prepared by Asım Kömürcüoğlu** which embraces the development of a two-storey residential unit with a garden covering an area of 183 ha in the eastern part of the river. Both plans are prepared by abiding the main decisions of the Jansen plan. (Çopuroğlu, 2009)

In 1963, the State Planning Organization and the Ministry of Development and Housing jointly established a project office in Adana. As a result of the studies of this office "Çukurova Regional Planning Project - Preliminary Report" was prepared in 1966. In the same year, the environmental plan of 1 / 20.000 scale was prepared on an area of 34,000 ha and aimed at 1.5 million population projection. In this direction, the master plan covering the area of 7,084 ha was obtained from a competition coordinated by **Provincial Bank in 1966**. It was requested to prepare a plan for the city of Adana, which has a population of 290,515 people, for 1985 by a population projection of 850,000 people. The winning plan was approved in 1969. The plan predicted that the city would grow to the northeast.

The city reached a population of 600,000 in 1980. Revisions and additional plans were made in Adana's 1969 master plan. **In 1980, a master plan** covering an area of 21,000 ha and aiming for development towards the north rather than towards the urban

agricultural areas in the south was approved. **The plan, which was prepared in 1985,** was a plan to increase the density of the northern part of the city and to open large scale green areas and agricultural lands to the settlements.

In 1986, within the scope of the Housing Law No. 2985, a public housing area covering an area of 2,600 ha was declared in order to meet the housing deficit in Adana. As a result, "New Adana" was constituted by expanding the northwestern city. **A revised master plan** was put out to tender in 1992 of which first and second stages of it were approved in 1995, and the 3rd stage was approved in 1996. A vast area was opened to settlement including the slopes facing north of Adana and overlooking the Seyhan Dam Lake in consequence of this plan. Unlike the plans that do not foresee to develop southwards until that time, the plan proposed a reserve housing area within an area limited by the proposed South Peripheral Way. While there are significant influences of the plans of 1940, 1969 and 1985 in the current physical development and shaping of Adana, the additional revision zoning plans applied in 1992 and the zoning revisions which continued in the following years determined Adana's current macroform (Altunkasa, 2004).

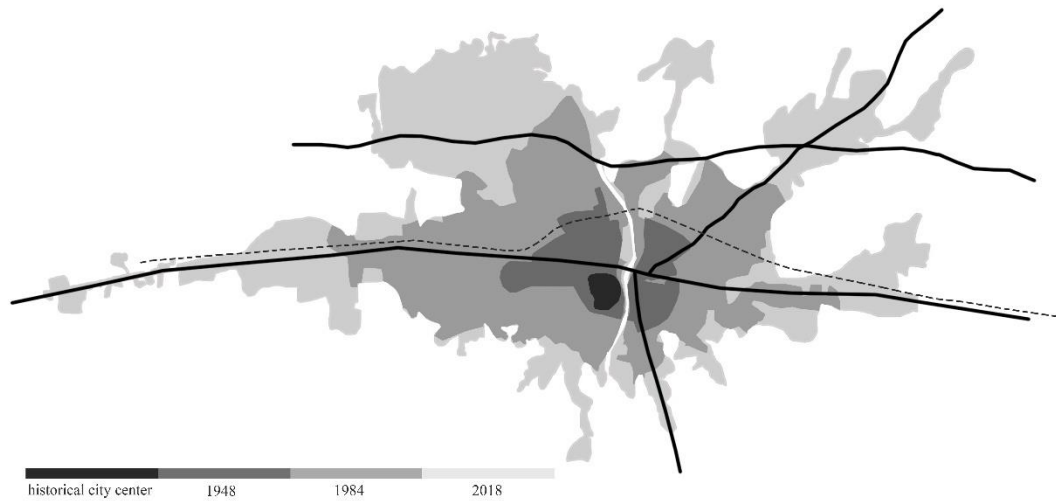


Figure 4.4. Development of the macroform of Adana

1/100.000 scale Provincial Environment Plan, prepared by the Provincial Special Administration in 2007, has been approved as a plan which is widely discussed in the city planning discipline. Intensive urban development was proposed for the town of Yüreğir, which is located on the east side of the Seyhan River and has the highest rural area in Adana. Also, there is no industrial policy to guide the development of the province in the planning period. Subsequent to this, there are partial expansions in the city macroform and intensities in the city through the implementation plans in compliance with the **1 / 25.000 Scale Environmental Plan** prepared by the Adana Metropolitan Municipality in 2007 and the **1/5000 Scale Revised Master Plans** prepared in 2008. (Çetinkaya, 2009)

Within the spatial development described above, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] has found a place in the north of the old train station, which was built in 1886. It is approximately 3 km from the historical city center of Adana, and 1 km from the new railway station and 1 km from the airport.

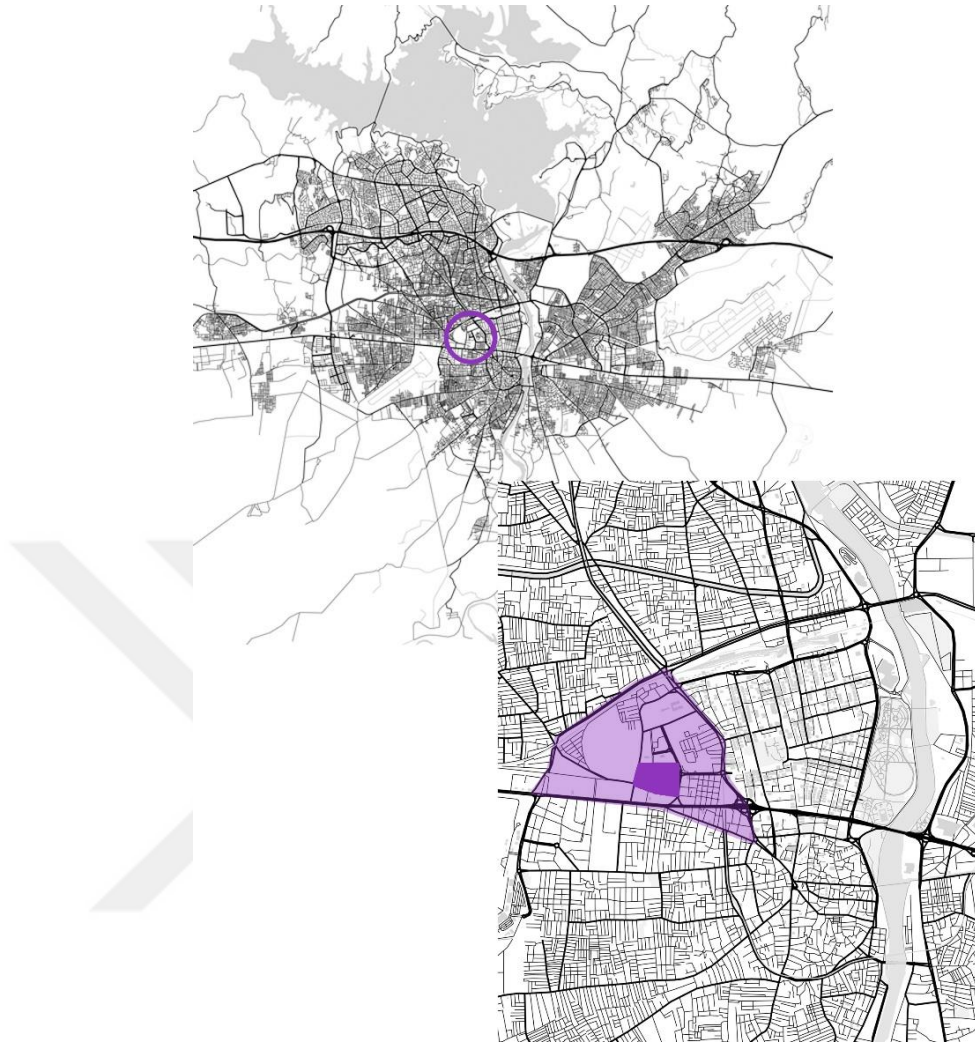


Figure 4.5. Location of the industrial district in Adana and Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] site in the district (base map is obtained from <https://hebstreits.com/>)

With the development of the city, it remained in the city center, and during five periods, it has experienced processes of establishment, development, abandonment and preservation.

4.3. Embedded Values Period: Production of Industrial Space

The first industrial sites of Adana began getting erected at the end of the 1800s. The production process of the space has commenced in the wake of Adana-Mersin railway

line and stations being constructed in the year 1886, and the factories established as a result of the development of cotton-based industry in Adana choosing operation sites around the train station. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], previously named Simyonoğlu Factory, was founded by the Armenian merchant Aristidi Kozma Simyonoğlu and his associates back in 1906 as one of the first factories to be constructed in the vicinity of the station. The factory had expanded almost four-fold throughout the four years following its foundation.¹⁴

The factory and its vicinity have gone through in years some representative changes as well, in addition to developing in the structural sense. As a consequence of the migration policies implemented during the late periods of the Ottoman Empire and the early periods of the Republic, property changes have taken place for enterprises and residences owned by non-Muslims. For the owners of the Simyonoğlu Factory were among those who left the city within the first years of the Republic, there had been a property change. Similar processes occurring for other factory structures as well, the housing fabric, too, was influenced for the first time in this period by the policy of a new representation (the Republic) towards creating its own spaces.

With the industrial leap of the 1930s, the pace of industrialization had increased throughout Turkey. The production capacity of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], too, increased in these years and the factory had also developed spatially. The number of employed labourers reached to 2,000 at the end of the 1930s. One of the two companies which had dominated the industry in Adana until the year of 1950 was Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], which was a private capital enterprise, and the other one was Sümerbank, which was a public

¹⁴ In the first years it was founded, the factory had in its inventory 2 motors supplying the power need of it, each with a power output of 150 hp, and a capacity of 1800 ig. In 1910s, the factory, with 150 workers employed, had a production capacity of 150 tons of yarn and 470,000 meters of fabric (Varlık, Emiroğlu, & Türkoğlu, 2008). In the year 1911, the weaving department of the factory was established, with 52 weaving workbenches brought into the factory. In the year 1925, the number of weaving benches in Turkey was 908, and 511 of these were located in the factories in Adana. Examining from this point, the National Textile Factory, with more than 50 benches in its inventory, was among the large-scale businesses in the weaving industry of the period.

enterprise. Almost half of the industrial employment in Adana was supplied by these two enterprises (Emiroğlu, 2016, p.277). In the factory, which capitalized on Teşvik-i Sanayi (Industry Promotion) Law in 1941; yarn, weaving, finishing and dyeing facilities had been established. In this expanding factory, 1500 laborers were working in 1946 in three shifts, with 48% males, 14% females and the rest of them children under the age of 18. Although there was a power supply problem in Adana back in 1951, the factories had expanded owing to the abundance of raw materials and manpower. By this means, the production capacity of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] had been increased by 60%.

In the major axis of this study lie the unfolding of the values of industrialization and modernization periods of Turkey and the evaluation of these with a holistic perspective. To unfold these values within the course of history in Adana, it is required that the Ottoman Empire be examined starting from the First Constitutional Era and by elaborating, especially on the early periods of the Republic. In order for the values to be observed in a holistic way, it is of importance that the paths of qualities and attributes of the three areas that produce a space (mental, physical and social areas) in all periods must be traced in tandem.

The projects put forth in the last period of the Ottoman State, which began with the Edict of Gülhane and during the course of which significant steps towards modernization were taken; nationalization decisions made following the declaration of the Republic, industrialization plans, development plans conceived in connection with these plans and projects comprise the *representation of space* of this period. *Spaces of representation* and *spatial practices* developed in tandem with the *representation of space* have produced a myriad of values that are based on industrialization and modernization in space.

4.3.1. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the First Interval (1876-1923)

In the aftermath of the industrial revolution, capitalism has evolved rapidly and began spreading. On the one hand, European cities have gone through fundamental changes

in the wake of new urban developments such as the factories flourished during the progress of capitalism, working-class housings, transportation systems. On the other hand, imperialist relations with a focus on raw materials and markets have begun to be established between Europe and the neighbouring countries. Consequently, in the cities of the neighbouring countries to empower international capitalist relations, some changes have taken place. The Ottoman State is one of these neighbouring countries. Especially in the cities of the Ottoman State which are rich in raw materials and located on prominent transportation lines, structural changes have been experienced starting from the 19th century, in parallel with the developments in Europe. Moreover, in fact, in the wake of this structural change that had been experienced, the production process of the spaces of capitalist representation in the Ottoman Empire was commenced.

During the Edict of Gülhane era, the spaces of the new representation in Ottoman cities were started to be shaped first through the infrastructure demands and supplies which were to facilitate integration into capitalism successfully. In other words, the enhancement of transportation and infrastructure activities in Ottoman cities has constituted the first *representations of space*. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], along with other factories, has been established within such a process of representation creation.

4.3.1.1. Representation of Space: Baghdad Railway Line

By 1880s, within the modernization process of the Ottoman State, infrastructure construction has started to be regarded as an extensive topic of planning throughout the country (Tekeli, 2011, p. 139). Infrastructure activities during that period were programmed by two essential documents. The first one is “Anadoluda İmalat-ı Umumiye dair Lahiya” (the plan regarding public production in Anatolia) approved in 1882. The second one is the “Umuru Nafia Programı” (Public works program). These are the first *representations of space* to affect the development of many industry fields along with infrastructure investments. Public works programs are extensive

plans including numerous projects such as the construction of highways, railways and ports, drainage of swamps, constructing berms for protection against floods, dam construction and construction of irrigation and drainage canals, etc. (Tekeli & İlkin, 2010). With these documents, proposal and spatial indicators pertaining to which projects would be implemented, cost estimations of these projects and by what kind of an investment each of these projects would be implemented were put forth (Tekeli, 2011, p. 140).

The plan of 1882 was put into effect with a comprehensive report prepared in 1880 by the Minister of Public Works Hasan Fehmi Pasha being approved by the Sultan Abdulhamid II. The document encompasses decisions related to the transportation infrastructure, with railways being in the first place, and to public works service and investments to develop accordingly. The plan of 1908 is one including and detailing the decisions of the plan of 1882 as is, and it was prepared with an 8-year perspective. With this document, it was mainly aimed to develop agriculture. The subject that was prioritized in the plan in order to develop agriculture is the agricultural product reaching to nationwide and worldwide markets. It was also emphasized that the developments to be recorded in agriculture would cultivate livestock farming and industry. It was stated that, thereby, instead of the supply of imported products to the public, the supply of the products that were produced in the country could be provided. It was aimed to train technical staff for the implementations of its projects. It was planned to establish an engineering school with the instructorship of local and foreign specialists and to send some selected students to Europe for them to receive a better education. It was planned that the investments considered within the program be realized through privileges to be granted to the companies of the great powers of Europe.

As stated in the 1882 and 1908 plans, various construction activities planned in cities and operating rights had been transferred to foreign, especially Western companies for very long periods and sometimes indefinitely through capitulations and concessions. The demonstration of modern expansions in the Ottoman cities was provided by these

Western companies, in line with the supervision of the Ottoman administration to some extent (Cengizkan, 2010). The construction of the railway, the purpose of the construction of which was to transport the agricultural products of Çukurova -with cotton being the primary one- to the Mersin port, had been executed through British capitalists.

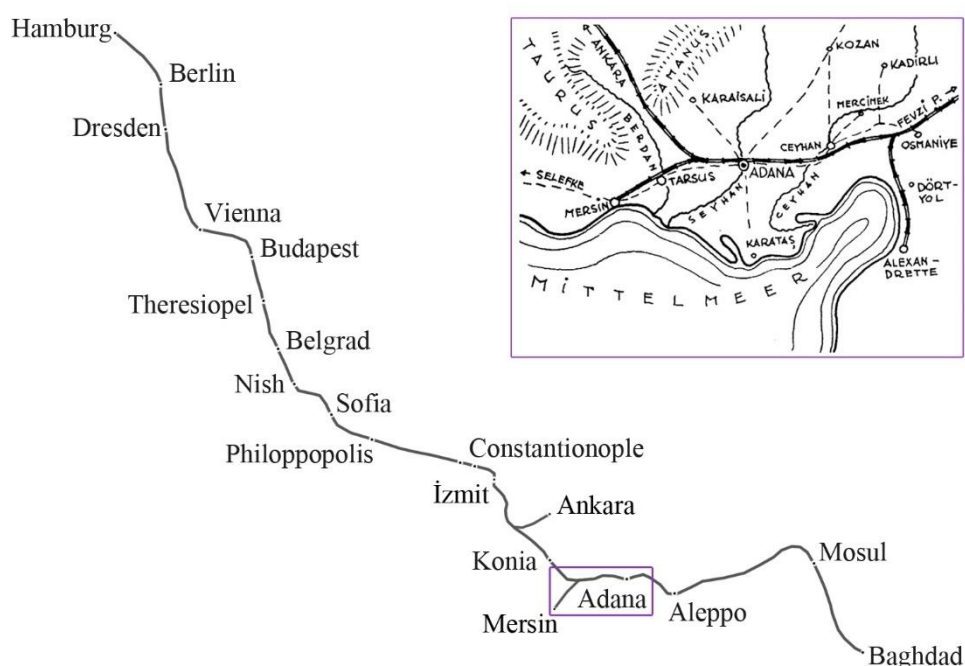


Figure 4.6. Baghdad Railway Line (Cuda, 1939)

Preparation of the maps and projects of the Mersin-Tarsus-Adana railway had been assigned to Ross Taylor, one of the famous civil engineers of the period. The total length of the lane was estimated to be 67,230 km, and it was found suitable for the line to be constructed parallel to the road North of the highway.¹⁵ Also, it was decided

¹⁵ According to the contract, it was stated that the railway was to be constructed as a single track for the time being, but that the land the railway to pass through would be left so as to allow for laying out two tracks. Construction of a second track was secured in case the annual revenue per kilometer would reach at 30,000 francs and upon the request of the government.

that six station buildings be installed, with three large ones of these in Mersin, Tarsus and Adana, and three small ones in Yakaköy, on the Gülek Strait road and in Yenice.

From two maps included in the Prime Minister's Office Ottoman Archive dated to 1872 and 1892, information about the urban macroform of Adana in those years can be obtained. As deduced from these documents, the city center was located west of Seyhan River. Around the city center were located in low-density neighbourhoods of rural character. Vast agricultural fields surrounded these neighbourhoods. There exists a railway stretching along the East-West direction and ending on the western side of the city center. In the map dated to 1892, expansion of the city center towards the station building can be observed. The train station is a *space of representation* that has directed the development of the city. One of the narratives related to the *spatial practice* experienced before this representation was included in the urban image can be found in Orhan Kemal's novel titled "Eskici Dükkanı [The Ragman's Shop]":

"Topal eskici yıllar önce **Çukurova'nın güm güm gümüleyen büyük çiftliklerinden** birinde dünyaya gözlerini açtı ama, güm gümüleyen bu büyük çiftlik gibi nice nicelerini satın alabilecek çok daha büyük çiftliklerin bulunduğu Çukurova'da topal eskicinin dedesi Resul Ağa pek pek orta çiftçi sayılırdı. O yıllar memleketi tren yolu döşenmediği, kamyonlarsa buranın malını mahsülünü burada, oranın ki orada kalır, çiftlik sahipleri buğdayları, arpaları, küncü, pamukları fakir fukaraya bedava dağıtmasalar bile, gene de bol bol verirlerdi. (Kemal, 1973, p. 14)

[The crippled junk dealer opened his eyes to the world many years ago in one of **Çukurova's large, bustling farms** [emphasis mine]; yet, in Çukurova, where even larger farms could be found, which could have bought many more farms just like this bustling, large farm; the grandfather of the junk dealer, Resul Ağa could be regarded at most an average farmer. Back in those years, given that no railways were laid out in the country and trucks used to sell the goods and crops of this place here, those of that place would remain there, even if the farm owners would not give for free the wheat, barley, limed soil, cotton to the poor, they would give them in plenty.]"

The railway was integrated into the city as a new urban component which had broken these confined commercial relations mentioned in the passage above. The railway station has also taken its place in the city as the representative of these changing relations.

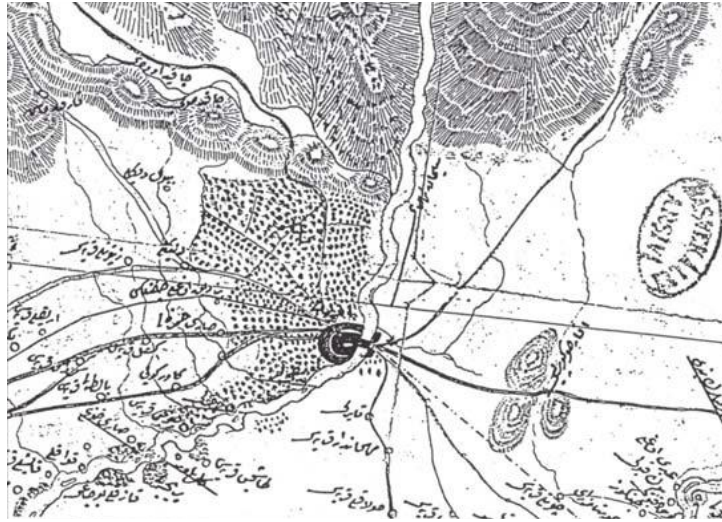


Figure 4.7. Map of Adana 1872 showing the historical town center and city gates 1872 (Source: Reel, 2006, Master thesis, Premiership Ottoman Archive)



Figure 4.8. Map of Adana showing the town center and railway 1892 (Source: Reel, 2006, Master thesis, Premiership Ottoman Archive)

In 1886, the construction of the Station Building, which is one of the three largest stations as a result of the designed space carried into *practice*, the station building had taken its place in the city as a *space of representation*. One of the most important reasons for this place to be considered as a *space of representation* is that it ushered in a *practice* that had previously not existed in the city and that was out of the bounds of the entrenched daily life of the city. This building, which was built in a place out of the historical city center of Adana, where the daily life of the city is most intensely experienced, is a new space joined to the outside of both the familiar and accustomed spatial relations (*perceived spaces*) experienced by large masses in their *spatial practices* and the space (*living space*) that was inhabited by the Ottoman Empire with specific religious and social codes (myths, symbols, etc.). The practice of establishing inter-city trade relations with caravans within the country has begun leaving its place to railway transportation. *The spatial practices* taking place around inns, which were the stopping points during the period in which economical relations were being established with caravans, have been replaced by new *spatial practices* that have developed around new utilizations such as bazaars, hotels and warehouses occurring in the neighbourhood of the station in the city center. Therefore, new urban utilizations developing in station buildings and their vicinity have been one of the fundamental spatial elements of the new modern city representation in the city center (Tekeli, 1980, p. 32).

As a result, new *spatial practices* and *relationships* have begun to develop in interaction with each other, after the station building took its place in the city as a *space of representation* that emerged as a result of the efforts to the joint to the economic relations in the world. One of these events is the development, along with agriculture, of spaces to cater for the processing of agricultural products, as foreseen in the 1908 plan. These production spaces began to pick places around the station, where commercial activities started to intensify. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] took its place in 1906 within the industrial district which started to form around the station.

The station has not only been the developer of new *spatial practices* in its vicinity. In addition, it has become a prominent focus of the city space to be designed after that. A plan for Adana city center that is dated to 1910 is of a character to prove this effect, even though it could not be implemented. This plan dated to the Second Constitutional Era was annexed to one of the documents submitted to the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works in Istanbul in which the authorized members of the Provincial Councils in Adana Province and its vicinity conveyed their requests and wishes. The document was written with the request of the establishment of the power generation station required for the illumination of all buildings in Adana and for the establishment of an electric-powered tramway system for intracity transportation. The plan dated to 1910, which was included in the annex of the document and depicting the tramway line and its stations, shows up as a *representation of space* worthy of examination. These are the years during which actions for providing intracity transportation by public vehicles such as automobiles and trams instead of transportation on foot have become widespread, due to the growth of cities along with the increasing population. The 1910 Adana plan is a new *representation of space* created for a modernizing city.

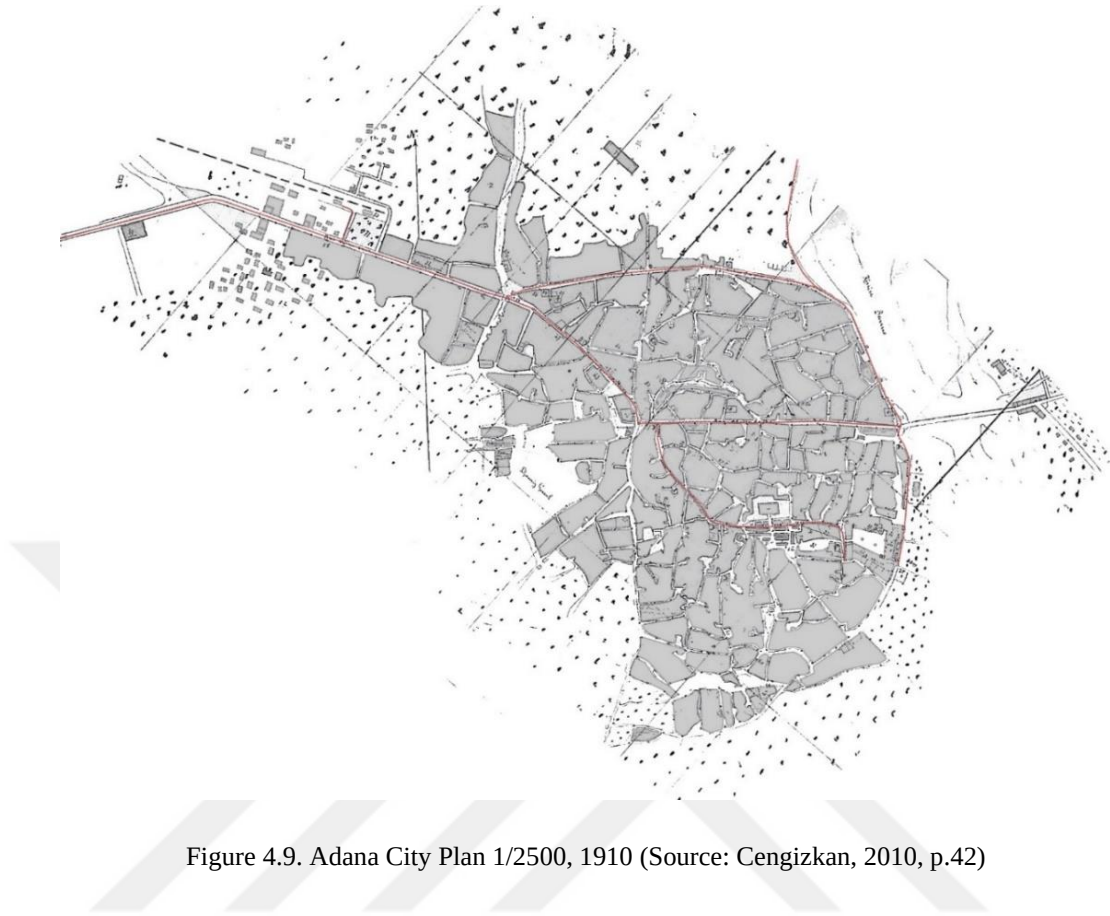


Figure 4.9. Adana City Plan 1/2500, 1910 (Source: Cengizkan, 2010, p.42)

The plan depicts the neighbourhoods where mandatory tramway lines and optional routes are to pass through. This is the first plan in which the direction of the development of Adana is pointed out, though, the real motivation was the construction of a tramway line. In the plan, the station shows a new development point in the northwestern region of the city. In contrast with the fabric in the self-developed old center of the city in the southeast, it is observed that, in the vicinity of the station, an orderly and planned urban fabric is implemented. There exist clues indicating that the utilization of the center located along the riverbank and comprised of public buildings and commercial buildings such as old inns, the Hamidiye Hospital (Hôpital Hamidié), Municipality Theater (Théâtre Municipal), Court Hall, Prison, Municipality (Municipalité) and PTT (Postes et Télégramme) would in time develop towards the Station (Cengizkan, 2010, p. 41).

When the vicinity of the station is examined; it is observed that there exists the name of Döşeme Street among fields north of the train station and structural units are located around the street. Generally, no depiction is included in the plan in the structure scale; instead, boundaries of neighbourhood or housing blocks are included. When the plan is examined with its legend, it can be observed that the depictions included in the structure scale are specific buildings (such as government/education/health/cultural structures). It would not be inaccurate to comment that these buildings drawn around the station are functional utilizations involving within the first industrial, commercial and cultural activities located in the vicinity of the station. In addition to these buildings, neighbourhood (Yenimahalle and İcadiye neighbourhoods) boundaries in the vicinity of the station are included. A park is designed just south of the station. The main tramway line crosses the station avenue lying on the south of the park.

The plan documents the construction of railway and tramway lines, what Cengizkan defined as one of the ultimately measurable and concrete tools of modernization, turning into a request by cosmopolitan city residents during those years of the Ottoman State. The demand for the river waters to be used – in addition to agriculture - in energy production to supply the power need required in industry and transportation and the bringing up of the public benefit discussion here in those years are among the values enforced by industrialization and related modernization tendencies. Although the aforementioned plan could not be implemented, the unfolding of modernization and its *spaces of representation* has accelerated the introduction of what is modern to urban space, social entities and daily life (Cengizkan, 2010).

In 1902, the project for the connection of the Adana-Mersin railway line to the Istanbul-Baghdad railway line was given a start. This project was implemented with the concession granted to Germany. In 1912, the connection was completed a new station other than the existing station was constructed in Adana. Following the construction of the new station, the station located within the construction area has begun being called the old station and the representation it retained has transformed. It has transformed into a station serving to goods transport, not to the general use of

the city dwellers. The new station, on the other hand, has situated in its place north of the historic settlement as the new center of attraction. Whereas urbanization is progressing towards the direction of the new station, on the other hand, new factories and settlement areas continue developing in the vicinity of the old station.

4.3.1.2. Spatial Practice: Train Station-Industry Togetherness

Production based on cotton is the first industrial activity in the history of the industrial revolution. This activity has started to turn many wheels of the economy such as erection of factories, production and export of related machinery, chemical improvements, industrial illumination, sea and railway transportation. While rapidly developing in Europe, production activity based on cotton and its relevant branches has recorded developments in a fashion to include neighbouring countries, given that it is a type of production based on an agricultural raw material. In the neighbouring countries, the process has developed towards the phases of cotton yarn weaving and textile production, one generation after the generation which engaged in tasks such as improving cotton production, cotton trading, cotton cleaning and cotton spinning in this order.

Following the agricultural and commercial activities which started for the purpose of fostering the industry based on cotton that is the dominant sector in the European industry, production areas in Adana have evolved into simple cotton gin workshops, and then into larger scale workshops and plants and later on into complex factories. Spatial development has begun to be observed in the immediate vicinity of the station building, which is a *space of representation*, in a way to ensure maintaining this economic flow most effectively. All these new economic relations have placed a new *space of representation* under the name of the district of factories into the urban image of Adana. Then, a *spatial practice*, which has progressively settled in the vicinity of the station and integrated with each other, started to be perceived.

In the textile industry, the primitive technology used in the cleaning and baling of cotton is one of the important factors preventing export activities. Countries buying

cotton prefer cotton to be of processable quality. For this reason, in Adana, production facilities have started to be established, which carry out procedures such as the cotton being clean, containing no foreign matter such as kernels or seeds and bales being in standard sizes. Later on, these facilities have one-by-one incorporated stages such as oil production from kernels and seeds, cotton yarn production and dyeing. Finally, they transformed into integrated factories producing weave and fabric and got situated in their places in the vicinity of the station. These factories, too, had been founded mostly by private entrepreneurs mostly by foreign capital, as in the case of infrastructure investments. The first factories, most of which were built by non-Muslims are; Tütün Fabrikası [Tobacco Factory] (1895), Alman Fabrikası (Ulaş Çırçır) [German Factory] (1900), Tripani Kardeşler Fabrikası [Tripani Brothers Factory] (later Malatya Tekstil Fabrikası [Malatya Textile Factory], 1901) and Simyonoğlu Fabrikası [Simyonoğlu Factory] (later, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], 1906).

Each one of the factories that emerged in *the spatial practice* in the vicinity of the station, which is the *space of representation* of the new mode of production emerged with the industrial revolution and the expanding geography of commerce in connection with this mode, has made contributions to the new specific practice. At the same time, this collection of buildings, which is **a new source of income** in the view of the society, means the birth of a novel *space of representation*. While this is interpreted, in the eyes of the society, **as wealth and technical field representation in the hands of non-Muslims**, it encompasses in the eyes of **workers a representation of an employment source functioning together with the fertile cotton fields of Adana**. Here, space has started to be inhabited and experienced, which conceives new *practices* outside the daily life such as trade union, strike, banking, insurance business, and which is based on technical knowledge.

The factories freshly jointed to the city image have not taken their places in the city as a part of daily life. These structures, which are “large”, “technological” and which cannot immediately leave a mark in the daily life, hence in the *spatial practices*, of

the society, are, as Harvey defined, *spaces of representations* which are to be integrated into our way of life day-by-day, that is to say, which are to transform into *spatial practice* in time.

Born into the daily life of the Ottoman State, the imagery of the factory that is included in the developing *spatial practice* as a *space of representation* can be reached through the character of Crippled Junk Dealer created by Orhan Kemal. The passage narrating the point of view of Cripple Junk Dealer's father about the factory, who wants his son to **“fabrikanın dilini bellemesini [learn the language of the factory by heart]”** and to **“onunla dost olmasını [be friends with the factory]”**, presents the factory as a *space of representation*;

“Bu baba o yıllar “sultani” denilen, şimdiki lise karşısı “idadi”de okumuş,..., fabrikatör Gülbenkyanların çocukları ile arkadaşlığı arttırmış, onlardan ermenice, fransızca bellemiş, ille de fabrikaya akıl erdirmeye çalışmıştı. Neydi bu fabrika? Kendikendine fısıltılarla çalışırken sıcak, beyaz dumanlar salan büyük büyük makineler, vınıltıyla dönen miller geçirili kocaman kocaman tahta kasnaklar, tahta kasnakları döndüren kayışlar, kayışlar, kayışlar... Yerliler için ilk bakışta “fabrika” buydu. Topal eskicinin babası ufak tefek kupkuru babası içinse – Gülbenkyanların oğullarıyla sıkıfıkı olmaktan gelen bir hazırlıkla – “fabrika” deli deli dönen bir takım kayışlarla kasnakların çevirdiği makinelerin baş döndürücü uğultusunda tohumlu pamukları yutup, tohumusuz bembeyaz kusan, kusulmuş bembeyaz pamukları şaşılacak bir hızla bir takım yollardan, çengellerden geçirirken, kıvrıp, bükün, masuralara saran, sarılmış masuraları şakırtılı tezgahlarda kola kokulu kaymak gibi bez haline getiriveren bir **“güç”tü**. Bu gücün daha şimdiden yüzler, hatta binlerce insanın günlerce çalışıp ancak çıkarabileceği işi birkaç saate çıkarıverdiğini görüyor, fabrikaya karşı korkulu bir hayranlık duyuyordu. Yerliler dilediklerince **“gavur akli, it akli”** desinler. Bu “akıl”ın günün birinde dünyayı saracağını, insanların pek çoğunun elinden ekmeğini alacağını, onun dilini anlamayan, ona dost olmayanların üzerinden silindir gibi geçip ezeceğini onunla dost olmaktan başka çıkar yol olmadığını seziyordu. (Kemal, 1973, p. 15-16)

[This father attended to “idadi”, equivalent of the high school today and called “sultani” back in those years, ..., tightened friendship with the children of fabricator Gülbenkyans, learnt Armenian, French from them and persistently tried to make sense of the factory. What was this factory? Large machines releasing hot, white fumes while working on their own whishing, huge wooden pulleys fitted on rods turning in hums, belts turning the wooden

pulleys, again belts, belts... For the locals, this was the “factory” at first glance. On the other hand, for the father of the crippled junk dealer, for his slenderly-built father, - with a readiness coming from being intimate with the sons of Gülbenkyans – **“the factory” was a “power”** [emphasis mine] swallowing cotton with seeds among the dizzying hums of the machines rotated by some belts and pulleys rotating crazily, spewing out in pure white without seeds; twisting and spinning the spewed out, pure white cotton, wrapping them around spools, turning the wrapped spools into starch-smelling, smooth cloth in rattling benches, while passing the cotton in an astonishing speed through many paths and hooks. He saw that this power, even then, had already been carrying out tasks in a matter of a few hours, which could be completed by hundreds, even thousands of people with the work of many days, and was feeling a fearful admiration towards the factory. Let the locals say it is **infidels’, scoundrels’ mind** [emphasis mine] as they please. He sensed that this with would someday spread over the world, take the bread off the hands of many of the people, crush like a roller the people who do not understand its language, which is not friends with it, and that there is no other way out than making friends with it.]”

As shown in the above statements, in this time, a technology related to progress and ease in production came out of mental envisagement and converged physicality and became a spatial asset in the city. The emergence of this spatial asset into city and the influencing of societies constitute the beginning of the definition of this asset and its new spatial practices as cultural heritage.

In brief, a new physical space emerged as a result of the development of the factories built around the station in *the spatial practice* developed based on the transportation of cotton collected in the large agricultural lands of Çukurova to the harbor of Mersin. There is no spatial development decision that will establish the connection between the historical city center and the development around the station has not been revealed in this period. As Hacı Süleyman Ağa and Hacı Nafiz Özşahin states about the physical condition of Adana around the 1900’s;

“When the river overflowed, North and West parts of the city were occupied by floods. For this reason, to be able to reach to the old station, a bridge was built to the place where Bahri Paşa region lies today. After the water evacuated, this reagon has been called Kuruköprü.” (Ener, 1978, p. 108)



Figure 4.10. Kuruköprü Square, 1914 (Source: İzzet Gönenç's personal archive)



Figure 4.11. Old Station Street, 1920s (Source: Orhan Kapılı's personal archive)

Hakverdi describes the situation regarding *spatial practice* in his work “Let's Know Adana” as follows;

“There was not any road in the city, which can be called as ‘street’. The road which started from the Köprübaşı and followed the river was a macadam and reached to Kuruköprü just as it still does today. That was the first road. Besides a partly macadam and partly cobblestone road which starts from Kuruköprü, and reaches the Government Office along Tarsus Kapısı, Yağ Cami and Saat Kulesi. That was the second... Moreover, that’s all...” (Yurt Ansiklopedisi, 1st binding, p.113)

4.3.1.3. Space of Representation: Döşeme Neighbourhood

Adana had been a city covered with marshes and the population of which consisted of nomadic tribes until the early 1800s. Starting from 1850s, during the processes of modernization and capitalist integration of the Ottoman Empire, swamps have been drained, production areas of cotton, the raw material of developing international trade, have been expanded and the nomadic population, as the potential to continue this project of the Ottoman Empire, have been put into an order of settlement. The established social geography of the city was formed in consequence of the migration received after the 1853 Crimean War, Circassian migrations started after the 1862 Russian-Caucasian Wars, resettlement of Turkmen, Kurdish and Arab migrants with the 1865 resettlement movement (*fırka-i islahiye*) and Adana being an area of attraction for Arab Christians, Armenians and Rûm as well (Toksöz, 2006). Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity have been among the indicative spaces of the formation of this cosmopolitan structure and its transformation throughout many eras. It is one of the intersection space of both social and economical transformations due to the various ethnic groups and economic entities it accommodates. Space has been the basis of land use changes, new settlements and property transformations during the course of economical transformations; and of ethnic tensions and conflicts in the process of social transformations. The housing fabric was conceived with a *representation of space* put forth in consequence of such an economical transformation and social tension.

In the conflict sparked between the Armenians and Muslims in Adana in April 1909, which had progressed as a 13-day spree of killing, plundering and arson, many Armenian neighbourhoods were ravaged. These are mostly settlements developed in the vicinity of the church, which remains today within the area designated as the historical city center. A Report of Adana Episcopacy is pointed out that 24 churches, 16 schools, 2323 houses, 24 inns, three hotels, two factories, 1429 cottages, 253 farms, 1002 shepherd huts, 523 shops and 23 mills were damaged.

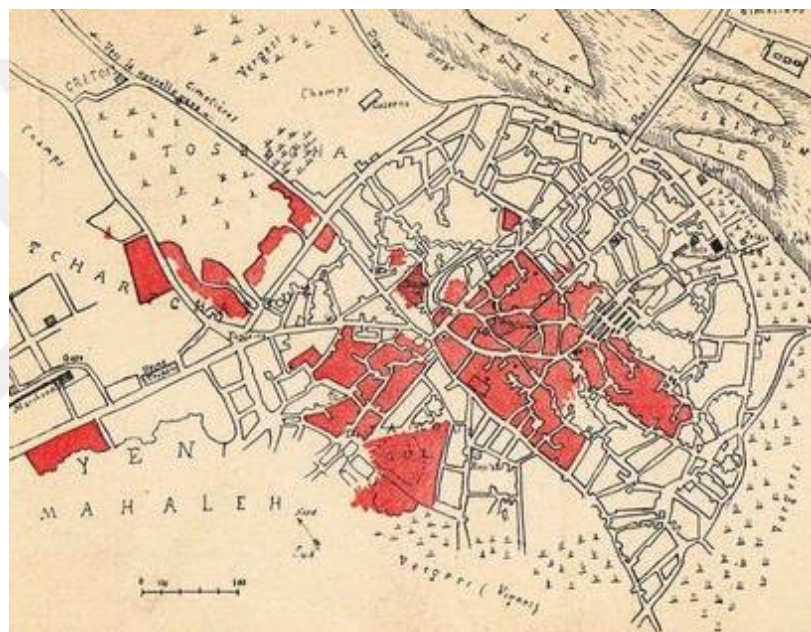


Figure 4.12. Ravaged Armenian neighbourhoods in Adana (Source: archive of Armenian Genocide Intuitute Foundation)

Governor Cemal Pasha acknowledged the violence of the events that had taken place, stated that the intervention of the local government to the incidents were inadequate and that it had not fulfilled its responsibilities (Paşa, 2001). Operations commenced for the damages that occurred in the city to be repaired. With the loans found by the office of the governor, received aids and the established construction commission,

new houses had been built for the Armenians in 4 months in the north of the Old Station Building, in the west of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]. The design of an approximately ten-hectare residential area in 1910 and its addition to the industrial district developing around the train station have contributed to the development of the space.

A British Traveler Childs (1917) who visited the city in the year of 1912 provides important information on the new space formed here:

“I reached Adana in the evening, expecting to find it little more than a heap of ruins. The massacre had taken place three years before, yet since I left Samsun scarcely a day had passed on which I did not hear some reference to the event. But instead of stagnation and ruin, I found shops lit up, cafes thronged, cotton -mills humming, the streets crowded, and from the railway station, such a rush of furiously driven cabs as no other Turkish town can show. I found, in fact, a throbbing town of 100,000 inhabitants, with an unmistakable air of prosperity and confidence in the future. Compared with Adana, the cities of the interior—Sivas, Kaisariyeh, and Konia—were cities in the quietude of decay.” (Childs, 1917, p. 341)

In the neighbourhood which has taken the name of Çarçabuk (meaning “right of the reel” in Turkish) due to the rapid progress of construction activities and construction of residences in no time, the rules of settlement defined in the laws regulating the general occupancy activities of the Ottoman State were obeyed. In short, the settlement of interest is a *representation of space* reflecting the zoning legislation and occupancy policies of the Ottoman period. In the formation of this *representation of space*; the “1st Building Regulation” dated to 1848, which could be defined as the first Ottoman zoning legislation passed in relation to the structuring in cities in the Ottoman State, the “Building Declaration” again took effect on the same date, the “2nd Building Regulation” dated to 1849 and the “Building Law” dated to 1882 have played an active role. With these regulations known as “Building Laws”, it was aimed to establish neighborhoods consisting of grid-shaped plans, to increase street widths, to remove narrow streets and dead-ends and to construct buildings with masonry, especially in the regions of cities that are exposed to fires and in new settlement areas created for migrants brought to the country due to wars (Çetin, 2012). Also, new settlements in

those years were generally designed on lands owned by the state or foundations just outside the existing settlement areas. The fabric that emerged in these new neighbourhoods is markedly differentiated from the conventional fabric owing to its order in the shape of a checkerboard. Quoting from Hutteroth, Aktüre explains the reasons behind the formation of these fabrics in this fashion; (Aktüre, 1978, p. 106)

- Such an order was preferred as a result of the function of supervision maintained by the state.
- This type of residential areas has become widespread as a “fashion”.¹⁶
- It has not developed gradually over time, as in the case of traditional fabric. The construction of all was completed at once, according to a plan type.
- It reflects the equal conditions of its users.

Aktüre states that the most apparent characteristics of Anatolian cities at the end of the 19th century are the “dual structure” emerging in the spatial structures of cities, in their central functions and residential areas, in parallel with the general change process of the socio-economic structure. One of the main indicators of this dual structure is the secondary center that develops outside the historic city center, which was formed as the workplace of the bourgeoisie developed as a result of changing foreign trade relations; of state officials, Rûm and Armenian minorities. The second one is the new neighborhoods with geometric fabric that developed in a “checkerboard” order, generally around this center, next to the traditional, densely-patterned housing fabric (Aktüre, 1978, p. 6).

Döşeme/Çarçabuk neighbourhood is one of the first examples of the dual structure started to be seen in the Anatolian cities since the late 19th century. In a plan study conducted in 1918 in Adana, under the invasion of the French during the World War I, it was observed that in the northwest of the city center developed in an organic fabric, Çarçabuk neighbourhood was located in a grid order, and that the new

¹⁶ In those years, the migrant settlements established in Syria, Jordan and Palestine, which were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, were also in a similar form.

development areas were designed towards the new station in the North in accordance with the designation of “dual structure”.

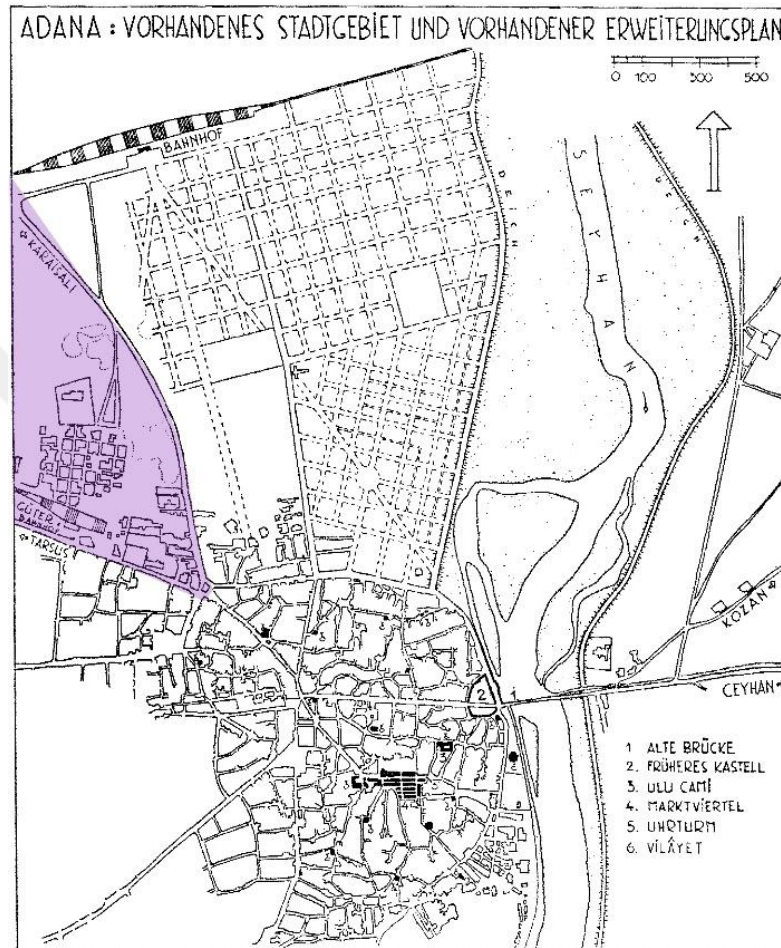


Figure 4.13. Current urban fabric and development area planned by the French (Cuda, 1939)

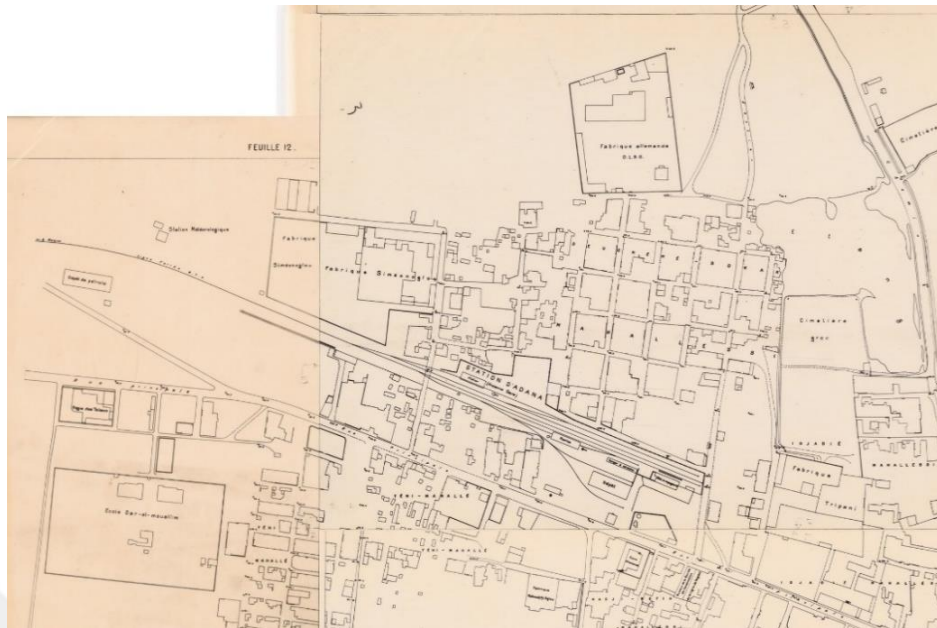


Figure 4.14. Industrial District in Plan de la Ville d'Adana prepared by the French Military Forces in 1918 (Source: combined from the original copies at TU Berlin Architekturmuseum Inv.Nr.23370-23381 and retrieved from <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=51&SID=15653228255534>)

In the end, as a result of the quantitative and qualitative change the commercial activities have gone through in the spatial structure of cities during the last period of the Ottoman Empire, the old center-new center duality has emerged. In addition to this duality, the administrative center, which emerged in urban land utilizations, the neighborhood of migrants and the railway have taken their places as the three concrete proofs of spatial change (Aktüre, 1978, p. 135).

The birth of an industrial district in Adana by the construction of railway line and station buildings as the new *space of representation* conceived by modernization, new *spatial practices* born here, development of factories and design of new housing areas has occurred within this time interval. Having visited the city in the year of 1917, Child conveys his experiences about the development of the city. Emphasizing that the important investments and developments continuing in the city are beyond the self-representation of the Ottoman Empire, Child stated that *you are in the presence of*

something new in urban spaces. These were the years during which the preparations for the foundation of the Republic were on their way.

4.3.2. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Second Interval (1923-1950)

In the year of 1923, the Ottoman State was disintegrated, the Republic was founded and Turkey became a nation-state. A fundamentalist and planned period of construction began for a new nation to be created. During this period, a radical modernization project has begun being implemented with a planned approach. Tekeli states that this planned modernization project was put into implementation in three aspects. The first is the transformation of country lands into a nation-state space; the second is the realization of the industrialization of the country; and the third is the conceiving of the contemporary city (Tekeli, 2011, p. 144). Through these three developments, the new nation-state has begun to get organized in representative space. It should be noted that the modern individual and modern society have demonstrated advances within all these developments.

In contrast with *the representations of space* and the emerging *spatial practices* developed within the framework of infrastructure, transportation, raw export material and primary good production activities, which were observed in the cities during the first interval defined as the period of integration of the Ottoman State to the European capitalism, this period has aimed at the organization of an anti-imperialist representation with the intent of creating its own capitalist system by fundamental structural changes. During this period, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] has developed in the process of creation of a holistic representation.

4.3.2.1. Spaces of Representation: Nationalized Properties

Constituting the first phase of planned modernity, the project of transformation of country lands into nation-state space is the project of the Republic of creating its own spaces. The process of the transfer of a Muslim-Turkish capitalist nation-state representation into space must be examined to comprehend how this project has developed. A series of decisions made during the early years of the Republic constitute

the base of this process. These decisions are mostly related to the policies of nationalization and the settlement of migrants. In the direction of these policies, firstly, all concessions granted to foreign countries, which were seen in the previous period, were forfeited and firms were nationalized. In addition, nationalization of properties belonging to non-Muslim individual parties (transfer of title to Muslim Turks) has become an important policy for the new state, striving to form its own capital accumulation.

In the last period of the Ottoman Empire, policies for the deportation of Armenian and Rum citizens (1915) and the population exchange period put into effect with the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which could be defined as the continuation of the former, are events that underpinned the aforementioned project of establishing a representation. In consequence of the population exchange, the exchange of non-Muslims settled in Turkey and the Muslims, who remained outside the borders following the borders of the country being redrawn in the aftermath of the War of Independence, has been realized. For the non-Muslims, who had at their disposal a significant fortune, have left the regions they had been living in, an important gap has formed in the cities both economically and spatially (Tekeli, 1990, p. 62). Capitalizing on this gap, the state has realized a significant part of its goal to create a bourgeoisie, which has ties with itself and on which it could base its power. The state has kept hold of some of the properties remained from the non-Muslims by nationalizing them and distributed a portion of these among certain capital groups and some government officials. In this way, the Muslim bourgeoisie seized the opportunity of making more profits and expanding in the first years of the Republic by capitalizing on the granted advantages of the period and utilizing the unclaimed savings (Keyder, 1982). As a result, the consent of the society has been established, the own national spaces of the nation-state have begun to be produced, and national control in the economy has started to be established. In other words, until the 1930s, properties of “the exiled, escaped and disappeared”, according to the official definition, have each transformed into powerful *spaces of representation* in the hands of the newly founded state (Onaran, 2013, p. 21).

Therefore, accordingly, each one of the properties left behind after expulsions by the Rum and Armenian citizens, who had a significant population density in Adana and were a leading group in the economic division of labor within the Ottoman State, who were active in the fields of industry and trade, have turned into *spaces of representation* in the hands of the new state.

Many of the real estates located in the district of factories, which is examined within the scope of this thesis, belong to non-Muslims. Therefore, this is an important space where this transformation of representation can be scrutinized. In the wake of the evacuation observed in the vicinity of the old station where factories are densely located, a representative transformation has been experienced in the Simyonoğlu Factory, which was owned by an Armenian family, and in the housing area located east of this factory within the changing political atmosphere of the period.

At the end of the examination within the scope of Emval-i Metruke (abandoned properties) Laws of the phenomenon of exile and support of property acquisition, which constitutes one of the pillars of the project of formation of the new nation-state's space, the case of how the aimed representation has been spatialized gets clarified. As per the law dated to May 27, 1915, deported citizens have left behind the houses with all wares in them; churches, monasteries, and schools having a feature of being community properties; buildings such as factories, shops, inns, warehouses with all means of production in them; and lands such as fields, vineyards, gardens on which agricultural production is engaged in. The vast majority of these properties were sold to Muslim entrepreneurs in exchange for meager sums. On the other hand, refugee migration had been experienced during World War I, from abroad into the Ottoman lands. Emval-i Metruke constituted an important source for the settling of these families.

Five years after its construction in the year of 1910 as an Armenian neighborhood, Döşeme neighborhood, too, has been a neighborhood out of which the Armenian population it accommodated was exiled. Likewise, the Simyonoğlu Factory, an

Armenian factory, has also become an *emval-i metruke* along with the neighborhood. Following the expulsion of the Armenians living in regions such as Maraş, Adana and İskenderun towards the direction of Syria and Iraq during the months of February, March and April in the year of 1915, the period of the confiscation of Armenian properties have begun. On May 30, 1915, a comprehensive decree of the Council of Ministers including policies regarding the expulsion of the Armenians and their assets was issued. According to this decree, it was reported that the real estates belonging to the people transferred from cities and towns were to be distributed among migrants. By the liquidation commissions assembled for this purpose, Armenian's assets were distributed with auctions. In Adana, which went under the control of the French government in 1918, the ownership status of the houses and the factory located in the neighbourhood cannot be monitored.

With the Liquidation Law dated to April 15, 1923, which had become active after the end of the occupations and which, from that moment on, could be defined as a Republican era law, the 1915 Legislature was revised and put into effect again. With the assumption that the escaped and lost people would not come back again, all their assets were transferred to the treasury. As a result, the Republic, then, has seized spaces where it could establish with assurance the new representation.

From this date on, as a consequence of the Convention and Protocol Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations which came into force subsequently on August 25, 1923, the exchange of the remaining Greeks in Turkey and the remaining Muslim Turks in Greece was initiated in November. During the process of population exchange started with Crete, Kavala and Saloniki, Anatolia was divided into ten settling regions, and a group of the refugees was in Adana, one of these settling areas, according to liquidation request documents. The real estates distributed or sold by the Ownership Grant Law passed on May 28, 1928, have been registered on behalf of their new owners. The law dated to November 8, 1923, with the number of 368 and titled the Law of Exchange, Public Works, and Housing, and the notices, directives and specifications in connection with this law have provided the formation of new *spaces*

of representation. As a result, the housings within the study area were passed firstly into the disposal of civil servants and then into the disposal of the migrants of Crete. A document, prepared by Tenth Regional Settlement Directorate of Adana and presented to Ministry of Exchange, Public Works and Settlement in 1924, gives a list of people who occupied the abandoned properties. Moreover, the list shows the professions of these people and the number of their family members.

Neighborhood	House number	Annexes	Name and function of person	Family mem	Neighborhood	House number	Annexes	Name and function of person	Family mem
İcadiye	97	7	Captain Vasfi Bey	8	Çarçabuk	136	4	Correspondence official Kâzım Bey	7
İcadiye	99	6	Artillery Major Cemal Bey	9	Çarçabuk	137	5	Policeman Numan Bey	8
İcadiye	102	9	Colonel Ali Mustafa Bey	10	Çarçabuk	141	4	Policeman Burhaneddin Bey	5
İcadiye	109	5	Lieutenant Rahim Bey	6	Çarçabuk	140	9	Head clerk Tevfik Bey	11
İcadiye	11	6	Lieutenant Cevdet Bey	6	Çarçabuk	149	4	Telegraph clerk Cesim Bey	6
İcadiye	104	8	Teacher Nali Bey	7	Çarçabuk	140	4	Mustafa Bey	3
İcadiye	74	6	Correspondence official Saci Efendi	16	Çarçabuk	163	4	Map official Said Bey	6
İcadiye	82	4	Policeman Ali Rıza Efendi	5	Çarçabuk	242	4	Lieutenant Abdülkadir Bey	7
İcadiye	126	2	Policeman Naci	5	Çarçabuk	218	6	Settlement official Arif Bey	5
İcadiye	127	7	Police chief Kadri Bey	7	Sağlı Hamid	4	3	Officials Salih and Rifat Efendi	4
İcadiye	49	6	Lieutenant Hayri Bey	5	Bucak	15	1	Transfer official Feyzi Efendi	4
Çarçabuk	3	4	Retiree Fahri Bey	6	Çarçabuk	144	2	Captain Şerafeddin Efendi	3
Çarçabuk	22	6	Policeman Zeki Bey	5	Çarçabuk	121	4	Captain Cemal Efendi	4
Çarçabuk	30	4	Policeman Kemal Bey	5	Çarçabuk	162	6	Correspondence official Seyfi Efendi	10
Çarçabuk	44	3	District governor Salih Bey and Captain Akif Bey	7	Döşeme Sokak	6	3	Teacher Hilmi Efendi	5
Çarçabuk	45	3	Civil inspector Süad Bey	4	Döşeme Sokak	28	3	Hakkı Efendi	4
Çarçabuk	46	5	Policeman Abdullah Bey	5	Döşeme Sokak	21	3	Health official Ahmed Hamdi Efendi	4
Çarçabuk	47	3	Policeman Osman Bey	3	Döşeme Sokak	16	4	Teacher Mesud Efendi	7
Çarçabuk	56	3	Captain Bedri Bey	8	Döşeme Sokak	36	2	Settlement official Ali Rıza Efendi	6
Çarçabuk	61	6	Captain Zeki Bey	6	Döşeme Sokak	71	4	Policeman Salih Efendi	8
Çarçabuk	63	4	Captain Münir Bey	5	Döşeme Sokak	74	5	Dentist Celal Efendi	13
Çarçabuk	64	6	Artillery Captain İhsan Bey	8	Döşeme Sokak	88	4	Captain İhsan Bey	6
Çarçabuk	65	8	Major Agah Bey	18	Döşeme Sokak	81	2	Retired Lieutenant Hüseyin Bey	5
Çarçabuk	66	4	Captain Nuri Bey	6	Döşeme Sokak	82	2	Municipal official Remzi Bey	2
Çarçabuk	68	4	Captain Behçet Bey	5	Döşeme Sokak	83	1	Correspondence official Nüsret Bey	6
Çarçabuk	78	2	Deputy police chief Emin Bey	3	Döşeme Sokak	88	10	District governor Rüşdi Bey	17
Çarçabuk	89	5	Policeman Safa Haydar Efendi	10	Döşeme Sokak	85	9	Correspondence official Ziya Bey	2
Çarçabuk	96	3	Policeman Faik Bey	3	Döşeme Sokak	37	3	Correspondence official Ali Bey	7
					Döşeme Sokak	4	4	Policeman Necib Bey	7
								Health official Vasfi Bey	4

Figure 4.15. People who occupied the abandoned properties in Döşeme and Çarçabuk neighbourhoods (Üngör & Polatel, 2011, p. 177)

The history of the transformation in Adana is summarized through the character called Topal Nuri [Nuri The Lamé] in the novel of Orhan Kemal titled Kanlı Topraklar [Bloody Lands], in which the author dwells on the social and spatial transformation during the early Republic period.

“Kayserinin İncesu’undan Çukurovaya iş için çıkmış hemşehrilerinin arasına katıldığı 1912’lerde on yaşında var yoktu. Al-i Osman ülkesinde yer yer savaşlarla isyanların patlak verdiği, İtalya’nın Trablus’ta islam kanı döktüğü yıllar... 1912 birinci büyük harp. On dört yaşında karakuru ama

gözlerinden zeka taşan bir delikanlı. Tehcirle boşalmış Ermeni dükkan tezgahlarına düşen Osmanlılar da ermeni, rumlar kadar dost ya da düşman. Onca insan var, insanlar vardı. Çıkarını sağlayanlar ister camiye gitsinlerdi, ister kilise, ya da havraya. İsimleri ister Ahmet, Ali olsun, ister Bogos, Vartan, Alfred, Haçopulo. 1915-16-17... Palabıyık Wilhelm dostluğuyla Rus Çarı, ya da ingiliz başbakanı Loid Corc'un düşmanlığı umrunda bile değildi. Hem kimdi bunlar? Biri dost, öbürü düşman. Topal Nuri'ye neydi birinin dostluğu, ötekini düşmanlığından? 1918-19. Almanlarla birlikte yenilmişiz... Yerlilerin kaçkaç dedikleri, Fransızdan atlar, eşekler, arabalarla kaçışlarına bomboş gözlerle baktı o. Ermeni yanında Dikran oldu, Rum yanında Dimitri... Ermeni, Rum patron, ustabaşlar yanında zanaatın çeşidini belledi... Yirmisini aşmıştı. Mustafa Kemal Paşa, Yunanı İzmirde denize dökmüş, Bogoslar, Vartanlar Yorgiler filan ortarlardan çekilmişlerdi. Türk hem de Türkoğlu Türk bilinmesi gerekiyordu... devirler değişmiş, Ahmetler Mehmetler ağır basmıştı. Artık kilise milise şöyle dursun, camiye gitmeliydi... Al-i Osman yıkılıp Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti kurulalı beri memlekette hızlı değişimler olmuştu: Fes atılmış, kalpak atılmış, şapka giyilmişti. Sağdan sola eski yazı yerini soldan sağa yazılan Latin harflerinin milli alfabesine bırakmıştı. Daha pek çok yenilik. Topal Nuri bunların hiçbirini yadırgamadığı halde yadırgayanların arasında dolaşmayı, onlar gibi beş vakit namaz, niyaz, tenhalarda onlar gibi inkılaplara fısıltıyla atıp tutmayı uygun bulmuştu. Çünkü fabrikatörler, büyük toprak sahipleri, tüccarlar öyle yapıyorlardı. Topal Nuri'ninse çıkarı fabrikatörler, büyük tüccarlar, büyük toprak sahipleriyleydi. (Kemal, 1972, p. 12-18)

[He was, give or take, ten years old in 1912s when he joined his countrymen who set off for Çukurova from İncesu of Kayseri. These are the years when wars and rebellions sparked from time to time in the country of Al-i Osman when Italy was spilling the blood of Islam in Tripoli... 1912, the first great war. A lad who was fourteen years old, skinny, but with smarts read from his eyes. Taking hold of the Armenian shop stalls which became vacant after the deportation, the Ottomans are as much friend or foe as the Armenians or Greeks. There are so many people; there were people. Be that who achieved their benefits go to the mosque, the church or the synagogue. Be that their names are Ahmet, Ali or Bogos, Vartan, Alfred, Hachopulo. 1915-16-17... He did not even care about the friendship of the Handlebar Mustache Wilhelm or the hostility of the Russian Tsar or the British Prime Minister Lord George. After all, who were these? One is a friend; the other is an enemy. What was the friendship of the one and the hostility of the other to Lame Nuri? 1918-19... We were defeated alongside the Germans... He looked with an empty stare to the locals escaping from the French, from whom they would tell him to flee, with horses, donkeys and cars. He was Dikran while side by side with Armenians and Dmitri while he was with Greeks. He learnt many kinds of craftsmanship under Armenian, Greek bosses and foremen. He was over his twenties. Mustafa Kemal Pasha had driven the Greeks into the sea in İzmir;

all those people with names like Bogos, Vartan, Yorgi had all disappeared. People had to be known to be Turkish, even purely Turkish... eras had changed; there were people named Ahmet, Mehmet and such throughout. Back then, put aside the churches and such, people had to go to mosques... Since the downfall of the Al-i Osman and the foundation of the Government of the Republic of Turkey, rapid changes had occurred in the country: Fez was abandoned, kalpak was abandoned, hats were being worn. The old alphabet written from right to left was replaced by the national alphabet of Latin letters written from left to right. Moreover, many more novelties. Although he did not find any of these strange, Nuri The lame deemed it suitable to wander among those finding all these strange, praying five times every day, ranting about the reforms under his breath just like them. Because this was what the fabricators, major landowners, merchants had been doing. Nuri The lame's interest, on the other hand, was with fabricators, major merchants and major landowners.]"

Because of the political life of his father, Orhan Kemal emigrated to Syria with his family at the same time with the Armenians, during this period when expulsions and spatial changes were being experienced in Adana. The author returned to Adana in 1932, started living together with his grandmother who lived in one of the houses located near Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]. He narrated his experiences in his novel titled Baba Evi [The Paternal Home] which was published in 1949. The novel narrates, from beginning to end, the author's personal history. Therefore, while narrating the spaces, conditions and people of the period by placing his own life to the focus, the author presents fragments of the experienced dimension of the space;

"Trenden iner inmez memleketimin haziran güneşi ile ısınmış toprağını öptüm...Şehre bir ucundan giriverdim. Memleketim birdenbire pek harap gözüktü. Neşesi kırık sokaklar, neşesi kırık sokaklarda zayıf, terli kediler, insana kocaman kilitleriyle ters ters bakan, sahipleri iflas etmiş sıra sıra mağazalar... Yorgi vatana döndüğümün haftasında tanıştığım bir muhacir çocuğuydu. (Kemal, 1993, p. 21-22)

[As soon as I got off the train, I kissed the soil of my hometown warmed up by the sunlight of June... I arrived in the city from one end. My hometown seemed, all of a sudden, quite devastated. Streets devoid of joy; skinny, sweaty cats in the streets devoid of joy, lines of shops staring in a hostile way with their large locks, the owners of which have gone bankrupt... Yorgi was

an immigrant's child whom I met within the first week of my return to the country.]”

An imaginary narration of the settlements that turned into workers' neighborhoods back in the 1930s, with the factories resuming their production which had previously come to a halt at the end of this transformation process, worked on together with Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] is found in the novel titled Cemile;

“...**işçi mahallesi** uyuyordu. Çürümüş tahta, paslı teneke ve kerpiç yığınlarından ibaret evleriyle işçi mahallesi sanki bir seldi, bir seldi de bu sel, uzak çok uzaklardan yuvarlana yuvarlana, köpüre köpüre, korkunç anaförler yapa yapa gelmiş, yıllardan beridir **mahallenin nabzı gib atan fabrikanın** ağır, beyaz taşlarla örülü, kalın, sağlam ve yüksek dört duvarına dört yandan yüklenmiş, ama duvarları aşamadan, takılmış kalmıştı. Evler... yan yatmış, diz çökmüş, bağdaş kurmuş kapaklanmış, yahut tam yuvarlanacakken tutunuvermiş evler, **işçi evleri**. (Kemal, 2004, p. 12-13)

[...**the workers' neighborhood** [emphasis mine] was asleep. It was as if the neighborhood was a flood with all of its houses which were, all in all; piles of rotten wood, rusted tin and mudbricks, and as if this flood had arrived from somewhere far, so far away; rolling, boiling, creating frightening whirlpools on and on; had forced itself from four sides on the four heavy, thick, strong and high walls of **the factory wöwen with white stones, which had been beating like the pulse of the neighborhood** [emphasis mine] for many years; but had gotten stuck without getting past these walls. Houses... Either tilted, kneeled, cross-legged, fell on their faces; or had held onto something just before starting to roll down; houses, **workers' houses** [emphasis mine]]”

During this period, the Simyonoglu Factory has undergone a transfer of title owing to the policy for the nationalization of the factories remaining from the non-Muslims. Following the departure from the city of the non-Muslims, who have developed their ownership of assets in the economy grew in relation with the European capital, the enterprises belonging to the bourgeoisie of industry and commerce were left to the General Directorate of National Real Estate. The General Directorate of National Real Estate auctioned these enterprises. Those who purchased these enterprises were generally the ranks supporting the national struggle and businessmen having ties with them. This new-bourgeoisie class, which was to take over the cotton-based enterprises within the process in progress in Adana, was organized in the Adana Farmers' Club, which was founded in 1923. It was required for becoming a member of the club to be

a landowner, to be engaged in an agriculture-based industry or to have sufficient knowledge to be able to provide consultancy on these issues (Emiroğlu, 2016, p. 275). Within this new construct, a directive for all derelict factories to be operated was given by Atatürk, and Nuh Naci Yazgan, a congressman of that period, had been one of the congressmen appointed for this purpose. Nuh Naci Yazgan, who resigned from his post as a congressman, had recruited three more figures from Adana Farmers' Club as partners and purchased the Simyonoğlu Factory by a tender from the National Real Estate. Transformation of the factory into a *space of representation* is narrated in the memoirs of Kadir Has, son of Nuri Has, who was one of the partners of the factory;

“The name to be given to this facility, which was transferred from the minorities to the Turks, was also very important. This name had to convey a message to the Turkish and worldwide public opinion at the same time. Because Turkey had fought a great War of Independence to get rid of the occupation of foreign countries. Then, efforts were being put for the country to achieve a national economy. In such an important period, many thoughts were given for the name to be given to the factory of my father and his partners. The name of the first industrial investment owned by the Turks in the country had to be the best answer that could be given to the enemies. Then, the name that was long sought and missed had been found. This name was also the milestone of the Turkish Industry: “Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]”. Think about it; the Turks, who had never ventured into the industry until that day, was becoming the owner of a factory for the first time. This was both a meaningful and proud attempt. It was necessary for development to abandon farming and become an industrialist. The country needed production and employment. Chimneys of the factory should be giving out smoke; the foreign currencies we had given for import should be remained in our country.” (Has, 2002)



Figure 4.16. Opening ceremony of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory], 1927
(Source: Emine Ela Özgür's personal archive)

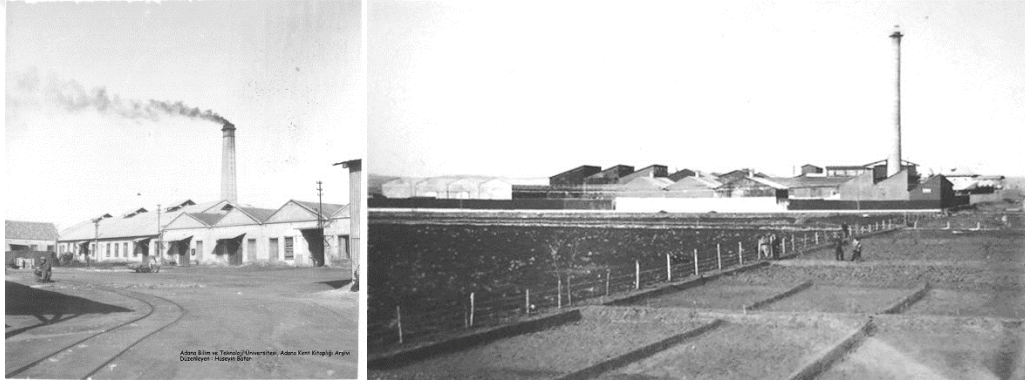


Figure 4.17. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory], 1920s (Source: City Library of Adana Science and Technology University)

On the other hand, on the advertisement banners and posters it is possible to see that the of representative demonstration of "Factory" is defined as a milestone for the national economy of Turkish Republic. The usage of animals symbolizing power like eagle or lion in the images is an important demonstration of economic progress to the public for the era.



Figure 4.18. Posters of South Industry, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and Sümerbank

Therefore, while it was ensured that national capitalists capitalize on the factory properties and economical opportunities left behind by the non-Muslims during the early years of the Republic, the space dimension of accumulation processes had begun to form at the same time. Planning and design of these spaces come next. To this end, the *representation of space* had started to be produced.

4.3.2.2. Representation of Space: Industrialization Plans and Jansen Plan

Revolution of republic took over an urban pattern and a weak transportation infrastructure dependant in macro scale, a weak municipalism and a partitive planning practice which couldn't be a direct instrument for the Ottoman Modernisation. (Çalışkan, 2003). Then, Republic developed a holistic planning practice which is directly creating and evolving the space of modernity in cities. In this direction, policies of realizing industrialization and forming the modern city have been conducted with *representations of space* put forth during the early years of the Republic. Two industrial plans have been prepared for industrialization to be realized, and the foundation of forming the modern city was based on a comprehensive development plan that was prepared.

1st and 2nd Industrialization Plans

The representations of space aiming at the realization of the country's industrialization and guiding this to achieve spatiality have been the first and second industrial plans.

Following the nationalization of the concessions in the hands of foreign capital with the first industrial plan prepared between 1930 and 1933, preparation of an industrial program to be implemented throughout the country was enabled. In this program, an industrial development depending on raw materials, which were available in the country and procurement of which would be possible in the future, was taken as a basis. Institutions of these industries were left either to the state or to national enterprises. Projects developed for 20 factories operating in the areas of weaving, mining, cellulose, ceramics, chemistry and iron steel were included. It was aimed to transform traditional productions into units utilizing advanced techniques. The necessity that each establishment must be handled together with the energy project was stipulated. With the establishment of Sümerbank for the implementation of the plan, it was aimed to implement the industrialization program rapidly.

In 1936, the second industrial plan was prepared. With this plan having more extensive and detailed spatial arrangements compared to the first industry plan, 100 new plants were projected to be established in Turkey. It was planned to develop each establishing within the framework of production, distribution, transportation and education opportunities.

While these industry plans attached great importance to the industry branch to be developed by the initiative of the state, it has also undertaken a role to lead all industrial advances to be developed in the country in the name of both economical and socio-cultural structuring. In this way, private enterprises, the number of which had started to increase in the field of industry, has also recorded development throughout the country, in a similar way to the state-owned factories.

In fact, no direct decision of industrialization regarding Adana can be found in either of industry plans. One of the reasons for this is the fact that Adana had not yet precisely found a place for itself within the national bourgeoisie, which the nation-state formed and strived to develop. For instance, examples of certain capital groups coming together and forming joint-stock companies -which was common in those years- were very few in Adana. Out of 201 Turkish joint-stock companies established in Turkey between 1920 and 1930, only 6 were located in Adana. Another reason is that, although banks were established in many Anatolian cities during the period between 1920 and 1930, which was called as the Anatolian Banking period, Adana was not among those cities (Emiroğlu, 2016). Another is reason is the lack of representation of the locals of Adana in the congresses and meetings that lead the preparation of these industry plans. The integration problem that Adana experienced has resulted in the city not getting into the sphere of influence of the central government, which had the aim of rapid industrialization and development.

Although a *representation of space* that became tangible specific to Adana cannot be observed in either industry plan, developments in accordance with this model have begun to be observed in Adana, too, as in many cities, owing to the fact that the development model constructed by the plans has enabled an accumulation to be constituted throughout Turkey. The accumulation that corresponds to a representation that integrates the production areas with each other economically, and also socio-culturally with the city was adopted also in Adana. The principles which were envisaged within the scope of these industry plans; which provide the planning and design of industrial areas in cities, and set to create new contemporary practices and representations are, in brief, as follows;

- The location of a factory is the place where the energy and coal, water and laborers that it will need to process can be procured in the easiest, best and cheapest way, and where transportation means for its raw materials with the least amount of costs, burdens and sacrifices are available.

- Factories will also provide the development of the underdeveloped neighborhoods and community.
- Finding expert technical people and sufficient number of qualified laborers is as important as raw materials and transportation. It was aimed to send students to study abroad through Sümerbank.
- Industrial schools will be established. Courses will be opened in state-owned factories.
- Cooperativization will be ensured and the development of industry and its raw materials will be ensured through cooperatives.

These principles started to develop new spatial practices in industrial areas in Adana, and as a result of the industry move, production capacities of the factories started to increase and their spaces started to expand in a short time. A *representation of space* related to Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in this period is a watercolor drawing dated to 1937. It is observed that the drawing was painted in 1937 as a pre-restoration enactment by the painter Sururi Taylan, who had been working as land registry and cadastre draftsman in 1930s. In the enactment, the weaving section was extended to the area located at the railway border north of the factory, and the farther northern part was depicted as a warehouse.



Figure 4.19. Pre-restoration visualization (Taylan, 1939)

All these developments ultimately led to the adoption of the industrial city model in the comprehensive *representations of space* to be developed for the whole city. In this direction, a new *representation of space* was put forth for Adana.

A Comprehensive Master Plan: Jansen Plan

1930s were the years when industry-based capital accumulation and new modern life idea has started being transferred to the urban space via *representations of space*. In the direction of the aim of creating modern urban environments, which began with the planning of Ankara firstly, planning studies were initiated in many cities of Turkey. Development of Adana based on a comprehensive plan started in this period.

During this period, Turkey hosted foreign architects who have left their countries for they could not find shelter or employment opportunity because of the World War II. Therefore, the idea of developing the country in the direction of the modernity project put forth in line with republican principles and the progressive and modern experiences of European architects and urbanists have met in this period. These western professionalists, who have found opportunity to work in Turkey, have made significant contributions to the planning of the cities of Turkey, with reference to city utopias such as garden city, industrial city, city beautiful, etc (Keskinok, 2013). In short, as a result of the statist and populist representation put forth by the period meeting with expert experiences, the institutional foundations of urban planning in Turkey were laid and, to this end, comprehensive *representations of space* were obtained.

Herman Jansen is a German urbanist, who have planned many cities in Turkey (Ankara, İzmit, Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep) in line with this approach. The new *representation of space* designed for Adana by Jansen in 1940 is the product of the effort of the period to design the representations of the aims of establishing a modern urban life and economical development in a holistic way.

Before focusing on plan details, it is important to take a look at the general views of Jansen on how a city plan should be handled, in the sense that it reflects by what kind

of an approach the mental space in Adana has been produced during this period. In the article titled “Improvement of Planning Work in Turkey” that Jansen wrote in 1936, he described the basic principles of city planning. According to him, country plan and city plan should be arranged in a coherent fashion. In city plans that are to be developed based on the current industry plan, the decision whether a city will become an industrial city is made. Old cities, whether they are of value in the artistic sense or not, should be subject to development in a separate way and in accordance with their own principles, because of their characteristic features (Jansen, 1936). The order of 1:25000 scale general plan, 1:10000 scale economic plan, 1:2000 scale development plan, 1:1000 or 1:500 scale partial plans, 1:200 or 1:100 scale street sections should be taken into consideration in the drawing of plans and plan report should be prepared. Jansen has planned the cities of Ankara, Adana, Gaziantep, Mersin, Tarsus and İzmir in Turkey. In these cities, there exist an industrial zone, a workers’ housing area in relation with industrial zones, urban centers and an integrating public transport system such as railway (Keskinok, 2013). While implementing the industrial city model with regard to the emphasis on industrial zones and the general layout of the cities, Jansen followed the Garden City approach in residential space designs. Perceptible traces of these approaches of Jansen can be traced in the Adana plan.

The Jansen Plan is one in which the effort to create a coherent unity between industry, housing, green areas and functions subject to similar zoning for Adana is clearly observable. In the plan report, Jansen defines Adana as a homeland of industry which would develop further in the future. In the plan which he stated he had prepared for the purpose of directing the city to develop towards a path disciplined in terms of urbanism, Jansen has designed the settlement pattern in the old city, areas reserved for industry, transportation systems, lands to be utilized as garden and recreation areas. The backbone of the main development in the plan is from the old city towards the new station located in the north. In this area, construction of quality houses in the artistic and architectural sense, where the upper income group will reside, takes place. It was foreseen for the houses to consist of two-story houses with single or double

garden. In the Jansen Plan, while the production of a consistent representation at macro scale takes place, the representation of industrial areas within the plan scheme is worth being examined.

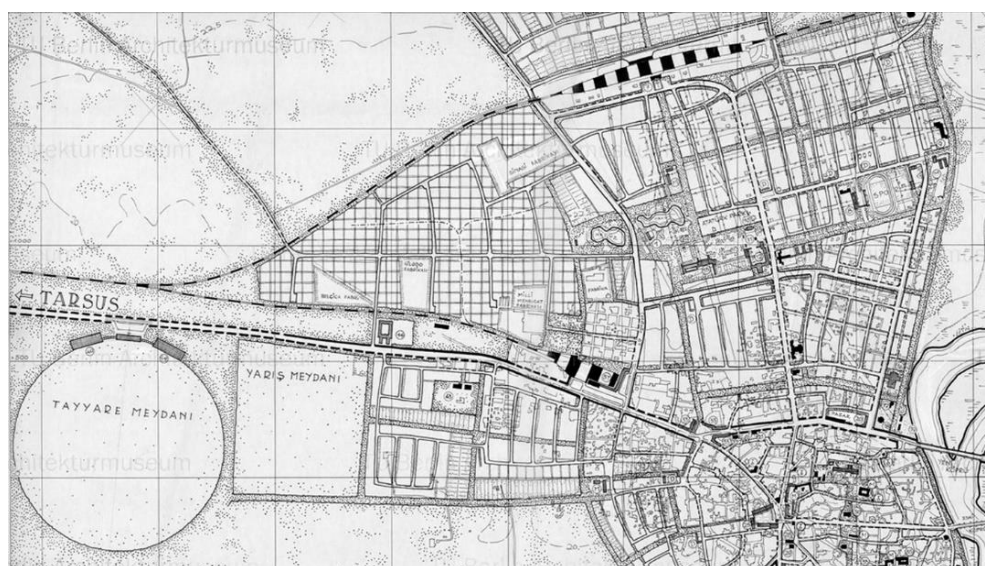


Figure 4.20. Industrial district - city relations in Jansen Plan, 1940 (Source: (TU Berlin Architekturmuseum Inv.Nr.23368 retrieved from <https://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?p=79&POS=33>)

For industrial areas, locations of the factories situated between the railway and the old station line were taken as basis, and development of the industrial district in this place was foreseen. A second and larger industrial area was designed east of the Seyhan River, together with Ceyhan railway line. Workers' neighborhoods were designed in the vicinity of both industrial areas. It was stated that these workers' neighborhoods would be constructed as one- or two-story double houses. In addition, it was stated that, for the houses to be produced at lower costs, they could be constructed as cluster houses with vegetable and fruit gardens in the middle of them. The workers' neighborhood designed for the industrial district that is examined within the scope of this study was designed to be situated in the south of the Tarsus road and in the

northwest of the historical city center (south of Döşeme Neighborhood). While the new station was projected to be enlarged by additions, it was specified that the old station, defined as a second-degree station, would be a station to serve the industry. For this reason, a railway line was extended towards the factory campuses. Both sides of the railway were separated by 30-meter-wide green strips. Long, thin gardens have been left in places where the settlements formed a border with the railway and industrial areas.

The Tarsus-Ceyhan connection road passing through the south of the industrial zone, where Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory] is located, was defined as a 1st degree road. Atatürk Park was designed in the middle of the new city, which was planned to be located between the new station and the historical city center, and to be comprised of two-story residences. This park is also situated 500 meters east of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [the National Textile Factory]. The park, which includes a parade ground in front of the sculpture, martyrs' pavilion and a terrace, was considered together with utilizations such as a rose garden around it, playground, swimming pool and tennis court. It was ensured that the pits remaining between the park and the industrial area, which are left from old brick kilns, were turned into ponds and the park was extended by afforesting their vicinity. A jogging area was designed in the north of the industrial area, to the east of the airport. Connections of all these utilizations with the woodlands, especially along the lines where parks are located, were ensured.

All in all, the Jansen Plan corresponds to the mental space of the Republic trying to construct its own social and physical spaces. With the Jansen Plan, which is *the representation of space* of the aim of creating a contemporary city, a relationality was established between the urban utilizations in Adana, which have started developing in line with the ideas of the Republic, and which were aimed to develop. Design of modern production areas and the establishment of their relationship with agricultural areas and the city center is an important representation of the Republic's principles of economic independence, populism and modernization. The physical dimension of the space has begun to form, with the plan starting to be implemented following the design

of the strong connection of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its environment as an industrial district with the city.

4.3.2.3. Spatial Practice: Agriculture-Industry-City Center Togetherness

Organization of nation-state spaces following the foundation of the Republic and development of modern production areas in a way to conceive a national economical model have granted to the city novel *spaces of representation* and *spatial practices*. With the act of industrialization and the Jansen Plan that was put forth following this act; modernization of production areas and their integration among themselves was provided, social life limited to the neighborhood level was carried to the urban context, and offices and residential areas were connected to each other over public and common areas. The agriculture-industry-city togetherness designed within the framework of radical modernization approach should be examined in order to unfold the *perceived physical dimension of the space*.

In the *representations of space* of the early Republican period, unification of the domestic market was ensured as a consequence of the railway being adopted as the primary transportation policy and the Anatolia being covered with a railway network. The unification of the domestic market has strengthened the agriculture-industry unification first seeds of which were sown during the modernization period of the Ottoman State.

Economy historian Şanda describes the transformation in the rural areas during the early years of the Republic through the case of leaving conventional agriculture and meeting modern agriculture.

“Large farms with vast and unattended lands had become scattered in time and disappeared. Because land, by itself, would not tell anything, given the conditions of those times. The agriculture capitalist was working on the land with the most advanced means in hand, making use of the technical tools of the century; thus, generating more income from their small land compared to the owners of large lands. Lands were not being measured by their vastness, but rather by the order of the capital invested into them. In the face of this

condition, very old feudal farms had become invaluable compared to the lands worked in ways required by modern agriculture.” (Şanda, 1975, p. 147).

This described transformation had also begun being experienced in rural Çukurova. In a report dated to 1926 and prepared by the İstanbul Counsellor of America, the information that Adana was a prominent distribution center of agricultural machinery for the entirety of Turkey was included.

The words of Mustafa Kemal, the founding leader of the Republic, who met with the farmers of Adana in Adana Türk Ocağı on March 16, 1923, reveals what kind of a *space of representation* Adana was in the country in those years.

“Adana province is a **source of wealth** [emphasis mine] that is adequate by itself as an economical power for our state. Before the Great War, Egypt was producing seven and a half million kantars of cotton. This cotton would bring 35 million gold coins. There exists no obstacle to the production of this amount of cotton in Adana, which is not lesser compared to Egypt in terms of its extents, its production power. Adana can supply the amount of 35 million per year just with cotton...” (Sevim, Öztoprak, & Tural, 2006)

In the direction of this representation, the modern development of Adana in the agricultural field has commenced. Each one of the developments such as the renovation of the management of Adana Cotton Market established in 1913, realization of the cotton congresses of 1924 and 1925, establishment of cotton production farms and cotton breeding stations, revitalization of the school of agriculture with the assistance of experts from abroad, reactivation of the Adana Farmers’ Association in the direction to provide the loan transfers it secured for the activities of providing labor force and for the development of agriculture to the farmers and the organization of the first international agriculture expo of Turkey in Adana in 1927 have been the *spaces of representation* that revealed the physical space which is based on the production of cotton and cotton-based industry in Adana.



Figure 4.21. Adana International Agriculture Expo (Source: archive of Salt Research Center)



Figure 4.22. Adana School of Agriculture, 1929 (Source: Arslan Görgün's personal archive)



Figure 4.23. Adana Farmers' Association (Source: Mehmet Baltacı's photograph in Sabri Gül's personal archive)

One of the most important *representation of space* that strengthens the production on the axis of agriculture and industry was *cooperativeization*. The most important example of this is the Çukobirlik which was established in accordance with the Agricultural Sales Cooperatives Law No. 2834 in 1940 in order to evaluate the products of cotton producers and provide support to the producers. It has made significant contributions to the development of agriculture-based industry through studies carried out in areas such as protection of producer rights, pricing, research and development, product maintenance and marketing.

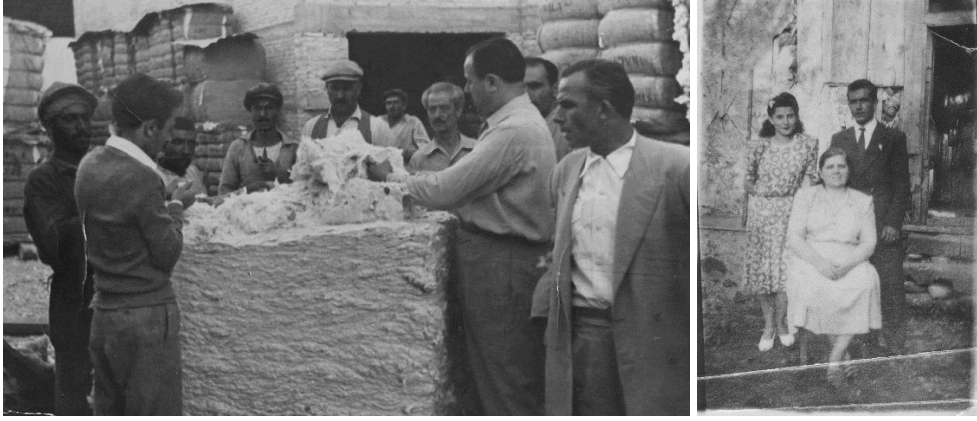


Figure 4.24. Cukurova Cotton Sales Cooperative (Çukobirlik) (Source of the photograph on the left: Gülsen Tüzüner Şenses's personal archive and source of the photograph on the right: Çağatay Keskinok's personal archive)

Thanks to these *spaces of representation*, individuals, who are educated and have progressively specialized in the field of agriculture, were trained, while agricultural production and the related spaces were being developed. On the other hand, the industrial sector was meeting with both quality and abundant raw materials, and expert technical people and a working-class gaining conscience.

At the beginning of the novel titled *Cemile*, in which the author Orhan Kemal narrates the industrializing Adana and new social relationships along with fragments from his own life, the relationship of agriculture and industry with each other in Çukurova is narrated;

“1934 yılı eylül sonlarının berrak bir gecesiydi. Kuveetli ayın altında bembeyaz pamuk tarlaları göz alabildiğine uzanıyor, köyleri şehre bağlayan tozlu yollarda kütlü denilen, tohumlu pamuk hararları yüklü Doçlar, Şevroleler, Fordla, yağsız tekerleklerinin gıcirtısı aydınlık geceyi dolduran öküz, camız arabaları, inegöl çift atlıları, yüklü deve dizileri şehre akıyordu. (Kemal, 2004, p. 7)

[It was a clear night of late September in the year of 1934. Plain white cotton fields were stretching as far away as the eye could see under the strong moon, and, in the dusty roads connecting villages to the city; Dodges, Chevrolets, Fords loaded with cotton piles with seeds, which are called “kütlü”; trucks carrying oxen and cattle, with the creaking of their ungreased wheels filling

the illuminated night; double horse carriages of İnegöl and loaded packs of camels were all pouring into the city.]”

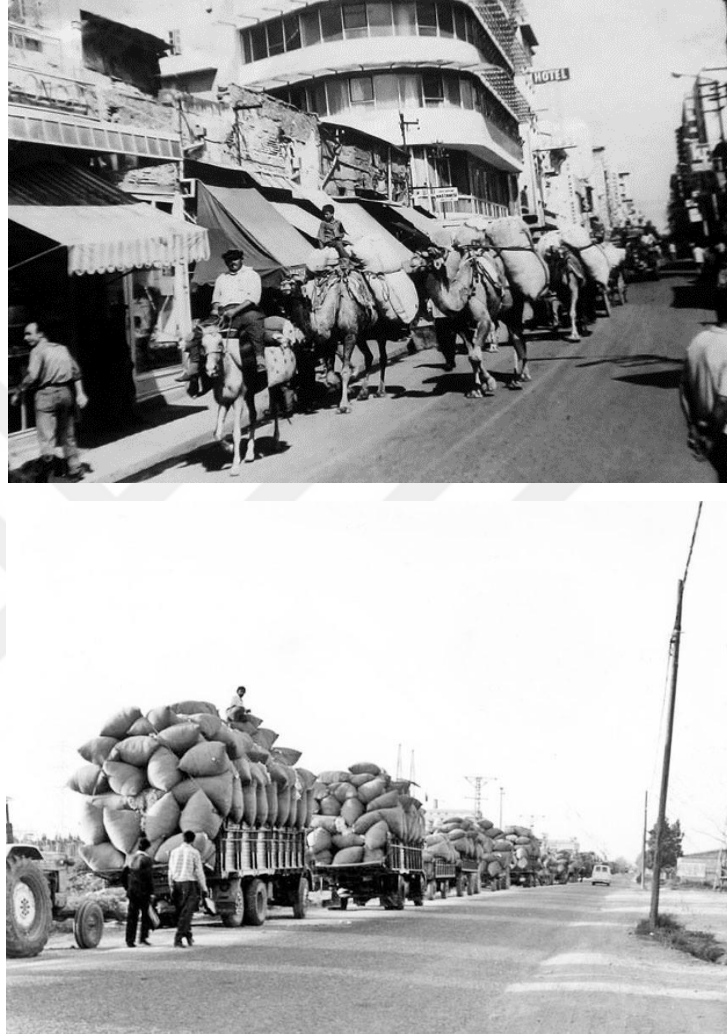


Figure 4.25. Transportation of cotton to the factories (Source: İzzet Gönenç's personal archive)

While, within this flow, the rural space and industrial spaces were getting combined; agricultural lands were meeting with modern techniques on one hand, and industrial spaces were advancing technologically and their spaces were expanding on the other hand. This integration has taken the city from its previous disposition, in which small

artisanships had been dominating the commerce of the city previously, and evolved it into the position of a city of agriculture-based industry. Another novel in which the trail of this spatial practice developed in the early period of the Republic could be followed is Kanlı Topraklar [Bloody Lands].

“Telaşeli kalabalığı yapan toprak sahiplerinin kütlüleri çekilmiş, yani pamuklarının tohumları ayrılmış, birkaç balyacık tutabilen pamukları hemen her zaman olduğunca fabrikaya satılıp, taa ekim zamanı fabrikadan alınan avanslar faiziyle ödenmiştir. Artık çırcılar büyük çiftçilerle büyük pamuk tüccarlarının depolar dolusu kütlüsünün emrindedir. (Kemal, 1972, p. 34)

[Kütlüs of the landowners who made up the busy crowd were pulled off, in other words, seeds of their cottons were separated, their cottons weighing at most a few piles were sold to the factory as it always used to be, and the advances borrowed from the factory long back in the times of planting were paid back with interest. Now, cottons are in the service of kütlüs full of many warehouses, which are owned by major farmers and cotton traders.]”

In the following chapters of the novel, a comparative analysis of both production areas are delivered from the view of one of the individuals in the society.

“Zenginlik buydu. İnsan topraktan şaşmayacak toğrağa, uçsuz bucaksız toprağa sahip olacaktı. Evet fabrikada topraktan geri kalmazdı ama, hayır toprak başkaydı. Fabrikalar vaktiyle ermenilerden, rumlardan kalmıştı. O devirlere yetişenler -nedim ağa gibi- açığöz davranıp oturmuşlardı üzerine.... O yağmadan hissesine düşeni alamamıştı. Ne yapacaktı? Pamuk tüccarlığı, evet ama, hayır, asıl topraktı, toprak! Koskoca nedim ağa gibi fabrikatörler de neden toprağa heves ediyorlardı? Çünkü toprak eskiiyip bozulmaz, yangından yanmazdı. (Kemal, 1972, p. 220)

[This was what being rich was like. One would not prefer anything but land, one was to own far-stretching lands. Indeed, factories would not fall behind lands, but no; land was different. Factories were left behind once upon a time from the Armenians and Greeks. Those who lived through those times – like Nedim Ağa – had acted with a cunning and seized them... He could not get whatever his share was from that sacking. What was he to do? Cotton trade, indeed, but no, it had to be lands, lands! Why in the world would factory owners such as the great Nedim Ağa desire lands? Because lands would not go old or break down, or get burned in flames.]”

As a result, in line with the *representations of space* put forth during the course of this period, *spatial practices* between the two production areas have developed by gaining

great significance, while the transformation of agricultural lands and factories was on its way in the direction of modernization.

Manufacturing cotton-based products, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] reinforces its position within *spatial practices*. According to the data of the year of 1937, the factory, where 1800 laborers and officers are employed, has been the largest factory of the period in Adana. Developments within the campus of the factory were not limited to the areas where production was taking place. Social and cultural spaces have also been built at the same time. While new manufacturing units were being added to the factory, its unique presence in the urban space has started to get stronger with recreational areas such as hospitals, sports facilities and schools.¹⁷

Selahattin Demirkan, who examined Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] established and developed through a private enterprise during his trip to Adana in 1943, was informed and accompanied during a walk-around by the owner of the factory Mahmut Has. According to what Demirkan narrated;

“Established in an area in the northern side of the town, near the railway line, the factory had 300 cloth benches in 1943. Foundries, smithshops, carpentries, tin and electrical works units, spare material warehouses are located around the main body of the factory. There also exist a hospital, an elementary school and a sports club near the factory. In all sections of the factory, a staff of 1880 permanently employed laborers works. In addition; 200 specialist laborers, 49 head laborers, 9 foremen and, on top of these, real specialists are working. General Technical Manager, his deputy, chiefs of weaving, dyeing, electric works units are all either sons or relatives of the owners of the factory. For one, Mahmut Has, the son of Nuri Has, is the weave control officer foreman. He started working at the factory after studying at commerce school.” (Demirkan, 1943, p. 8)

Observations of Vehbi Can Aşkun, one of the writers of the Kızılırmak newspaper, who have visited the factory in 1946, are as follows:

“Weave engineer Emin Özgür firstly showed us how a cotton is separated from its shell, and how its core and cotton are put aside. We saw the cottons passing through a long corridor getting cleaned and turning into the cotton as

¹⁷ Not only Adana National Textile Factory, but also many other factories in the vicinity have made similar developments.

we know. These cottons arrive at spindles after passing through several locations within the weave section. These come in many kinds as well. Finally, getting thinner and thinner, the weave as we know emerges. Operation of thousands of spindles and the sounds they produce brew an excitement in human soul. Everywhere is full of pure cotton, cottons in the machines have turned simply into a dough. It could also be moulded into any shape one desires, without much effort. There is a laborer in the beginning of each group of spindles. They are doing checks all the time. A young lady weighs the arriving weaves in a small room and determines their numbers. The weave numbers currently available are 4, 10, 12, 14, 16 and 20. Then, weaves passing through thousands of spindles in harmony and movement all the time are formed into packages.”¹⁸

With the construction of social and cultural spaces upon *the spatial practice* formed around the production units narrated above, spatial development in Adana based on the industrial city model was maintained. Examination of the spaces reinforcing this practice is important with regard to the uncovering of the values of the period.

Adjacent to the tobacco factory located in the old station, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] Hospital with 48 beds was opened by Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in 1930. This approach was a significant spatial development regarding the issue of the workers employed in the factory during those years to make production in a healthy fashion. In addition, the hospital has served not only as one open only to the factory workers, but as one open to the use of all people. It has provided significant contribution to the provision of general health service in the city, along with the hospital with 100-bed capacity, which was opened in 1898 with the name of “Gureba Hospital” (Hospital for the poor).

¹⁸ Vehbi Can Aşkun, “Kızılırmak’tan Seyhan’a 5: Milli Mensucat ve Yağ Fabrikaları”, Kızılırmak Newspaper, 16 April 1946, p.3; Vehbi Can Aşkun, “Kızılırmak’tan Seyhan’a 6: Milli Mensucat ve Yağ Fabrikaları”, Kızılırmak Newspaper, 23 April 1946, p.2.



Figure 4.26. Garden of the Hospital of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], 1947

The school building, which was used as a school by the Greeks before World War I, changed hands after the Greeks had left the city following the population exchange, briefly used as ammo depot, Military Musical School and Tekel raki production plant, was bought in 1927 and renovated by the owners of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], and had begun education with the name of Milli Mensucat İlkokulu [The National Textile Elementary School] back in 1940. In the school with 8 teachers employed, clothing and food expenses of poor students had been covered by Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]. For this reason, the school was also called the “Orphans’ School” among people.



Figure 4.27. A teacher in the garden of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] Elementary School on the left, 1952 (Source: Haldun Coşkun's personel archive) and students in a school trip on the right (Source: Kevser Pekkoçak Göçener's personal archive)

Activities of industrialization in the region have also developed the sports activities in the city. Clubs established within the bodies of factories followed the first sports clubs founded in the cities after the Second Constitutional Era. With the Body Discipline Law 3530 dated to 1938, enterprises with more than 500 employees were enforced to establish sports and body discipline organizations. With this law, industrial corporations have begun establishing sports clubs. The first clubs established in this context were the clubs of National Textile, Malatya Textile (Sümerspor), Southern Industry and Bossa. The National Textile Club had activities in the branches of football, basketball, volleyball, athleticism, wrestling and boxing. Sports fees were being deducted from the monthly salaries of the workers and officers working in the factory, and factory owners were making annual donations to sports clubs. The sports club of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] which was founded in 1939 was active in the branches of football, basketball, volleyball, athletics, wrestling and boxing. Cuts were being made from the salary of the workers for the sports, and the owners of the factory were making donations annually to the sports clubs. Adana met boxing when boxing fans came to Adana in 1925 but boxing spread after the foundation of first boxing club within Milli Mensucat. The members of the

sports club visited Anıtkabir and placed a wreath for Milli Mensucat in the early active professional years.



Figure 4.28. Members' of Sport Club Visitation to Anıtkabir (Source: Hakan Timur's personal archive)

The financial opportunities and facilities offered to athletes by organisations' clubs made a serious progress for sportive activities in Adana. In this direction the stadium, indoor sports hall, youth centre in Atatürk Park and the land started to be used as Milli Mensucat Football field within the boundaries of Döşeme District, which were all designed by Jansen Plan and located in the city center, kept a very important place in the workers' and their families' *spatial practices*.



Figure 4.29. Basketball club and football school of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] (Source: Cengizhan Köksal's personal archive)



Figure 4.30. The field of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], 1932 (Source: İzzet Gönenç's personal archive)

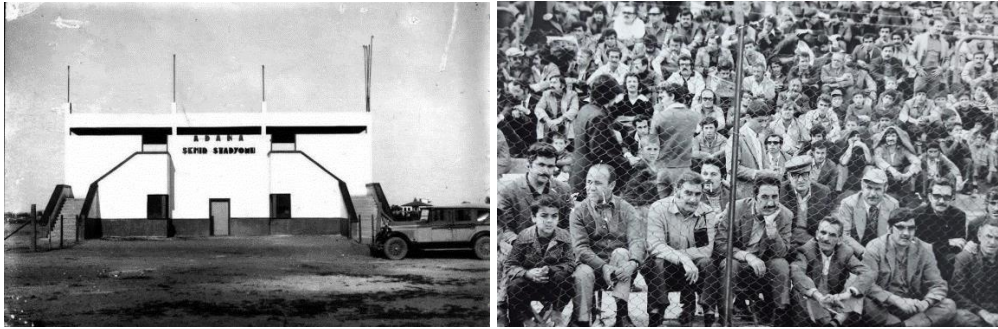


Figure 4.31. Adana City Stadium and Döşeme Neighborhood spectators while watching a football game

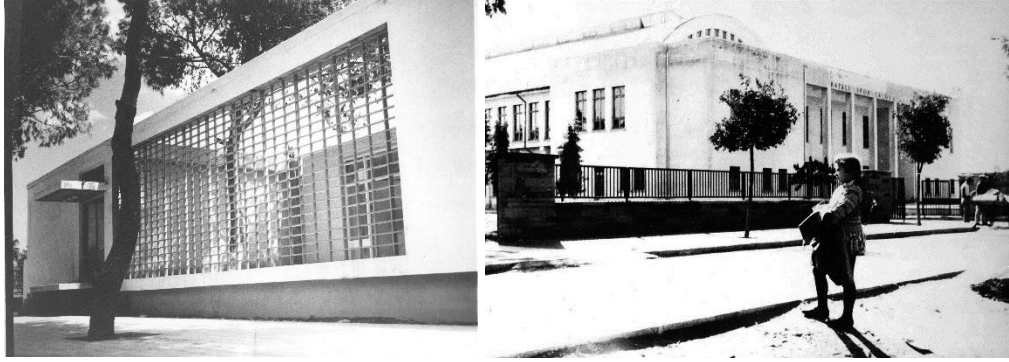


Figure 4.32. Youth Center on the left (Source: Sabri Gül's personal archive) and Indoors Sports Hall on the right (Source: archive of Salt Research Center)

Courses were opened in many enterprises for the citizens to become more conscious and equipped individuals, with the aim of building a new, modern society, with the declaration of the Republic. Many courses were opened by the industrial enterprises located in the city on many subjects; such as reading-writing, foreign languages, Turkish language, sewing, enginemanship, farmership, instructorship and electrical works. In between 1930 and 1950, approximately 500 people have received training in different courses provided by Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory].

Albeit not a space under the ownership of the factory, open-air cinemas located within the neighborhood are quite important with regard to *spatial practices*. Two of the oldest open-air cinemas of Adana picked places to settle within this industrial district. The open-air cinemas served for many years under the name of İstiklal has been a cinema which had served the city residents in the vicinity of the station. Located on the borders of Döşeme Neighborhood, the Esendam Cinema was, on the other hand, a neighborhood cinema actively used especially by workers and their families. These two movie theaters, which are among the pioneering movie theaters that turned out to occupy an important place in the social life of all city dwellers in Adana in the years to follow, had an important place among *the spatial practices* of workers.

Within the factory, there is a clubhouse with a capacity of 500 people, a nursery for children, a bachelors' pavillion with 350-400 beds and lodgements for 40 families. No fees are charged from the workers lodging in the bachelors' pavillion, and their laundries are washed and ironed for 6 liras per month (Varlık, Emiroğlu, & Türkoğlu, 2008).

Mahmut Türkoral's memories, the son of a family who immigrated from Yugoslavia in 1924 and worked as a worker at Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] between 1925 and 1965 give us important details regarding *the spatial practice* emerged in between these physical spaces that are in development.

"The factory had everything in it... Tiny girls were working for 24 kuruş per day, they would fall asleep, little poor ones. We would wake up those who fell asleep. We would help to those who were worn-out. There were strong workers, I would call them up, they would help the girls... I was once sitting at the entrance. The rain in sheets. A female worker arrives from Karşıyaka. A child in his arms, another one holding her hand. The door was closed. Once that door is closed, you cannot open it again even if you are the God. What's there to do, "Open the door, Foreman Necip" I say, "Open it, I'll bear the responsibility." And I am telling the woman, "go inside, my dear, now go ahead and leave the kids there," there is a nursery for children in our place, then I was telling the woman, "When you leave the kids, go near the boiler, get yourself dried a bit, go inside through the lunchroom entrance. If the workers ask where you have been, tell them you laid down by the kids while leaving them, tell them you fell asleep." We were giving advices like this. I wouldn't do this for anyone. If I would let all those in, why had this law been passed? Why has the boss set up such a rule?... Again, another friend, he was a foreman. A good friend he was. Mesut Merdan. Saw that he arrived at quarter past the hour. I opened the door, "go inside, man," I said. "Don't you punch the clock, just go to your work." ... What do I do, I go and get Mesut's card, put the clock back, punch in Mesut's card when it is exactly one minute before the hour. Then I see that the boss is out by the entrance a few days later..." (Türkoral, 1984)

Spaces of representation, too, that are experienced rather than designed within *the spatial practice* described above; dependent on neither consistency nor connection; and into which imagery and symbolism are diffused (Lefebvre, 2014:70), have kept on emerging; therefore, reproduction of the space socially continued. Different experiences of the massive productive units inherent to modern industry bringing great

numbers of workers together, forcing them to become dependent on each other and to cooperation; therefore, teaching them to think and act collectively have been experienced.





Figure 4.33. (1) Flag raising ceremony in 1940s in the stadium and (2) Flag raising ceremony in the Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] (Source: Mehmet Baltacı's personal archive), (3) Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] workers who celebrate the foundation of Republic (Source: Tuncay Özer's personal archive), (4) National Sovereignty and Children's Day celebration (Source: Ahmet İşisağ's personal archive), (5) The arch of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] for the 10th anniversary celebration of Foundation of Republic (Source: Nuri Erbaz's personal archive), (6) Wreath of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in the Commemoration of Atatürk in Atatürk Park

Within this progressively developing *spatial practice*, the factory constituted an important *space of representation* in the city especially in celebration days related to the foundation of the Republic. This creation of representation was observed in public spaces both within the factory campus and in those located in the city. The contribution of the factory to the celebration of the 10th year of the Republic is important in the sense that it reflects the representative importance within *spatial practice*. The answer of Mustafa Özgür, one of the owners of the factory, when the members of the provincial committee wanted to pay for the clothes they liked after their visit to the factory for purchasing Adana cloth to be used during celebrations, narrates this representation;

“The clothes to be used to celebrate the 10th-year anniversary of the Republic cannot be sold by our factory, which is the own work of the great Turkish Revolution and Republic that are models for the whole world. Our factory will present 14 rolls of clothes you have requested as a gift to the committee. Acceptance of this small gift would make our factory fortunate.” (Örgeevren, 1933)

Participation of workers and women to the work life and urban life constitutes yet another important aspect of *spatial practices*. Unionization is an important phenomenon born into spatial parathics.

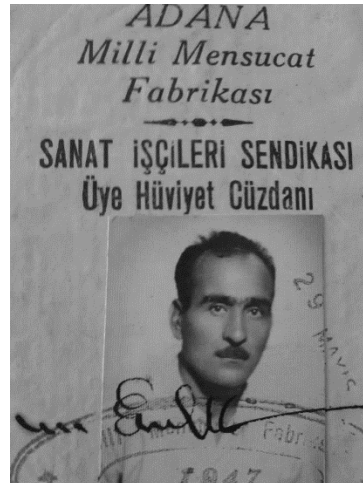


Figure 4.34. Union identity of a worker, 1947 (Source: Hüseyin Yapıcı’s personal archive)

Stating that they have been “*working 11 hours a day since 1941, as per the coordination rule of No.25 dated to May 20, 1940, which allows up to three hours of overtime per day in all types of weave and weaving factories*”, 215 workers working in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in 1949 came up with a one-sided labor dispute-disagreement as per the Labor Law, in order to switch to normal 8-hour working time schedule.⁶ In the issue of the Worker’s Voice newspaper dated to September 7, 1949, it was reported that a teenage girl in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] said she had been working 12 hours day and night for five years, since she was 9 years old.

During this period, women leave their position as household workers or as agriculture workers along with their spouses or siblings and take their place in urban life as factory workers. Introduction of the industry and women into work life both breaks the conventional social value judgments and develops *spatial practice* by adding a new experienced dimension into publicnesses. A portrayal regarding how man-woman relationships ditch conventionalism and take place in public spaces is narrated over the life of an industry worker in the novel titled El Kızı [Stranger Girl].

“**Yeni moda olmaya başlayan aile gazinolarından birinde karşılıklı çay** içiyorlardı. Devrimlerin getirdiği yeniliklere hemen uyuveren Mazhar için karısıyla bir bahçe, yahut herhangi bir gazinoda çay, kahve, hatta rakı içmek aykırı değilse de, etraf henüz böyle şeyleri yadırgıyordu. (Kemal, 1960, p. 52)

[They were together drinking tea in one of **the family clubhouses which had begun being the new trend** [emphasis mine]. For Mazhar, who would immediately adopt the novelties the revolutions bring about; even though it was not inappropriate to drink tea, coffee, or even raki with his wife in a garden or in any club, folks around would, back then, still find such things odd.]”

Now, women join the social life of the city at neighborhood’s taphouse or city clubhouse, and while this is found odd by the community at the beginning, it diffuses into *spatial practice* in time. Consequently, city and society along with industrial spaces record development with *practices* and *representations* getting intertwined.



Figure 4.35. Female worker in Cigarette Factory on the left (Source: Nuri Erbaz's personal archive)
Laboratory of Sumerbank Factory on the right (Source: archive of EBA)



Figure 4.36. Döşeme Neighbourhood- Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]
relation (Source: Şeyda İnep's personal archive)

Starting from 1940s, new settlement areas had started to be constructed rapidly in the direction of Jansen plan in the east of Döşeme Neighborhood, where Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] is located. A spatial narrative about this period can be found in the novel titled *Eskici Dükkanı* [The Ragman's Shop], through the description of the character of the lame ragman returning to the city at the beginning of 1940s.

“Onlar görmeyeli hani şehir de epeyce değişmişti. Yeni yeni evler, oteller ama bütün bunlar daha çok şehrin hemen ilk bakışta görünen yönlerini süslüyordu... kıyı mahallelerle asfalt caddelerin böğürlerinden derinlemesine dalınan sokaklarsa bozuk parkeleri, bel vermiş, kaykılmış harap tahta, ya da kerpiç evleriyle hemen hemen kırk elli yıldır bilip tanıdığı ara sokaklardı. (Kemal, 1973, p. 23)

[When they were away, the city had changed oh so much. Brand new houses, hotels, but all these were rather adorning the parts of the city that met the eye at first glance... the streets that were reached out into from the bosoms of slums and asphalt-paved avenues were the alleys he had known for almost forty, fifty years and would recognize with their crooked cobblestones and houses made of yielded, slided, worn-out wood or mudbricks.]”

A similar narrative related to the spatial distinction in question is found in the novel titled *Murtaza*, which was written by getting inspired by a watchman of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory].

“Ana caddeye çıkan ara sokağın başında durdu... alt alta üstüste evlerle bu evlerin aralarında birbirini kesen, daracık çamurlu sokaklar geride kalmıştı. Şimdi artık bol ışıkların altında ta istasyondan uzanıp gelen tertemiz asfalt cadde olanca temizliğiyle yatıyordu önünde... evler, köşklerle apartmanların pek çoğunun pencereleri bol ışıklarla apaydınlıktı. Daha çok da balkonlarla yarı aydınlık bahçelerden kadın, erkek kımıltıları... belliydi ki, poker, bezik, tavlâ oynuyorlardı. (Kemal, 2003, p. 54)

[He stood at the beginning of the alley leading to the main street... the houses on top of each other and the narrow, mud-covered streets crossing each other in between these houses were left behind. Now, the clean, asphalt-paved avenue that comes all the way from the station under the abundant street lights was stretching in front of him with all its cleanliness... the windows of most of the houses, manors and apartments were illuminated with bright lights. Mostly from balconies and half-illuminated gardens, movements of women and men... obvious it was; they were playing poker, bezique, backgammon.]”

Development of the historical city center-new city-industrial district as neighbouring areas creates a distinct value at this point. The gathering of the historical city center, which is experienced and utilized by all social classes as a common spatial value; of workers' neighborhoods and the new city where the upper-middle class had begun settling in, constituted, back then, the basis of a social progress and cooperation to develop in time.





Figure 4.37. Daily life in Kuruköprü Square in 1940s (Sources: personal archives of Zeynep Uğurlu, Ayşe Zariç, Hakan Yurdakul and Lütfi İstanbulluoğlu)



Figure 4.38. Daily life in Atatürk Park (Source: İdil Ece's personal archive)

Consequently, *the spatial practice* of this period is that of the Republic, and it has developed in Adana through the *spaces of representation* constructed at the intersection of the contemporary city and contemporary individual. With the development of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], a *spatial practice* which integrates the modernized life of workers into the most central neighborhoods of the city and its public and common areas has emerged.

4.3.3. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Third Interval (1950-1980)

In 1945, the World War II was ended, and the countries were divided into two groups of Eastern Bloc and Western Bloc under the leadership of the US and the USSR.

Economical and social structures of the developing countries had begun to be shaped according to this distinction. While the U.S. was trying to spread the capitalism all over the world on one side, the USSR had carried out activities for the spread of socialism on the other side. During the course of this period, Turkey had been an important neighboring country for the dominant powers in geopolitical and geographical aspects. Some policy proposals provided accordingly and monetary supports consonant with these have brought about economical and social transformations in the country.

As a consequence of Turkey adopting the advices of the U.S., pursuing an organization of capitalism in global scale, firstly economical policies and, then, *spatial representations* and *practices* had begun transforming. In line with the reports prepared for Turkey, the representation of the country of agriculture was assigned to Turkey within the global capitalist system, and the spaces and *practices* of this *representation* had developed until 1960s. Thereafter, it was aimed to revitalize in Turkey the economical structure based on import-substitution industry. Cities have gone through, as a consequence, a period of trial-error with regard to agriculture-based industry and the spaces in connection. While noticeable transformations were under way in rural and urban areas throughout the country, Adana, developing in the direction of the representation of agriculture-based-industrial city, had been one of the cities which had been influenced the most by this transformation. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity are an important view which has experienced both spatial and social transformations during the course of this period.

4.3.3.1. Representation of Space: Marshall Plan and Provincial Bank Plan

While the physical space in Adana had developed until 1950 in line with the Industry Plans and the Jansen Plan, the Marshall Plan put into effect by the US for the rebuilding of the ravaged Europe started this period as an economical program which changed the course of the development of physical space. Owing to the fact that this

plan had ushered in spatial transformations related especially to agriculture, industry, transportation and settlement areas in the cities, it would not be incorrect to interpret this plan as a *representation of space*. While the urban space in Adana had gone through transformation under the guidance of the US during the first half of this period, a new *representation of space* was employed during the second half of the period. This *representation of space* is the zoning plan obtained at the end of a contest organized by the Bank of Provinces in order to take under control and plan the unfavorable outcomes the Marshall Plan created in urban space.

Marshall Plan

During the Cold War period started between the US and the USSR in the aftermath of the World War II, Turkey had been a country influenced by all political, economical and cultural processes of the war. This influence started with the Truman Doctrine declared by the US in 1947 on the grounds of protecting Turkey and Greece from the menace of communism. Turkey was later transferred into the scope of the Marshall Plan commenced for the purpose of rebuilding Europe (Kepenek, 2017, p. 253).

Several reports related to the aids to be supplied within the scope of the Marshall Plan had been prepared and presented to Turkey by experts from the US. These reports prepared during the period between 1950 and 1960 are Hilts, Barker and Thornburg reports. In accordance with these reports, new representations had emerged, and *spatial practices* had started to change in agricultural lands, industrial areas and urban spaces in Turkey. Therefore, although the Marshall Plan was an economical investment plan, it could be deemed a *representation of space*, given that it had at its focus many issues affecting the spaces, and that it recreated the spaces in this direction.

Passed and put into effect in Turkey by the Council of Ministers in Turkey on the date of August 8, 1948, the report titled “The Highway Situation in Turkey”, known also as “Hilts Report on the need for highways in Turkey and the organization of highways”, emphasizes that the highway network was inadequate. This report had laid

the groundwork for concentrating on highway construction and for marketing motorized vehicles to neighboring countries.

Thornburg Report was written in 1950 with the title of “Turkey: An Economic Appraisal”. In this report, it is stated that investments in large industrial enterprises are unnecessary for Turkey, which is a country of agriculture, and that they bring about loss of capital. This state is exemplified in the way that a country which is not even able to manufacture ploughs establishing heavy industry facilities such as iron-steel, energy and chemical plants would cause loss of time and squander. It is emphasized that it is necessary to liberate industrialization from statism, and for the industrialization to develop gradually, starting from a level at which it manufactures basic agricultural tools intended for the needs of people.

According to the 1950 Barker Report, the priority should be given to the agriculture sector for the most rapid and balanced economic development in Turkey’s conditions. The sectors that require advanced technology and know-how should be avoided, and the trend should be towards light industry products such as processing agricultural products, producing food products, light machinery, simple tools, stoves, ploughs, iron plows, hammers, saws, simple pumps, construction materials, leather, furniture and wood works, soap, vaccines, pesticides, ceramics, pottery and village craft industry.

The three reports summarized above were not implemented as is. However, the common emphasis of all three reports, development of the agriculture sector and highway construction becoming the main transportation policy, was implemented. As a result, the Marshall Plan lies before us as a *representation of space* which resulted in social and spatial transformations in Turkey.

In this direction, agriculture and industry continued to record development in Adana, where the textile industry, falling within the scope of the agriculture-based light industry sector proposed by the Marshall Plan for Turkey, is the primary sector. As in all cities, highway development had been given importance also in Adana. With the *representation of space* in question, mechanization in rural areas had accelerated,

rural-urban integration had been strengthened via highways, and, as a result, while modernization had been provided both in agriculture and in agriculture-based industry, the phenomenon of migration from rural areas towards cities has emerged. In other words, this new *representation of space* had begun to transform the urban space by directly influencing *spatial practices*. As a result of changes in the practices in rural space and transportation, changes had started to be experienced in daily life observed in agricultural-industrial practice and later on in the urban area.

With the support of the US, mechanization in rural areas has become widespread rapidly. No planned approach was adopted by the state with regard to meeting the urban needs of the population grown as a result of the migration of the workers, who had become unemployed because of this mechanization, to the urban space. Settlements had begun to be constructed over the agricultural lands located north of the settled area in Adana, in order to meet the need for shelter of the increased population.

Therefore, prediction of the Jansen Plan in Adana, which had been prepared during the previous period, had eroded during the first half of this time interval and become inadequate. Afterwards, the need for a new *representation of space* that would steer urbanization had emerged.

The Bank of Provinces Plan

The Jansen Plan had remained effective until 1950s. After the city had developed rapidly as a result of the impacts of the Marshall Plan and had developed beyond the designated boundaries, this plan had become insufficient. For resolving this problem, a zoning plan contest was organized by the Bank of Provinces in 1966. The obtained plan is a representation of the new planned development period of the 1960s, after the designed space put forth by Jansen, which was the representation of the early Republic period's aim of creating a planned, contemporary city.

For the rebuilding of cities following the foundation of the Republic, the Bank of Municipalities was established on June 11, 1933 (the institution took the name of Bank

of Provinces in 1945, and of ILBANK in 2015) with the idea of the bank supporting local authorities. The essential task of the bank is to support and provide resources for municipalities in the modernization efforts of the country in a ravaged state in the aftermath of the War of Independence, and in the provision of local public services within this context. The aim of resolving zoning issues was particularly specified as one of the reasons for the foundation of the Bank. In this direction, zoning plans had been prepared via the Bank of Provinces for the cities with local authorities that were inadequate in either technical or economical aspects. From the 1950s on, obtaining these zoning plans through contests has been a successful method for obtaining the *representations of space*. 1960s and 1970s have been the period when the Bank of Provinces had made its mark on city planning contests. During this period, new *representations of space* had been obtained from the outcomes of zoning plan contests for the cities of Konya, Erzurum, Adana, Sivas, Trabzon, İzmit, Gaziantep and Zonguldak in chronological order.

For all plans aimed to be obtained at the end of all these contests, research and publicity documents presented as specification appendices had been important with regard to the orientation of *the representation of space*. Examining these documents prepared in relation to the contest and the plan obtained at the end of the contest is important for reaching at the values unfolded by the mental space of the period.¹⁹

In the report of the 1964 Master Plan Commission prepared for Adana contest, the most urgent needs of the city were listed. It was stated that Adana was a city of Turkey where agriculture, commerce and industry based on these two fields were developing and would develop rapidly. For this reason, it was pinpointed that, in the zoning plan to be prepared, precautions facilitating the settlement of the industrial facilities along

¹⁹ The research documents are the surveys conducted by grounding on “Urban Research and Assessment Methodologies” prepared by the French Architect Calsat in 1960 to be used in the studies of the Bank of Provinces. Spatial data belonging to the year of 1964 can be found in the surveys prepared by the Bank of Provinces for the purpose of providing assistance to the Adana contest.

with that of the laborers to work at these facilities should be included at the top of all needs (Adana Master Plan Commission Report, 1964, p. 51). This is also an evidence that solutions had been sought for the urban problems created by the migration from rural areas to cities accelerated as a result of the Marshall Plan.

In the Jury's Report for Adana Master Plan Competition, it was stated that the jury considered in its evaluations certain "Evaluation Criteria". In this scope, a series of evaluation criteria such as;

- Regional relations directly affect the shaping of the city of Adana, in addition to its economical and social development,
- It is imperative that the function of the city of Adana as a service center in the region and its development power in industry be emphasized,
- Directions of North and West should be selected as the (dominant) development directions of the city, due to the presence of a series of thresholds and limitations,
- Looking after the realization of the settlements allowing for the urban life to be in accord with the conditions of economical and social development in the phases within city's development process,
- Taking into consideration the outcomes to be brought about by value differences to occur between old areas and new areas in the utilization of city domain,
- Genuinity of the contestants are to be evaluated by the measure of their compliance with economical and social development possibilities of Adana and Turkey

were declared (Bilsel & Bilsel, 2010, p. 3-4). As a result of the evaluation made in this direction, Melehat Topaloğlu and Bülent Berksan crew won the first place. Later on, an exhibition was opened in Adana and Ankara, and the plan became effective after being approved following a colloquium. During the course of the 70s, Adana had recorded development in accordance with this plan.

The first emphasis in the plan is related to the necessity that settlements should be planned according to a hierarchical order. For this reason, starting from the analyses related to rural areas, planning decisions related to the problems of the city of Adana had been developed.

It was addressed that seasonal and permanent migrations had created social, economical and settlement problems in the region. For this reason, the subject of the planning of life cycle in rural areas, which had brought about these migrations, was assessed primarily. Villages were grouped, and central villages were determined at the end of the assessment carried out for village groups with regard to size in terms of population, ratios of receiving migrations, and means of transportation to and from nearby villages and centers.

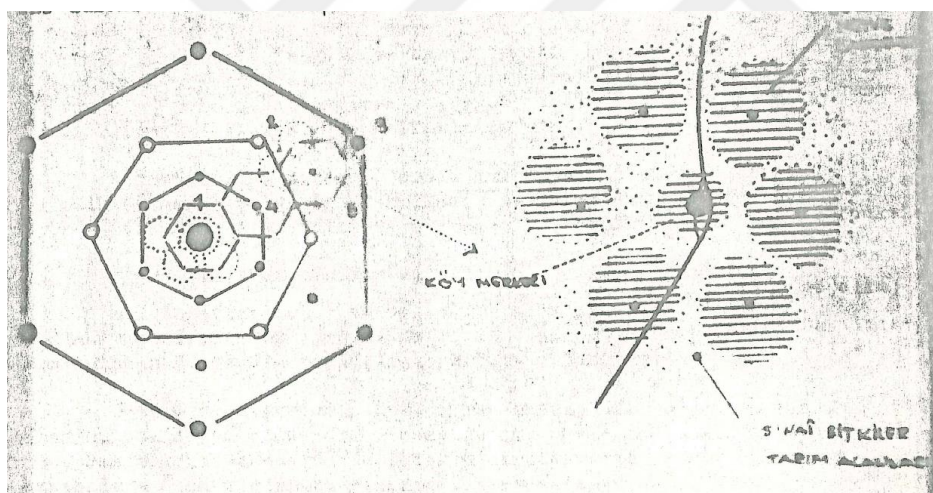


Figure 4.39. Conceptual diagram related to the development of rural areas from plan explanation report of Provincial Bank Plan (Source: Maps and Plans Documentation Unit in METU Faculty of Architecture)

Later on, in this representation follow the analyses related to urban areas. The historical city center was described as the core area for Adana, which was determined to be the Center city of Çukurova region. The airport very close to the city and the

settlement order was constructed for the industry settlements in the future. Mersin, Tarsus and Adana were planned as 3 industrial foci to operate in tandem, for the industry which had significance throughout the country and required vast lands and services, and for the industrial areas which are required to have intimate relations with urban functions in terms of services. Here, development of conurbation was opposed, and it was particularly emphasized that the urban needs of these three foci should be fulfilled by themselves, and that rural areas should be among them. Within this development scheme, the importance of the railway line connecting Mersin, Tarsus, Adana and Ceyhan was underlined.

As a result, it can be stated that the zoning plan in question places on its focus a problem related to organizing the relation of agriculture-industry and settlement areas starting from the rural settlement scale to the regional scale. At the same time, development of the existing industrial areas within settlement orders as per the specification is an important approach to be dwelled on. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity maintain their position near the city center as the industrial district within the scope of this zoning plan developed in accordance with the data above.

population, the southeast end of the study area was home to a mixed population of workers and artisans, while it was observed that there was a housing area where a population of workers were settled just south of this housing texture. The income level of the population living in the houses located within the study area, on the other hand, was defined as moderate.

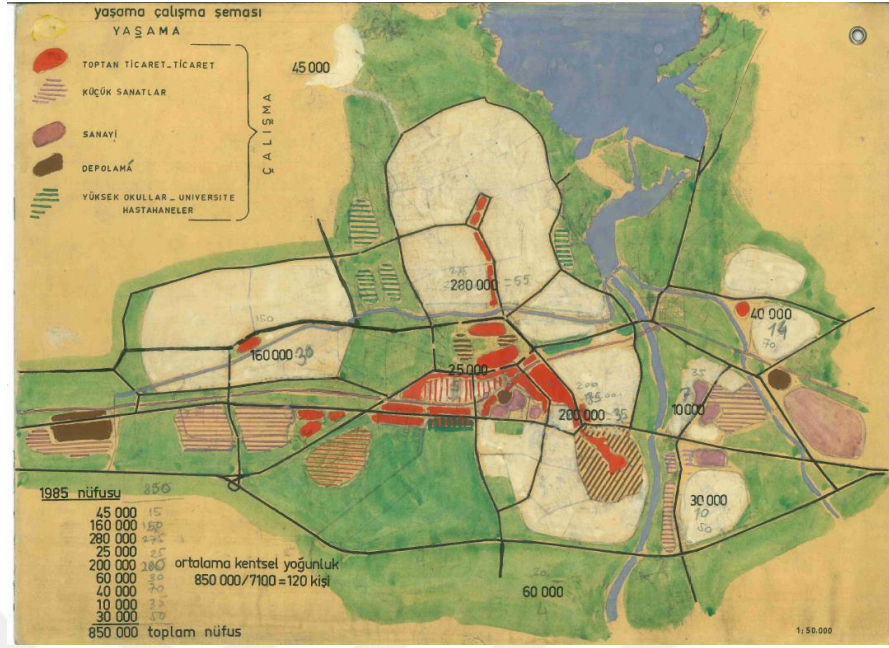


Figure 4.41. Living-working scheme from the supplement of Provincial Bank Plan (Source: Maps and Plans Documentation Unit in METU Faculty of Architecture)



Figure 4.42. Industrial district-city center relation in Provincial Bank Plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)

The east of this industrial district was determined to be the new city center development area. Therefore, this plan makes a new contribution with this development to *the spatial practice* established in the connection of industry and city.

4.3.3.2. Spaces of Representation: Spaces of Urbanized Labor

As a result of the economical and political reconstructions within the nation, which were in line with international relations changed in the aftermath of World War II, the Democrat Party became the ruling party by getting the strong support of the classes dominant in agriculture and commerce. New *spaces of representation* had been added into the agriculture-industry-city relation in Adana, for the Marshall Plan, which had been implemented during this period and pursued by the hand of the Democrat Party, had changed economical relations. The advent of *the spaces of representation* of this period can be scrutinized within the framework of two major approaches. The first one is *the spaces of representation* developed in connection with the new accumulation period that Atılgan calls agricultural capitalism. While this accumulation period, during which capitalism had been reorganized according to agricultural priorities, had created responses in politics, ideology and culture, all compatible with itself, it recreated rural and urban spaces by adding into them representations that had previously not been included. *Spaces of representation* that were based on mechanization in agriculture had started penetrating rapidly into the city and the society.

A prominent landowner started to get detached from his old political party and began getting intimate with the Democrat Party, Muzaffer Bey's narration during his trip back from a journey to Ankara in the novel titled 'The Farm of the Mistress' narrating the rural social space in Adana, which is related to the events to take place in the aftermath of transition into the multi-party period and elections, puts forth the society's view of the new spaces to be experienced and, therefore, of the emerging *spaces of representation*;

“Gene aynı **Amerika zihniyeti**. Seçimlerden sonrayı bekliyorlarmış. Yeni tip harman makineleri hakkında katalog gösterdiler, izahat verdiler. Şayamı hayret azizim! Tamamen çelikten mamul, yalnız üç kişi ile çalışan McCormicklere bayıldım. Mahsülü en iktisadi ve en verimli şekilde kaldırmak mümkün olacak. Hem de bizi ırgat tahakkümünden kurtarmak şartıyla. Neydi o bizim eski tip Konkasör patozların rezaleti. Kırkbeş kişilik zırlıtı, hantal şeyler.... Sonra Marshall planına dahil, plasmana falan ihtiyaç da yok. Diyorlar ki seçimi karşı parti kazanırsa, memlekete ziraat makinelerinden başka yabancı sermaye ve şüphesiz döviz akacakmış. (Kemal, 1961, p. 69)

[**The same American mindset** [emphasis mine] yet again. They are supposedly waiting for after the elections. They’ve shown catalogues on new types of grain machines, shared details. Astonishing, my dear sir! I admired the McCormicks entirely made of steel, which work only with three people. It will be possible to gather the crop the most economical and most efficient way possible. And also with the condition of liberating us from the domination of farmhands. What a scandal was of those old type Konkasör threshers that we used to have. The rumbling of forty-five people, those bulky things... What’s more, they are included in the Marshall Plan, no placement whatsoever is needed, too. They say that if the opposing party wins the election, other foreign capitals and, no doubt, foreign currencies will flow into the country, in addition to agricultural machinery.]”

Agricultural machinery, which were to facilitate the development of agricultural capitalism; and had begun taking place in trials and implementation fields of which had started being explored starting from the end of 1940s, had started appearing in spaces starting from 1950s in a fashion to transform both the countryside and the city. Tried and learned in time by the technicians and farmers in collaboration in the countryside, these machines had become glamorous elements of parades in national feasts. They had created a new training field in agriculture school. They had been introduced to the community in organizations held in public spaces, which are destinations to be visited in the city center within the course of daily life.

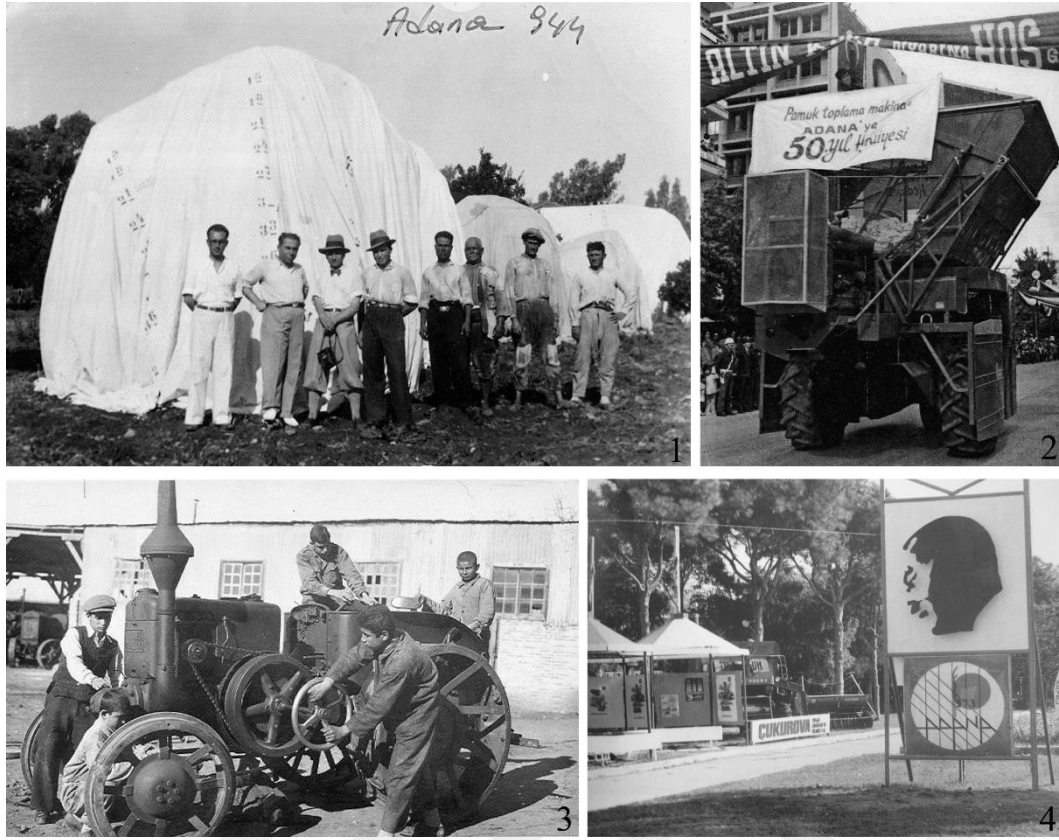


Figure 4.43. (1) Adana agricultural workers and technicians 1944, (2) cotton picking machine in a ceremony in city center (Source: Cevdet Naci Güllalp's personal archive), (3) Students of agricultural school (Source: Nuri Erbaz's personal archive), (4) Agriculture and industry fair in Atatürk Park 1970

At the end of the same nove, the space experienced at the beginning of the 1950s in the aftermath of the victory of the Democrat Party in the election is presented;

“Yeni iktidarın yeni politikası çok geçmeden kendini gösterdi: Cesurca kararlar, yurdun her yanında olduğu gibi, belki de her yanından çok çukurovada dehşetli bir silkinmeye sebep oldu. Bilhassa serbest ihraç rejimiyle birlikte pamuk piyasası yıldırım hızıyla yükseldi. Amerika bile pamuk satın alıyordu. Yüzde yüz, yüzde ikiyüz, yüzde üçyüz, işini bilenler daha da çok kazandılar. Para oluk gibi akmaya, irili ufaklı bankalarla birlikte **barlar, gazinolar, lokantalar mantar gibi çoğalmaya başladı**. Yıllar yılı bomboş yatmaktan yorulmuş arsalarda koca koca apartmanlar yükseliyor, köylerden şehre akın eden, pamuğun şahlandırdığı yeni zenginler tarafından yüksek kiralalarla henüz tamamlanmadan kiralanıveriyordu. (Kemal, 2003, p.258)

[The new policy of the new government has shown itself before long: Bold decisions have resulted in a terrific shrugging in Çukurova, as is the case in all corners of the country, perhaps more than all corners of it. The cotton market have increased with lightning speed, particularly with free export regime. Even America was buying cotton. A hundred percent, two-hundred percent, three-hundred-percent, those who had known what's what had earned even more. The money started rolling in; **bars, night clubs, restaurants had started to spring up like mushrooms** [emphasis mine] along with small and large banks. On the lands wearied of being derelict for many years, large apartments were rising, and they were being rented even before they had been completed for large sums to the new rich flocked from the villages to the city and reared up by the cotton.]”

A similar narrative is encountered in the novel titled *Eskici Dükkanı* [The Ragman's Shop];

“Artık ne Almanlar ne de Almanın palasını sallayanlar. Bir Amerikancılıktır başlamıştı. ... **yerden biten mantarlar gibi apartmanlar, barlar** memleketin biçimini değiştiriverdi. ... Köy yollarında Desotolar, Kadillaklar Çukurova güneşiyle fırın külüne dönmüş tozlarını havalara savuruyor, ağzıları sıra sıra altın dişli ağaların kahkahaları Çiftiçi Birliğinin kalın sağlam duvarlarında çınliyordu. (Kemal, 1973, p. 23)

[Now, not the Germans or those taking up the cudgels of the German. An Americanism has taken off. ... **apartments and bars like mushrooms sprouting up from the ground** [emphasis mine] have changed the shape of the homeland. ... In village roads; Desotos, Cadillacs were throwing around their dust turned into furnace ash under the Çukurova sun, and the laughs of the landlords with mouths decorated with rows upon rows of golden teeth were echoing over the thick, rigid walls of the Farmer's Union...]

In addition to the emergence of the spaces of agricultural capitalism, another study of *spaces of representation* can be conducted through the social transformation that had taken place in cities, which Şengül described as the urbanization of labor. The tendency towards modernization in agriculture sector resulted in an emergence of surplus labor. According to Keleş, each tractor added into agricultural production takes 6 workers working in agriculture sector away from it and brings about the migration of these workers together with their families to the city (Keleş, 1993, p.49). The central urban focus within Çukurova region, the agricultural hinterlands of which are quite vast compared to all other regions of Turkey, Adana's population reached to

761,000 in 1960 from 509,000 in 1950, as a result of excessive increase in migrations from the countryside to the city starting from 1950s. As a result of the combination of the agricultural capitalism, which had spreaded as an outcome of the Marshall Plan, transferring the labor power from the countryside to the cities, and the job opportunities the import-substitution industrialization created in cities, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its surroundings had become an important *space of representation* in Adana.

New practices carried to the city by the population arrived with migrations start around the station and penetrates into factories and the housing texture in their vicinity. Therefore, each one of the factories corresponds to new *spaces of representation*.

In the novel titled Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde [On Fertile Lands], men from the Ç. Village – one of the 80-house villages of Middle Anatolia -, who had spread out to several business regions to work in 1950s, are narrated. In the novel, eight or ten of these men are in search of Kayseri Weaving Factory, four or five of them are searching for Sivas Cement Factory and railway repair workshop, and three of them are out there, taking the road to Çukurova, to find Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] with its **long, very long chimney with yellow whitewash, and which is a countrymen's factory impossible to describe with words.**

“Ertesi gün sabahleyin Adana’ya gelindi. **Tıka basa ırgat yüklü tren** yorgun bir fişiltıyla durdu....yüzlerce ırgat, beyaz torbaları, kınnapla çeke çeke bağlı yorganlarıyla istasyon betonuna döküldü. Bundan önce Çukurovaya gelenler önden yürüyerek yol gösteriyorlardı. İlk gelenlerse hayretler içindeydiler. Şehir dedikleri de amma tevatürdü ha! (Kemal, 2003, p. 33)

[Adana was the arrived destination the next day in the morning. **The train full of farmhands** [emphasis mine] stopped with a weary whish... hundreds of farmhands poured onto the concrete floor of the station with their white sacks and comforters tightly bound with twines. Those who had been to Çukurova were leading the way walking ahead. Those who came for the first time were astounded. What a rumor was the thing people called the city!]

...

“Sora sora fabrikayı bulup da önüne geldikleri zaman, kapı üzerindeki elektrikli saat on biri gösteriyordu. Yarım saat sonra işbaşı yapacak işçilerin

kalabalığı ortalığı doldurdu. Kendileri gibi, iş için bekleyen yayla memleket uşakları o kadar çoktu ki...Üçü de adam akıllı kaygılanmıştı. Bunların hepsi de iş için mi bekliyorlardı acaba?... Tam on bir buçukta dışardaki işçiler işbaşı yapmak üzere fabrikanın işçi kapısından girince ortalık tenhalaşır gibi olduysa da, az sonra yerlerini işbaşı yapanlara bırakıp paydos edenlerin kalabalığı fabrika önünü yine doldurdu. Bir an kadınlı erkekli, çoluk çocuklu yorgun bir kalabalık, güneşin altında, ıslak parke taşlarına doğru seyrekleşerek eridi gitti. (Kemal, 2003, p. 41)

[The electric clock above the entrance showed eleven o'clock, when they found the factory by asking around and arrived at its entrance. The crowd of workers to start work half an hour later filled the place. There were so many hometown folks from highlands waiting for work, just like themselves... All three of them were quite worried. Were they all waiting for the work?... At exactly half past eleven, the place got almost completely deserted, after the workers outside went in the workers' entrance of the factory to start work, but not much later, the crowd of those, who had just left their posts to the ones starting work and called it a day, filled the front side of the factory. A weary crowd of men, women and children got thinner and thinner, and dissolved under the sun towards the wet cobblestones.]”

...

“Fabrikanın ilerisindeki top ağaçlardan birinin altına oturdular. ...İşten çıkanlar çekilip gitmiş, ortalıkta kendileri gibi, iş için gelmiş yayla memleket usaklarından başka kimseler kalmamıştı hemen hemen. Onlardan çoğu da **kooperatif kahvesine** gitmişlerdi. (Kemal, 2008, p. 43)

[They sat down under one of the round trees a little away from the factory. ... Those who finished their workday left the place, and there were almost no one else but the hometown folks from highlands who had come here for work, just like them. Most of them had gone to the **union's coffee house** [emphasis mine]].

...

“Gece yarısında vardiya değişirken yine birden kalabalıklaşveren fabrika önünün kalabalığına umutsuzluk, biraz da öfkeyle baktılar. Ne kadar, ne kadar çok insan sebepleniyordu.... Sonra el ayak, karpit lambalarıyla gezgin satıcılar yavaş yavaş çekildi, ortalık tenhalaştı. Yalnız fabrikanın fişiltılı iniltisi. Bu hiçbir zaman dinmeyen, yorulup usanmayan inilti, mahallenin nabızı gibi bütün gece atıp durdu. Üç arkadaş top ağacın altında, yorganlarının yansını altlarına, yarısını da üstlerine almışlardı. ... sabahleyin, kara bulutlar parçalanıp sıynldı, güneş doğdu. Fabrikanın önü yine her zamanki gibi işsizler, gezgin satıcı ve yalın ayaklı çocuklarla doldu. (Kemal, 2008, p. 47)

[While the shift change was taking place in the midnight, they, once more, gazed at the crowd in front of the factory gathered once more and all of a sudden, with despair and some anger. There were oh-so many people taking their share... Then all people, costermongers with their carbide lamps left one by one, the place became deserted. Only the whishing groan of the factory. This never-ending, never-tired groan kept on beating all night as if the pulse of the neighborhood. The three friends under the round tree wrapped themselves with half of their comforters underneath and the other half on themselves. ... in the morning, dark clouds got broken into pieces and dispersed, the sun rose. The front yard of the factory, as always, got filled with the unemployed, costermongers and bare-feet children.]”

While the factory had been transforming into such a *space of representation* within the new lives of agriculture workers, its neighborhoods located in its vicinity and developed within a plan setting of the previous period had started to expand and densify. Therefore, shacks and new constructions that are without a plan/not related with a project correspond to another social space of this period.

“Oturdıkları ev, iki mahalle aşağıda, mahalle muhtarının bir zamanlar hayvanlarını bağladığı, tabanı hala gübre örtülü, genişçe bir ahırdı. ... Üç arkadaşta başka burada daha sekiz ırgat (bu sekiz ırgat da çalışmak için Çukurova'ya inmiş, Orta Anadolu ya da Doğu illerimizdendiler; yakın çırcır fabrikalarında çalışıyorlardı) barınıyordu. Ahırın üstü iki kattı. Harap yapının sahibi muhtar, eskiden şalgam turşusu satan fakir biri, Ermeni tehcirinden sonra bu evi nasılsa eline geçirmişti. Sonraları yeni kurulan fabrikalar işçiyi çoğaltmış, barınak sıkıntısı başlamıştı ki, muhtar, ahırdan hayvanlarını çekmiş, işçilere kiraya vermişti. (Kemal, 2008, p. 69)

[The house they lived in was a large barn two neighborhoods away, where the neighborhood's headman used to keep his livestock and the floor of which was still covered with manure. ... Other than the three friends, eight farmhands were living here (these eight farmhands, too, came down to Çukurova for work, they were from one of the cities in Middle or East Anatolia, they were working in nearby cotton gin factories). The top of the barn had two stories. The owner of the run-down structure and a poor person who used to sell turnip juice, the headman somehow seized this house after the deportation of Armenians. Just when the newly established factories had increased the numbers of workers and a housing problem started unfolding, the headman had taken his livestock out of the barn and rented it to workers.]”

The two most important *spaces of representation*, therefore, created by the urbanization of labor emerged as a result of migration from countryside to city, which

was brought about by agricultural capitalism, had been the factories and newly emerged/transformed housing areas. As the largest factory of the city in the year of 1950 with 2000 workers, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] had transformed into a social space in front of which queues of workers had formed. Döşeme Neighborhood, as one located in the vicinity of the factory along with the slums expanded near the factories, had been a social space where the workers' need for shelter was met with structural changes.

4.3.3.3. Spatial Practice: Changing Agriculture-Industry-City Relation

The physical space of the period had developed as a consequence of the efforts to control with the Bank of Provinces Plan *the spaces of representation* (densified housing areas, slums and industrial areas), which had emerged as an outcome of the transforming impact on rural and urban spaces exerted by economical development policies based on the Marshall Plan. Urbanization had recorded progress in an unplanned fashion at the beginning; then, urban expansion was limited by the plan, new urban development areas were designated for the increasing population, efforts were put into creating and designing areas for the industry maintaining its development, and the city center had been redesigned in accordance with the necessities of the period. *Spatial practices* had exhibited development in this direction.

During in-depth interviews, information pertaining to *the spatial practice* formed among the factory, neighborhood and other related urban utilizations. Transformed into a *space of representation* once again for the society in accordance with the phenomena of migration from the countryside to the city and of industrialization, the factory's place within *spatial practice* is narrated by the interviewees as follows;

“I began working at the German Factory in 1950, as a janitor, there were around 300 workers there back then. This factory was one specialized only on cotton ginning, there were about 100 ginning machines. I played football, on the other hand, in the Textile Factory. That factory had yarn and weaving benches in addition.” (Interviewee 2, May 23, 2019)

“I was born in Döşeme [neighborhood]. I began working at the factory when I was 18, in 1966, first in machinery cleaning in weaving department, then I had

become a battery worker, then become a substitute weaver, worked for 4 years in total at Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], then left for my military service. After I returned from the service, I had worked at another factory (BosSA). Worked there for 3-4 years, too, and then moved on to another one (SaSA). I had worked at the German Factory for 3 or 4 years as well. I was a bit mischievous. I mean; I was a union member, we would struggle to claim our rights. In the end, we organized a resistance at SaSA, brought the factory to a halt, they had discharged us. The unions used to be strong in the past, not like they are now, when the union would raise its hand, everyone would stop. Sometimes, I say to my friend that we were lucky; there used to be collective bargaining, there used to be bonuses, but now, it's all about subcontractors..." (Interviewee 5, May 23,2019)

"It wasn't hard to get a job at the factory. They would even hang signs at the entrance of factories, reading personnel are wanted. In my time, people from Malatya, from Sivas, from Kayseri would come, too. ... The factory had begun getting modernized. As the machinery got advanced, a single person began operating 4-5 machines. Before, each machine used to be operated by one person. But nevertheless, there were many workers. ... We were working in three shifts; 07.00-15.00, 15.00-23.00, 23.00-07.00. The factory had two entrances. One for the officers, the other for the workers. There was also a clock at the workers' entrance. Right across these entrances was there a workers' waiting hall of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], it was huge. Women, men, everyone would use there. Though, women wouldn't prefer that, but there was no restriction whatsoever. For example, those who go to work at 7 o'clock in the morning would come here, drink their tea early, go inside the factory when the time would come punching in their cards. Then those to enter at 3 o'clock would arrive. Those who called it a day would come to the waiting hall, drink their tea or coffee, smoke their cigarettes and leave for home. There were shuttles for those who would go to work at 11 o'clock at night, they would arrive around 10-10:30 and drop them in front of the factory. Other than that, we would come to the factory either on foot or by cycling. There was nowhere that would be called far away in the city." (Interviewee 2, May 23,2019)

"I was working between 7 in the morning and 5 in the evening, I mean, I would leave a little later than 3 o'clock. Because I would play football in the field of the factory in the afternoon. I would take shower in the clubhouse, then would go back to work again." (Interviewee 2, May 23,2019)

"State-owned factory, private factory, there wasn't much difference, each factory here at least had a kindergarten, there was, much or less, lodgement facilities. Prices were almost similar, too. There used to be common matches, trainings in the field of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], the canal was all ours, to watch movies, we would go either to the

cinema of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], or, around the old station were esendam and istiklal cinemas, we would go there. The daughter of my aunt used to work at the tekel factory down there. She would go there with 2 kids in her arms, she would leave them to the daycare, work and leave. Those who leave would help each other, we would help those coming out with kids around themselves, taking one of the kids in our arms or carrying in front of our bicycles, then we would each go to our homes. It was as if everywhere was a single huge factory, everyone would recognize, know each other. There would be people quitting the factory, leaving for military service and coming back and they would either go back to the factory they had left or start working at another factory again. There were ones studying in İstanbul, in Ankara. When the holidays came, they would work at the factory during summer, earn their pocket money. There used to be work for everyone, I mean.” (Interviewee 6, May 23,2019)

Other than this daily life directly related to the workspace, the other spaces, where recreative activities had continued, complete the physical dimension of the formed social space. Utilizations such as lodgements, kindergarten, cinema, school, clubhouse, sports field that had been constructed within the body of the factory during the previous period combine with workers’ neighborhoods, urban equipment areas and city center utilizations and constitute *the spatial practice* of the period.

Narratives about the physical space and the daily life, which have changed/transformed/emerged within the relation between the workspace and the social facilities, are as follows;

“We were living, together with my mother and my elder brothers, in the factory’s lodgements. On the front side, there were the lodgements of the chiefs and supervisors, on the back side, workers’ and personnel lodgements, a total of 72 houses. And there was a bachelors’ pavillion, too. Those who were single, who came from out of the city or whose home are far away would stay in this bachelors’ pavillion. Their clothes would be washed clean, it was a well-kept place. ... There was the factory’s cinema above the bachelors’ lodgements. It was free. There used to be an uncle “rat” there, he used to manage that cinema, there would sometimes be an age limit, but he would tolerate neighborhood kids, we would slip through, we were around 8 or 10 years old. They would use the cinema as a wedding hall. When one of the personnel was to marry, their wedding ceremony would take place there, it was a huge place.” (Interviewee 3, May 23,2019)

“I came back in 1957 after serving in the military, began playing football in Adanaspor, then the national textile spor transferred me. I had even stayed at bachelors’ pavillion for 20 days. Until I would find somewhere for myself to stay. Then, I switched to Sümerbank to work for a while, the manager there gave me a bicycle with thick tires. I had the duty of delivering daily newspaper to him and to the lodgements every morning. Had you seen these places back then, you’d say that it was a district in Europe, I swear; gardens, mansions, flowers, masonry walls of the factory.” (Interviewee 3, May 23,2019)

“When it was April 23, all summer cinemas would be open. They would all be crowded with people until the season ended. We wouldn’t be able to find tickets on Saturdays, Sundays. Zafer cinema, istiklal cinema, esendam cinema, çamlık cinema, ışık cinema, sun cinema; there were the cinemas around in the neighborhood.” (Interviewee 2, May 23,2019)

“I haven’t worked at the factory, but, because I was playing football very well, they took me in for me to play football in the National Textile Sports Club and my insurance premiums were being paid by the factory. Sports exhibitions were important for enterprises. Factory’s clubhouse, too, was owned by the sports club. The personnel, supervisors, officers, too, would hang out here to pass the time, but it was actually the place for the sportsmen to rest, take shower, change clothes and assemble. I mean, there were all kinds of facilities there. We would gather in the clubhouse, talk to each other, rest, go to the field of the factory. Our daily life used to be all about sports.” (Interviewee 3, May 23, 2019)

Narratives about the physical space and the daily life, which have changed/transformed/emerged within the relation between the factory and the neighborhood, are as follows;

“Behind the factory lied a canal. It was a narrow one connected to the main canal and when water would reach there, it would reach here as well. It started from the vicinity of Tekel factory and continued up until the art school. We all learned in there how to swim. There were women swimming, too. Our national swimmers Behçet Kurtiç, Mustafa Acet, Erdal Acet, Ayhan Karataş had all come from these canals. Of course they did not join competitions as they were, they continued training in the swimming pool ahead in the neighborhood, they became professionals after going there. We would go and swim in the canal every day, trainers of the swimming pool would come and watch, and if they liked anyone, they would train them to make them national swimmers. Many swimmers came out of this neighborhood.” (Interviewee 3, May 23,2019)

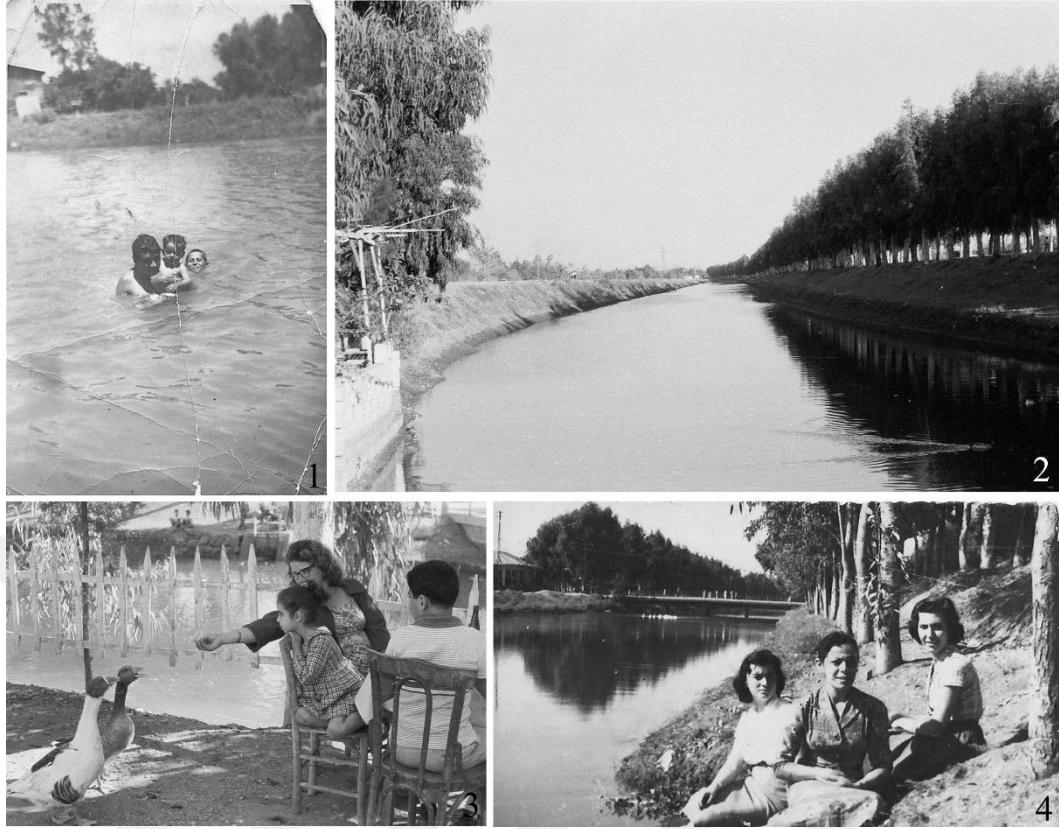


Figure 4.44. Physical environment and daily life at Adana's irrigation canals

“The southern side of the canal was 5 meter-thick filled soil, over that was a road, the two sides of the road were adorned with gorgeous eucalyptus trees and the trees started from the First Bridge (it was also called the Bloody Bridge) and stretched all over until Yeşiloba. Its northern side was covered with cottages and vineyards. I learned swimming at this canal in this region. Members of the Atatürk Swimming Pool discovered me here. Our National Swimmer Münire Taylan, too, had first started swimming here.” Kurtiç, B., (2016, February 23) [Facebook notes]²¹

²¹ Retrieved from
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1103998209631104&set=p.1103998209631104&type=1&theater>



Figure 4.45. Atatürk Swimming Pool in 1960s (Source: Behçet Kurtiç's personal archive)

Following the integration of the working class, which had detached from the countryside due to mechanization observed in rural development, to the neighborhoods located in the vicinity of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and other factories, the social space previously formed here had been reproduced. The increase observed in the densities of the existing housing textures and of the new slum areas appeared around the factories for the new population trying to get integrated into the industry to reside had changed the physical space and daily life. The unique housing structure of Döşeme Neighborhood had undergone changes as a result of various interventions. During in-depth interviews, out of 7 interviewees who had lived in the neighborhood in 1960s and 1970s, 3 of them addressed the aforementioned change and the daily life moved by the change of the physical space;

“In my childhood, there used to be mansions all around here, some of them had large gardens. Then, I remember that new houses had been built over their gardens.” (Interviewee 8, May 23,2019)

“Both the upper side – all the way to the railway- and lower side of this neighborhood were filled with vineyards and gardens. In the land registry, those places are still listed as Döşeme vineyards. We would go to those vineyards a little far from the factories for taking a walk, for picking up plums, oranges, tangerines. Most people in the neighborhood were working at the factory, the others would mostly sell fruit and vegetables. Later on, those gardens had either turned into factories (southern industrial district/çukobirlik, for example) or slums. The slums had grown larger towards the way ahead. Factories multiplied in number on one side, and slums did so on the other, and our neighborhood got crowded. Many people came to the neighborhood from outside, additions had been constructed here and there. We were born and raised over there, in the mansion with garden, it used to have a large garden, that garden got parcelled out and new houses were built.” Güldal, G. (Interviewee 5, May 23,2019)

“The Cretan people living in this neighborhood, the migrants mostly kept goats. Until the 1960s, almost every house had a goat, a cow or something. Later on, they turned those places into houses, rooms.” (Interviewee 3, May 26,2019)

“There are Armenian houses all around here. Changes had been made over them, they used to be houses with small courtyards and water pumps inside. There are of course ones standing still as they used to be. Rumor has it these have been registered. Their foundations are still the ones laid out by the Armenians. Things such as enlarging the houses by demolishing a wall, adding a story on top, closing/opening a window space, building a new house to their gardens have been done.” (Interviewee 4, May 26, 2019)



Figure 4.46. Physical space and daily life in Döşeme neighborhood (Source: Hadi Sindel and Ahmet İşisâğ)



Figure 4.47. Physical space and daily life in Adana's vineyards (Source: Seval Önen, Cevdet Gergin, Mine Çaygür Sencer, Ali Pekçetin)

Reflections of urban development and transformation in the housing texture are observed in the city center-district relation. The apartmentization phenomenon, which used to be an intense *spatial practice* in the past, experienced within the relation between the industrial district and the Station-Stadium-Atatürk Park area, and the entertainment sector, which started to appeal to the upper-middle income group, becoming common have now made visible a spatial dissociation in daily life. The emphasis of most of the interviewees have been about that *they had no business whatsoever over there*.

“While these places were getting crowded, those ones got demolished gradually and started turning into apartments. There were “Yüzevler” over there, we would call them “luxury houses”. The rich would live there, for example, the Americans working at İncirlik Air Base would live there. We were close, sometimes, we would go, walk all the way up there. We would come across at Atatürk Park as well, they would be recognized.” (Interviewee 2, May 23, 2019)

“No, we wouldn’t have much to do over there, right along the border with our neighborhood, new nightclubs were opened, we, women, wouldn’t go there. Once in a while, we would go to tea gardens, but, of course, not much frequently, our life was over here and around the bazaar (means the historical city center area)” (Interviewee 6, May 26, 2019)

Within the daily life developing within space, *spaces of representation*, where politics are visible, originate as well.

“In the anniversaries of November 10, October 29 and April 23, during Domestic Goods Weeks, the factories would either organize events or make aids or donations. For example, on November 10 at the time of 9:05, horns of all factories would hoot. We, thousands of workers, officers would spring to attention. We had a sincere respect and love for the Republic.” (Interviewee 1, May 23, 2019)

“The high coffeehouse was there at the Kuruköprü square in 1950s. It was a coffeehouse with a few stories. The front side of there was the place of demonstrations for the politicians. The roundabout there was constructed much later. We, too, would join those demonstrations frequently from our neighborhood, we would leave the neighborhood and go to these events. Menderes, Türkeş, Ecevit, Demirel, we listened to these people all over there.” (Interviewee 3, May 23, 2019)



Figure 4.48. a meeting in Kuruköprü square, 1973

The spatial practice of this period, as a result, had developed within the spatialities where it had gone through transformations within the phenomena of the capitalist modernization of production areas at the intersection of agriculture-industry-city; migration; the production of constructed environment connected with migration; and multi-party field of politics.

4.4. Obsolescence Period: (Re)Production of Industrial Terrain Vague

The visible change and loss of the values (embedded values) that occurred during the industrialization and modernization periods of Turkey began to occur as of the year of 1980. From this year on, liberal economic policies have been adopted, and the obsolescence processes actively excluding industrialization, thereby causing the evacuation and destruction had been observed. Entered into in 1980 with an economic program referred to as the resolutions of January 24, by which outward-oriented export was adopted, this period is the one during which the radical transformation of economical activities had been experienced. Therefore, all *spatial representations* and *practices* created by the planned and developmental progress model adopted in the previous period (1886-1980) were destroyed. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] had transformed into an industrial terrain vague together with all

factory structures in its vicinity, and this vagueness was spread to all factories and residential areas located within the industrial district, and this situation is extant today.

Briefly examining the history of the transformation related to Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity; in 1970s, Adana was the 6th city in Turkey in terms of the number of workplaces and 5th in terms of the number of employees. The factory had been listed between the years 1968 and 1978 among “The Largest 100 Companies” operating in Turkey. But as of the year of 1978, registration of the factory in Adana Chamber of Commerce was deleted. The reason underlying the condition resulted in the rapid halt of production activities and of the transformation of the space in the aftermath had been the progress of various obsolescence procedures. Provided to the disposal of the SSI for 49 years, the factory had been operated for 6 years. Following this date, certain parts of the factory had been rented to some small-scale manufacturers from time to time during 1990s.

During the period from 2000 to our day, on the other hand, the period of repurposing the Factory has commenced. Structures of the National Textile Factory had been registered as “Industrial Heritage Culture Entity” with the decree of No:1701 of Adana Culture and Natural Entity Protection Regional Committee dated to June 29, 2006, and the structures were defined as “structures of 2nd-degree risk group”. For the purpose of turning the factory transferred to the Directorate of National Estate Division into Adana Regional/Urban Museum, project studies for protection/restoration and new utilizations had been commenced by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2013. The museum was opened on May 18, 2017 as, by the definition published on the official web site of the Ministry of Culture, “the largest museum complex of the Middle East and Turkey”. Opened to visits as a museum of archaeology, this museum was created with the restoration of the warehouse section of the factory. The restoration works related to the agriculture-industry museum project to be established by the repurposing of the manufacturing areas of the factory.

At the end of the brief history of the factory and its vicinity presented above from 1980 until our day, the value-obsolescence conflict still ensues in the space. Examination of the ways how the *conceived, perceived* and *lived components* produced in the previous period had been eroded through obsolescence procedures; of what kinds of values had been left behind consequently; and of the reproduced values will facilitate unfolding the cultural value model required for the reproduction of the space as an industrial heritage.

4.4.1. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Forth Interval (1980-2000)

In 1979, an economic crisis of global scale was experienced, and for the resolution of the crisis, prescriptions had been created for the resolution of the crisis with the assistance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The economic and social structures of the developing countries throughout the world had begun to be shaped in accordance with these prescriptions. In the wake of the Resolutions of January 24 prepared for Turkey, foundations of the neoliberal economy had been laid in Turkey and economy policies based on industrialization had been abandoned. Consequently, holistic spatial values of industrialization and modernization created within approximately 100 years had started to get eroded. This is the erosion of the values occurred in consequence of a series of *representations* and *practices* such as both economical and spatial development of agricultural and industrial manufacturing sectors; commercial activities emerged within the interaction of manufacturing sectors and transportation policies fostering this; housing policies based on the fulfillment of the need for shelter; and modern entities of factory campuses in city centers in an integrated fashion with common and public spaces.

4.4.1.1. Representation of Space: Revised and Additional Master Plans

The representation of this period had been formed in accordance with globalization and liberalization policies, and it had occurred as the erosion of modernity. The urban space had begun being reproduced in accordance with this. While active industrialization policies were being abandoned in the economic development of

Turkey, new *representations of space* deindustrializing the space and creating the neoliberal urban space in Adana as well as in many other industrial cities of Turkey, had started being put forth. Accordingly, extensive *representations of space* were abandoned, and partial considerations had started to be adopted in city planning.

Following the Bank of Provinces Master Plan, which had been produced within the previous time period and which had put forth a holistic *representation of space*, there had been efforts to regulate the urban space through revisions and production of additional zoning plans. In the revisions implemented on the plan in 1974, 1978, 1982 and 1985, respectively, no changes were put forth related to the area utilization in the industrial district where Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was located. Nevertheless, the fact that *the representation of space* approach to be adopted from 1980s until our day will no longer be a rational and extensive planning approach, but one detaching urban spaces, therefore, *relational values* from each other, manifested itself with the plan approved in 1985. This breaking point and the subsequent *representations of space* had revealed the industrial terrain vague.

The revision master plan, which was prepared in 1992, the 1st and 2nd stages of which were approved in 1995, and the 3rd stage of which was approved in 1996, is the first *representation of space* that changed the land utilization of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], and that severed the strong correlation designed in between the factory and the city center.

As of 1990s, the function of “central business area” had started to be attributed commonly to city centers in the plans discussed in Turkey. In a fashion falling into line with the period’s liberal and global representation, this utilization had brought out the production of projects excluding production areas from city centers and placing perpetual commercial activities into its focus. In this direction, with the 2nd-stage plan approved in 1995, industrial areas located within the district had been transformed into the utilization of central business area; the skeletons facilitating housing-industry association had been severed; and administrative utilizations such as governor’s office

and police headquarters with self-enclosed forms had been designed in the northeastern part of the area. The spatial connection established with the area developed with the Jansen Plan east of the district had been severed with a 50-meter-wide road. Similarly, the area through which the old railway line passed through and located south of the district had been left for a 50-meter-wide highway.

At the end of the 3rd-stage plan approved in 1996, the three districts (historical city center, new city center and the industrial district) had all been designed as segmental ones within themselves, as if there had been no relationship among them during the course of history.



Figure 4.49. 2nd stage of 1992 master plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)



Figure 4.50. 3rd stage of 1992 master plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)

Consequently, the mental dissociation of the old city center-new center and industrial neighborhood association, which put forth Adana's identity of industrial city and ensured that this identity be perceived as a whole, had occurred. In the meantime, physical components of the space that had revealed the social daily life entered into obsolescence process, and *the spatial practices* born within the modern spaces of an industrializing society had begun disappearing.

4.4.1.2. Space of Representation: Industrial Terrain Vague

Liberal economical policies implemented in global level after 1980 had constricted agricultural and industrial production areas in Turkey, and consequently, factory spaces had begun getting abandoned. On the other hand, the fact that the *representations of space* of this period had allowed the spreading of urban macroform by opening the cheap agricultural lands located at the urban fringe in Adana to development in an uncontrolled fashion had commenced the accumulation model

based on urban rents. The abandoned factory campuses which were to form an alternating group among themselves during the process of the reproduction of space within the time period to follow and newly constructed environment production activities are one of the novel *spaces of representation* of this period.

The transformation of *spaces of representation* can be clearly observed through the communication tools of the period. Specifically, advertisements, promotions and news, which prioritize multi-dimensional economical and ideological developments, are prominent fields presenting certain representations to the society. Having intense interactions with economical and ideological development, advertisements present the hints of *spaces of representation*, for they direct and interpret basic daily practices. Accordingly, the transformation of social life and economical approaches can be observed upon examining the advertisements published on local newspapers of Adana in different periods after the foundation of the Republic. In the advertisements printed on the newspapers dated to the year of 1937, social life of the society was prioritized. The emphasis on the America-backed social development, adopted with the influence of Marshall aids after 1950, had reflected on advertisements. In addition, the priority assigned to the agriculture sector as a representation of the period between 1950 and 1980 can be observed through the intensity of advertisements of agricultural pestilents, machinery and agriculture-based factories. In the aftermath of 1980, on the other hand, advertisements supporting social life and production in real sector had left its place to ones bringing into forefront the construction activities, since urban lands had begun increasing in value.



Figure 4.51. Advertisements in the 1930s (Source: Türksözü Newspaper, 4 July 1937, 9 July 1937, 10 May 1941)

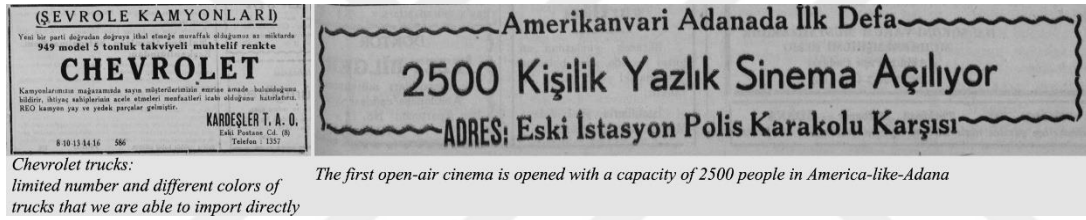


Figure 4.52. Advertisements in the 1950s (Source: Türksözü Newspaper, 8 June 1950, 2 May 1950)



Figure 4.53. Advertisements in the 1970s (Source: Yeni Adana Newspaper, 1978)



Figure 4.54. Advertisements in 1980s (Source: Yeni Adana Newspaper, 1988)

Consequently, new spaces of representation born out of built environment production, which had rapidly become common, had begun to be visible in daily life. Emphasis of luxury, elegance, entertainment, culture, commerce and tourism in the space had started to increase. Project design of the shoreline of Seyhan River as an entertainment site; construction of the first shopping mall of Adana; construction of underpasses, overpasses and wide highways for the solution of problems experienced in highway transportation; and “new/luxury/cozy” houses had all born as the spaces of representation of this period, and begun permeating into daily life. With the influence of this imagination of physical space, spatial conditions of firstly slum areas, and later on, those of industrial areas had been discussed. This was, at the same time, the beginning for these spaces of the loss of the values they retained.

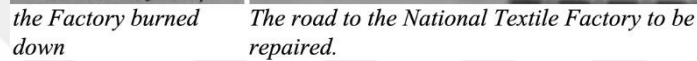
New investigations starting in relation with the land selections of production areas, and this being made visible in visual communication channels is one of the most fundamental approaches transforming the industrial areas of this period into an industrial terrain vague. Discourses had been developed related to that the mountainous lands, which come the third after agricultural and forest lands in terms

of the area covered within the limits of Adana province, are the most suitable lands or industrial areas. Among these discourses, the necessity for the reclamation of the lands abandoned after the process of transportation, and for these lands to be transformed into settlement areas is underlined.



Figure 4.55. Locational obsolescence (Source: Yeni Adana Newspaper, October 2, 1984)

Leaving the factories without maintenance or security had been another important issue resulting in value loss in industry fields. While firefighting units used to be established within factories and product insurance procedures used to be followed meticulously in the previous periods, due to the easy flammability of cotton and textile products, there were no similar efforts put within this period. In addition, factory social areas (areas such as hospitals, lodgements, clubhouses and sports halls) had been neglected.



Following the deletion of the registration of the factory in the Chamber of Industry under the name of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in 1978, production activities had been maintained under the name of Milsan under the responsibility of the SSI. However, value losses had continued as a result of the production being maintained without improvement by adopting a holistic approach in social and technological areas. For instance, some departments, which were no longer used in production in the technological sense, had been left idle. With only certain production sites and the football field of it remaining in active use until 1990, the lodgements of the factory had been rented to third parties.

“As of 1978, production activities maintained under the name of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] had come to a halt. Then, it was rented under the name of Milsan for approximately 10 years more. Then, it started being rented piece by piece. But, the activities that indeed made that factory what it were all stopped; there had been no activity whatsoever in none

of the clubhouse, daycare or lodgements. These social areas used to operate always in line with a mindset, which had been adopted since the factory was established and which had given importance to the development of workers. Would anything be left behind when it was gone, of course not, it was closed down. Those who rented it had made production only in the areas of interest to themselves for 3 months, 5 months, 1 year, 2 years... as long as could be. No one tended to the remaining parts.” (Interviewee 7, May 23,2019)

“I had left this place for İstanbul back in the 80s. Then, I came back, Üzümcüler (Mehmet Üzümcüler) from Antep had taken control of this place, they couldn’t operate the place later on, I reckon, I don’t know what had happened. It had become a run-down building where some people would occasionally come and go.” (Interviewee 1, May 26,2019)

“How did we lose all these... Now, whatever I say would something to do with politics... So what, this is the order of things. The order had changed completely after ’80. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] had taken its share from this. It had become a massive ghost after ’90.” (Interviewee 8, May 28,2019)

“This used to be an agricultural-industry city, it’s all over. The Sabancı family withdrew, nothing was left behind. When I said the Sabancı family withdrew, I mean, they went ahead and built hotels, commerce centers instead of factories.” (Interviewee 3, May 23,2019)

The combination of unplanned, unprogrammed production activities maintained in the space and inattentive approaches towards the space with the attribution of the “central business area” representation to the industrial district through the way of zoning plan had created the representation of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], which had begun to be abandoned, as the industrial terrain vague in the city in the absolute sense. This means the birth of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], which was the embraced space of the previous period, as a space of this period waiting for being embraced once again or being purchased as a property.

4.4.1.3. Spatial Practice: Fragmented Relations

Practices formed among agriculture-industry-urban spaces, which had emerged as a consequence of the development of the industrial district in the city center with the Jansen Plan, and both the reinforcement of the industry in regional scale and the

preservation of its position within the city center with the Bank of Provinces Plan, had begun to disappear.

As a result of the severing of the vertebrae Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity had constructed with other parts of the city in the historical course, *physical space* and *spatial practice* had begun to transform. Constituting one of these vertebrae, the connection of industrial district-Atatürk Park-stadium connection formed along east-west direction had been severed with the 50-meter-wide highway constructed along the north-south direction. The other vertebra forming the connections of industrial district-old train station-Kuruköprü Square-historical city center had entirely broken off as a consequence of the widening of Adana-Mersin highway, the increase in speed limits on this highway as a result of certain traffic regulations and the lack of permeability. The stack interchange project implemented north of Kuruköprü Square at the intersection of the expanded roads had been another physical intervention which had changed the experienced spaces. Consequently, breaking off from urban public areas with roads and intersections, and the transformation of factory campuses located within the district into industrial terrain vague one by one had changed the rhythms of daily life.



Figure 4.57. Highway passing through the south of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] (Source: Nuri Erbaz's personal archive, 1978)

Narratives of the interviewees about the reflections of the changed physical environment on the rhythms of daily life were as follows;

“This E5 (highway) was not here before. There used to be a road with two lanes. We would walk to the bazaar from the factory and pass through that road. I had come back in the middle of 80s, could not find my home.” (Interviewee 1, May 26,2019)

“That side (new city side) is completely filled with apartments, this side (vineyards' side) is all about houses. Would it ever be possible that a pool or a park constructed in '40s be enough for that many people?” (Interviewee 5, May 26,2019)

“Every neighborhood used to have a cinema. Later on, all of them had been closed. We, all the family, were confined to our houses in the evening and in the weekend. I somewhat link the reason for this to televisions. Things had changed after 1980, but I don't know if it had taken our daily life a step forward or backward, that is arguable.” (Interviewee 7, May 26,2019)

“It was as if Adana was expanding in those times, but our neighborhood was shrinking. There used to be a consistent movement. Going to the bazaar, to the cinema, to swimming, to the coffee house; take a walk to the park. It wouldn't

be proper to say it all stopped suddenly, generations change, we are getting older. But then, the young ones didn't have as many activities left to do as we had in our youth." (Interviewee 2, May 26,2019)

"These factories were integrated manufacturing plants, they had been closed down. Of course, the new plants opened later on were not as large as the previous ones had been. These ones generally started their activities within the Organized Industrial Zone in 1986. One of these new industrial zones is in the West, on the back side of the bus terminal, the other one is in the East, near Yüreğir. But the factories there are not like the ones here. These are zones given to everyone, similar to small-sized workshops. Secluded, isolated areas. There are, of course, no cinemas, lodgements, clubhouses whatsoever. This place has only a mosque and a cafeteria. What do the workers over there do? What would they do; they leave in the morning, work, leave in the evening, go to their home, those places do not have a connection with the city. In the weekend, they have a life depending on whichever neighborhood they live in." (Interviewee 3, May 26,2019)

4.4.2. Spatial Triadic Analysis in the Fifth Interval (2000-2019)

As of 2000s, urban spaces had started to transform as a result of the concentration of Turkey's economical accumulation model on entirely built environment production. All production period, which had been the industrial terrain vague in the previous period, had gone through a process of transformation and development. The total spatial values of industrialization and modernization, which are created in approximately 100 years and eroded by 1980, have been completely erased and industrial areas have been subject to two types of transformation. On one hand, projects involving area utilizations such as housing-commerce for industrial zones remaining within the city center and established on vast lands had been developed. On the other side, the space was being recreated within the framework of approaches for the preservation of the industrial heritage tried to be developed in Turkey.

While a museum project prepared for Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was being proposed in stages, all other spaces related to the factory in the course of history are disappearing independent of the embedded values they retain.

4.4.2.1. Representation of Space: Urban Transformation and Reuse Projects

City planning and *representations of space* guiding industrialization had left their place to the postmodern approach after 2000, while the modernism had been decaying in between 1980 and 2000. According to Keskinok, theory of randomness and uncertainty is the bad heritage of postmodernism to social sciences (Keskinok, 2009). Project-fetishist approaches based on the principles of randomness and uncertainty, which had developed in the face of the tools of modernism, namely; planning, determinedness and design, had constituted the fundamental codes of this period's mental space. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity had been undergoing a transformation process in consequence of zoning plan decisions, which had produced this type of randomnesses and uncertainties.

Representations of space of this period are far from the approach of extensive planning incorporating order and principles of zoning, which is a characteristic of the *representations of space* of the previous period. Various partial plans and projects had begun to be prepared in accordance with the decision for central business area utilization made without any hierarchy, zoning or design principle among spaces in the plans created for the industrial district.

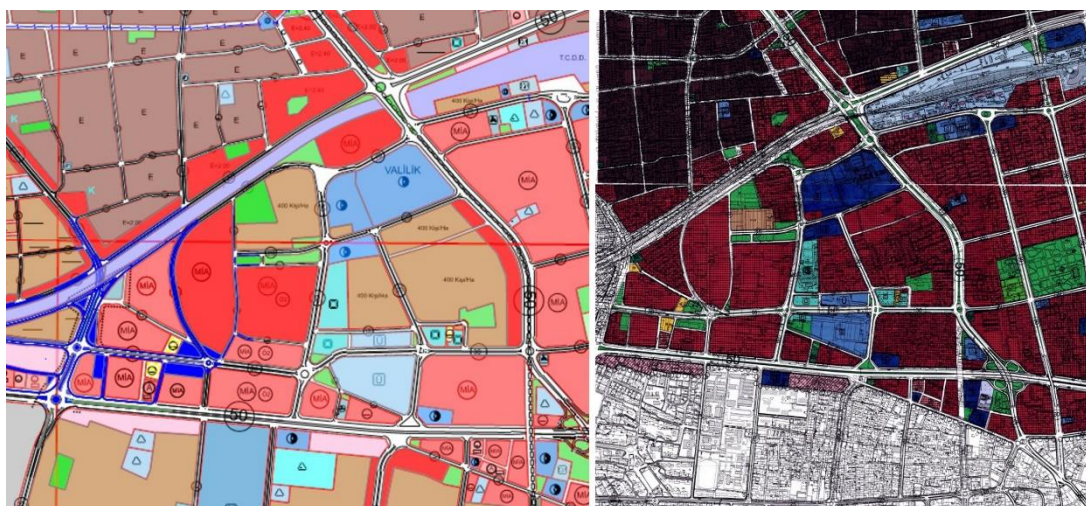


Figure 4.58. 1/25000 scale master plan on the left, 2010 and 1/5000 scale revised plan on the right, 2013 (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)

With 1/25000 and 1/5000 scale plans approved in 2010, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was planned as a university area and the campus was divided with a 30-meter-wide road. Other factory areas and a large fraction of housing areas were designated as a central business area as a whole. Later on, in 2013, additional and revisioned zoning plans were prepared. While the decision of area use of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was preserved as university area, central business area use defined in its vicinity was expanded in a way to involve the houses located north of the factory.



Figure 4.59. 1/1000 scale Implementation Plan Change in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] Area, 2013 (Source: archive of Adana Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism)

The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization made a change in the plan, which was approved by the municipality and dated to 2013, within the same year, and approved the 1/5000 scale Master Development Plan and 1/1000 scale Implementation Development Plan Revisions in order for creating “Social-Cultural Facility Area” and “Public Institution Area” uses within Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] area.

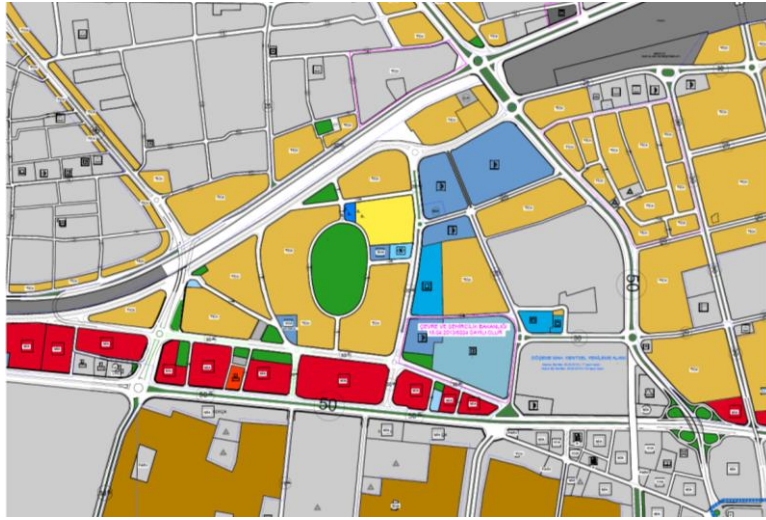


Figure 4.60. 2017 master plan (Source: archive of Adana Metropolitan Municipality)

Urban Transformation and Development Decisions

In accordance with the joint decisions of Seyhan Municipality and Adana Metropolitan Municipality, an area of 29.7 hectares was declared an area of “*Urban Transformation and Development Area*” as per the Article 73 of the law with number 5393, due to the facts that there exist structures in Döşeme Neighborhood which do not comply with the earthquake code and pose risk; housing areas and commerce areas are not orderly and compliant with the norms of engineering and engineering structures; public service areas are few in number; there is a lack of recreation and social equipment areas; and healthy and safe living areas are not existent. Therefore, a transformation decision was made for an area, which was located north of the housing texture and industrial district examined within the scope of the thesis and within which the German Factory is also located. With a new decision made by Adana Metropolitan Municipality in 2017, an additional area of 40 hectares encircling an area on the western side of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was declared an area of “Urban Transformation and Development” as per the Article 73 of the law with number 5393.

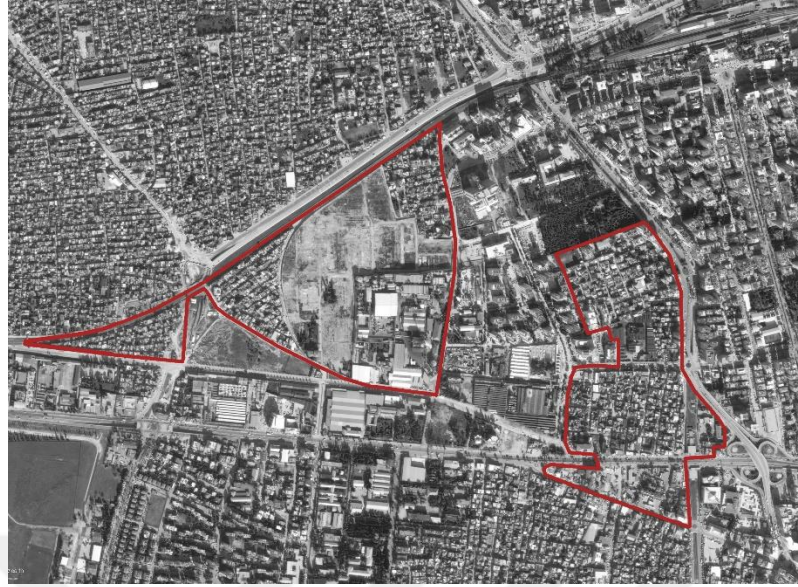


Figure 4.61. Areas declaring Urban Transformation and Development Areas in 2017

Preservation Decisions

Upon various applications made for different buildings and areas within the area of study, the Regional Board of the Preservation of Cultural Assets in Adana have registered certain buildings in the area;

- Certain parts of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] located in block 1655 and lot 647, with the decision of number 1701 dated to 29.06.2006
- 20 real estates in Döşeme Neighborhood, with the decision of number 6103 dated to 26.02.2016
- The old station building, with the decision of number 6791 dated to 20.09.2016
- The real estate located in block 4226 and lot 14, with the decision of number 6795 dated to 20.09.2006
- The real estate located in block 4231 and lot 13, with the decision of number 6805 dated to 20.09.2006



Figure 4.62. Registered buildings as cultural heritage

Implementary Plans and Projects

In accordance with the Master Plans, Urban Transformation and Development Decisions and preservation decisions discussed above by different institutions in various times, different implementation projects had begun to be produced for certain factory campuses located within the Industrial District. While shopping mall projects had started to be implemented for some of these, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was designed as a museum in accordance with the decision for socio-cultural facility area use, and with the registration of some of its parts as areas of cultural heritage.

Museum Project

Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was registered in 2016 by the Regional Board of the Preservation of Cultural Assets in Adana, for it qualified to be an industrial heritage as a cultural entity, and was determined to be of preservation

group 2nd group with the decision of number 2618 dated to 23.08.2013. In accordance with the preferences of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the project was designed in two stages with one being the area of warehouses north of the Factory (1st Stage: Archaeology-Mosaics Museum) and the other being the manufacturing area south of the factory (2nd Stage: Agriculture-Industry-Urban-Ethnography Museums) in 2013.

Within the scope of these refunctioning projects, a new two-layered museum entrance door was designed in addition to the historical entrances of the factory, in order to establish a connection with the city on the eastern façade of the Factory. Right after the entrance door, the connection created by which between the city and the museum campus was emphasized, an alley stretching in the east-west direction was designed. It was emphasized that this alley was a vertebra connecting the manufacturing and warehouse departments of the factory. Two storehouses located within the warehouses section was turned into the exhibition hall of the archaeology and mosaics museum, and the building utilized as infirmary was turned into a social event area for children by being expanded with an additional structure. New buildings and structures were added to the courtyard in the middle of the structures. The light railway, fire tower and birdhouse in the courtyard were preserved.

Six structures located within the manufacturing department (these include the boiler room, workshops and spaces providing the energy production and logistics to the factory, firefighting unit, changing room units for women and men, water storages, foundry, woodshop, tinshop, spare parts warehouse and administrative units) were turned into an exhibition hall for the urban-agriculture-industry museum and museum administrative units; conference, meeting and concert event areas. The structures which were being used in the past partly for manufacturing and partly as warehouses were defined as public areas open to the access of the public and transformed into a social events area including bowling, movie theater and other commercial activities. A large, new structure with two basement stories (including a parking lot, museum warehouses, archive rooms and technical spaces) was designed in the area where the lodgements used to be located in. While it was pinpointed that the new structure was

designed as a semi-open square in the vicinity of the ground floor of which commercial activities take place, the upper stories were utilized as the offices of the museum, cafeteria and the building of the Regional Board of the Preservation of Cultural Assets in Adana. The new courtyard to be formed upon the addition of this building was intended to be a collection garden of citrus fruits. It was deemed appropriate for the factory's clubhouse to be used as a restaurant.

4.4.2.2. Spaces of Representation: Urbanized Capital

While preparations for the transition from labor-centered urbanization experience to capital-centered urbanization experience took place in the previous time interval, the representations of capital-centered urbanization have now begun to emerge visibly in the city.

Through the mental space of the period, an area was opened to direct capital movements in cities to urban rents, while the city centers were completely cut off from production. The factory buildings, which started to be demolished in the city center, and the new shopping center and luxury housing projects that started to rise in and around the lands of the factory buildings started to rise as the representative places of the period.



Figure 4.63. project image of Park Adana Shopping and Life Center built instead of the South Polgat Factory on the left (Retrieved from http://wowturkey.com/t.php?p=/tr736/onens_parkadana2.jpg) and its amusement park on the right, 2017 (Source: author's personal archive)

210 stores, show pool, natural waterfalls, thematic entertainment center, cinema with 12 halls, adventure track, children's playgrounds and a large amusement park with the “Happy Land” brand, *Park Adana Shopping and Life Center*, which was opened in 2017, was built instead of the South Polgat Factory and the general coordinator of the investor firm of the project, describes *the space of representation* that they aim to create here;

"Thus, not only a shopping center, we aimed to offer much more, we created an area where our visitors can spend time in a spacious environment. Our visitors will be able to watch dazzling pool shows accompanied by music and brimming with the dancing of water, light, and fire all day long. Park Adana offers a new living space that can appeal not only to the people of Adana but also to the whole Çukurova Region by bestowing all those pioneering new features within." (Taylancı, 2016)²²

The Architecture of the same project defines the space as;

“In addition to being a shopping center, Park Adana Shopping Center has become a closed public place, meeting point and leisure activity place.”(Paşayığıt, n.d.)²³

²² Retrieved from <https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2016/12/29/park-adana-baska-bir-adanaya-davet-ediyor>

²³ Retrieved from <http://www.arkiv.com.tr/proje/park-adana-avm/8924>

So two actor of the project claim that the *conceived space* is a *representational space* that coincides with the intended *spatial practice*.



Figure 4.64. project image of the Esas 01 Burada Mall built on the site of old Tekel Factory on the left (Retrieved from <http://www.esasgayrimenkul.com.tr/>) and its construction (Source: author's personal archive)

CEO of the investor company which constructs the Esas 01 Burada Mall, including 150 shops, an amusement area, hipermarket, electronics market, to the place where the old Tekel Factory existed expresses *the representation of space* that they will produce as this;

“Together with shopping pleasure, we will literally offer our visitors a new meeting and living space with catering areas, entertainment areas, movie theaters and regular activities. Our 01 Burda Shopping Center project is located at the western entrance of Adana. We think that the location of 01 Burda, which is 2 Km to the most important shopping streets of the city and an average of 5 minutes away, will also gain the appreciation of the people of Adana. With our investment in the region, we will not only be limited to the shopping center, but will also contribute to the culture and arts activities of Adana and the surrounding provinces with the Performance Arts Center. In the future, we will carry on with our efforts without slowing down to contribute to the economy of the region and the country and to provide services that are worthy of our Adana people.” (Köseoğlu, 2018)²⁴

In addition to the spaces produced in the industrial district through the visuals and discourses presented above, factory settlements in the process of obsolescence

²⁴ Retrieved from <https://www.sabah.com.tr/guney/2018/12/28/01-burda-alisveris-merkezi-2019-yilinda-adanada-aciliyor>

continue to exist. Çelitk Fabrikası [The Paddy Factory], Güney Sanayi [South Industry], Alman Fabrikası [German Factory] and some of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] are waiting as industrial terrain vagues.



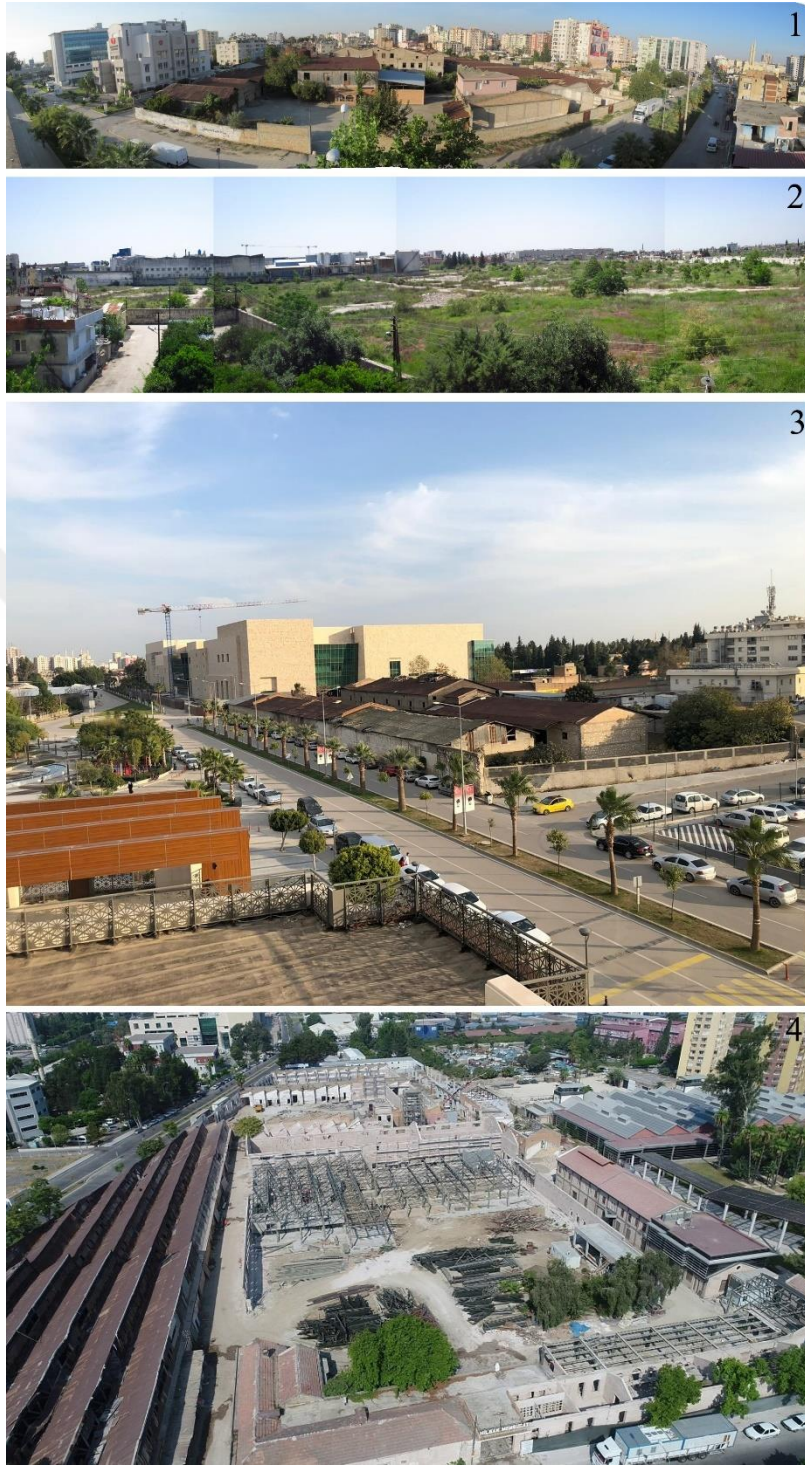


Figure 4.65. (1) German Factory 2013, (2) South Industry site 2018, (3) Paddy Factory 2018 (Sources: author's personal archive), (4) Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] 2018 (retrieved from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/adana-muze-kompleksi-nde-cevre-duzenlemesi-adana-yerelhaber-2774928/>)

Among these, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] is projected as a museum by differentiating from other similar examples because it is registered as industrial heritage after a randomised and uncertain process.



Figure 4.66. Project image of the museum of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] on the left (retrieved from <https://arkeofili.com/adanada-tarihi-fabrika-muze-olma-yolunda/>) and its entrance yard 2018 (source: author's personal archive)

The Minister of Development Elvan at the opening of the archaeological museum on 18 May 2017;

“We, as the Ministry of Development, have provided the funds of every project that brings surplus value to these lands so far, and we will provide the necessary support in the future as well. These are fertile lands. Not only with its yield, agriculture, but also with its culture, tourism and history. We are determined to bring these lands to tourism by avoiding no expenses and by utilizing all the opportunities for the people of the world to visit it in a way that suits its glory. All civilizations from stone age to today have traces in this geography. 3 thousand works, which are selected from tens of thousands of opuses, are exhibited here in the first place. I hope that the works of 10 thousand years before can be seen here as well in the near future.” (Elvan, 2017)²⁵

At the same opening, EU Minister Çelik;

“When I examined the museum site before construction, there were still stalls and I was able to banter with the workers. There we saw the sacredness of the

²⁵ Retrieved from <http://www.adanakulturturizm.gov.tr/TR-180181/adana-yeni-arkeoloji-muzesi-hizmete-acildi.html>

labor of the men who earned their living that day but who did not know what they were going to earn the next day is permeated to these trees and to this building. That's what makes me most proud. By the support of our ministers Mahir Ünal and Nabi Avcı; this is the blessing of the labor of the people of Adana, the salutation of their ordeal. Together, we are greeting Çukurova's labor and great efforts with this museum. We are actually saluting the workers of Çukurova.” (Çelik, 2017)²⁶

with these words, they presented a *space of representation* to the society.

Here is an evaluation of these representations, by the workers once used to work in these factories is hereby;

“They have left no factories. There were about 30-40 factories, Paksoy, Güney Sanayi, Paktaş, Bossa, Marsa, Aksantaş, Pilsa, Sümerbank, Özbucak, Akdeniz, Milli Mensucat... Between a couple of years they have been all shut down. 5000 people were employed at Bossa, now there is a farm there, go see. 2000 were employed at Milli Mensucat and same for the Sümer and Tekel. In 70's one single factory had vehicles transporting employees to 27 different districts. Now they don't have even a single stone. The state shut them down, even it didn't shut down, it didn't support them to them survive. Moreover agriculture terminated in Çukurova. The metal parts, the roof of the factory were taken down by people around. Nobody controlled this situation (nobody asked “what are you doing by taking down the factory parts?) Go check the German factory, and see there is no single metal part left around. Some of its land is bought by a hospital to build hospital there.” (Interviewee 4, May 26,2019)

“We shut down 30 factories, and we needed a museum. Now we sit. There is rubble everywhere, it is a concrete jungle. When did it start, how did we come to this situation? In 75 Amerika laid an embargo on Turkey, and just then things went crazy. A military coup, followed by an economic crisis and the worm came here, and ate everything and brought this place into this position. The great Sümerbank was sold, 2000 employees were fired, also Tekel and the Milli Mensucat Factory. They could get their compensations in 3-4 payments. All the great machinery of those factories were sold to someone at very cheap prices.” (Interviewee 3, May 26,2019)

“Everything has come to an end. The factories, football fields, cinemas, tea gardens, parks, and the literature have all ended in Çukurova. How can you feed your soul in here? Just look around you, is there anything worth writing here? Is concrete worth writing?” (Interviewee 5, May 26, 2019)

²⁶ Retrieved from <http://www.adanakulturturizm.gov.tr/TR-180181/adana-yeni-arkeoloji-muzesi-hizmete-acildi.html>

Consequently, directed by different value approaches which are adopted by different actors and institutions, in the direction of mental space which is delivered for industrial district, the physical space of the era appeared.

4.4.2.3. Spatial Practice: Preservation of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] as a Lone Ranger

Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] hosted several kinds of usage as an industrial terrain vague till the museum construction started in 2014. A neighborhood resident's statement about the topic;

“After 2000, before being a museum, Milli Mensucat became something like a fair. Some sort souvenirs were exhibited and sold for 2 religious festivals. Portable amusement park toys were installed. After a while it started to be used for movies and TV series shooted in Adana. But meanwhile it was decaying because of neglect. They were finishing their work and leaving.” (Interviewee 8, May 26, 2019)

Besides that *practice*, the ruins and the open areas of the factories were also used as storehouses, parking areas and vehicle repair shops. Subsequently, each part of the industrial district has been designed separately for the purpose of a *representational space*, a physical environment that has been disconnected from each other and so that cannot be commented as “*daily life in...*”. There is a physical environment consists of malls enclosed by highways, healthcare fields, museums, public buildings, residences, inactive factory constructions.

The daily practices museum produces as an industrial heritage protected in aforementioned physical environment are bounded by the museum campus. Officials of the museum describe the visitors in 1.5 years of operating time as; high school and secondary school students coming for a subject of a class, families who are showing around their guests from other cities, curious citizens of the city and the employees around the museum who use the cafeteria of museum to have lunch or have some time in the yard or museum.

Apart from that there is no continuous or relational *spatial practice* production as there were before. And it can be observed that the value loss process continues in physical environment because of the weakness or extinction of *spatial practice*.



Figure 4.67. Industrial district-city center relations, 2019 (Source: author's personal archive)

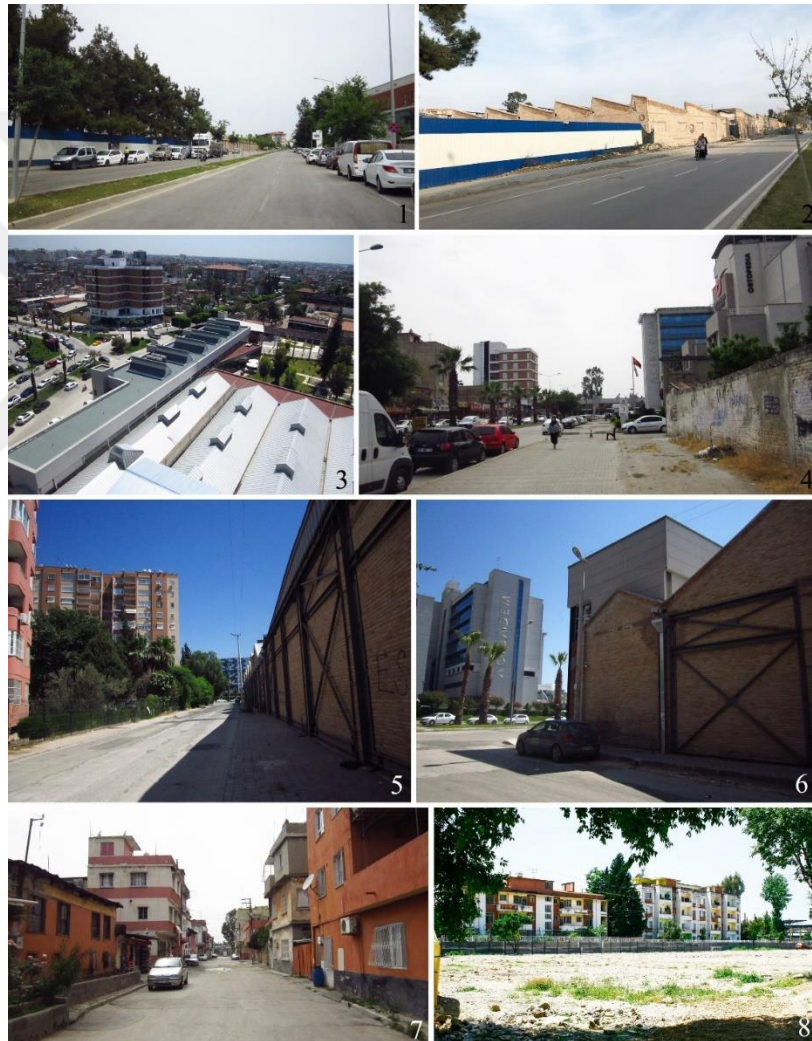


Figure 4.68. Factory - industrial district relations, 2019 (Source: author's personal archive)

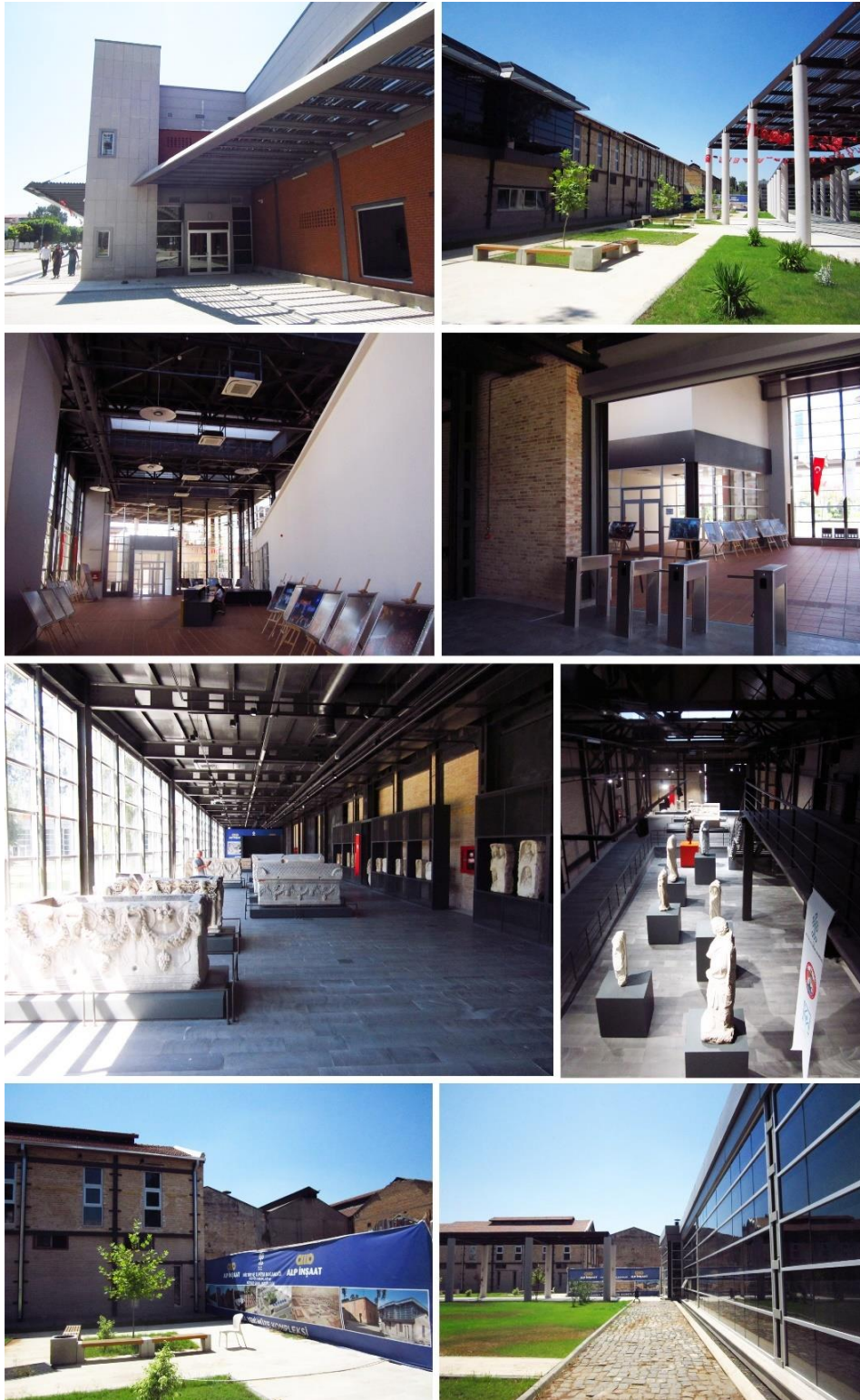


Figure 4.69. Interior of the museum site 2018 (Source: author's personal archive)



Figure 4.70. Obsolescent parts of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] 2018, (1) and (2) Officers' entry, (3) and (4) Workers' entry, (5) Clubhouse, (6) Single lodgings (Source: author's personal archive)

4.5. Findings of the Analysis: Reproduction of Industrial Terrain Vague by the Cultural Value Model

“Only an act can hold - and hold together - such fragments in a homogeneous totality. Only action can prevent dispersion, like a fist clenched around sand.”

(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 320)

The urban space changes in accordance with the economical, political and cultural representations of all intervals. Each transformation denotes the reproduction of the space, and while a space is being produced, the three dimensions of the space that are *conceived, perceived* and *lived* are interfered with. Transformation starting through one of these three dimensions of the space subsequently affects the others, and the production of space continues within historical process in a perpetual motion.

In this part of the thesis, a factory site, along with the industrial district it is located in, is analyzed in three aspects and within five intervals;

- in the aspect of the *representation of space*; in other words, *in the way it is comprehended and represented – by means of drawings, maps, shapes, pictures, geometry, etc.*
- in the aspect of the *practices* within the space; in other words, *in the direction of perception and experience open to physical contact and sense*
- in the aspect of being a *representational space*; in other words, *in the aspect of the experience of senses, imagination, vigor and meanings that are unified with our way of life day by day* (Harvey, 2013, p.149).

Explaining the production of space through these three dimensions that are in not a hierarchical but a dialectical relationship with each other, Lefebvre's theory is a rigid steppingstone to reach the values occurring in the space. Because there exists various spatial codes characterizing each space and society. These codings are produced together with the corresponding space, and this theory puts forth the birth, intervention and extinction of them (Lefebvre, 2014). Therefore, stepping up from these codes to

values presents an important perspective to the holistic view in the reproduction of the space.

A matrix involving various *representations* and *practices*, which had been formed in Adana within five intervals and had created the space today (industrial terrain vague), is seen in table 6.1. It is possible to think dialectically across all points in the matrix, and to notice that each point has a relationship with all others. This relational process analysis approach was selected due to the fact that it has the power of revealing the values created in the space and how value losses have been experienced. Taking as origin each point in the matrix, the different values that are created and value losses can be revealed.

Table 4.1. Timeline of the components of space

		representation of space	spatial practice	space of representation
1886	the project of railway line	●		
1886	contruction of train station			●
1906-1923	simonoglu factory and other factories			●
	train station-factory togetherness		●	
1910	döşeme neighbourhood			●
1927	nationalization of simonoglu factory (the national textile factory)			●
1930-1936	industrialization plans	●		
1944	jansen plan	●		
	agriculture-industry-city center togetherness		●	
1948-1951	marshall plan	●		
1950s	mechanization in agriculture		●	
1950s	slums for housing and factories for working			●
1966	provincial bank plan	●		
1978-	construction of E5 motorwat-network of motorways		●	
	changing agriculture-industry-city relations		●	
1985	revisional master plan	●		
	buil-up areas on agricultural lands		●	
1990s	abandonment of factories		●	
1992-1996	revisional master plans in three-stage	●		
1995	central business district			●
2006	registration of some buildings of the national textile factory as industrial heritage	●		
2010	master plan	●		
2010	national textile factory area as university area			●
2013	master plan	●		
2013	national textile factory area as socio-cultural and governmental institution area			●
2016	registration of some houses in döşeme neighbourhood as cultural heritage	●		
2017	döşeme neighbourhood as urban transformation and development area	●		
2017	shopping mall projects on some factory areas		●	●
2017	master plan	●		
2017	museum project for national textile factory			●

Values emerging during the relationality observed within the unique space production process of each time interval are described through the generic headings of the *cultural values model (forms, practices, relations)* developed by Stephenson for landscape assessment.

- *Form value* is the morphological value of the space that is created mentally, before the space emerges physically, therefore, before it is *perceived* or *lived*. *Representations of space* exhibit the *form value* of the space directly, for being the tool of visualising the space for a purpose, shaping it and describing it.
- *Practice values* are the ones emerging with the addition of social relations, too, into a spatial form, after its construction and becoming tangible. It consists of social rhythms and routines emerging in the space in a way unique to the historical period and the space. *Spatial practices* explaining the physical sense and experience in daily life facilitate the access to *practice values*.
- *Relation values* are the ones emerging directly from person-person and person-space relationalities. *Relation values* can be reached at by starting from the *representational spaces* which make people experience a new sense or imagination within a certain fraction in the history; which change and redescribe, with their occurrence, person-person or person-space relations.

It can also be observed that some *representations* and *practices* occurring within the aforementioned process of the production of space result in value losses. The observed value loss processes are described through the concept of *obsolescence*. Given that deliberative, *oriented and constrained value loss processes* have been executed in the space, the concept of obsolescence provides a more inclusive framework.

In the light of both theoretical approaches superposed, inferences pertaining to the mental, physical and social dimensions of the space, and to the values and obsolescences occurring from here are as follows;

First Interval: 1876-1923

The first interval is the period when the efforts of the Ottoman State for connecting itself to the European capitalist world. Therefore, the first spatial developments facilitating the development of capitalist production powers and production relations had brought about the birth of modern spaces. In consequence of the increased infrastructure investments of foreign capital in the market opened to the foreign countries following the Free Trade Act of 1838 in order to meet firstly food, and later on, raw material need of western capitalist metropolises, a *representation of space* related to the construction of a railway in Anatolia had been introduced. Following the accomplishment of this mental dimension, the station building, one of the first representations of modern urbanization in Adana, had taken its place in the city. The station, as a *space of representation*, had sparked the physical transformation of the space by creating a new *spatial practice* around itself. The first factories had selected places in the vicinity of the station, which was *the representational space* of economical relationality. As a representation of production, wealth and reason along with other factories, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] was erected in the space. Consequently, *representations of space* and *representational spaces* had created the first physical dimension of the district by giving birth to each other.

Afterwards, an additional new *space of representation* was integrated into the space, just when a new *spatial practice* began forming, which had occurred northwest of the historical city center, in between the station and the factories developing in its vicinity. New housing areas needed by the Armenians, who had been left homeless following a disaster experienced in the historical city center, were integrated into this industrial district, which had recently begun to come to life, as a *conceived space*. Constructed as a representation of the efforts of international aids and the government for binding up the wounds of a disaster, the housing areas bear the fundamental morphological approaches suggested in relation to the construction of immigrants' neighborhoods of the period.

The values formed in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity within this process of production of space during the last period of the Ottomans are as follows;

- The railway added a value to the space that distinguishes it from other spaces in respect of form. It is the first spatial trace of the modern-conventional distinction in the city.
- The train station is an extension and node of the railway in the city, and bears *a relational value* in the respect that it creates new spatialities and community relations around itself.
- Factories are among new buildings the train station had carried into the space. Each one of the factories carries relational, practice-maker and distinguished *form values*.
 - It is the fundamental spatiality of modern city.
 - It is a representation of science and technology. It is a leading space in the development of human body and mind.
 - It paved the way for the establishment of new social relations along with the development of human mind, and carried phenomena such as community life, collectivism and collective resistance into the urban space.
 - It points out to the phenomena of economical development/wealth/prosperity as it is a space of production. In this respect, it also carries the feature of visible politics.
- Attached to *the practice values* developing among the railway, train station and factories, Döşeme Neighborhood had developed the space by carrying a form-based value, due to the reason that it carried the criteria of homology, order, legibility and auditability in space, which is one of the characteristics of the immigrants' neighborhoods of the period. For the neighborhood was a social space with a foundation of emmigration there is a *relation value* hidden within the *form value*.

Second Interval (1923-1950)

In the new nation-state which was born in the boundaries drawn by Lausanne Treaty(1923), the development of modernization efforts that started in the late Ottoman period in the republic period with different methods and approaches revealed an unprecedented space production. *Representational spaces* (train stations, factories, housing areas) which arised in the previous time and transformed into a routine part of *spatial practices* in time, retransformed again into *representational spaces* in the hands of the Republic. All these spaces, including Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and houses in the Döşeme District which are emptied as a result of population exchange, retransformed into *representational spaces* in the hands of the Republic who wants to produce its own spaces, and met the *representations of spaces* which were designed in the directions of ideas of the Republic. A new modernization experience about space started when the development practices, which are prepared in the direction of industrialization plans, led the new *spaces of representation* to a physical and social development.

Afterwards the spatial codes of the industrial district were designed in the direction of a master plan which was prepared compatible with industrialization plans, and which was convenient to the new economic progress and modernization goals. In the design of codes of this *conceived space*, Hermann Jansen's planning perspective, who was seriously inspired from Sittte school and practices of garden city theory in Germany, had an important influence. This perspective depends on the argument that the urban space should be planned rationally and form a functionally harmonious unity of different zones such as industry, housing, green spaces etc (Akcan, 2009). Therefore, the industrial district had continued to develop by acquiring new modern *spatial practices* within a functional and harmonious whole city.

The values arised with and around Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in the space production process from the declaration of the Republic to the multi-party era are;

- In the Ottoman period, industrial district's relationship with the city was established over the spine defined by Kuruköprü Square following the railway line. New urban spines have been created between the new spaces (new residential areas) and the industrial district, which are designed in line with the holistic *representation of spaces* of the Republic. These spines were urban connections which were designed by being fed with several publicities (parks, stadiums, swimming pools, education and sports centers). Thus, both form-based and *practice values* were created, which expanded in the direction of factories-district-city center and brought the worker and the urbanite together in the publicities. In the basis of this value, there is the production of urban life, which includes meetings, encounters of differences, mutual recognition and acceptance of lifestyles and of patterns that coexist in the city (Lefebvre, 2018, p. 33).
- Similarly, while the production of social and cultural parts were adding a new form-value to the factory, it also produced a *practice value* for both the workers and the urbanites. Hospital, football field, club, cinema like applications had become the common activity spaces for the workers and the urbanites in daily life.
- Döşeme district transformed from an activity based social space into a class based social space along with the expanding of the factories and slip of the employment from craftsmanship to industry. Discriminations created by traditional social order like muslim-nonmuslim, immigrant-native ended and the codes of the modern urban society arised by cohesion of individuals who meet at the production level. While in the districts and the factories people are called where they come from (“... the Bosnian”, “... the Albanian”), their meetings in the common production spaces and publicities created in district level (clubs, football field, irrigation channels, parks and cafes) are good examples of social cohesion and social memory production. On the other hand, some *representational spaces* (courses held in factories, new educational institutions) are spreading in line with the Republican ideals and produce

values for internalizing and mobilizing class awareness. Here, a *relation value* has been formed that nurtures collectivity and provides a common social consciousness development and integration in opposing common problems.

Third Interval (1950-1980)

The third interval had not been a period which presented continuity with regard to the *conceived, perceived and lived dimensions* of the space. *The representations and practices* of the import-substitution industrialization accumulation regime of the 1960s and 1970s, which were readopted to overcome the urban crisis that emerged as a result of this new form of production with the ‘agricultural capitalism’ of 1950s, transformed the factory and its environment. The USA-backed Marshall Plan, introduced in the 1950s, started this period as a *representation of space* transforming *spatial practices*. Marshall plan started the mechanization process in agriculture; this process dissolved the existing agricultural structures, and peasants who broke off the agricultural land flocked to the cities to find livelihood. As a place of job and livelihood opportunities, factories have turned into *spaces of representation*.

As a result of the migrations, the city's assuming a physicality far beyond the envisaged mental dimension has created the need to rearrange the space. In 1966, the comprehensive planning approach produced by the Bank of Provinces reconstructed the connection of the industrial district with new residential areas and developing urban centers by preserving the district in the city center. On the other hand, the spatial counterparts of the highway-based transport policy brought by the Marshall Plan along with mechanization in agriculture had begun to become physical towards the end of this interval.

The values created in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity during the space production process between the 1950s and 1980s, when the transition to global liberal period had taken place, are;

- A *relation value* was created as a result of the phenomenon of rural-to-urban migration formed at the beginning of this period bringing migrants and

inhabitants in the city around the factory as a production-oriented place. The factory, as a space of solution for unemployment caused by the disintegration in agricultural production areas, and the houses in Döşeme Neighborhood, as a solution for homelessness in cities, had had a spatial *relation value* in the eyes of the society.

- Since this period was a transition period (first the expansion of agricultural capitalism and the subsequent adoption of import-substitution industrialization), there was no new form-based value formation that could be observed directly in the factory-related spaces. However, the political atmosphere created by the transition to the multiparty period - although the political positivity or negativity of this atmosphere is beyond the scope of this thesis - has made a positive contribution to the politicization of society. Meeting of public spaces created with the Republic with new representations such as ceremonial uses contributed to the development of social cohesion in the public space. Similarly, social associations such as unionization and resistance arising from the factory had gotten strengthened and contributed to social consciousness.

Within this time period, first seeds of obsolescence processes, too, had been sown;

- Here, there is a loss of value in the space due to a technological innovation initiated without considering the spatial consequences. Transformations occurring in spatial and temporal relations through technological innovations change identities and political loyalties on one hand, and at the same time, lead to changes on the grounds where the circulation of capital and labor takes place (Harvey, 2013, p.164). The technological move that preceded mechanization in agriculture and highway-oriented transportation – essentially, the economic and ideological move - has created some losses in the industrial district. The unplanned condensation of housing textures and the construction of the highway separating the old town and the industrial district are part of this value loss process. The first fracturing of urban vertebrae was observed.

Forth Period (1980-2000)

The production of the means of production and consumer goods (production of agricultural products and industrial goods) had begun to be interrupted in Turkey as a result of the global neoliberal economic policies. As a result, capital had begun to explore space as a new object of exchange. The process of “securitization of spaces” in different qualities had begun. Securitization is the separation of the land from all *relational values* created on it, and division of it into pieces that can be bought and sold freely. The first spaces to go through this process were the agricultural lands located in the north of Adana and the slum areas that had been formed in the previous period. *Spatial practices* had started to be transformed by creating new representations where parts of the existing *representation of space* (The Bank of Provinces Plan in force) had started to be gradually changed. Ultimately, after this new space production approach described the vicinity of the Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] as “central business district area” in 1994, this space, too, had become an object of a similar securitization process. This period had mostly been the period in which the liberal economic and political approaches of the period had begun to form the mental dimension of the space. Therefore, this period is the period of transformation of space into unstable area.

The obsolescences occurring in Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its vicinity had started to be observed;

- In 1980s, the liberal economic model of accumulation adopted in Turkey has started to shrink the industry-based production. Therefore, the processes in the factories located in industrial districts such as business transfers; shrinkage in spatial use; sale or renting of socio-cultural spaces to third parties or these being left idle had been revealed.
- With the changes made in the plan of the Bank of Provinces as of the 1980s; the expansion of the city macroform into the areas where settlements are prohibited, transformation of slum areas and *apartmentization* has started

another obsolescence process on the industrial district. The urban lands starting to gain value, in line with the representations of the period, led to inquiries about the suitability of site selection especially in the industrial areas located in the city center. The fact that the industrial areas in the city center started to be moved to the organized industrial zones constructed outside the city had created a transformation pressure on the space.

- The disengagement of the vertebrae created by the industrial district with the city through *the representations of space* put forward as of the 1990s had turned the district into an isolated, introverted terrain vague.
- With a plan approved in 1994, the attribution of the use of “central business district area” to the industrial district had drifted the space to a trade- and consumption-oriented transformation by taking it apart from its production-oriented identity.

Fifth Period (2000-2019)

During 2000's, onwards the thoroughly shrinkage of the agricultural and industry-based production areas, the accumulation regime based on built environment production was introduced. In the *representations of space* developed in the former period, the industrial district was transformed into a suitable place for capital investments as a part of the city separated from the urban context; though in the latter period the parts of the district themselves became subjects for planning. In the industrial terrain vague, "*the process of production of space from the production of things inside the space*" has begun just as Lefebvre stated. Arrangements (*representations of space* and *spaces of representations*) are now being made for the reproduction of the land with its superstructures until it becomes an exchange object. In this direction, the emphasis on "*a new way of life*" has become dominant in the context of discourse on space and its spatialization has started. All the spatial components of the industrial terrain vague are designed in a fragmentary manner through this dominant discourse. While some factory areas are transformed into shopping malls, residential areas and some other factory areas in the Döşeme District

area expect a new *spatial practice* with the decision of urban transformation. Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], on the other hand, was designed as a museum since it was registered as an industrial heritage site in 2006 during the disintegration process of the district.

- Preservation of the conservation decisions in the singular and incomplete manner without the scientific protection approaches developed in the world has led to losses in the space.
 - o The train station is registered as a cultural heritage, refunctioning as an educational institution, but it is surrounded by uses such as gas stations and housing, and stands in a disconnected and illegible manner.
 - o While Döşeme neighbourhood has an integrated form-based and *relation values* in the historical process, a structural conservation approach has been adopted in the space which is reduced to the building-scale.
 - o Similarly, only production areas are protected, regardless of the social values produced by Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory]. This is an incomplete application that cannot go beyond a structural conservation approach in space. In addition, factories that have similar characteristics but which have not been protected have been lost over time. A space production approach based on coincidence adopted here constitutes another dimension of obsolescence.
- The complexity of institutional authority on the site accelerates the obsolescence in the space. Each of Adana Metropolitan Municipality, Seyhan District Municipality, Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Provincial Directorate of Environment and Urbanization tries to direct the separate spatial parts of the industrial district.

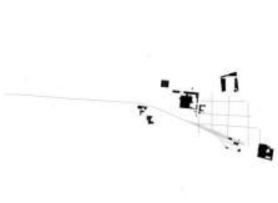
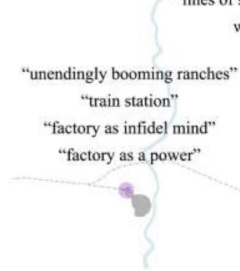
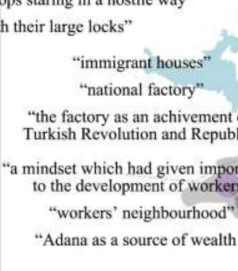
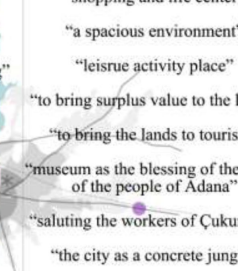
It is confined to design activities / project fetishism without the concern of creating a spatial and social context within the industrial terrain vague. The basis for this is the land speculation that Lefebvre described as “both urban and non-urban growth ”.

(Lefebvre, 2018, p. 37). In order to preserve the space and reproduce it on the basis of holistic values in the city, all obsolescence processes should be identified, those in progress should be stopped and possible loss of value must be prevented. Industrial terrain vagues offer very important opportunities as a field of reproduction of production spaces and awareness that develops in these spaces, common social memory and images related to urban space.





Table 4.2: Overall synthesis

FORM	1923					1950					1980					2000									
																									
representation of space	baghdad railway project					industrialization plans jansen plan					marshall plan provincial bank plan					revisional master plans additional master plans					partial plans/projects				
PRACTICE	1918					1950					1973					1992					2018				
																									
spatial practice	train station-industry					agriculture-industry-city					industrial terrain vague-city					industrial terrain vague-city					industrial terrain vague-city				
RELATION	1918					1950					1973					1992					2018				
																									
space of representation	factory in the agricultural city					factory in the industrial city					industrial terrain vague in the post-industrial city					industrial terrain vague in the post-industrial city					industrial terrain vague in the post-industrial city				
	"unendingly booming ranches" "train station" "factory as infidel mind" "factory as a power"					"lines of shops staring in a hostile way with their large locks" "immigrant houses" "national factory" "the factory as an achievement of Turkish Revolution and Republic" "a mindset which had given importance to the development of workers" "workers' neighbourhood" "Adana as a source of wealth"					"America mindset" "mushroomed apartment buildings" "slums" "farmhand loaded train" "factory as pulse of the district" "factory as a place of resistance" "neighbourhood like somewhere in Europe"					"factory as a massive ghost" "factory as a run-down building" "hotels, commerce centers instead of factories" "centre business district instead of industrial district" "organized industrial site back of beyond"					"shopping and life center" "a spacious environment" "leisure activity place" "to bring surplus value to the lands" "to bring the lands to tourism" "museum as the blessing of the labor of the people of Adana" "saluting the workers of Çukurova." "the city as a concrete jungle"				

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Different geographies/countries experienced industrialization and deindustrialization processes in different ways. Deindustrialization processes left abandoned industrial places and structures behind that almost similar. These remaining abandoned industrial areas added the *industrial heritage* concept into international conservation and planning literature by changing an era's economy, social life, urban design and planning practices since the 1960s. Within this scope, the reproduction of abandoned industrial spaces which are registered as industrial heritage was born as a design problem in the profession of planning and urban design. Within a period of about sixty years, these urban spaces are trying to be redesigned and integrated into the city.

In this study, a *spatial value model* that can be used in the practices of reintegration of industrial assets to the city on the basis of conservation was proposed. The evaluation of the proposition was carried out of a factory, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory], located in Adana in Turkey.

Firstly, the spatial circumstances of abandoned industrial spaces were conceptualized. The concept of *terrain vague* developed by Sola-Morales for abandoned spaces was adopted for this conceptualization. *Terrain vague* refers to a negative image that is mentally excluded when viewed from the physicality of the city. According to Sola-Morales' description of the abandoned area where a series of occurrence for this negative area took place, the concept was used to conceptualize that space was abandoned as a result of some urban contradictions. Thus, it is aimed to reveal the ontological situation of an abandoned industrial entity to all inquiries before it is reproduced. Under this conceptualization, there is the goal of the design practice to be developed for the reproduction of abandoned industrial assets based on a public policy.

On one side of the inquiry there is the investigation of the *values* and on the other side there is the *loss of value* processes.

Loss of value processes are explained through the term of *obsolescence*. Urban spaces can depreciate for many different reasons and can be out of use. Due to the danger of the ongoing activity in the space or technological progress and the need for a new production model are valid reasons for the termination of the existing function of the space. However, nowadays, liberal urban policies that securitize the space trivialize the existing functions of the spaces with various instruments in order to sustain capital movements in the space. As a result, it is ensured that the space is subject to transformation in order to create opportunity for capital accumulation. The obsolescence concept was preferred in order to reveal these *forced or provoked loss of value* processes.

The values existing in the historical process of industrial terrain values are evaluated within the scope of both physical and social values. The main argument of this study is that a factory is a social space other than the exceptional architectural structure. It would be rather incomplete to develop an approach for the design of industrial heritage sites in the form of re-functionalization within the city by evaluating only architectural values. Conservation-based design of industrial assets is an issue that requires a *holistic public policy and design strategy*. The redesign of this urban value, which radically changed the entire economic, sociological and spatial situation of an era, needs careful attention.

This study claims that all spatial values can be covered under the *cultural value model* which is made up of three components: *form, practice* and *relation*. A consolidated public policy, being supported by this cultural value model, can be created, aware of and against obsolescence processes to be able to redesign the industrial terrain value. Revelation of the obsolescence processes and details of the cultural value model are reserved in the production processes of space. In this context, Lefebvre's theory which reveals the production processes of the space with all components is used. The basic

structural components presented by this theory were operationalised for the cultural value model. According to Lefebvre's space production theory the space is produced mentally by *representations of space*, physically by *spatial practices* and socially by the dialectical relations of *spaces of representation*. *Representations of space*, similar to plans, projects, drawings are the documents that determine and produce the space by visualizing. So basically from here, the *form-values* of the space can be determined. *Practice-values* can be determined via examination of *spatial practices* on. *The spatial practices* describe the physical environment that emerges after creation of a new form and its transmission to space. Here is where the mental space becomes physical, society participates in the space and the daily routines are established. Besides, *spaces of representation* describe daily non-routine images, ceremonies, events revealed in the physical space resulting from the relations developing within the ideological/political conjuncture of the era.

Within the scope of the thesis, Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] in Adana, which is being transformed into a museum complex today, and its close vicinity was determined as the spatial focus on which the proposed cultural value model is evaluated. This study is based on authentic data collected from socio-realist literature, archival and site survey and in-depth interviews with former workers of the factory and inhabitants of the neighborhood. Due to the complexity of the data, the data is collected with a systematic approach. Hence, a methodology is designed in the scope of this study. The method was covering three core parameters: (i) the historical timeline (through the genesis, development, degeneration, abandonment and current phase of the space); (ii) multiple scales (factory site, neighborhood scale and city scale); and (iii) the multiple dimensions (mental, physical and social dimensions of space) based on Lefebvre's theory. The data was collected, analyzed and assessed with the guidance of these parameters.

The historical timeline was determined by breaking points experienced in Turkey in terms of history of economy and urban planning. Accordingly, 1980 constitutes the main breaking point in Turkey. The times before 1980 has been defined as *embedded*

values period and after 1980 has been defined as *obsolescence period*. In the scope of this dissertation, based on the collected data, analyses and assessments, it is determined that there were modern spatial and social developments expanding from the factory to the city until 1980.

In terms of *form*, the prominent value is as such;

- The site of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] is composed of an extensive production site and social facility areas. It is located in an urban pattern where the railway part, train station, factory buildings, dwellings and green spaces create a morphological integrity. At the same time, this urban pattern is associated with the city centers within walking distance over the urban spines that contain important common and public spaces.

In terms of *practice*, the prominent value is as such;

- The social facilities (lodgements, club house, sports field, kindergarden, hospital, cinema) of factory had provided the working class a working place in humanitarian conditions. Besides, the social facilities of factory and public spaces (sports center, cinemas, stadium, youth center, Atatürk Park, Kuruköprü Square, recreation areas around irrigation channels) on the urban spines which were being used by both workers and urbanites were introducing a new way of modern life.

In terms of *relation*, the prominent value is as such;

- Factories have created a sense of prosperity and trust for society. Occasional actions, demonstrations, meetings, fairs in squares, parks and other public places and the workers' organizations, trainings within the factory, had strengthened social cohesion and memory.

After 1980, in the context of the flexible accumulation of advanced capitalism, it was seen that the transition from production *in* space to production *of* space took place. It was found that the space was fragmented and turned into an *industrial terrain vague* and each part was designed separately and integrated into the city.

In terms of *form*, the prominent obsolescence is as such;

- *The representations of space* increasingly handled the urban spaces in a fragmented manner. Hence, the spines with the city centers were first broken and then various factory buildings have started to be lost in the space that emerged as a terrain vague.

In terms of *practice*, the prominent obsolescence is as such;

- The loss of publicity in the fringed city (closure of cinemas, closure of the hospital and clubhouse of factory, inadequate sports grounds in the district and city center, decrease of green spaces) and closure of factories have left the workers out of the daily life of the city.

In terms of *relation*, the prominent obsolescence is as such;

- Factories still in abandonment status and the old factory areas on which shopping center projects were implemented (each one is designed with the claim that it is a *representational space* in itself) were representative of the collapse of an economy and a social memory. In addition to all these, museumification of the production areas of factory has been completely independent of *past relational and practical values*.

Based on the above findings, the study concluded that the values and problems of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] and its surrounding highly interacted with ideological, political, economic and social approaches being experienced in various physical scales. In this context, preservation of Milli Mensucat Fabrikası [The National Textile Factory] is a challenging practice. To give realistic and rational responses to these challenges, a multi-disciplinary, inclusive, and a holistic approach, which assesses the realities of politic, economic and social conjunctures must be conducted during its preservation process.

Cultural heritage sites have two qualities. They enable people to reach backwards in terms of feeling long-established by the sense of the old life. They also allow people to go forward in terms of developing expectations for tomorrow by feeding from the roots. These artefacts cannot spontaneously demonstrate these two qualities in a

constantly changing city. Moreover, they are under serious threat under the pressure of transformation and construction. For this reason, threats must be thrown and these qualities must be revealed through planning and urban design approaches.

In this thesis, the old life that should be sensed, threats on the spaces and expectations of society in the spatial transformation of an abandoned factory site in Adana were investigated. The contribution of this study to the literature and future studies is as follows;

- Referring to works of art (socially realistic literary texts) as research documents that are nourished from urban space and represent the space constituted an original aspect of this thesis. This method has been used because it is one of the most powerful ways that will make the society and the built environment around itself feel self-worth and deep-rooted. The adoption of such original research approaches in cultural heritage sites will make the space very strong in terms of preservation and sensation.
- A conceptual framework has been developed for the re-evaluation of space in the urban context. In this direction the concept of *industrial terrain vague* has become a kind of *cipher key* that allows to decipher a complex space. This conceptualization has made a significant contribution to reflecting and uncovering unrecognized contradictions which formed between the historical holistic values of space and the space that is securitized, marketing, political and ideological projects. The development of this approach, or the production of more satisfactory ones, will be able to make in-depth contributions to literature compared to theoretical approaches that are prosaic and bypass spatial contradictions.
- Another important aspect of the study is that the factory's past and present comparisons are presented in-depth interviews with users who have experienced the space. Thus, the necessity of enabling people to go forward mentally and spiritually in terms of developing expectations for tomorrow, which is another characteristic of cultural heritage sites, has been questioned

in the presence of the users of the space. Demonstrating the failure of materialistic approaches which believe that space can be designed randomly and meaning can be changed by behavioral forces will strengthen the social space studies.

This thesis does not suggest a blind commitment to old lives and old places. The main research problematic of this thesis is the reevaluation of the design practices which are developed within the framework of the conservation of industrial heritage sites in the light of scientific values and authentic approaches, based on historical values and current needs of the city and the society. In line with this approach, it proposes a commitment to planning and design approaches that are concerned with social integration. A strategic way of thinking has been developed against today's design approaches that break down production spaces, publicities and common spaces which are integrated within the city.

REFERENCES

- Akcan, E. (2009). *Çeviride Modern Olan: Şehir ve Konutta Türk-Alman İlişkileri*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Aktan, S. (1967). *Dünkü ve Bugünkü Adana*. Adana: Güney Basımevi.
- Aktüre, S. (1978). *19.yy Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*. Ankara : ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi.
- Altunkasa, F. (2004). *Adana'nın Kentsel Gelişim Süreci ve Yeşil Alanlar*. Adana: Adana Kent Konseyi Çevre Çalışma Grubu Bireysel Raporu.
- Asiliskender, B. (2009). Sümerbank Kayseri Bez Fabrikası ve Lojmanları. A. Cengizkan içinde, *Fabrikada Barınmak* (s. 113). Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi.
- Avar, A. A. (2009). Lefebvre'in Üçlü -Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekan- Diyalektiği. *Dosya*, 7-16.
- Berens, C. (2011). *Redeveloping Industrial Sites*. Canada: John Wiley&Sons, Inc., Hoboken, New Jersey.
- Berger, A. (2007). *Drosscape : Wasting Land Urban America*. Princeton Architectural Press.
- Bilsel, A. A., & Bilsel, S. G. (2010/3-4). Kent Bütünü Planlama Yarışmaları 1960'lardan 70'lerin sonlarına dek elişme evreleri. *Planlama Dergisi*, 89-123.
- Boratav, K. (2014). *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2009*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Canaran, C. (2009). *An Integrated Framework For Sustaining Industrial Beings In The Urban Context*. Ankara: Unpublished PhD Thesis, METU.
- Carney, P., & Miller, V. (2009). Vague Spaces. A. Jansson, & A. Lagerkvist içinde, *Strange Spaces: Explorations in Mediated Obscurity* (s. 33-56). Farnham: Ashgate Publications.

- Cengizkan, A. (2009). *Fabrika'da barınmak: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemin'de Türkiye'de işçi konutları: yaşam, mekan ve kent*. Ankara: Arkadaş Kitabevi.
- Cengizkan, A. (2010). 1910'da Modernleşme Arayışları ve Adana. *Güney Mimarlık*, 40-45.
- Childs, W. (1917). *Across Asia Minor on foot*. Edingurg and London: William Blackwood and Sons.
- Cuda, A. (1939). *Stadtaufbau in der Türkei*. Die Welt des Islams.
- Çalışkan, O. (2003). Anadolu'da Bir 'Yarı-Çevre Modernite Deneyimi': Kemalizm'in Şehirciliği. *Planlama*, 14-23.
- Çetinkaya, U. B. (2009). Adana Kentsel Alanının Tarihi Süreç ve Çevre Düzeni Planı Çerçevesinde İncelenmesi. *Planlama*, 67-78.
- Çopuroğlu, M. A. (2009). Adana'da Kentleşme ve İmarsız Gelişmenin 50 Yılı. *Planlama*, 53-66.
- Deane, P. (1965). *The first industrial revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Demirkan, S. (1943). Adana Milli Mensucat Fabrikaları. *Köye Doğru Dergisi*, 8-9.
- Diñer, İ. (2013). Kentleri Dönüştürürken Korumayı ve Yenilemeyi Birlikte Düşünmek: “Tarihi Kentsel Peyzaj” Kavramının Sunduğu Olanaklar. *ICONARP International Journal of Architecture and Planning*, 22-40.
- Doratl, N. (2005). Revitalizing historic urban quarters: A model for determining the most relevant strategic approach. *European Planning Studies*, 749-772.
- Douet, J. (2012). *Industrial Heritage Re-tooled: The TICCIH Guide to Industrial Heritage Conservation*. Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing Ltd .
- Ekiz, C., & Somel, A. (2007). Türkiye'de Planlama ve Planlamanın Değişimi. *Mülkiye*, 97-136.

- Elden, S. (2010). Land, Terrain, Territory. *Progress in Human Geography* , 799 - 817.
- Emiroğlu, K. (2016). Adana'da Sanayi ve Sanayiciler Hakıkında. B. Çelik içinde, *Adana'ya Kar Yağmış* (s. 267-304). İstanbul: İletişim yayınları.
- Ener, K. (1960). *Tarih Boyunca Adana Ovasına Bir Bakış*. Adana: Berksoy Matbaası.
- Ener, K. (1978). *Adana Tarihine ve Tarımına Dair Araştırmalar*. İstanbul: Türk Sözü Matbaası.
- Erzen, J. N. (2015). *Üç Habitus; Yeryüzü, Kent, Yapı*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Falconer, K. (2005). Industrial Archaeology Goes Universal. *Industrial Archaeology Review*, 27:1, 23-26.
- Green, E. (1960). Industrial Archaeology. *Antiquity*, 34(133), 43-48.
- Grover, R., & Grover, C. (2015). Obsolescence – a cause for concern? *Journal of Property Investment & Finance*, 299-314.
- Günay, B. (2009). Conservation of Urban Space as an Ontological Problem. *METU JFA*, 128.
- Harvey, D. (2011). *Sermayenin Mekanları; Eleştirel bir Coğrafyaya Doğru*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.
- Has, K. (2002, 03 20). *Türkiye Bunları Konuşuyor: Varlık Vergisi İçin Bir Valiz Altın Bozdurduk*. Sabah Gazetesi: <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2002/03/20/g13.html> adresinden alındı
- Hobsbawm, E. (2007). *Devrim Çağı: Avrupa 1789-1848*. İstanbul: Dost Yayınevi.
- Hughes, C., & Jackson, C. (2015). Death of the high street identification, prevention, reinvention. *Regional Studies*, 236-255.
- İnalcık, H. (2008). *Türkiye Tekstil Tarihi Üzerine Araştırmalar*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

- Jansen, H. (1936, Temmuz). Türkiye'de Planlaşma İşinin Islahı. *Belediyeler Dergisi*, s. 24-34.
- Kamacı, E. (2014). 2863 Sayılı KTVKK'nın Uluslararası Yasal Düzenlemeler Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi. *METU JFA*, 1-23.
- Kemal, O. (1960). *El Kızı*. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları.
- Kemal, O. (1961). *Hanımın Çifliği*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi.
- Kemal, O. (1972). *Kanlı Topraklar*. İstanbul: Remzi Yayınları.
- Kemal, O. (1973). *Eskici Dükkanı*. Cem Yayınları.
- Kemal, O. (1993). *Baba Evi*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınları.
- Kemal, O. (2003). *Murtaza*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınları.
- Kemal, O. (2004). *Cemile*. İstanbul: Epsilon Yayıncılık.
- Kemal, O. (2008). *Bereketli Topraklar Üzerine*. İstanbul: Everest Yayınları.
- Kepenek, Y. (2017). Ekonomi Politikasında Aks Kayması. M. Koyuncu, H. Mıhçı, & A. E. Yeldan içinde, *Geçmişten Geleceğe Türkiye Ekonomisi* (s. 245-271). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Keskinok, H. Ç. (2006). *Kentleşme Siyasetleri*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları.
- Keskinok, H. Ç. (2013). Yabancı Bir Plancı Herman Jansen ve Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'deki Kent Planlamasının Temel Özellikleri. *Bilim ve Ütopya*, 75-81.
- Keyder, Ç. (1982). *The Definition of a Peripheral Economy: Turkey, 1923-1929*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klamer, A., & Zuidhof, P.-W. (1999). The Values of Cultural Heritage: Merging Economic and Cultural Appraisals. R. Mason içinde, *The Economics of Heritage Conservation: A Meeting Organized by the Getty Conservation*

- Institute, December 1998* (s. 23-61). Los Angeles: CA: Getty Conservation Institute.
- Komisyonu, A. İ. (1964). *Adana İmar Komisyonu Raporu*. Adana: Tuğrul Matbaası.
- Köksal, G. (2005). *İstanbul'daki Endüstri Mirası İçin Koruma ve Yeniden Kullanım Önerileri*. İstanbul: Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi.
- Kurtiç, B. (2009). *Suya Yazılanlar*. Adana.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*.
- Lefebvre, H. (2015). *Mekanın Üretimi*. İstanbul: Sel Yayınları.
- Lefebvre, H. (2016). *Modern Dünyada Gündelik Hayat*. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık.
- Lefebvre, H. (2018). *Şehir Hakkı*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık .
- Lehtovuori, P. (2005). *Experience and Conflict*. Espoo: Helsinki University of Technology.
- Mantoux, P. (1961). *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Jonathan Cape Ltd.
- Mariani, M., & Barron, P. (2014). *Terrain Vague, Interstices at the edge of the pale*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Merrifield, A. (2006). *Henri Lefebvre : a critical introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Onaran, N. (2013). *Cumhuriyet'te Ermeni ve Rum Mallarının Türkleştirilmesi (1920-1930)* . İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın.
- Örgeevren, A. S. (1933, Ekim 6). Bir Türk Müessesesine Takdir ve Ona Teşekkür. *Türk Sözü*.
- Özcanlı, N., & Emiroğlu, K. (2008). *Adana Sanayi Tarihi*. Adana: Adana Sanayi Odası.

- Özdoğan, M. (2006). *Arkeolojinin Politikası ve Politik Bir Araç Olarak Arkeoloji*. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Özdoğan, M. (2011). *50 Soruda Arkeololoji*. İstanbul: Bilim ve Gelecek Kitaplığı.
- Palmer, M., & Orange, H. (50/1 (2016)). The archaeology of industry; people and places. *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 73-91.
- Saban, D. F. (2006). XVI. Yüzyılda Kentin Fiziksel Yapısına Dair Bulgular. *ÇÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi Cilt 15, Sayı 3*, 161-182.
- Saner, M. (2012). Endüstri Mirası: Kavramlar, Kurumlar ve Yaklaşımlar. *Planlama*, 53-66.
- Saner, M. (2012). Endüstri Mirası; Kavramlar, Kurumlar ve Türkiye'deki Yaklaşımlar. *Planlama*, 53-66.
- Saner, M., & Severcan, Y. C. (2009). Fabrikada Zorunlu Sorumlu Olarak Barınmak: Ankara Maltepe Elektirik ve Havagazı Fabrikası Konutları. A. Cengizkan içinde, *Fabrikada Barınmak* (s. 45-76). Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi.
- Sevim, A., Öztoprak, İ., & Tural, M. A. (2006). *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*. Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi.
- Shields, R. (1999). *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*. London: Routledge.
- Sola-Morales, I. d. (1995). Terrain Vague. C. Davidson içinde, *Anyplace* (s. 118-123). Cambrigde: MIT Press.
- Stephenson, J. (2008). The Cultural Values Model: An Integrated Approach to Values in Landscapes. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, (84) 127-139.
- Şanda, H. A. (1975). *Reaya ve Köylü*. İstanbul: Habora Yayınevi.
- Şenses, F., & Taymaz, E. (2003). Unutulan Bir Toplumsal Amaç: Sanayileşme Ne Oluyor? Ne Olmalı? *ERC Working Papers in Economics 03/01*.

- Tanyeli, G. (1998). Endüstri Arkeolojisi. *Arredemento Mimarlık*, 92-100.
- Tekeli, İ. (1980). Türkiye'de Kent Planlamasının Tarihsel Kökleri. T. Gök içinde, *Türkiye'de İmar Planlaması* (s. 8-112). Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi .
- Tekeli, İ. (1990). Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu Yer Değiştirmesi ve İskan Sorunu. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 49-71.
- Tekeli, İ. (2001). *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*. Ankara: İmge Yayınevi.
- Tekeli, İ. (2011). *Modernizm, Modernite ve Türkiye'nin Kent Planlama Tarihi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Tekeli, İ., & İlkin, S. (2010). Planlama Tarihi Açısından Umur-u Nafia Programları ve Cumhuriyet' in 1929 Yılında Uygulanmaya Başlayan İkinci Umur-u Nafia Programı. E. Türkcan içinde, *Türkiye'de Planlamanın Yükselişi ve Çöküşü 1960-1980*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi.
- Trancik, R. (1986). *Finding Lost Space: Theories of Urban Design*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Türel, O. (2003). Dünyada Sanayileşme Deneyimi: Geçmiş Çeyrek Yüzyıl (1975-2000) ve Gelecek. A. H. Köse, F. Şenses, & E. Yeldan içinde, *İktisat Üzerine Yazılar 1 - Küresel Düzen: Birikim, Devlet ve Sınıflar* (s. 11-49). İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık.
- Türkoral, M. (1984, January 17). Orhan Kemal'in İnsanlarından Biri Maho. (I. Özgentürk, Röportaj Yapan)
- Üngör, U., & Polatel, M. (2011). *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property*.
- Varlık, M. B., Emiroğlu, K., & Türkoğlu, Ö. (2008). *Adana Sanayi Tarihi*. Adana: Adana Sanayi Odası.