

**CONTEMPORARY HOUSING IN
'POSTMODERN' ISTANBUL**

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**‘POSTMODERN’ İSTANBUL’DA
ÇAGDAŞ KONUT**

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ABBREVIATIONS

CBD	: Central Business District
MHA	: Mass Housing Administration
NIDL	: New International Division of Labour
TOKI	: Toplu Konut Idaresi
WW II	: World War II

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CONTEMPORARY HOUSING IN ‘POSTMODERN’ ISTANBUL

SUMMARY

In last two decades alot changed in Istanbul and Turkey. Becoming a part of global economic system and its new emerging trends has had significant impacts on housing habits of residents of metropols. Istanbul, being the biggest and economically most significant city in Turkey, was given the tag “global city” and has been trying to obtain the needed preferenecs in order to fullfill this difficult duty.

This work contains a background and presents reflection of Istanbul. The study will first provide a reflection over the modernization of Republic of Turkey from its former imperial days of Ottoman Period.

The postmodern period, in integration with its economical, political and social aspects, will be inspected right after modernization period, and finally, the housing trends in light of these rhetorics will be explained. The final chapter will end with an evaluation of the aforementioned analysis and it will be followed by suggestions. The close relationship between postmodernism and Istanbul’s urban segregation is sought as result.

Postmodernism, which has been imposing its rhetorics to the society, is particularly inspected in a comperative way with modernism, so that the contrast in living environments between two periods would be revealed.

The superpositions of different profiles with diverse housing typologies in last chapter, grants the study the opportunity to read the uniqe interractions between different social stratifications and their living environment.

The approach of the work is emphasizing the ways, in which the consumption habits becoming a vital part of individuals identities and the dwelling type being a representation way of the social strata of its owner. Instead of transforming the space, postmodernism transforms the consumer of the space first. The local and national mechanisms are overcome with tools such as neo-liberalism and globalization, which are rhetorics produced by postmodernism itself.

Examining Istanbul in light of modernism and postmodernism reveals important facts in frames of this study. Period of modernism in Turkey favored the establishment of a modern capital city over Istanbul. The ideological background and important events of this period plays an important role on understanding of the living environments and their integration with the urban sphere in Istanbul. Until the 1980's the developments prepared the common playground for postmodernism to emerge. The ways, how modernism and postmodernism approached the individuals are vital for being able to grasp the borders of the changes since the resolution of Ottoman Empire and the establishment of Republic of Turkey until today.

The metropolitan area of Istanbul has been occupied intensively by global financial investments upon the 1980's. Adopting the free market policy has had significant impacts on planning and designing issues within city. Due to this radical reforms the living habits went through a big shift, as well as the ways the living environments were being introduced to the city. Massive rural immigrations, which have been directed towards big metropol since 1960's due mechanization of agricultural production, have caused a shortage on housing demands. After the populist modernism period, the authority field of the nation-states among countries started to leave empty gaps, which have been filled with individuality promises of postmodernism.

How the housing typologies and the living environments in Istanbul evolved ever since these changes of flows, has been the main occupation of this work, with an increased focus on postmodernism. Although the postmodern Istanbul is segregated and fragmented, this segregation is only then readable, when the spatial organization of postmodernism and its background dynamics are examined in detail. Taking modernism as the triggerer, former and contradictory part of postmodernism at the same time, the transformations within habitat of Istanbul are explained through diverse housing typologies dominating the majority among different social stratas. The spatial results of these transformations can be read as a segregated, former, imperial metropol, that is struggling to express its identity deriving from its vast cultural and historical heritage of thousands of years and moreover being the main target the re-organizations imposed by global capital flows throughout business districts and living environments, their architecture.

POSTMODERN İSTANBUL'DA ÇAĞDAŞ KONUT

ÖZET

Geçtiğimiz 20 yıl içerisinde kuşkusuz ki İstanbul'da birçok şey köklü değişime uğradı. Küresel sistemin bir parçası haline gelmek, ve bu sistemin ekonomik kalıplarının içerisine girmek, şehrin konut yapısına da belirgin bir biçimde yansımıştır. Türkiye'nin en büyük ve en gündemdeki şehri olarak İstanbul, küresel kent etiketinin kendisine atadığı görevleri yerine getirebilmek için değişmeye başlamış, diğer küresel kentlerin de bağlı olduğu sistemde rekabete iştirak etmiştir.

Bu çalışma bir arka plan ve bir bugün söylemi üzerinden İstanbul'u incelerken, önce Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında hayata geçirilen modernleşme ve modernizm dönemini açıklayıp, daha sonrasında postmodern diye adlandırılan dönem içerisinde İstanbul'un bu ana akımlardan nasıl etkilendiğini sorgulamaktadır.

Postmodern dönem ekonomik, sosyal ve politik yönleriyle ele alınırken, konut paradigmasının bu söylem içerisindeki değişimi İstanbul'da hakim olan konut tipleri üzerinden okunmuş, sonuç olarak ise mevcut kentsel ayrışmayı önleyecek önerilerle sonlandırılmıştır.

Çalışmanın yaklaşımı postmodern tüketim kalıplarının bireylerin kimliklerinin ayrılmaz bir parçasına dönüşmesi ve yaşam alanlarının bireyin toplum içerisindeki konumunu, ait olduğu sosyal katmanı ve kendisine ait alanı tanımladığı temsiliyetler halini almasına atıfta bulunmaktadır. Kökenlerini modernizmden alan postmodernist söylemler zinciri, mekanı dönüştürmeden önce mekanın tüketicisini dönüştürmekte, önüne çıkan yerel ve ulusal mekanizmaları ise yine kendi ürettiği araçlar olan küreselleşme, neo-liberalleşme ile aşmaktadır.

İstanbul, küresel kentin tüketen bireyler için tasarlanmış bir sahne olduğu gerçeği ve uluslararası metanın dolaşımına olanak sağlayan mekan organizasyonu ön plana konularak konut alanları üzerinden incelenirken, ortaya çıkan karşıtlıkların kentsel tasarım ve mimarlık alanlarında verdiği sonuçlar irdelenmektedir.

İstanbul'u modernizm ve postmodernizm karşılaştırması ışığında incelemek önemli gerçekleri açığa çıkarmaktadır. Türkiye'de modernizmin, ortaya çıkış anından yüzyıl ortalarına kadar geçen zamanda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu mirasının önemli bir kısmını barındıran İstanbul'u geri plana atarak, yeni kurulan Ankara'yı başat öncelik olarak görmesi modernizmin ideolojik arka planını anlamak açısından önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son zamanlarından 20. yy. Sonlarına kadar geçen süre içerisinde gerçekleşen modernist hareketler hem bir sürekliliği, hem de bir kopuşu temsil etmektedirler. Geleneksel bir yönetim biçiminden yeni ve modern bir devlet anlayışına geçişi temsil etmesi açısından Cumhuriyet'in ilanı bir kopuşu , Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son yıllarında benimsenmeye başlanan ve hali hazırda sürmekte olan ıslahat ve modernleşme çalışmalarına devam niteliği taşıması açısından ise bir sürekliliği temsil eder.

Kuruluşundan itibaren pozitivist bir ulus-devlet çizgisini benimseyen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin mekanları, rasyonalizmi ve propagandasını mimarlık ve şehircilik anlayışında açıkça barındırmaktadır. 1. Dünya Savaşı'ndan yeni çıkmış olmanın yarattığı ekonomik zorluklar, imparatorluk topraklarının kaybedilmesi ile ortaya çıkan nüfus hareketleri, kanuni değişimler, politik ve sosyal faktörler İstanbul'un gelişimini etkileyen başat rol oynayıcılar olarak çalışmanın içerisinde detaylı olarak incelenmektedir. Modernizmin temsil ettiği süreklilik ve kopuşun sosyo-ekonomik ve politik etkileri, Türkiye'deki mimarlık ve şehircilik alanlarına etkileri ile bu dönem içerisinde irdelenmektedir. Ulus-devlet anlayışının yerini Dünya'da ve ülkemizde bireyciliğe terketmesi ile ortaya çıkmaya başlayan postmodernist döneme kadar geçen süre postmodern dönemi de içine alacak şekilde 5 bölüm halinde incelenmiş, bu bölümlerden beşinci ve sonuncusu çalışmanın ana odak noktasını oluşturuyor olması açısından postmodernizm ve İstanbul adı altında ayrı bir başlık olarak ele alınmıştır.

Postmodernizmin mekanı dönüştürmeden önce, mekanın tüketicisine yönelik deformasyonları, bu akımın modernizmin hem devamı, hem de karşıtı olması bağlamında ele alınırken, bu konu ile ilgili önemli teorilere bölüm içerisinde birbirleri ile karşılaştırmalı olarak yer verilmiştir.

İstanbul'a verilen küresel kent etiketine ve etkilerine değinmeden evvel küresel kent söyleminin barındırdıkları, getirdiği değişim ve dönüşümler, bu konuda isim yapmış araştırmalar eşliğinde ortaya konmuş, sonrasında ise küresel kent olmanın

gerektirdiđi kořullar maddeler halinde İstanbul'un barındırdıđı dinamikler ile mukayese edilerek geđerliliđi sınanmıřtır.

Çalıřma modernizm ve postmodernizmi, daha da çnemlisi küreselleřme ve neo-liberal kentleřmenin İstanbul'a yansımalarını ortaya koyan bu iki teorik ana bölümden sonra, küreselliđin postmodern İstanbul'daki mekanlarına belirleyici ve popöler konut tipolojileri üzerinden bakmaktadır. Gecekondular, toplu konutlar, kapalı güvenliikli siteler ve soylulařan geleneksel tarihi yapı stođu üzerinden yapılan incelemeler, bu konuyu açıklayan çeřitli haritalar, istatistiksel veriler ve görseller ile desteklenmiřtir. İstanbul'un yapı adaları řeklinde noktasal olarak birbirlerinden bađımsız noktalarda ortaya çıkan yerleřme ve merkezler halinde büyümesi bu noktada küreselleřme ve postmodernizmin İstanbul metropolitan alanına en belirgin etkisi olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

İncelenen konut tipolojileri, çalıřmanın deđerlendirme bölümünde birbirleri ile sakinlerinin sosyo-ekonomik, eđitim ve sektörel çalıřma profilleri açasından önceki bölümlerde kullanılan haritaların birvirleri üzerine çakıřtırılması suretiyle mukayese edilmiř, ortaya çıkan melez kesiřme noktaları, sert karřıtlıklar İstanbul'un kentsel ayrıřma ve kutuplařmasına ıřık tutacađı düşünölen neticeler olarak ortaya konulmuřtur.

Çalıřmanın sonuç ve önerilerden oluřan en son bölümün mevcut mekansal ayrıřma ve noktasal büyüme profilini daha heterojen bir kentsel dokuya dönüřtürecekle, ve bunu eklektik mimarive řehir planlama paradigmalardan mümkün olduđunca uzak durarak yapmaya çalıřacak, kullanıcı katılımını, disiplinlerarası iřbirliđini ve bütöncöl planlama anlayıřını bařat öncelik olarak gören yaklařım ve öneriler içermektedir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Istanbul and contemporary housing...

As a start the title must be taken apart and examined separately in different aspects in order to give its meaning to this work. And to be able to make this, a general perspective to the close history of the country should be drawn.

If one would live in a different world than he is right now, would he choose to remain in such a strong communication network?

With a simple thought; the borders between the countries are almost meaningless, all countries in major continents are growing into one big state with economical and political unifications. The great distance between people is not as important as it once was.

It would be justified to say that, when the Phoenicians developed an alphabet at 3500 BC, they surely had a way more simple purpose to achieve. When Tsai Lun of China invented the paper at 105 AD, he was changing the future, most probably unknown of its consequences, and surely without even realising he was making a revolution. Humanity experienced many of changes ever since, now for instance the mass communication is steamrolling our time and space perceptions. We, architects, have had always a big interest on understanding how everything functions, how everything developed until our time, our obsession to plan and design gives us the urge to build a structure between things, basing everything on a creative way of perceiving, relating it to the human scale. (Wikipedia, 2009)

As first chapter, this work will be reflecting an overview to the modernism and its periods in Turkey. From the last decades of Ottoman Empire, to the present time, the thresholds and most important points regarding the modernization of young Turkish Republic will be examined. Surely, parallel to the changes that took place in Europe, Turkey experienced modernism in reflection of Germany and Italy most. The Weimar Republic, the home of Bauhaus modernism has exported its philosophy to the rest of the World.

Like every other revolution, the Turkish revolution has also similarities to these extreme examples in some parts.

In terms of aforementioned, this work will be examining the dramatical changes in public and private sphere, as well as the architecture and urban planning issues, but the main scope will remain on housing and the changes it went through.¹

1.1 Purpose of the Thesis

This work is based on two backgrounds about the spatial organization within Istanbul urban sphere. In second chapter the modernism and its development in Turkey will be explained in general terms. When the space dialectics Republic are being examined, the spatial organizations and the changes that are related to these mainstreams will be explained in detail. Third chapter is about the postmodernity and its economical, political and social effects in Turkey. The changing consumption habits, being linked to the global economy and to the becoming of a World city situation is discussed in context of Istanbul. These chapters are the theoretical background of changes of housing trends in Istanbul. Fourth chapter contains four different types of most important housing solutions in Istanbul. These four situations, in light of postmodernity in Istanbul and its on-going deformations on its urban sphere, are explained in detail with support of maps, visuals and statistical data. The maps, showing the geographical proliferation of emerging housing trends, are supported with demographical, social, physical and economical information about Istanbul, its buildings and citizens.

The main aim is to bring the social and spatial segregation within the city to the focus. By segregation, two aspects will be explained and examined; the social segregation and the spatial segregation. These two kinds of polarizations cannot be examined separately from each other. They are the steampower of each other, without one, the other one mostly stagnates. Whether the segregation always means something bad for the city or not, or whether it is possible to achieve a complete heterogeneous structure in urban sphere or not, are the questions that could be discussed endless from this works point of view.

¹ In order to understand the change, factors effecting on the situation will be examined in detail.

As the unique part of the work, the final chapter is attempting to evaluate the analyses within study and address them with their previous arguments in order to prove the hypothesis. In order to do so, 3 out of 4 most popular housing trends; mass housing units, informal settlements and gated communities, are chosen. Maps, which are showing the locations of the aforementioned housing typologies within city, are then overlapped with maps showing the socio-economic, education and employment profiles of Istanbul, so that the relationship between these dynamics and the spatial organization of living environments in global postmodern Istanbul can be observed.

1.2 Background

When the Fordist production-consumption methods, and the era of modernism came to an end², the time of postmodernism took start. From this work's perspective, that must be around 1972, during the demolition of old buildings in Saint Louis, Pruitt-Igoe, to be replaced with new buildings that were representing the “modern” face of the time. (**Figure 1.1**) This was the intention of defining “the urge to replace old with new”, rather than meaning an evolved new modernism or a “late” modernism, as the exact translation of the word combination refers to. (Wikipedia. 2010)



Figure 1.1 : Demolition of Pruitt Igoe-1972, (Url-2)

² It is still a subject open to discussion, whether the time of modernism is over or not. For some it is now a post-modern era, for others, it is a transformed, evolved version of modernism.

The adjective “postmodern” appears in fact, in 1870 for the first time, when the English salon painter Chapman wanted to experience a “postmodern” painting with his friends. He used the term to criticise the French Impressionism, and by using it Chapman aimed to by-pass the contra-critiques to his critique for being standard reactionary attack on impressionistic painting. (Bertens-Douwe: 1997:76)

Architects, now define as “post-modern” variates depending on the education level, political views and field of interests of the defining person. Is this a psuedo-post period of modernism? Is this what to define post-modernism as? Even a long discussion about how “post-modernism” should be written could be made, as its meaning could vary depending on the way its chosen to be written. But this term and its place in Turkey will be discussed in details in later chapters of this work. Which terms would come to question if the term “modernism” would be dissolved into its base substances? In a master class two years ago, “Thresholds of 20th Century”, in Istanbul Technical University the entrance question was to define modernism. As expected, all students were excited about it, various terms were flying in the air, and they were being written on the board to come to a conclusion, or rather to a summary of the whole discussion.³ (Inceoglu, 2009)

What now modern is, will be a tradition one day, thus resulting the new generation developing a reaction against it, defining it as old fashioned, attempting to replace it with its modern version, whatever the modern would for that time being be defined as.

Now tradition is one of the terms that must be included in the examination, when unfolding “modernism” into its fragments. What is tradition? To skip the usual definitons and take a short cut; tradition can be described as simply following the flow. But it is also a cultural heritage, functioning as the memory of a community, and architecture is helping to provide future generations with data from today. Architecture and urbanism are slowing the flow of time, containing sections of a certain time period by leaving traces on the skin of our every day space. They can be

³ The seminar resulted in a series of thinking structures, which were written in a non-hierarchical, non-historical order just one after another, as they were being shot into the conversation to keep it going. As expected, no conclusion but a series of discussions built the result.

seen as photographs which have been taken in important moments, so that they can be remembered in the future as well.

Anamnesis is at this point a start as well, as Walter Benjamin once pointed out to his friend Bertolt Brecht, it is always better to start with bad and new things than to start something with old and good things. *Anamnesis* means remembrance or reminiscence, the collection and re-collection of what has been lost, forgotten or effected. It is therefore a matter of the very old, of what has made the human who he is. But anamnesis is also a work that transforms its subject, always producing something new. To recollect the old, to produce the new, is the main goal of *anamnesis*. (Benjamin-Rice 2009) ⁴

The contextualization of modernity is surely very complex and can vary from person to person. In the territory of art, it would be safe to say that it has to be interdisciplinary. Although this multi-faced approach can be deceiving, the nature of modernity is destructive in its origins, it demands individuals to abandon their individuality and become well-functioning parts of the modernity machine. Maybe that is the exact point where the problem lays. For instance when the Russian futurism was storming our reality, no one ever could have imagined about the 21th century, its technological advancements and the changes on the urban sphere apart from futurists like the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, or the architect Nikolay Diulgheroff. The famous manifesto, A Slap in the Face of Public Taste, was a way of seeking dynamism, speed and restlessness, like Marinetti, the Italian counterpart of the Russians expressed (Inceoglu, 2009). They were seeking a change in the static existence of the modernity. An impressive amount of those future utopias have become our reality now. The individual is living in cities with high-rise towers, super-speed trains, mass-communication, experiencing the famous futuristic ideas of the past which were once only ideas.

After the second World War, everything had to be done very quickly, and it had to be done cheap. The Enlightenment was a big change for Europe, the Renaissance had its reasons. But for developing Eastern countries, this was not the case. Turkey did not participate on the World War II. The new established Republic was trying to heal its

⁴ The situation of Turkey and its relationship first with modernism and then with postmodernism is a question of remembering, forgetting and reviving the past in an exaggerated way together, made as a trend at every decade in turns.

wounds from first World War. And the revolution was still fresh. It was Turkey's Renaissance, when in 1923 the old way of living came to an end.⁵ This had to be done not only in social and economical level but also on urban design level.⁶

A modern country had to have modern cities. And Istanbul wasn't meeting the needed criterias for it. A population that lived 600 years long with its own traditions had to throw away the old habits, and adapt to the new way of living that "modernity" was demanding them to. That's why Istanbul was not chosen as the main city of the new Republic, and that's why Ankara was chosen for this task, and the master plan was prepared by Hermann Jansen, the architect and maker of the master plan of Berlin. He prepared a master plan for Izmit as well (**Figure 1.2**). Surely it was no coincidence that Jansen was originating from the country where the Bauhaus modernism was born.

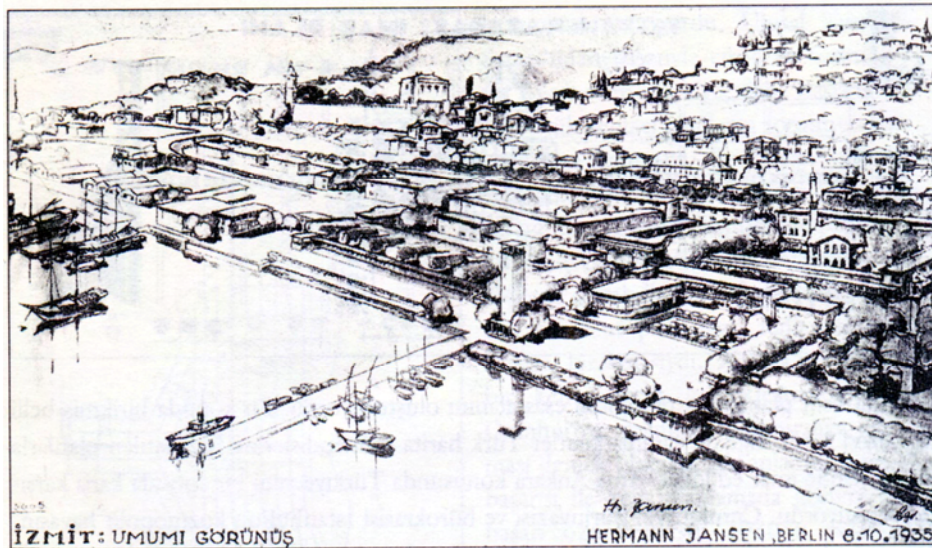


Figure 1.2 : Proposal of Herman Jansen for Izmit, (Tekeli, 1998)

⁵ A new alphabet, an 'ideal' clothing style, along with other 'modern' ways of living were being implemented. This was made firstly out of practical reasons like improving literature level of the society, compensating the gap between Turkey and Europe in terms of industrial advancements. And secondly it was an appeal to the traditional ways of living of Ottoman Empire. This changes were tools of propaganda for a modern nation-state and secularism.

⁶ The establishment of Republic in 1923 can be seen both as a continuity and discontinuity in Turkey's history. The modernization movements have already taken start at the last years of Ottoman Empire. The Republican modernity can be seen in this terms as a continuity. The discontinuity occurred through the drastical changes made in the life styles of citizens.(75 Yilda Degisen Kent ve Mimarlik, Tarih Vakfi, 1998)

Contrary to Ottoman and Turkey, Europe has had background developments, which triggered the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The inquisitions, constant pressure from the church and the socio-political systems with their origins in middle-age, made the necessity for a change inevitable. Without having these triggering factors in its background, the young Turkish Republic was venturing through a rough way of modernizing itself, as this was tried to be made with the exact way the Western World once did. That is also why the changes in Europe can be examined for periods of 50 years, while this duration for Turkey can be only decades, in order to observe and monitor the changes accurately. The wave length and the amplitude of the change is residing in a much more higher frequency level. That being the side effect of having a concentrated drastical change in just few decades, which the neighbour continent experienced and made over hundreds of years, makes the Turkish Revolution unique.

Because of these reasons, Turkey and Istanbul is experiencing globalization different than Western big cities are. There are barely any cities in Europe that could be compared to hybrid, unique Istanbul; having hosted countless cultures and being at the very binding point between Europe and Asia, one can hardly imagine there would be any city that has the same dynamics. The globalization however, is segregating “postmodern” Istanbul, and the “modern” capital city of Turkey, Ankara seem to have lost the war on winning the dominance and importance. Over its competitors in Turkey, Istanbul is the winner on importance list. Despite all the ministries and political traffic, Istanbul still is and always will be the most important city in Turkey in comparison to the capital city Ankara, thus being open to the steamrolling effects of the changing World most.

The city in this changing World can not isolate itself from transformations. Having more people with an individual sphere means also having to respond to a larger variety of preferences on demands. Consumption has to be made and it requires space. Global cities have to have headquarters of international companies to be able to have the needed prestige to attract investors. A developing country needs investors to become a working part of the current capitalist system.

And all those headquarters in fancy, glass buildings demand a certain amount of blue-collar workers that have to provide services for the white collar population.⁷ The rural population keeps moving towards big cities, leaving blank spots behind, creating the segregation not only in the city, but also throughout whole country that is trying to reach its goals. Every stream has positive and negative sides. Exaggeration is a way of arguing and has to be done from time to time. After having an overview to the main terms that are related to this changes, the main goal would be to define the modern way of residing in global cities and its architectural, urbanistic results.

1.3 Hypothesis

After an overview to a wide range of arrangements between ideologies, that has been dominating the World since last two centuries, the connection between urbanization and postmodernism is difficult to decline. With changing consumption patterns and habits, living places have been shifted towards a much more fragmented structure. Istanbul, as a city of segregation, reflects this deep fractal structure in its veins, in its very being. The discontinuities between Ottoman and Turkey Republic, and the attachment of Turkey to the World system later on has brought up the questions about changing housing trends. The “contemporary” ways of housing and its background have strong connections with historical background of Istanbul and Turkey. The second and third chapters are a theoretical reflection of the segregation, while the fourth section shows the means of this exclusion. Istanbul is growing in forms of oil flakes⁸ through islands of buildings. The patterns of these islands have been changing since last 88 years, but the study is questioning the reasons for abandoning the heterogeneity and possible solutions to overcome the homogenous, sterilized exclusive enclavements.

⁷ The blue-collar workforce in literature describes the labour force made of mostly rural immigrants which have a low education level and belong to rather lower social-strata. This group is the servicing work-force of the white-collar population.

⁸ With oil flakes, it is meant to describe the island-formed growth, which follows punctual rapid urbanizations on certain points close to transportation network. Once emerged, these islands start to approach their surroundings like an oil flake.

At the end a strong connection between the aforementioned changing mainstreams such as modernism, postmodernism, globalization, neoliberalization and Istanbul's urban segregation will be proved. The spatial and social segregation have been triggering each other in order to serve the needs of global neo-liberal politics. The reasons for being subject of such transformations are not always the same for every city. Istanbul has unique qualities such as being a former imperial city, having a multicultural identity and its brilliant location for being at the intersection point of continents. Turkey, previously Ottoman Empire, went through a similar revolution process like its Western counterparts but it also has unique qualities, which make all on-going changes case-specific.

The main indicators of urban segregation in Istanbul, being the places of globalization, such as residents of new trends, shopping malls and high-rise business centers would help the reader to visualize the fragmentation and layerization in urban area. Contemporary housing, being the main focus of this study, include all postmodern ways of dwelling in this context. Instead of new, current or trendy, contemporary is a more corrected expression for defining the proliferating housing habits of today.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF MODERNITY IN TURKEY

Who is responsible for producing urban space? Architects? Urban planners? Constructors? The state? Or the citizens?

The contemporary housing in segregated, postmodern Istanbul is containing many answers to this question. Istanbul like every other city has a fragmented structure. But this fragmentation has special aspects.

Turkey, as a “follower”⁹ of former Ottoman Empire has actually started to experience the modernization process before the “modern” Republic was established. Young elites of the Ottoman Empire in 19th Century were having their education mostly in Europe, and therefore they have had strong bounds with the Western ways of living and culture. The “Young Turks”¹⁰, well educated revolution and reform fanatics were the extension of the modernization movements, that took start at the year 1876. The “1876 Tanzimat Movements” were the first attempt to establish a parliament of the Ottoman Empire. At 1908 Young Turks took the control again and until World War I they stayed at the control of the management. During this time many modernization projects were undertaken. To give life to the “sick man of Europe”¹¹, the urban modernization, health and transport improvisations were made. For instance the infrastructure of Istanbul was also improved during this time; the first sewage system was built. Professionals from Europe were invited to Istanbul and they were asked to provide education in order to achieve the same advancements. In light of this information it is clear that the modernization movement did not entirely start with the declarance of Republic from scratch, but it

⁹Follower is written in apostrophe because the aim of young Republic was to achieve something the Ottoman Empire could not do back then: a Western Civilization level to compete the rest of the World and to regain its lost prestige.

¹⁰ A Turkish reformist and nationalist political party active in the early 20th century.

¹¹ Ottoman Empire was called “the sick man of Europe” back in those days, as it was going through many difficulties in economical, social, political and military areas, while Europe was constantly developing and achieving new technological advancements, economical wealth and success in colonization.

already had some developments on its background from its former. As the latter the Republic project extended the modernization project to its limits of course.(Bozdogan, 2002)

2.1 Overview to Modernization of Architecture and Urban Planning in Turkey

As a quick overview in light of the summary previously made, it can be claimed that the emergence of Turkey Republic has two major meanings for the population. Firstly the modernization project took actually at the last decades of Ottoman Empire start and was therefore an ongoing project towards the declaration of the Republic in 1923. From this point of view it can be said that the Republic was representing a continuity between the reforms of old empire and the new democracy on regard of becoming “more modern and western” .As known, the modernity and technological achievements, that Europe accomplished, were a result of long lasting “Enlightenment Process”, that emerged after a long religion-oriented, central, feudal suppression period. The positivism during The Enlightenment has accelerated the advancements in social and natural sciences and therefore it was representing the development in public sphere with an universal method: “Art”. The Ottoman Empire however, lacking these historical backgrounds of Enlightenment, faded from the stage of history at the end of World War I and evolved into a modernity project, which was now called “Turkey Republic”.The secularism and revolutionarism were the mile stones of the young Republic. Atatürk, who has seen positivism as the key to all locks of the doors . The Republic of Turkey undertook a big revolution project following its establishment. Everything ,that was connected to Ottoman Empire and its old fashion ways, was marked as “unmodern”.From this point of view the revolution can be described as a breakpoint in the continuity of the Turkish history. And secondly, as seen, the establishment of the Republic is granting a Janus-head¹² to the Turkish history regarding the modernism project. At one side, the reforms that took start at last decades of Ottoman Empire were being continued on a more improved niveau, at other side, everything that was connected to empire times were seen as a step backwards and were avoided at any cost. They were replaced as quick

¹² In Roman Mythology, **Janus** is the god of gates, doors, doorways, beginnings, endings and time. Most often he is depicted as having two heads, facing opposite directions; one head looks back at the last year while the other looks forward to the new, simultaneously into the future and the past.(Wikipedia)

as possible with their respective modern equals in Europe, which were being imported to the public arena without having the needed cultural background. (Tekeli, 1998)

The very early stages of the Turkish Republic were challenging an architectural style called “Ottoman Revivalism”, an art sub-style built of European modern dynamics and elements of Ottoman Architecture. This style was mainly used in public buildings such as the “Sirkeci Central Post Office” in **Figure 2.1**, built by Architect Vedat in 1909. Back in those days, architecture was a strong propaganda tool that was widely used by young nation-state to spread its modern ideology to the under-educated, former empire population with a conservative background, but the Ottoman Revivalism was not new enough, it still had traces from the past, from imperial days. (Bozdogan, 2002)

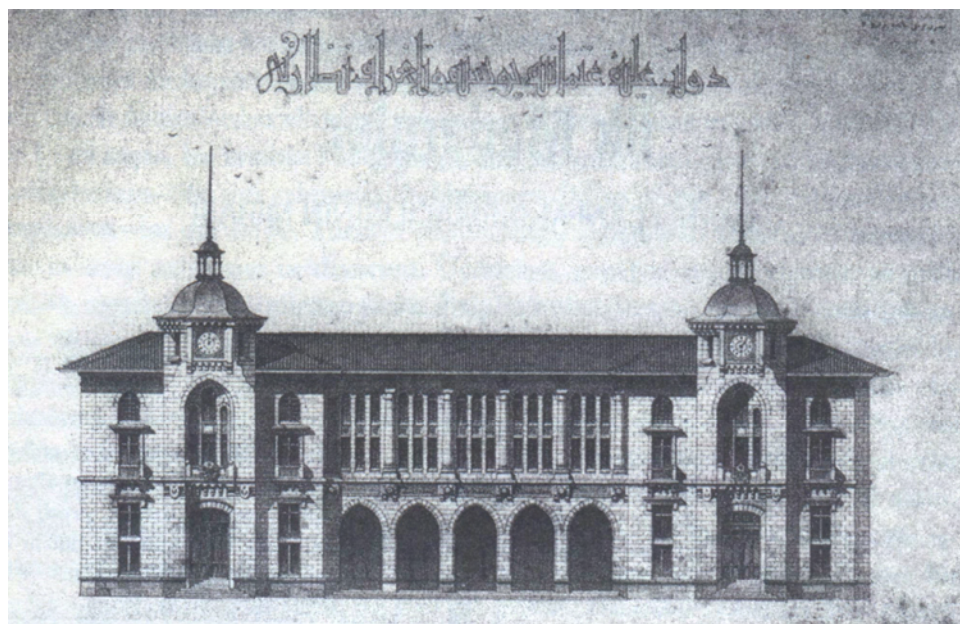


Figure 2.1 : Post-office in Istanbul by Architect Vedat-1909, (Bozdogan, 2002)

The main goal was to introduce the community a new way of living; secular, modern. This new (old), architecture style was called “National Architectural Renaissance” or “Ottoman Revivalism”. At his last breathes, the borders of the empire was constantly shrinking, most of the battles were lost, and the competition on catching up with the advancements Europe has achieved, was lost long time ago. Because of these reasons, the nickname of Ottoman Empire was “*the sick man of Europe*” back in those days. As the representation tool of modernity in public space, the architecture was used and that’s when the Ottoman Revivalism came into

existence. It was representing many undertaken reforms that were trying to feeble a last breathe into the lungs of *the sick man*. The power, the Ottoman Empire once wielded, was tried to be re-gain with these reformist movements. The main objective was to reach the good old days again.



Figure 2.2 : Cubic architecture in early Republic in Ankara, (Bozdogan, 2002)

The new architectural style was trying to follow the principals of “modern movement” in Europe by using them together with architectural elements from Ottoman Period such as domes, large roof consoles with supportive elbow formed struts and lancet archs. With new advanced construction methods like reinforced concrete, iron and steel usage, the buildings could now contain both the modern and the traditional at the same time. The lack of a private sector in construction market and the limited access to material sources were putting housing issue on second spot in priority list. Because of this reason the new architecture style was only to be seen in public buildings, public spaces. As for today, this style is generally ignored by

most architecture historians, because the Ottoman Revivalism is seen as the anachronical other of the New Turkish Modern Architecture at early 1900's. The New Turkish Architecture emerged as an imitation of Cubic Architecture (**Figure 2.2**), followed some years later by the transatlantic aesthetical principals Le Corbusier described, and then with the initiative of the new generation architects like Sedad Hakkı Eldem it evolved into "The First National Architecture Period" in Turkey. From its first days on it was not only reconstructing a new land that was damaged at the war, but also reconstructing a new national conscience, culture and philosophy in light of positivism. From this point of view the Modern Turkish Architecture or the "Turkish Cubism" had a bigger and deeper mission than just being an art-style. Like its equals in Germany and Italy, it was representing "the building of a modern nation-state". Even the name was imported from Europe: "The New Architecture". (Bozdoğan, 2002)

For a society like early Turkey Republic population, the parameters of this modernity were drawn somewhere else outside their grasp and was imported to catch up with a historical phenomenon. The other countries outside Europe have had the chance to be introduced the Western Civilization, Modernity and its destructive face via colonization. Turkey did it voluntarily. (Bozdoğan, 2002)

The journey of modernism from Ottoman Period until today will be examined in 5 sections within this work. (**Table 2.1:**)

Table 2.1: Journey of Modernism, (Derived from Tekeli, 1998)

Periods of Modernism	Remarks regarding:		
	Political	Economical	Urbanization
<p>Second Half of 19th Century until Declarance of the Republic in 1923:</p> <p>Shy or Monotone Turkish Modernity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reforms at low speed -Attempts to establish democracy -World War I and defeat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Shortage of sources -Devastated country upon the War of Independence -Introducing public space to capitalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Change of public transportation means in Istanbul -Introducing public space to capitalism
<p>From 1923 until World War II:</p> <p>New Architecture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -One party regime -Secularism -Drastic reforms regarding citizens lives -Adopting modernism and positivism as ideology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Modernization of agriculture -Increasing productivity upon Big Depression in 1929 -Investments with hands of government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Choosing Ankara as capital city over Istanbul -modernism as a tool of positivist propaganda -Low urbanization speed -Constitutional frame of urbanization and planning

<p>From World War II until 1960 Military Coup: Populist Modernism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Multi-party regime -Ethnic tensions with minorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Shortages due to the Post-WW II economical problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Populist modernism
<p>From 1960 until 1980: Planned Period</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Military Coup -New Constitutional Law -Social-state form 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Excess rural in-migration towards cities -Seeking a planned economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Urban design as an education field in universities -Rapid urbanization -Slum zones
<p>From 1980 until Today: Postmodern / Neo-liberal Period</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Post-coup paradigms -Populistical politics -USSR falls apart -USA becomes single dominating power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neo-liberalization of the market with free-market policy -Change on consumption habits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Urbanization loses speed -De-centralization of industry from city centers following the World trend -Expectations from urbanism

2.2 Period of Shy or Monotone Turkish Modernity

The modernity project, which was born in Europe, has started to transform Ottoman economy and institutional structure as an universal project from 1840 on. This happened in various ways but three most important ones are explained below.

First changes were concerning market economy. The Ottoman economy was introduced capitalist relationships. The elitist managers started reforms in order to establish a modern life and give the empire its old power back. Due to these changes the private and public space definitions in Ottoman society structure started to evolve into a more individual stance. Individual rights, establishing an institutional ownership form, class differentiations started to change, the classical elite group of the Ottoman society from upper classes of the army started to get replaced with civil servants from upper parts of bureaucracy. In Istanbul, the urban space was reflecting these changes most clearly and these reflections were as follows:

Especially at port cities, the urban space started to evolve from a structure that was placed around a central bazaar spot, into another form with the establishment of central business districts (CBD). These areas were providing the new capitalist relationships the space it needed to roam throughout the city. Under the effect of modernization the institutionalization of government took speed and a new form of it came to existence. Parallel to these changes a big city center started to emerge with many government institutes around it, it gained new functions, the modern and the traditional parts of society started to go through a series of big changes in order to adapt on these new paradigms. (Tekeli, 1998)

The second important change was in means of public transportation within the city borders. Pedestrian priority came to an end, tram, cars, ships and train started to fill the gap.

The third change took place due to the new economical relationships place. New social layers appeared within society. A class based differentiation started to show up at housing districts in addition to nation-based classifications.

New public transportation ways, new social layers in society transformed the growing form of the cities. They started to spread like oil flakes at their peripheries. This resulted in suburbs and satellite towns outside the city center.

As last, the land use form started to evolve into a more individual concept. A public space definition was needed as well as a border between the public and private sphere (Tekeli, 1998).



Figure 2.3 : Migrants in early Republic Years, (Bozdogan, 2002)

During this period, the condition of health facilities and services was improved greatly. With this change, the number of deaths due to sickness and plagues was reduced. With the shrinking borders, the Moslim population living in these lands started to move to Istanbul, migrant districts around the city center started to emerge (**Figure 2.3**).

The increasing number of urban population raised the need of a positivist, rational frame for urban planning. And that was mostly to follow the positivist approaches of modernity at first place.

First, it were cartographers, who made the first city plans. These plans were mostly in scale of small districts to plan the neighbourhoods, which were damaged by famous city fires that consumed the historical wood building stock of Istanbul. These city fires provided also the first start point of urban transformations. The first planning attempt was made by Van Moulcke between 1836-1837. (Celik, 1996)

Towards the end of last decade of 19th Century the planning attempts started to aim a wider perspective to cover the whole city as the object of modernization. Bouvard made the first master plan for the whole city at 1902.

2.3 Modernism in Period from Declarance of Republic until WW II

After resolution of the Ottoman Empire, spatial reunification within the land borders was non-existent. That is the main distinction between the emerging modernity in urban sphere in Europe and the modern urban sphere in early Turkey Republic. The microcosmoses in feudal Europe began to reunificate upon the implementation of modernity throughout its geography. A spatial wholeness emerged through this attempt. In Turkey, however, the situation was the exact opposite. In these types of processes, those who establish the state, try to build a nation-conscience and a nation-language in fields of culture, architecture and art. This artificial process is at the same time the short summary of modern Turkish Nation, as well as the construction of modern architecture, urban sphere and housing policy in early Republic years (Bozdogan, 2002).

In modernization projects the transformation or reconstruction of culture, education, daily life made through stand-alone imported values from other origins. A modern public space, new modern ways of living and representation of the nation in international arena as the top priorities, forced the government to import the modernization without its ideological background, as this background was seen dangerous for the fragile political situation of the country. The elimination of “old-fashioned”, “anti-positivist” ways of empire can be examined in 2 ways during this period:

1. Organising the land as the modern stage of nation-state with modern constructions
2. Achieving new spatial organisations in cities that were representing and spreading the propaganda of modernity (Tekeli, 1998)

Three spatial strategies were being followed during this period. Firstly, Istanbul was the most attached part of the new Republic to its former Ottoman Empire. For hundreds of years it hosted many nations, many cultures and many ideologies but as last, it was converted to the stage of power of Ottoman Empire.

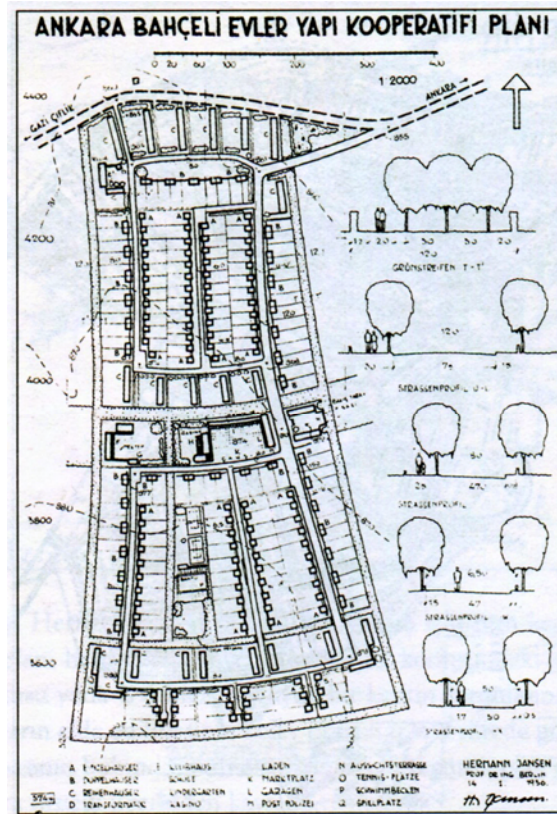


Figure 2.4 : Ankara Garden House Cooperative by Herman Jansen, (Tekeli, 1998)

Although Istanbul was the most attractive and most Western city of Turkey, Ankara was chosen as capital city. Considering the shortage of Turkish Republic's resources, this was a very radical decision to make back in those years and it was representing the revolutionist spirit of the new Republic. The Modern Turkey had to reflect its positivist ideology through a rational planned city. Istanbul, being as cosmopolitan as it is, has had already a complex spatial organization, which was almost impossible to convert to a rational urban structure (**Figure 2.4**). Moreover, its strong heritage from Ottoman Empire was contradictory to the ideology of the new Republic.

As second, an advanced railway network project was undertaken. The aim of this network was to connect every corner of the country with Ankara, the capital city of the new Republic. This had two reasons; firstly to establish integration of domestic markets and secondly connecting all parts of the country with the source of modernity: Ankara. The intention was to strengthen the central authority and to spread the modernist propaganda. And as last, after the 1929 depression, the productivity was getting better again. To support the reflection of economical growth and productivity in the country, the government was building industry buildings on railway connection points in small cities and was bringing the "power of modernity"

and new production ways to furthest points of Anatolia. That was in its background a Fordist propaganda which is known as one of the most famous ways of modernism in early 20th Century in the World. (Tekeli, 1998)

One of the biggest challenges for the government was the housing problem at post-war areas such as West Turkey. Second biggest challenge was to build a modern capital. Establishment of a modern capital was not just building a new modern city, but it was also representing the power of the change and the of the freshly founded republic.

Due to the late planning attempts at last decades of Istanbul, there was a certain accumulation and experience in terms of planning. But these plans were made mostly by cartographers. The governments aim however, was to follow a positivist planning method, which had a strong modernist ideology behind. In 1928 a very important institution was established in order to do this: “Ankara City Development Directorate”. To prepare a master plan for Ankara, a competition was opened. 3 designers were invited to the competition, Herman Jansen, the planner of Berlin won the prize. Due land speculations, lack of organized private construction sector, and the financial difficulties, the application of the master plan remained limited.(Tekeli, 1998)

From these years until the end of 1930’s, planned developments in other Anatolian cities appear as well. Few examples are Akşehir and Tatvan with their grid-formed city plans (**Figure 2.5**).

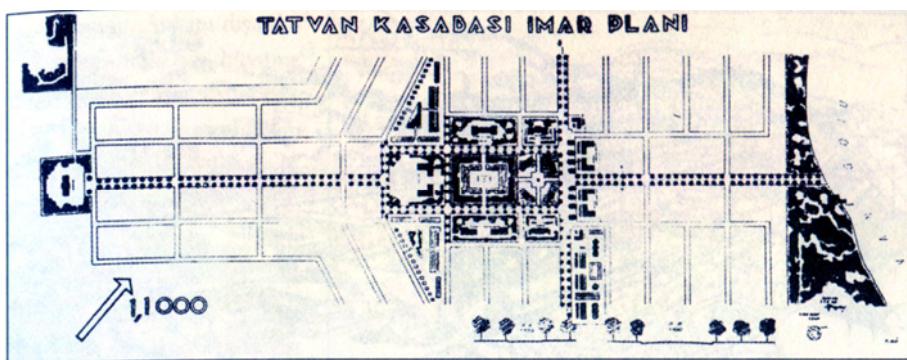


Figure 2.5 : Master plan for Tatvan Village in 1935, (Tekeli, 1998)

2.4 Period Between WW II-1960 Military Coup: Populist Modernism

Like the rest of the World, the WW II brought big changes to Turkey too. The fact, that a prestigious state respects human rights, that it is being steered with a democracy and which was trying to fullfill the welfare of its citizens, became the new principals behind the new politics. According to this new perspective, Turkey left one party regime and entered a political system of a multi-party democracy.

The character of modernism started to evolve in light of these changes. Earlier, the reforms were made as a result of the transcendent character of modernism. They were being dictated to the community by saying and showing that it was for their own good to abide by these regulations. The participation of citizens on management was in some parts neglected. The changes still did not mean that the modernization project was over, but rather that it was going to continue on a more populist level now. Istanbul has gone through an immense transformation action during this time.

Menderes period in 1950's in Istanbul has a special place. Among the changes in Republic history, 1950-1960 period have had the biggest impact on urban planning and transformations in Istanbul. Be it positive or negative, the building process during this time, combined with the demographical pressure due rural migration, has perished the traces of architectural heritage in Istanbul. Todays chronical traffic problems originate the changes of this years as well. Istanbul appeared with a "brand new" image at the end of this period. The reconstruction and transformation period, which lasted almost 4 years, was the biggest operation the city ever experienced until that time. The strategies were developed unfortunately through a political point of view, the cultural heritage of the city was neglected. Menderes, the leader of Democrat Party, was representing the Anatolian side of the Republican Party until it parted its ways and became a political movement itself, which ruled the country over two decades. The new party inherited two things from the previous management: 1- A late Ottoman and Republic ideology, that can be described as modernization, 2-A blurred ideological content within economical demands of Anatolian society. The urban vision of Anatolian locals has had a figurative meaning. Its cultural content was rather limited. The approach, that damaged the cultural heritage of Istanbul was hidden in this gap. In addition to this the Democrat Party of Menderes was appealing to the ideology of the Republican party and its privileged plans for Ankara. Istanbul had now the top priority for the central authority. The city was untouched since the

establishment of the Republic and ,being the largest city, it contained a great vote potential for the elections. Cansever discusses, that the widths of the roads in Henri Prost's master plan were multiplied by transport engineers, before the transformation began. This changes were made without any field investigation but whilst sitting on a desk. Menderes explained the aims of the transformations as releasing the traffic from pressure by opening roads and squares, giving the city an aesthetic look and to restorate the religious buildings. Upon this declarance, vast transformations started, which were reminding one on Hausmann Demolitions in Paris from Napoleon the Third's time. Wide motorways along the Bosphorus coast and in historical city were opened, countless historical buildings were demolished. Istanbul, once an imperial city, has lost a great amount of its identity (Kuban, 1995).

During these years the domestic market was pretty much introverted due to the World War II. The modernization of agriculture was the key to expansion of Turkey towards foreign markets. The private sector started to gain priority over public sector under the effect of liberalization process. The railway-oriented infrastructure investments left their place to motorway-dominated investments. The mechanization and the mass production in agriculture started to convert the market from a self-sufficient structure to an exporting and trading sector. The productivity dramatically increased and the rural population started to mobilize towards the metropol. (Tekeli, 1998)

Upon these developments a rapid urbanization took start. The urbanization speed of 6%, that was only happening in Ankara due to new master plan, has started to appear within all cities in Turkey.

The background of urban growth and transformations in Turkey was drawn with the principals of modernity. But with the sudden changes in urban growth rates and the changes in individual lives, the management had to face the problems of this immense expansion sooner than expected. With spontaneous measures the situation tried to be taken under control. Slum zones around the cities started to appear. The parts of the cities that grew in frame of modernism frame and the parts that were developing by itself due these changes started to constitute two different faces in the same metropol. These two faces started to grow distant from each other, and this distance was not only physical but also social. The institutional regulations that were

made during this time in order to control the situation, can be summarized in 5 main points as follows :

- 1- Bank of Provinces was established in 1945 with law Nr.4759. At a time when the rapid urbanization was not exactly perceived by the community, these banks aim was to bring the Municipal Development Commission and Municipal Bank together and gather the authority to produce services for planning, infrastructure and the finances of these processes in one hand. But this was far from being enough against the destructive speed of the urbanization during this time.
- 2- A new Municipal Law Nr.5237 was made to increase the income of municipalities in 1948. But again this was not nearly enough in comparison to the amount of sources that was needed for a planned urban development.
- 3- Foundation of Chamber of Architects and Engineers was a new hope to start a more professional and organized movement. Later, with its critical stance, this chamber will be the sound of architects and public on design and urban planning issues.
- 4- The new Development (Zoning) Law Nr. 6875 in 1956 was reflecting the idea of urban planning in World rather than seeking a new legitimation frame instead of modernity.
- 5- In 1958, the Ministry of Development and Housing was founded. A specialized ministry against fast urbanization on subjects like construction, materials, planning and housing. (Dulgeroglu, 2008, HFLIG Seminar Notes)

Although the intentions were good, these measures could not take the speed and direction of growth of cities under control. Squatter zones were emerging around the cities and they were imposing their own reality to the government. The residents of informal settlements were becoming valuable for the politicians because of their big vote potential during election periods. And exactly this very point was building the populist face of multi-party democracy in Turkey during this period. Many amnesties were made to get more votes from the residents of squatters, which were built against the Law of Development. And every amnesty encouraged production of squatters on an increased level. Instead of producing healthy and legal housing for the new residents of the city, the politicians chose to let them build their own houses and

legitimize the products at the end. With by-passing the long bureaucracy this approach was providing a quick shelter solution for the workforce, which was needed for the developing industry and market sectors in the city.

After the World War II, the government invited many foreign specialists in order to seek solution for the housing problem. From these specialists, the report of the American urbanist Charles Abrams' report has particularly importance. He was drawing attention to the lack of technical work force that would solve the problem , and was suggesting establishment of an institute to raise "imperts" instead of importing "experts". Upon this suggestions, ODTU, The Middle East Technical University, was established. The report was also criticising the general perception of urbanism among management, which was seeing it as an extension of architecture, therefore the report was suggesting a multi-disciplinary organisation between other sciences and urban planning. Urban Planning Institute at this university was established in 1961.(Tekeli, 1998)



Figure 2.6 : Circulation axis' of Istanbul in Early Republic years
(Exhibition Istanbul 1910-2010)

All these changes were actually representing a change on understanding of urban planning paradigms in Turkey. The new paradigm was prioritizing a multi-disciplinary, research-based urban development, instead of prioritizing the physical form of the cities due to the propaganda purposes, like it was done in early years of the Republic.

2.5 1960-1980: Planned Rapid Urbanization and Social Government

The year 1960, was a turning point in Turkey's history in political, social and economical fields. With the military coup and the new constitutional law right after, in 1961, the social state principal appeared in government mechanisms. The government was not only responsible for providing independency to its citizens, but also providing them the minimum life standards was now among its responsibilities as well.

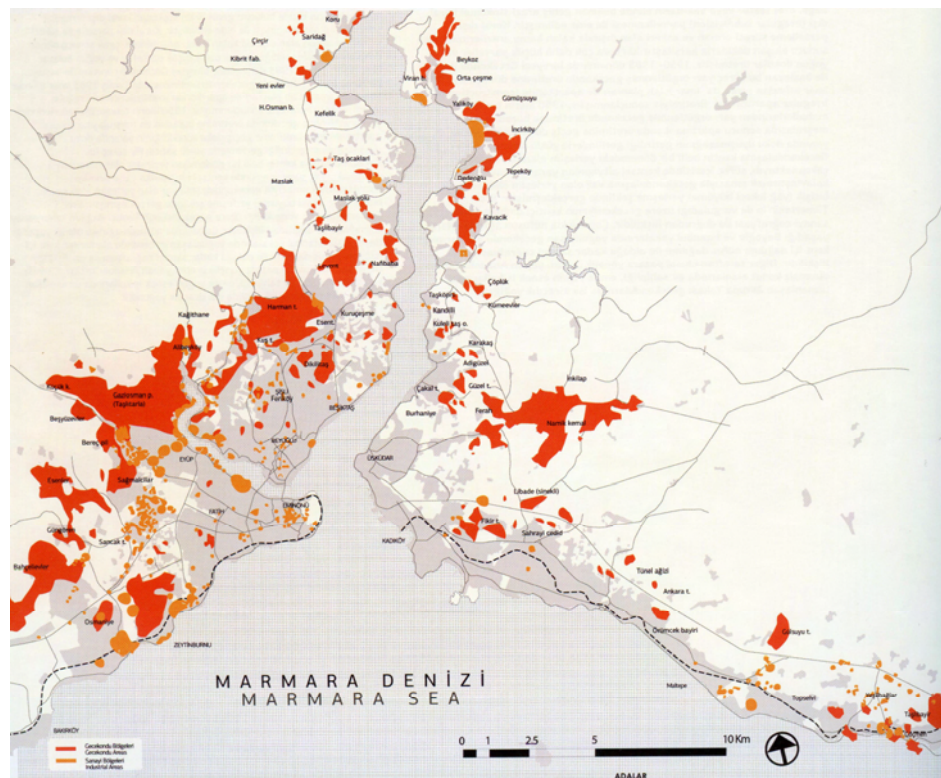


Figure 2.7 : Squatter and industry areas in Istanbul 1970
(Exhibition Istanbul 1910-2010)

The liberal politics were starting to face a new opponent: the socialist political view was gaining popularity. The student movements and the new constitutional law was supporting the critics , which were pointed towards the urbanization processes. The

State Planning Agency was founded and its first task was to produce 5-year development plans. The aim of these plans were to organize the incomes of the state to for the needs of society. It was the states responsibility to make sure that the life standards of the citizens met at least a minimum level. (Tekeli, 1998).

The biggest changes during these years were not only in field of justice. West Europe was in need of unqualified. Due to the high death rate during World War II, these countries were left with big labour force gaps. During these years, the migration from Turkey to these countries increased . In addition to this, the agricultural small-scale production methods in rural areas were being supported with populistic politics. These politics increased the amount of people that moved to the big cities in West Turkey, especially to Istanbul. The cities started to grow outside the municipality borders, new sub-municipalities started to emerge (**Figure 2.7**). The car ownership triggered the transform of the city structure. High-income layers of the society started to live in suburbs outside the city. (Osmay, 1998)

The resolution of the rural population towards the urban sphere of Istanbul raised problems on both the immigrants and metropol citizens sides; the domestic migrants were expected to adapt on the cultural and social life of the city, the citizens were expected to adapt on the change. Although they were using the advantadges of the urban life, and they were able to affect the political mechanism with their votes, the new residents of the city were refusing to integrate with the rest of community.

Arabesque¹³ music, was an interesting reflection of the tension between two different faces of the city for example. Every identity needs a contradictional counterpart to be able to exist and define itself in public space. The best way to increase its reality is to express what it is not, rather than what it actually is. The former citizens of Istanbul,

¹³ Arabesque represents the Islamic patterns and motives made of repeating geometries. But in Turkish music conjuncture, it is used for the music with Arabic motives in it, that became very popular during the 1960's. It was very long time forbidden in television canals of the state, mainly for being a bad example and deformation for the rest of the music culture. As the passing years it became the music of "others" in public space. In response to their elite counterparts with Istanbul origins, the rural immigrants have promoted this music to a demonstration tool to represent their identity. New arabesk-stars were appearing on the stage one after another, films about the love between a poor Anatolian man and a rich metropol girl were the favourite among the low-income group. Arabesque was not just a music art, but a life style and a way of representing themselves in public space for those who have been experiencing the urban decline of other social layers. (Keyder, 2000:35)

defining themselves as modern, cosmopolitan and western, were expressing themselves through their differences with “others”; the rural immigrants. Same perception was existing among the “new” Istanbul citizens as well, only their ways of expressing the aforementioned differences was more radical, The focus was on being existent and accepted in public space.(Keyder, 2000).

One of the important factors, that were effecting on the cities were the central business centers. (CBD’s). The small-scaled industries were mainly located around these districts at the end of 1960’s. This was causing a certain amount of traffic, environmental and security problems concerning fires and explosions. Small-scaled industry districts solved this problem upto a certain level after 1965. The suburban development was a reflection of the litty industry districts. Increasing usage of cars was increasing the pressure on traffic. (Osmy, 1998)

Neither slums, that were covering the city peripheries during these years, nor the alternative house production methods were improving the life quality of their residents. Like oil flakes, the big cities of Turkey, but especially Istanbul kept growing and growing in an organic form. Surely this was also a reflection of the refusal of the integration of the migrants to the cities, but as well as the “refusal of the city” to internalize them as a “part” of the city.

In 1967, in Second 5 Year Development Plan, the issues concerning the finances of build-and-sell house providing systems and the need of introducing a new house providing system were adressed. The social housing got mentioned for the first time in this plan. This approach was suggesting to organise and mobilize a big capital to invest in this issue, providing big building plots for the projects, the planning of these areas and the infrastructure investments to be made, in order to achieve a certain organised development on the growing housing issue. Even though an organisation at this scale would be expected from the government, it was the private investors and local administrations who first started with it.

From the second half of 1970’s onwards the introduction of big housing facilities took start. Number of small-sized, organized industry sites and organized industry zones increased fast. The investors started to come together to build their work places collectively as a site. University buildings, health facilities, private sector headquarters and public buildings were now built as campus facilities on big building

plots at once. The growing form of the cities evolved from a metropolitan structure into a monstrous huge industry form (Tekeli, 1998).

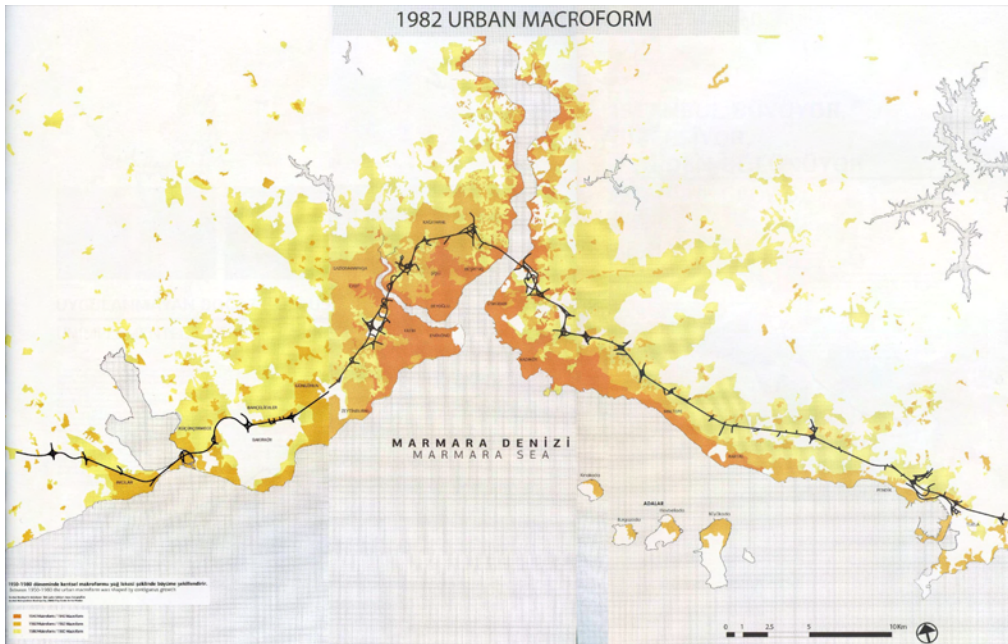


Figure 2.8 : Urban-macroform of Istanbul between 1960-1980
(Source: Exhibition Istanbul 1910-2010)

The intentions to produce reasonable, rational master plans were not meeting the needs of high urbanization speed. A flexible, fast reacting planning method was needed. During these years in Ankara, Izmir and Istanbul, metropolitan planning offices opened. First building plot using methods, transport master plans were prepared in this time. One of the most interesting changes was the preparation of first “Slum Law” in 1966. The most important consequence of this law was that with it the government was officially accepting the existence of slum problems, and it was granting local administrations authority, money and legitimation to fight slum production and improve the condition of the ones which were already built. This resulted in certain improvements on infrastructure, transportation and physical conditions. But it also resulted in the commercialization of slums. Certain groups started to abuse the gaps in the law, and produced slums in order to sell them to those who were coming to the cities from rural areas in order to get access to better economical conditions. The urban macroform in 1982 in **Figure 2.8** shows how the city expanded and contracted outside the former city walls. 1940 macroform, marked with darkest colour in the map, represents only a small part of total urbanized areas within Istanbul by 1980. Subsequently punctuated growths on different spots in the

city shows itself with lighter colours; light orange is for 1960 and yellow is for 1980 urban macroform of Istanbul. (Istanbul 1910-2010)

2.6 Conclusion

After having examined the first 4 periods of modernism in Turkey, the coming chapter will be about period of postmodernism. Although the postmodernism and Turkey is evaluated as a stand-alone chapter, it represents the final and 5th part of modernism in this study, briefly the post-1980 years and the changes occurred during this period. As once it was argued at the beginning of this work, postmodernism has its origins in modernism. Although it is suggesting big contradictions to its former, its reactions and its reflexes are derived from the structures of modernism.

The main reason that postmodernism is occupying a whole chapter by itself in this study, is its appeal against modernism as a triggerer of globalization politics, which have sterilized living environments and their spatial organizations as its consequence. Moreover, the time when these changes are hard to perceive, so that their signals and even existence becomes questionable through the immense advancements of telecommunication technologies, is the time of postmodernism.

The periods of modernism in Turkey reveal certain facts regarding Istanbul. Firstly it summarized the years, when Istanbul is being neglected while its competitor, Ankara, was being granted the biggest amount of Turkey's sources. Since the Turkish revolution is both a continuity and a disconnection of modernism movements in Turkey, the empty gaps between transition periods were tried to be addressed in second chapter.

Secondly, the nation-state, slowly leaving the stage to individuality, left a vast space of unattended authority behind it, upon all the changes taking place after 1980.

Tools of propaganda dominating the majority of common matters regarding choices and lifestyles among society, started to evolve. The architecture and urbanism, having the biggest impact on daily life, have always been the most important tools of reforms for countless ideologies throughout centuries.

3. POSTMODERNISM AND TURKEY

When explaining contemporary housing and its conditions, triggerers, current situation, problems and solutions, the main thinking structures behind it must be explained. Turkey, being part of the World, can not be excluded from the ideologies and philosophies that have had impact on urban space in 20th century.

What today relevant to the housing situation is, are surely the terms ‘global city’, ‘gloablization’, ‘world city’ and moreover ‘postmodernism’ as the main actor in the background.

The housing is the reflection of the socio-economical and demographical situations within urban space. The turning points, political and economical changes along with graphics and maps will function as main examination tools in this chapter.

3.1 Appearance and Background of Postmodernism

As it is mentioned in previous chapter, the process of change since the early days of modernism has been continuing in an accelerated pace until today. In these terms the explanations about postmodernism in Turkey have to include its differences from modernism and modernisms embedded connections in urban sphere. To be able to grasp the transition from the former to the latter, the situation before has to be examined with current situation together.

Revolutions in 4 fields; science, politics, culture and technics/industry subjects, are representing the transition from traditional structure to modernity. (Jeanniere, 1994:16)

Modernism is made of a combination of a process, a direction and a mandatory result.(Therborn; 1996:61) Actually “modernism” is always used to define something, that emerges after a radical change and is applicable for humans as well as their surrounding environment. Modern world has replaced the agricultural world, it enforced the application of a World idea that is uncomparable with former ones. This idea changes first the human and then his world. (Jeanniere; 1994:16)

With its positivist, technology oriented and rationalist public face, modernism is identified with faith in linear development, faith in absolute truth, along with the new planning of society according to rationalism and the standardization of information and production.(Harvey, 1998:21)



Figure 3.1 : A critical visual towards modernism and its source Bauhaus, (Url-5)

It is now a commonly accepted fact that the term modernization is representing technological advancements, industrialization and a transition process from rural areas towards metropol, thus an increasing commercial activity in places with better spatial organization for financial activities. But it is also accepted that the modernity is not purely made of technological advancements but also an export of these advancements from developed geographies to the developing geographies. Surely the export of these advancements always includes the transfer of core properties, cultural inheritance and traces of the origin countries representing this phenomenon as well. The countries that entered this phase later than origin countries has been experiencing a difficult kind of transformation, “a change of change”, the modernization of what has already been modern for a while and had to be modernized more. This is a structure representing the social, cultural, economical, technological and environmental change. (Yilmaz-Aslan, 2001)

The concept of modernization is defined in different ways. Although the definitions can vary, the modernization phenomenon has been described as the changes on the static structures of traditional handicrafts, small scale agricultural production to a more industrialized organization, demographical organization of the society with an

increasing literacy rate, a more integrated life with mass-communication development and transport opportunities along with the transition to a more dynamic, productive society profile. The biggest change appears as the evolution of an agricultural society to an industry society (Yilmaz-Aslan, 2001:94).

Modernism of 20th Century can be seen as a very strict, solid form of modernity with a considerable amount of authority. This authority has been subject of many critics. **(Figure 3.1)** Taking start in 16th century in Europe, becoming political with 1789 French Revolution, institutional with the Industry Revolution, Modernism has reached 20th Century. According to many, it came to an end in mid-20th Century, new Modernism, that is being emerged since then, is now called “Postmodernism” (Kahraman:2007).

3.2 Postmodern Ways of Perception, Postmodern City

Many sociologists that are trying to understand the “city” phenomenon, are focusing on qualitative change through use of periodicity when interpreting the city. One of the most important and well known sociologist amongst them, Featherstone, claims that the postmodern city notion has replaced:

- The city notion claiming that cities, which exist within tradition, history and art, are containing a strong space feeling, famous buildings of importance with a collective identity and turning points.
- The modernist, functional financial city notion, according to which, the space form of these cities is under heavy influence and control of modernist architecture and urbanism.
- And finally the city notion about cities, that are being cleansed of culture.

Another theorist, Jameson suggests that the urban culture and the changes on urban life style are growing less important within general culture while ,as a clear example of late-capitalist culture, the commercial displays are strongly gaining on importance within the urban culture (Jameson. 1994: 19).



Figure 3.2 : Postmodern consumption habits, (Url-6)

According to Baudrillard, the change of transition of Western cities from modern reality to postmodernity is a qualitative shift, and at the same time a representation of “hyperrality”; a term, which the theorist has invented to define the eternal flow of simulations made of amphibian displays and piles of images produced inside the consumption culture (2003: 122-123). One characteristic of postmodern art is its conflation of high and low culture through the use of industrial materials and pop culture imagery.(**Figure 3.2**)

In this sense, the postmodernity implies a tendency towards reflexivity, or self-consciousness, about the production of the work of art, so that each piece calls attention to its own status as a production, as something constructed and consumed in particular ways. The city is the subject of this implication as a developing, reproduced reality. The researchs that are being made by Davis(1985), Chambers(1987), Venturi(1991), Eco(1993), Jameson(1994), Featherstone(1996), Debord(1996), Harvey(1999), Connor (2001) and Baudrillard(2001), in order to understand the relationship between the postmodernist urbanization and the architecture that occupies this period, are very important to understand the urban design and architecture paradigms of this time. These rhetorics are based on the relationship between the consumption society-based economical aspects and aesthetical aspects of this structure.(Bati, 2008:4)

Giving an aesthetical meaning to daily life is clearly a need of capitalist mass production and the profit realization. The products produced according to these needs have become instruments of aestheticization of the daily life thus providing capitalist mass production a market to deliver its products.

Another way of aestheticization of daily life is to grant it the meaning of an art piece (Featherstone, 1996:118). According to Featherstone, this aestheticization project had a magical effect amongst the intellectuals and artists, with postmodernism together the discussions on aesthetics gained increasingly on number and on importance and the beautiful life norms that came with aestheticization project became a way of representing his identity in public space for the postmodern individual. The search for new styles and senses and the will to discover came to forefront with this approach. (1996:18)

Surely the mass communication played a vital role on this transformation. French writer Adaires explains this with an interesting example about Coca-Cola dose becoming more familiar to public eyes than a tulip, or that it became more universal than the God phenomenon in Judaism or Christianity. With an example from Benetton advertorials, he says that even God or death are being used as a marketing tool (1993: 87-88). He questions the reality of Iraq War, and argues that noone can prove that it really happened, since no one really saw any death bodies. He emphasizes the simulation thesis of Baudrillard in his discussion, that a reality is non-existent but only a model of reality, thus only as a hyperreality. (1993: 88)

The changes within everyday life due to the postmodernist rhetorics should be considered as triggering factors of changes in urban design methods and the building stock, in means of use and transformations of public sphere. Political, economical and artistical developments in these fields cannot be seperated from each other, since they all have an important impact on humans life.

The aestheticization of everyday life can be mostly related to the displays and fast flow of images that are building the texture of daily life. According to Marcuse the aesthetical preferences as a whole along with the social relations are building the aesthetic style. (Marcuse, 1997:20) When seen from this point of view, it is easier to find the results of this understanding within urban artifacts that provide shelter for new aesthetical norms and consumption habits, which are today being transformed under the influence of these perceptions. In this regard the aestheticization and

stylization project provides the basis for the relationship of capital, images and the consumption within the spatial organizations and formations emerging in “postmodern” urban space. (Bati, 2008:6)

Today's metropol is the product of changing traditional life style and preferences. The aforementioned explanations and sociological frames are trying to look through the rapid changes of city formations today.

Sociologist Simmel thinks that the roots of modernity lay within the urban life. He defines the city not with its physical borders but with its sociological aspects. For Simmel is the city alone a spatial identity itself, instead of a spatial identity with sociological consequences. Although it contains a social space within its borders, which has a base effect on social interactions in the society. (2003:27) The most important cities mentioned in these analyses are the ones that came to existence through secularization, industrialization, commercialization and rationalization, in short with impacts of modernism (Best and Kellner, 1991:1-3).

3.3 Role of Postmodern Individual in Postmodern City

The rational urban organization form emphasizes ways of restructuring, which aim for universal, eternal, absolute qualities of life in order to purify the everyday life from its chaos. For modernity, architecture always meant order. Modernism aims for a form that distances itself from historical references, exaggerations and emphasizes functionality, technology instead. (Bati, 2008:6)

In this way of thinking the most important duty of the modern individual is to understand the modernity, furthermore the beauty of modernity. Like all other factors of modern life, the cities of modernity too contained the moral and aesthetical values of their time, thus reflecting the character of the modern individual. Later the contradictory thesis of postmodernism against modernity has adopted exactly this way of thinking in its core; for postmodernity, modernity means an eternal beauty, perfection, certainty, consistency, unity and an unavoidable need for definitions. The most important reflex of modernity is built of the urge of achieving the individuality “in a wholeness” and underlining its stand-alone existence. Not far from being a form of pressure, modernity certainly emphasizes a pre-defined life style. Today, the emerging metropolises and their culture are based on consumption, the dominance of

finances in everyday life means a transition from modernism to postmodernism, thus resulting in a series of choices, which are made more individually, in order to become a member of society rather than being one of those who just follow the pre-defined forms. The transnational capital defined with its unavoidable extensions 'from Middle-East to Europe or from USA to Asia' is enforcing an architecture based on power via capital accumulations hence today's metropol theory represents a 'modernity based postmodernity'. In such cities most commonly observed design products regarding these disciplines are skyscrapers, luxury residences, finance centers and shopping centers, in short; places of consumption that would allow capital to roam freely through city and its citizens.

According to Jameson the postmodern city does not have the melancholy of modern cities, it does not accept the hegemony of modern hyper-narrations and refuses the need for functionality, consistency and defined realities. It adopts a fragmented, collaged structure and offers one the opportunity to express himself "without any borders". For postmodernity, this way of existence is only through defining the modern as an absolute and suppressive "other" possible. Postmodernity reacts to modernity with turning its suppression of monotony within modernity into a cartoon style life with motion and diversity. For Jameson, postmodernism is not a function but a fiction. It is an "edited shallowness". (Jameson: 194: 172-173)

The first sociological city definition was made by Ferdinand Toennies (2000:185) by emphasizing the communion(*gemeinschaft*) and community(*gesellschaft*) terms and clarifying the distinctions between city and village. In another approach Sorokin and Zimmerman try to define the city by drawing its borders where it meets the rural area. They define the city in terms of profession, environment, homogeneity, density and social stratification (Erturk, 1997:49) Sociologist Max Weber looks to the city through a financial perspective and defines the city as the place of financial organizations based on politics and economy. (2000:78)

For Harvey and Lefebvre, the city is the center of capitalist accumulation (Aslanoglu, 1998:63), while Castells relates the borders of the city to the consumption habits; for him the life style, that emerges through consumption habits in the city, are the main factors for determining the frontlines of it. (1997:124)

The postmodern city lacks the ingredients that would allow it to be addressed, localized and defined in an absolute way. Due telecommunication and informatic

technologies, the postmodern city transformed itself into an information base. With this destructive bombard of erupting forces, the postmodern city is now experiencing the being of unreal or the becoming of “unreal” period. (Robbins, 1999:214) For modern city notion, the city was a machine, which was built of perfectly functioning parts. The transformed postmodern form of this notion is attacking the borders of this machine with its increased communication and information advancements, breaking its space-time continuity. (Dutton: 1987)

The postmodern individual experiences the citizenship as a viewer, his role in urban sphere is reduced dramatically and he is expected to participate on this constantly changing order of organization, so that the change can continue without interruption. The participation means here the individuality and its expression through consumption.

Representing the show-off and image aspects of the society, the city architecture today is one of the most important approaches towards city life and culture (Appadurai, 1990: 295-311). This phenomenon, being the trigger of the change on urban culture and design, is the steampower of the transformations of the city towards a consumption based structure. According to Debord the exclusion movement as the reality of urbanism today, is determined by the production and consumption needs (Debord, 1996:18). Istanbul responded to this transformation with increasing numbers of shopping malls and other forms of consumption-based spatial organizations. **(Figure 3.3)**

In this regard the city texture has resulted in embeddedness of representation and consumption within urban space and life. The architecture of these places is emphasizing the demonstrative and exhibitiv aspects of consumption via structures like theme parks, shopping centers, cultural centers, holiday villages, reorganizations of mass-housing units to provide an allegedly reference to collectivity. The fantastic atmospheres of these spaces are providing encouragement to their visitors to consume their products and services, in a way they are forcing one to obey to the order they are imposing (Bati, 2008:10).

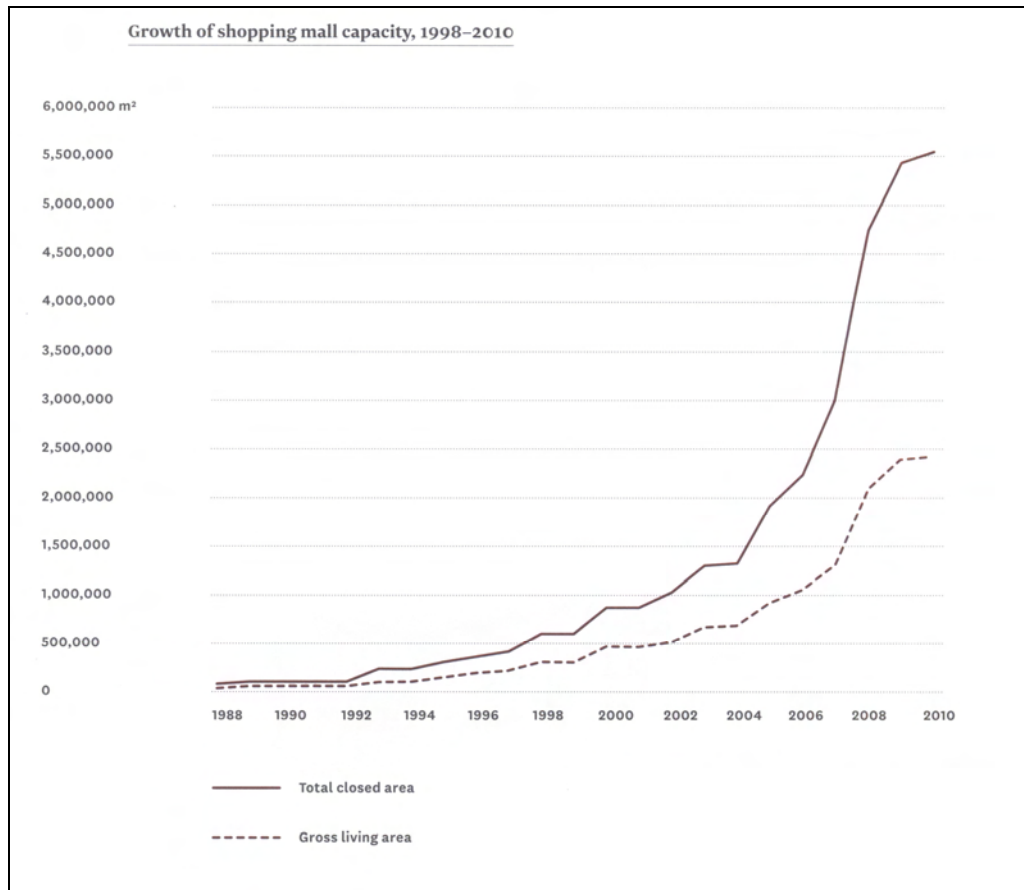


Figure 3.3 : Growth of shopping mall capacity in Istanbul
(Mapping Istanbul,2009)

In these terms the simulation theory of Baudrillard must be explained in detail. According to him everything in the postmodern world is a copy of a copied copy. Simulation or hyperreality according to Baudrillard is the multiplicity and solidating of a reality that lacks an origin and a reality itself (Baudrillard, 2003:120).

This reality is describing a situation, that lost its own reality and passes well to the images and culture represented and imposed by today's television and internet culture. The disability to express and contain an objective reality is the most important preference, thus being a hyperreality like in the aforementioned definition. The postmodern architecture and its hyperreality considers all urban elements as spectacle issues. The usage goals and concerns of postmodern architecture in this frame are secondary. The primary issue is the change on a symbolical level and the reproduction of these symbolical changes with the inclusion of social codes. In short and simple, postmodernity and its places are their own illusion in the eyes of the individual, who is the object of these changes with his life and existence in urban

sphere It is imposing its own hyperreality to the postmodern individuals reality by excluding this reality from its origins hence turning it to a hyperreality itself.

According to Venturi the urban culture is with its contradictions and complex structure interesting and colourful, while the cities of modernity appear to have a conservative cliché language. According to him the urban culture must be processed with an innovative architecture of diversities. With this statement he was pointing out the postmodern architecture and its colourfulness in comparison to modernism (Venturi, 1991). Jencks describes the postmodern architecture with the collapse of traditional space and design approaches, and he blames the technology for this change (Jencks, 1991:25). At the end of this process the postmodern architecture is characterized with a broken and fragmented style.

According to Featherstone, the fragmentation is considered as the most important fact that defines postmodernism (Featherstone, 1995:76). Postmodern space is fragmented, it has many different styles, aesthetical concerns, that are melted into each other and moreover these concerns and styles are prioritized over their functions and social aspects. Postmodern societies are dynamic, moody, slick and these characteristics affect their spatial organizations.

The solution of the problem to overcome the machine order of modernity is a way paved with pluralism. Postmodernism uses different styles together as a reference to the chronological structure of modernity. Modernity refuses every kind of archaism and encourages a definitive detachment from the past. According to Connor however, postmodernism is eager to conquer old techniques and styles, and that grants it two different chronological characters. First one is the construction of old traditions and their imitations like it is described in Jencks' theory as "direct revivalism" (**Figure 3.4**). The second one is the collage of different styles that are used together willingly and knowingly together in order to build a contrast and a series of differences as a critical approach towards modernism (Connor, 2001).

The references to the fragmented structure of postmodernism can be seen as a reaction to the holistic structure of modernism. Harvey for example describes these reactions as an attempt to grasp today's perception experiences, fragmented collages, dependant on symbolism and connotation, while he describes the big metropolises as the last metaphor of postmodernity (Harvey, 1999: 103-104).



Figure 3.4 : Olivium Outlet Center in Zeytinburnu 2008

In light of these discussions, the postmodern urban culture is the representation of distinct lives and sub-cultures. In this understanding, on one side there are suburbs, clubs gated communities, while on the other side gypsy districts, slum areas and immigrant parishes are to be seen. After all, the postmodernists are critical towards one-track-mindedness and standardization obsession of modern movement. The different styles of postmodernism are actually a reference to its intention of bringing different periods and styles together, hence to its pluralist philosophy, but only with a populist method. Istanbul, observed with these perspectives, reflects every single aspect of postmodernity and its reflections on urban space.

When compared, the shopping centers in 1960's with the order of defined products that are placed in colour identified shells minding their categories, are not to be seen anymore. Instead of this, the postmodernist consumer preferences have changed the shopping environment to an eclectic, dynamical and constantly changing chain of spaces. The postmodern consumer does not buy just because he needs to, but also because shopping for him is a hedonist ritual to express himself in public space.

Postmodern shopping centers welcome one with promises to have fun, since the consumer gets the chance to realize himself as an individual during his time inside (Brown. 1995:12-33).

3.4 Fall of Nation-State

Today's multicentered metropolises are spectacular post-fordist designs where the urban space is strongly commercialized. The urban sphere is divided with principals based on production-consumption relationships, since the everyday life in this habitat is controlled by correlations of those. The rational organization to make such relationships possible appear at the same time also quite irrational in considerable amount of points. The allegedly successful examples appear to have a simulation logic in their backgrounds.

The free market rhetoric in Turkey came to existence after the 1950's. Its practical existence, however, emerged after 1980's, when the politics started to change direction from a view of a two poled World to a single pole World. When after 1980 the Reagan era in USA, and the Thatcher era in United Kingdom started, the pioneer of change for the right politics appeared on horizon. The basis of this change was already giving signs in 1960's, when the structure of industry nations, wealth demands, positivist mentality, increasing welfare sections of communities started to dominate the majority. World War II was over and the World had two poles now; Russia and USA. The dramatic change within this picture at last two decades of 20th Century was the dissolution of USSR and the appearance of America as single super power in World arena and its economical system. The modernity in 20th Century was mostly oriented by political authority and its centrality. As expected, an anti-traditional reaction against this restriction chain started to emerge immediately. What now described as postmodernism, is representing actually this movement against the main modernity stream. This articulation appears to have transformed the main stream of the aforementioned solid authority to a more individualised canvas of diversity (Kahraman, 2007).

This pluralist period of diversity has shaken the autonomy of modernism and nation-states, which emerged under its light. Identity, recognition, difference politics were being underlined and were gaining philosophical background meanings. In short,

whether named as postmodernism or not, this period can be considered as the end of many terms and formations that were identified with modernity.

Modernity in general frame can be summarized as the refusal of every transcendent formation, value and authority that saw itself above human being. It was aiming to achieve a world in which human being would overcome every transcendent term and superstition. With the Enlightenment philosophy together, secularism and positivism gained strong on importance. While transforming and transcending the nature and himself, the human came to a contradiction. As a strong reflection of nature, it was an unending circle to try to overcome his own existence and reach a more perfect point. Nation-states, production oriented linear city plans, machines, mass production and the bureaucracy network of vast controlling mechanisms emerged one after another, mainly as a response to the last traces of the unmodern conditions inherited from pre-Renaissance periods. This chain of orders and regularities, the machine like community and management structure has started to reduce the human in the presence of nation-state. Every individual of the nation-state was now one of the countless dots, which were building the big picture. This picture was the perfect community and its well-functioning nation-state (Tekeli, 1998)

With Immanuel Kant's saying, a nature state of human mind, that would conquer and overcome his own destiny was the vital core and subject of modernity. Rather than a critical, questioning position, man himself was the subject of control. He was meant to be object actually. (Kahraman, 2007)

The Enlightenment philosophy was triggered and supported by bourgeois section of the community for that time being. This group of community was seeking political dominance and authority over the rest. When analysing modernity, the origins of this movement have to be taken into consideration. Only then it would be possible to achieve a more vast frame that would help us to understand the stream and its effects.

Refusing the transcendency of the religion over man, and protecting the individual with secularism the philosophy of modernity legitimizes itself with analogy. Although the order that modernity sought, might have been "brand new", but it was still a similar system to the current one, only with God replaced by nation-state, and the followers of the religion replaced by citizens of this nation-state. The relationship between a transcendent power and the individual remained unchanged. At this point, it can be said that modernity was using this philosophy to grant certain groups more

power and access to public space. Public space, being the place for ideas to be developed for community's greater good, was representing power over the rest of the community obviously. The freedom of the individuals might have been underlined strongly, the transcendency of the religion might have been bombarded heavily, but it was still not possible to withstand the steamrolling power of its own ideology.

The feudal system in Middle Age was containing lords and peasants, the world after French Revolution was built of state authority and citizens, whose life was defined and regulated by laws and citizen rights. Justice that once was sought from lord, was now being demanded from nation-state and its laws, when citizen rights were thought to be threatened. The answers, that were searched within interpretations of religion were now embedded and defined in scientific facts and laws which were legitimized by positivism to strengthen their accuracy and the authority of their protector: nation-state (Habermas, 1989).

As a summary, the way things worked before, did not change at all with modernity, but the actors did. The citizen was still under control of a transcendent power, just not by religion. Secularism solved that issue once and for all. The control mechanism was still there with all its glorious power and was shining upon the civilization of 'modern world'.

Modernity was spread through utopias amongst young generations by promising a better future, which later turned out to be only dystopias. This can be named as the exact point where what is called postmodernism now, has come to existence.

The increasing dominance of telematic brought the idea of creating a today from past, instead of searching the past within today. This logic was going along very well with the structure of postmodernity, hence it resulted in eclectic architectural and urbanistic artifacts within urban sphere.

With the commercialization of the market after 1980's, the authority of nation-state started to decrease and the empty field has been filled with powerful tools of western capitalism. This, as an improved freedom-granting mechanism for the individuals, started to transform the society to its current postmodern state. The increasing individuality of the members of the society made it for the citizens possible to reclaim the religious backgrounds and Ottoman origins that were being defined as conditions of being "not modern" after the declaration of Turkish Republic. The

increasing dominance and popularity of the religion among the community and the drastical changes taking place due to the implementation of free-market policies showed its changing face among local authorities as well. The rural population that was mobilized towards metropols had a low education level. That is one of the main reasons for liberal parties to take over the city managements with populistical political promises during times of elections in big metropols (Kahraman, 2007).

According to some, postmodernity is a critic towards modernism, according to others it is a follow-up of this stream. A simple comparison in general terms between two modernisms could be made as **Table 3.1** shows below:

Table 3.1: Modern city versus postmodern city¹⁴:

Modern city is:	Postmodern city is:
hierarchical	competitive
mass-oriented	individual-oriented
with vertical work organization	with horizontal work organization
Mono consumption habits, Wealth-state	Neo-liberal state, With individual consumption, Entrepreneurism

When closely examining this comparison, the transformation of the modern city would be observed as an expected result of the distortion at the structure of the capitalism due mass production methods of modernity. The production oriented structure of modern cities started to get deformed under the influence of consumption oriented hierarchy of post-modernity. What modernity lacked on providing individual diversity was provided by post-modernity. It was made through popularization of neo-liberal consumption varying dependant on the choices of the person. The tradition, here being the old ways of being modern and its mechanical, was now, what had to be overcome and transcended. Individuality was the new trend. (Dulgeroglu, 2009-IH Seminar Notes)

The change is supported by astonishing speed of development in communication sector. After the Big Depression in 1929, the Post-Fordist time took start. First cities

¹⁴ Uluşan (2010), derived from Dulgeroglu, 2009-IH Seminar Notes

surely were built to organise the production, provide shelter and social protection. Today consumption oriented cities, especially in developing countries such as India, Turkey, Brasil, appeared. (Rio de Janeiro, Mumbai, Istanbul). For many, the fall of modernism can be seen as a pore economical issue. But when excluded from economical, social and political developments, a definition of art, architecture and urbanism would never be complete. Both in social and physical aspect, having strong connections with human life, makes these fields deeply connected to the researchs about demographical and socio-economical developments.

In order to explain the polarized World Economy and its domination over developing countries, it must be grasped well, how the financial relationships in the World look like. Today, when a developing country has a financial need, foundations like International Money Fund (IMF) or World Bank are offering their credits. These are foundations that belong to all countries, depending on their economical size and power, they own a certain amount of percentage as partners. Countries like USA, China, Russia, South Korea or Germany have biggest shares according to this proportion. Every time a country uses a loan, it has to sign a stand-by agreement, ensuring that they would abide by certain restrictions in the future in order to improve their financial stance, not to experience a similar need for credit in the future. These foundations, having the developed countries as their biggest partners have been functioning as an instrument to transform developing countries to a free-market for their own wealth. The developed countries are not developed for no reason, but because they are fully industrialized, technologically advanced and have an export character; means they produce high and low technology wares that can be sold in other countries who are not capable of producing these. Implementation of a free-market strategy in developing countries plays a vital role for the continuity of their financial dominance over these, and that has been executed via tools in the aforementioned context.

The mid-20th Century represents the most important turning point, as the Marshall Plan was developed by USA after World War II in order to ‘help’ 16 countries including Turkey.¹⁵

¹⁵ The Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Program, ERP) was the primary program, 1947–51, of the United States for rebuilding and creating a

The blurry, unperceivable philosophy can be only understood when it is examined with its respective former main streams and supportive rhetorics. In this context the next chapters will explain the term “global city” and its reflections over Istanbul as a triggerer of spatial and social segregation. The globalization and postmodernism are terms embedded into each other. They both have their roots in modernism but at the same time they are very contradictory to their former theory.

3.5 First Appearance Of The Term “World (Global) City”

Although the term “world city” was used for the first time in 18th Century, it gained its current meaning after 1980. It was used for the first time by Goethe to express the cultural wealth of Paris and Rome in 18th Century. Later on the Scottish planner Geddes used it to describe the big metropolitan areas in 1915 (Gottmann,1989). The meaning of the term was expanded by Peter Hall in 1966, in his book “World Cities” he described such cities as places of high concentrated economic activities. Hall’s global city was still an industry city, but at the same time it was a place preferred by nation-states and international authorities (Gottmann, 1989).

World city is the city, that includes economic activities like finances and management, as well as the many workers particularly specialized on subjects such as medicine and law. According to these criterias, London in United Kingdom, Paris in France, Randstad Zone in Netherlands and Ruhr Valley in Germany are World cities (Hall, 1984). According to the World system theorist Braudel, the World city has to be fully integrated with the economy and system surrounding itself. (Braudel, 1984) According to this description, Amsterdam in 17th, London in 19th, and New York in 20th Centuries were World cities.

The term global city, as said before, gained its current meaning after 1980; today’s centers of New International Division of Labour (NIDL).

The dominating class in World city is the transnational layer. Here it can be spoken of a duality between the transnational actors and local actors as dominating players within urban sphere, where latter gains power at the expense of the former (Sassen:1997). The culture of this layer is cosmopolitan, its ideology is consumist

stronger economic foundation for the countries of Europe. The initiative was named after Secretary of State George Marshall. (Wikipedia)

and its aim is to make the capital accumulation on a global level in its area possible. The global city can experience challenges between transnational capital and national bourgeois, between nation-state and transnational capital and between nation-state and its own residents.(Friedmann and Wolf, 1982) The social polarization issue in this process has been neglected by most politicians and local investors, even though it was concerning the urban researchers most (Olds, 2001). But these rhetorics mostly foresaw that the sources of the city should be used for investments that would attract global capital to city, and that this attraction would benefit other classes among citizens too (Keyder and Öncü, 1994). The claim was that the brunt of not becoming a global city would be huge and irreversible, and that would result in passification and exclusion from the global economic flow (Friedmann, 1986).

Today, the refusal of a critical point of view towards neo-liberal urban rhetoric is ignoring the Marxist approach and this is causing the capitalist system to ignore the fact that its re-organization in urban sphere has to take the interaction between politics, economy and culture into consideration.

Globalization is a project of elite groups of bourgeois¹⁶, that was developed as a solution to the production and consumption crisis in 1960's. This project was executed mostly through structural adjustments programs and liberal politics, that were produced and imposed by foundations such as World Bank. Therefore it is justified to say therefore, that it is not a natural process (Öktem, 2005:28).

Sassen suggests that the ascendance of leading economic sectors within the national economy but with international investment is one of the signs that a city is becoming globalized. Global cities in this sense are the centers for the servicing and financing sectors of international trade, investment and management operations (1996: Chapter 4).

Migration for example, is one of the major signs of the internationalization of the city in financial regard, as all the managing and organizing activities need a certain amount of blue-collar workforce to be able to function. According to Sassen the global cities are the places for the over-valorization of finance sectors that have been supporting the international trade with their spatial organizations (1997). She describes the global cities as centers for servicing and financing of international

¹⁶ Like modernism and modernization project once was at its origins.

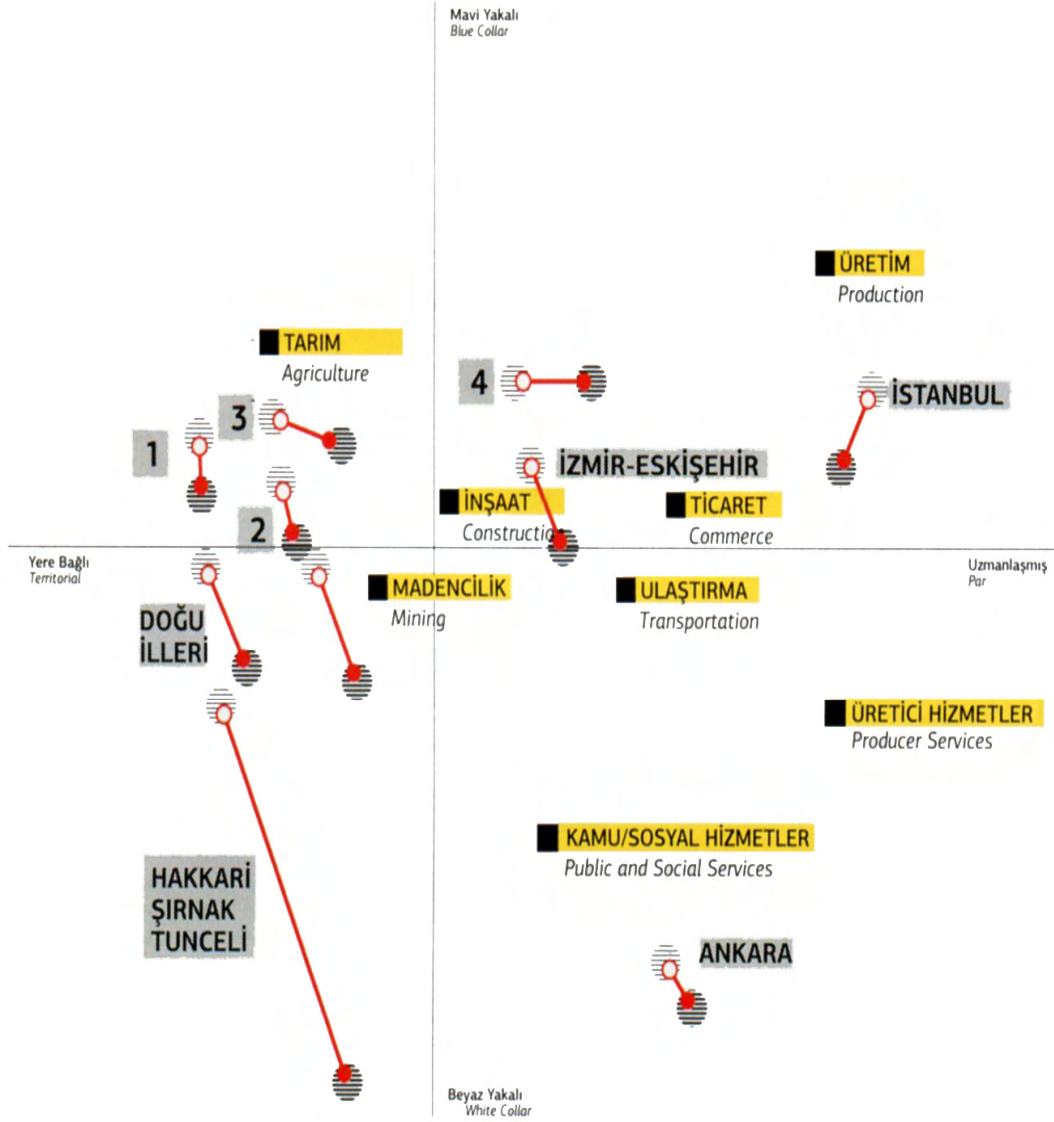
trade, transnational investments and managing operations (1996: Chapter 4). The immense increase on densities in downtown districts are proving that the cities that are being subject of this kind of global capital flows are reflecting the spatial logic of this process as well. Communication and information opportunities make the meaning of distances away, the simultaneous interaction between the management and service part of a company is very much possible, even when the distance between these two departments is enormous (Castells, 1989).

As to be seen in **Figure 3.5** the specialized workforce and the non-specialized workforce are preferred in different parts of the country depending on their economical advancements. The figure clearly points Istanbul as a global city according to aforementioned factors and definitions.

In this terms, an increasing distance between the overvalorized and devalorized districts in global cities is present. While the shiny and prestigious ones are centered within most central points in order to grant them access to the needed networks like telecommunication, transport and information infrastructures, the ugly ones such as service sectors and the residents of their workforce, meaning the low-income blue-collar groups are pushed out of sight, to the peripheral city.

So what happens in global cities? The spatial changes on Istanbul urban sphere will be reflected in more detail in coming subsection but if it were to draw some general lines about the developments and general changes in global cities, Sassen provides an important example about the shares of different 'global cities' of international bank credits.

The international bank credits increased from US\$ 1.89 trillion in 1980 to US\$ 6.24 trillion in 1991. Three cities in particular have the biggest share on this change; Tokyo, New York and London with a total amount of %42 within all transnational money that has been travelling throughout the World.



- 1 Yoğun tarım istihdamının bulunduğu iller (%73, %48.60)
Provinces with high agricultural employment rate (%73, %48.60)
Sinop-Şanlıurfa-Yozgat-Afyon...
- 2 Orta yoğun tarım istihdamının bulunduğu iller (%62.10, %48.60)
Provinces with mid-high agricultural employment rate(%62.10, %48.60)
Aydın-Balıkesir-Burdur-Konya-Sivas...
- 3 Sınır illeri: Tarım ve Kamu
Border Provinces: Agriculture and Public Sector
Edirne-Siirt-Çanakkale...
- 4 Sanayileşmiş iller
Industrialized Provinces
Kocaeli-Tekirdağ-Bursa...

Doğu illeri: Tarım ve Kamu
Eastern Provinces: Agriculture and Public Sector Employment
Artvin-Diyarbakır-Elazığ-Kars...

Hakkari, Şirnak, Tunceli: Kamu
Public Sector

Sanayileşen iller
Industrializing Provinces
Denizli-Manisa-Çorum- K. Maraş

Figure 3.5 : Change of sectors throughout Turkey, (Exhibition Istanbul 1910-2010)

Here a significant remark has to be made. The growth of global markets for finance and specialized sectors, the increase on demand for transnational servicing networks due to the immense expansions of international investments and the reduced role of the local government on the regulation of international economic activity within its borders are the evidents of globalization processes in a city. The aforementioned orientation of World markets towards big metropolises raises questions about the articulation with their regions and own states, thus the large economical and social structures. The typical deep embeddedness of cities in their regions and countries is not representing one of the characteristics of global cities in these definitions. The disconnection from the economical and social system of their own country results in a certain exclusion from their respective nation-state and its system. (Sassen 1996)

3.6 Whose City Is It?

Surely shrinking distances with these changes effect on urban sphere with diverse place organizations. Internet and kindred electronic networks not only work as a tool of advertisement for a certain amount of sympathy for metropolises within rural areas, but also it breaks the place-boundedness of work departments and corporations. As the link between people and their territory grows weaker, the migration movements within and beyond borders become easier.

So whose city is it? Does it belong to it's citizens? Or is it a temporary place for different kinds of transnational capital accumulation to be hosted in turn? The aforementioned facts and changes result in local citizens being considered as "others" when they are not specialized in certain fields, means if they are not literally white-collar work force, then they belong to the lower social-strata. Structures and transformations of globalization such as on-going gentrification in central historical districts, the change on housing trends, emerging skyscrapers in central business districts(CBD) need a and explained reasons in public eyes. A growing urban fear among the society in big metropolises is observed, considering the city less and less secure for themselves. A need of rehabilitation is being raised among them. Internet, television and billboards have been using their powers to transform the taste and needs of the community. Not only the isolated shopping centers but also the gated communities; luxury suburbs pop out at the peripheries of the "global" cities. The duality between the local nationality and internationality between the capital

accumulation is fighting over the rights in the city. The postmodernism and its blurry deceptions produced terms like globalization, gentrification, slum areas that 'need' rehabilitation, secure living and hyperreal business districts.

Sassen describes globalization as a contradictory space that is characterized by contestation, internal differentiation and continuous border crossings. (1996)

Marginalization of the locals, sharp increases on centrality of a site and the devalorization of national control mechanisms are the factors of this process. In brief reality, there can be no such thing as a global city if it would be tried to be defined. But in order to explain certain actions of re-organizing urban sphere for transnational capital flows, postmodern rhetorics are needed indeed.

Summarizing the results of the aforementioned theories, a conclusion that is contrary to global rhetoric claiming, that there is no concrete global city example, would appear. The title, 'global city' is achieved due technological advancements and due to the evolution of capitalist economy by market forces. The term and the utopia of a "global city" was produced only to legitimize the current transformations on urban spheres in developing countries in order to establish a neo-colonization.

In 1900 about 10 percent of total world population lived in cities. At some point around the turn of the millennium more than half of the world's population was located in urban settings. (Endless City, 2008)

As Manuel Castells has observed, many writers during this period predicted that, due to the rise of new informational technologies since the 1980's, cities would disappear, remote work would become more popular, activities and people would be segregated, and that eventually a demographical move-back towards rural areas would ensue. (2004)

The nationalized vision of the urban processes lost their power as of the late 1960's and early 1970's, especially due to the rising radical approaches to urban political economy. The seminal contributions of neo-Marxist urbanists such as Henri Lefebvre (1968), Manuel Castells (1972), David Harvey and others generated a vast list of new categories and methods through which to analyze the specifically capitalist character of modern urbanization processes. From this perspective, contemporary cities were viewed as spatial materializations of the main social

processes associated with the capitalist mode of production, including, in particular, capital accumulation and class differentiations (1973,1982).

As Timberlake(1985) explained, the processes such as urbanization can be only then correctly and accurately perceived, when they are examined with many ways in which they articulate with stronger currents of the World economy. These capital flows have been undermining the meaning of physical borders, transcending time and distance limitations with the help of information technologies and they have been influencing the social relations at many different levels. (Timberlake, 1985:3)

The old distribution of the international labour in urban area was based on raw materials production at the periphery and industrial ,amufacturing at the center. The new distribution of globalization has pushed the industry to the semi-peripheral areas, mainly because these places were hosting blue-collar population, of which the majority is immigrants. In addition to the deindustrialization of many core industrial cities, ths global market for production sites has also raised a necessity for an increasing spatial concentration of business services and other administrative-coordination functions within the predominant urban centers of the core. According to world city theorists, these upper-class-cities have become major locations of decision-making, financial planning and controlling within globally dispersed commodity chains, and therefore, they are the central establishment points for the worldwide activities of international corporations. This increased urban concentration of global capital flows has been further encouraged through the development of new informal technologies, that accelerate communication and coordination on a global scale.(Castells 1989). If the latest advancements of capitalist globalization has increased the capitals ability to roam throughout the World, then this has been enabled through construction and emergence of specific urban places, through which the localized technological, institutional and social infrastructure of globalization is secured (Sassen, 2006).

3.7 Reflection of the term “Global City” to Istanbul

Globalization has multi-facet impacts on the live of people. Turkey has faced the reality of globalization for many years but its adverse effect has been severely felt especially after the 1980s. Turkey, as other developing countries, has entered under the political realm of influential international organizations and has been negatively

affected by this process. Globalization process has impacted agricultural sector more than any other sector. Turkey is no exception in this regard. 35% of total population lives in rural areas and 30% of the labor force is employed in agriculture. Despite its big percentage in employment, agriculture contributes only 10% to the gross national product. Especially in the 1990s, liberalization policy being implemented, has resulted in structural changes in the agricultural sector of Turkey. Millions of people have been negatively affected by globalization in general, and by privatization and free-market economic policy in particular. Agricultural policy being organized by international policy formation agencies has affected 90% of small agricultural businesses and 35 % of landless rural population. Moreover this policy has caused later on unemployment, poverty and migration from the rural to urban areas working as unregistered workers. In fact, during the year of 1991-2001 about one million agricultural enterprises throughout Turkey has been shut down and there is no data about what this group is occupied with. (Gulcubuk, 2009)

1980 was a turning point for Turkey. Not just because the national development plans lost their global basis, but also because it was now clear that the country could not continue depending just on a national plan. Upon 1980 everything started to change with the military coup, the army has taken the management over but it also undermined the values of the nation-state in public eyes, which has been in charge in every field of development for the last 60 years. Structural adjustment, liberalization, privatization and the transnationalization of the capital were the new realities now. Every kind of national regulation was rather limited during this time, the international logic of capital was invincible.(Keyder, 2000:21)

It can be said that the economical liberalization and structural adjustment experience of Turkey following 1980 was very successful. (Onis 1993) The coup was implementing a new political regime that would follow the suggestions of IMF in order to reach a more liberalized and open economical environment. These new political strategies were suggesting a striking shrinkage in public sector and a rapid expansion in percentage of international investment of capital accumulation within country borders. (Keyder 2000:22)

3.7.1 Transformation of Istanbul Takes Start

The regional role of Istanbul as a finance and trade center did not come out of nowhere just with a military coup. Istanbul has always been an important intersection point of trade routes due to its central location. In the past, even before the republic, foreign business men had great interest in Istanbul. Germany for instance wanted to have strong bounds in Istanbul in order to compete with France and England, which have had strong trade links with Middle-East. After 1980 the forgotten role of Istanbul was revived by IMF and the transnational investors, which have been financing it. The increasing oil prices were providing vitality to construction and trade sectors. Istanbul at the same time was becoming an attraction center for Middle Eastern tourists. The arabic banks were trying to invest more in Istanbul in order to establish connections with European banks. Beirut back in those days was facing a civil war and this was increasing Istanbul's chances to become the finance and touristic center of its region. However the cultural and political trust issues between the Arabic countries and Turkey due to tensions from Ottoman periods, has prevented these big changes from happening.(Keyder, 2000:23)

When the USSR fell apart, a second opportunity to proceed with this plan, has appeared. Europe and America were not dominating the area yet. Many new countries declared their independency, thus a big market at East was rising. Parallel to these events, the liberalization of Turkey was in process, the foreign investors which found Turkey due to the conservative national rhetoric to risky to invest in the past, were slowly starting to show an increasing interest. As expected, the attraction center for these investments was Istanbul, foreign banks, leasing and insurance companies, exchange offices were being opened one after another. (Oncu and Gokce 1991)

These changes entailed 5-star hotels and luxury houses for the white-collar population which were being hosted by these companies as employees. The luxury consumption temples. The shopping centers, entered the urban life of Istanbul during these years, the biggest streets in their surroundings became places of show-off. Massive amount of people visited these streets every day and sat in cafes, became a part of global unity (Keyder, 2000:24). Following the trend in America, the retail market spread to supermarkets (Tokatli and Boyaci, 1997). The increase on number of fast food chains, restaurants with international kitchens and the expansion on

entertainment sectors were some of the big changes on urban life Istanbul. The increase of art exhibitions, galleries, privatization and commercialization of galleries, music, film, sport festivals, new headquarters of big World newspapers like New York Times, Wall Street Journal and Financial Times are proofs for new emerging international identity of Istanbul (**Figure 3.6**). What here new is, is that Istanbul and World were realizing each other through globalization. (Keyder 2000)

The production methods of globalization depend on consumption habits which have been implemented through postmodernism into the spine of former modern societies. Neo-liberalization process has had important consequences for Istanbul. The regional independency gained a new definition and the income of local managements increased drastically. In post-1980 period, the local management of Istanbul was given the biggest financial support ever since the declarance of Republic, in order to “re-construct” the city according to the needs of globalization. (Heper:1987)

A sidetrack must be mentioned in this perspective. The unfinished liberalization process has not been showing its speed in political field. The lack of legal frame of the liberalization was giving opportunities to earn big profits to certain capital holders, and these capital holders were represented in parliament most. The idea here was the openness of the market to wares from all over the World, but the regulations that would limit and order the flow of these wares in favor of the country’s economy. A change was in order indeed, but this change was representing the replacement of production with service sectors, replacing their spots within city, thus effecting on the reflection of social structure to the spatial organization within city. (Keyder 2000)

The entrepreneurs, work-force of banks, information sectors, data merchants, freelancers which were making the most connections with other World companies, had the needed education to adapt themselves on the new paradigms of globalization and neo-liberalization of the market. This group was also benefiting most from the increasing wealth but contrary to this situation the workers were losing position in the wealth list among others in society, whether they are qualified or not, or whether they are temporarily employed or not. In other words, a certain part of city population was becoming more similar to the societies of central welfare countries, while the rest was being excluded from this change and opportunities (Oktem, 2005).



Figure 3.6 : Employment per sector by education levels, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

The real globalization had a whole different face of course. The fordist welfare countries did overcome the populism of the politics in favor of development and advancements. The entrepreneurs, employees of banks, information sectors and freelancers, which made the most and strongest connections with World economy, had the needed education and instruments in order to adapt themselves on the new economic paradigm; the neo-liberalization and globalization. The workers of

industry however, whether they are qualified or not, or whether they are employed temporarily or permanently, have always been representing the losing part of the society in this transformation.(Dulgeroglu, 2008 HFLI-Seminar Notes)

As mentioned in previous paragraphs, the definitions of postmodernism and globalization especially made by Sassen, are pointing out the breaking of place-boundedness of the society in terms of production.



Figure 3.7 : CBD Buyukdere Street Maslak 2006, (Tracing Istanbul, 2009)

The post-1980 period in Istanbul’s urban life represents the decentralization of industry from Golden Horn to the city peripheries, regulations to allow construction of business centers and places of consumption in new areas such as Maslak-Buyukdere zone.(**Figure 3.7**) The workforce, consisted of immigrants from Anatolia due to various reasons such as forced eviction against terror problem or for better job opportunities, have been object of these transformations within city.

The re-organization of capitalism is made through a political project of elite groups and through rhetorics produced to legitimize it. The project was called in 1980’s neo-liberalization, in 1990’s globalization. This is a short summary of “globalization” in a narrow perspective. The formation of global city project is a part of this big intention to build all systems into one big network. The global city rhetoric is the ideology of neo-liberal globalization process. The arguments of this rhetoric are

incapable to explain the changes in the city, but they are perfectly capable of effecting and triggering them through economical and urban politics while legitimizing these processes with the help of postmodernity

With an overview to the political changes, 3 different periods of three political parties can be observed at the local management of Istanbul between the years 1984 and 2004. These parties produced their own global city rhetorics by mobilizing the geo-political, cultural and historical values of the city. The interpretation of dominating global city rhetorics vary depending on the economical, ideological, political and cultural conditions, Turkey's changing geo-political importance and developments on its own internal structure. While the terms that appeared during these three different political periods varied between modernization, westernization, democratization, islamization, localization, land speculations and political partnership, all 3 parties had similar approaches to economy and they were accepting the arguments of neo-liberal globalization. The urban politics and planning decisions, which were drawn within this frame were prioritizing the preparation of the city for international capital and other investment flows, underlining the need for an international business center and were undertaking projects to establish central business districts in this context. (Keyder, 2005)

The ability of global city rhetoric to succeed depends on conflicts of interests between power holders when it comes to developments and re-constructions in urban sphere. The spatial transformation of Istanbul has the similarities to the transformations of other big cities around the world, especially in scope of re-organization and re-construction of capitalism in terms of interactions between local politics, economy and culture. Once the local actors accept the majority of these arguments, the global city starts to appear in local reality. In order to give an example Maslak-Büyükdere Business Axis in Figure 3.7 could be used. Instead of examining whether the city meets the criterias of global city or not, it is in such cases always more useful to examine the relationships between actors, the role of the global city rhetoric in this challenge and the winners with losers, in order to be able to enlighten the background of on-going urban transformations.

In this context, the appearance of suburbs can be seen as an opportunity to observe the historical background of spatial differentiations. These observations can contribute to the process of understanding the relationship between the spatial

changes and social structure. As Harvey once stated, this relationship must be examined in context of interaction between the capitalist society and the reproduction of social relationships in such community. Harvey explains that the conflicts in capitalist society are mostly represented in these spatial distinctions.. (1992) The suburbs in this context are representing the solid examples of changing social relationships. The fact, that these social relationships are related to social division of labour and production processes is showing, that the location of social classes is playing a vital role in these spatial transformations. Furthermore, the number of social classes in such cities are not limited with labor- and capital-classes. This makes the relationship alot more complex than it appears to be. And that is also why it is not possible to explain suburbs in a one-sided way with the change of class cultures, with a demand for a new life style or with just describing them as places of middle class dreams. (Kurtuluş, 2005:81)

3.7.2 Results of New Spatial Organization

When the urban structure of Istanbul examined closely, two motorways cutting the metropolitan area into two pieces would be observed. Along these ways the visible tracks of the emerging slum zones after 1980's can be found. These zones are also containing the majority of the work force of the small industry around these ways. This can be considered as a typical space production of post-fordist relationship. The producers and consumers are integrated with each other and building an inseperateable structure along their socio-spatial sphere. That is the exact reason of these slums emerging on these areas, or the other way around that is the exact reason why these industry zones are emerging around these slums.

It is not a big surprise to find Ataköy and Bahçeşehir, first and second suburbs in Istanbul Metropolitan Area along E-5 motorway on its further points. These types of suburbanizations are seen in many examples around the World and is one of the certain distinctions between the aforementioned winners and losers of the challenge for profits from urban sphere. Bahçeşehir in this context is an important example to reflect the face of globalization in post 1980 period in Istanbul.(Kurtuluş, 2005:120) This face of globalization can be described as the slicing the public space into its pieces, introducing the city with favoritized politics to capital accumulation and to control of capital market, thus as the fall of heterogenity in city's social structure, one of the biggest symbols of democracy in society. Moving towards a homogenized

structure of isolated, segregated zones, an incomplete diversity, that is legitimized by the rhetorics of globalization in urban sphere.

So what are the requirements to become a global city then? Marcuse has put this as a brief list that is also applicable to Istanbul (Marcuse 2008):

1. A concentrated ownership form, that grants control and manipulation abilities to multi-national corporations.
2. An increasing financialization of capital, in which trans-national firms are increasing ownership and control of major large manufacturing and servicing companies, making key decisions for them about their own operations. (Foster,2007)
3. A shift in power relations between firms and their workers, with business profits and executive pay rising at a much faster rate than workers' wages (Cypher, 2007)
4. A shift in power relations between firms and government, leading to the adoption of neo-liberal policies by most governments in developed countries, resulting in deformations of legal frames in favor of new capital- and control-holders (Harvey,2005a; Brenner and Theodor, 2002).
5. Commitment of local governments to competition among cities for economically profitable businesses, aiming to become an attraction center for trans-national investments.
6. Rapid advancements in fields of technology, particularly in communications, transformation and processing of information, enabling a much wider reach of control and networking for operating cooperations (Castells, 1998; Marcuse, 2002a).
7. A much wider span of servicing sector of the major economies. A decline in the presence of manufacturing in central city, resulting in relocation of these either in peripheral city or in developing neighbour cities.
8. Rising concern about terrorism threat, perceiving the central city as a dangerous place (Graham, 2004).

9. Especially after the collapse of USSR, an increasing dominance of USA, specifically militarily, economically and culturally throughout most of the World but more commonly in developin countries (Harvey, 2005b).
10. Using neo-liberalism as an embracing definition for social, economical and political actions and as the attendant of ideological base

Istanbul has an increasing number of transnational corporations, which are capable of making decions by bypassing the state due to exceptions on laws. Their existence is vital for becoming a global city.(Point 1-2)

The profits and worker wages are developing contradictory to each other, but on the other hand an increase of blue-collar population is being observed as well. Local management in Istanbul, central management of Turkey have already adopted neo-liberal policies. Investments are flowing throughout the country on an increasing concentration on Istanbul since last 3 decades. (Point 3-4)

Istanbul is being challenged by other Anatolian cities, as they want to profit from the increasing welfare as well. Especially in last decade, a new business class starts to emerge, having its origins in Anatolia, which is increasing its influence every day a little more against Istanbul business group.(Point 5)

Istanbul is growing as oil flakes, the local activities are spread out all over most of the city, an increasing transnational connection network emerged. Even two big airports are not nearly enough to provide sufficient connectivity for the tourists (**Figure 3.8**) and business men to travel to the city.(Point 6)

Decentralization of industry and some manufactory sectors from city center took place at the start of 1980's already. Not only the shift of these towards city periphery but also a major shift of many others towards Anatolian cities is happening. (Point 7) An increasing urban fear is not something new in Istanbul. Airports, shopping malls are security guarded, more importantly against their own citizens. The cosmopolitan structure of the city is being seen as a threat by citizens themselves but especially by the white-collar population. Their concern, that those who cannot consume, can react to those who live to consume, is rising. The increase on numbers of gated communities, the number of newly constructed MHA (Mass Housing Administration) social houses at the further points of the city are signs of this social and spatial polarization.(Point 8)

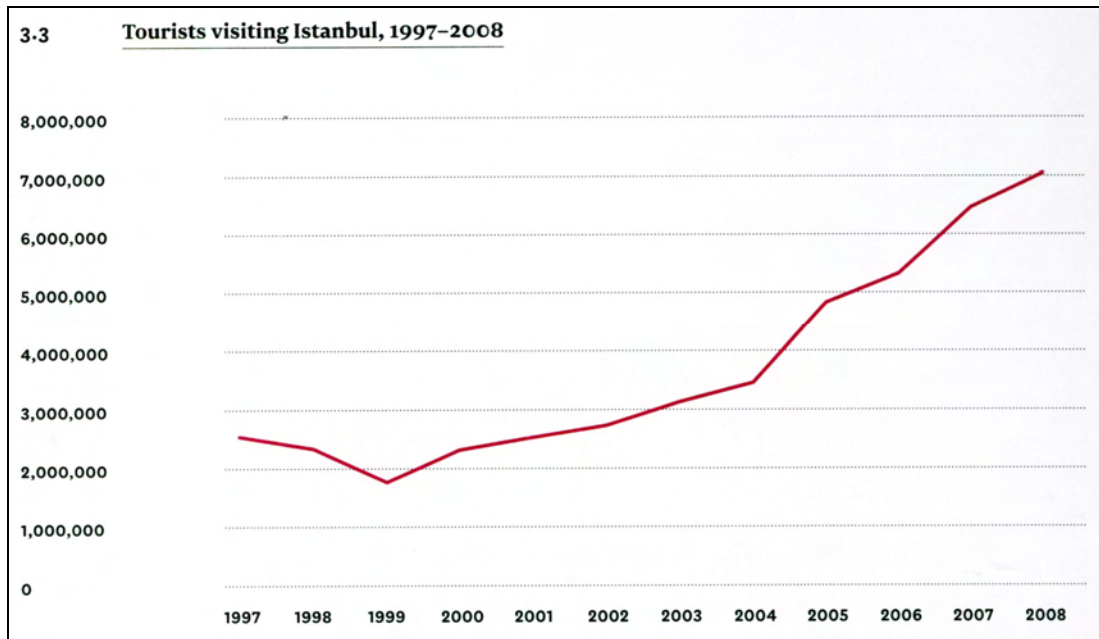


Figure 3.8 : Tourists visiting Istanbul, 1997-2008, (Mapping Istanbul,2009)

As for the point 9 and 10, the influence of United States and the neo-liberalism is undeniable. The changing world paradigm along with postmodernity is being the transformation tool of dominating countries. This growing influence is carried out through international money organizations such as IMF or World Bank through stand-by and structural adjustment programs, which are mostly imposing their benefiting politics to the developing countries such as Turkey, India or Brasil. But this paradigm has been changing with the last two Iraq Wars. USA losing its dominating power to China is leading the world obviously again to a two-poled structure and the transition process is granting developing countries a fair chance to rise up by benefiting from the competition.

3.8 Conclusion

Before the internal structures of Istanbul will be examined in the coming section, it would be justified to look at the urbanization pattern of Marcuse closer, as it is summarizing many processes very briefly. According to his discussions, concentrated decentralization is a very common way of metropolitanization in globalizing cities. These cities experience a wide spread out geography of activities throughout city. These activities are declining the centrality of economical activities with the help of information opportunities. And although this whole process looks like a decentralization, it is actually a growth in form of concentrated islands.

(Marcuse 2008) Istanbul, a city, that is growing in forms of oil-flakes is following this pattern too. (Figure 3.9)

According to Garreau this kind of concentrated decentralizations result in ‘Edge Cities’ at the peripheries, in other words, they result in ‘edgeless’ cities, suburbanization and regionalizations.(1991) At Gebze-Istanbul or Istanbul-Corlu axis, these inbetween situations can be observed. Close to these areas, newly emerging, suburbanized living communities are not hard to find,

Following the postmodern behaviours such as social insulation, decline of dependance on centrality, adopting metropolitan consumption patterns, which are being mainly imitations of international culture, social and economical activities, are the exclusion methods in ‘edge cities’.

The uneven development impacts of globalization on a developing country result in mega-cities, developing cities around them and underdeveloped cities further away. (Smith, 1990)

These emerging megalopols, the giant cities, are products of their own specific historical backgrounds coupled with the strong influence of their position within the world of globalization. The polarization and segregation of the location of the activities is very typical in those cities. These rapid changes on densities and locations of these activities impact strong on housing developments.

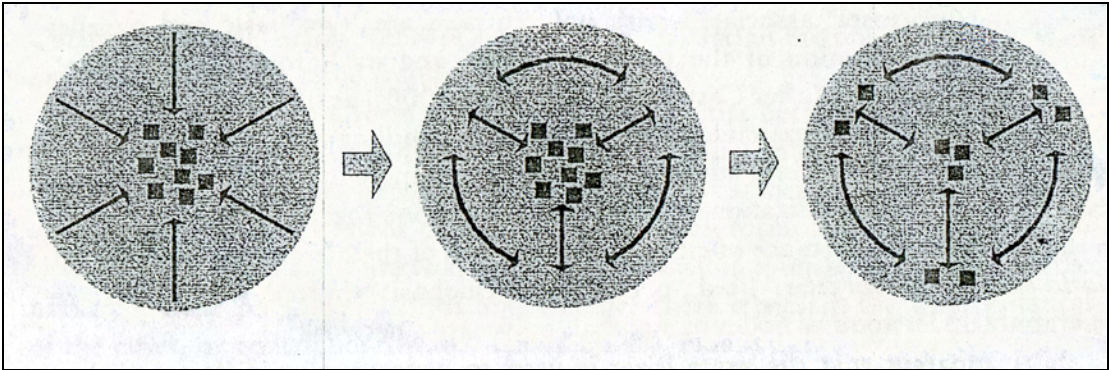


Figure 3.9 : Transformation from a single urban system to a multinodal system. (Source: adapted from Marcuse, 2005)

The internal structures of such cities are by Marcuse as citadels, skyscrapers, ghettos, gentrified neighbourhoods, exclusionary enclaves (gated communities), ethnic enclaves ¹⁷and soft locations. The term 'soft locations' has subparts like central business districts, waterfronts, centrally located manufacturing locations, brownfield sites, concentrations of social housing, residential locations on the fringe of central business districts, historic buildings and sites and finally suburbs, ethnic enclaves and excluded ghettos.

The citadels are in Marcuse's description high-rise, high-tech towers with a challenging architectural form, that is representing wealth and luxury. These security-guarded buildings offer multi-use services and compact ways of living with their own shopping centers, closed garages and even sometimes roomservices. Favorized by white-collar population, citadels are a clear representation of postmodern treatment of edges in the city with their isolation, exclusion from older urban surroundings and luxury expressing architectural languages.(Marcuse 2008) . Residences like Kanyon are good examples for these enclavements in Istanbul (**Figure 3.10**).

Another type of internal structure within global cities are skyscrapers with administrative functions, which gather every kind of headquarter networks together, remotely interacting with their business network, even with transnational ones through increasing of vast telecommunication technologies.

One of the most recognized symptoms of being global in a city is the gentrified networks. Class of professionals, managers, produced by globalization, who constantly increase in number, in importance and in income are the demanding group of these structures. Being young and single with a high income, this group is mostly called 'yoopies'¹⁸ and want to live close to to the central city, to have access to urban activities. This building stock, formerly occupied by middle-, low-income class worker layer of the community call for an increrasing possibility for gentrification of their residences and displacement for themselves. (Marcuse, 1985; 1986) Istanbul, as in the examples like Asmalimescit and Galata or Cihangir is experiencing this process still quite strong.

¹⁷ Places like Tarlabasi are invaded and marginalized by certain migrant groups upon a drastical change on social structure of the city.

¹⁸ This term will be explained in the section about 'gentrification' in coming chapter.



Figure 3.10 : Istanbul Canyon shopping center and residence (Url-10)

Another type of internal structures in global cities are ghettos. As in previous section explained, globalization requires rural population, colour population, in brief socially low-layered, during possible displacement/transformation attempts low-resistance promising groups to move to the metropol in order to provide cheap labour force. Yet the past governments directed its sources to places of consumption, industry and privileged income groups.

Suburbanization in Istanbul has been seen as a problem which has been neglected, tolerated and solving itself for that time being until 2000's. This group of people are mostly desired to live as far as possible from city centers, to keep the central city sterile for their 'global', 'postmodern' users: the white-collars. The decentralization processes in global cities can be seen in **Figure 3.11** more clear. The informal housing units produced by this lowest income level group however, are always considered as settlements which have 'to be rehabilitated/gentrificated/demolished'. Urban poverty, social exclusion and segregation describes this places well.

Exclusionary and ethnic enclaves are two kind of closed living communities with various similarities and big differences at the same time. The first one is a highly secured, closed living sections.

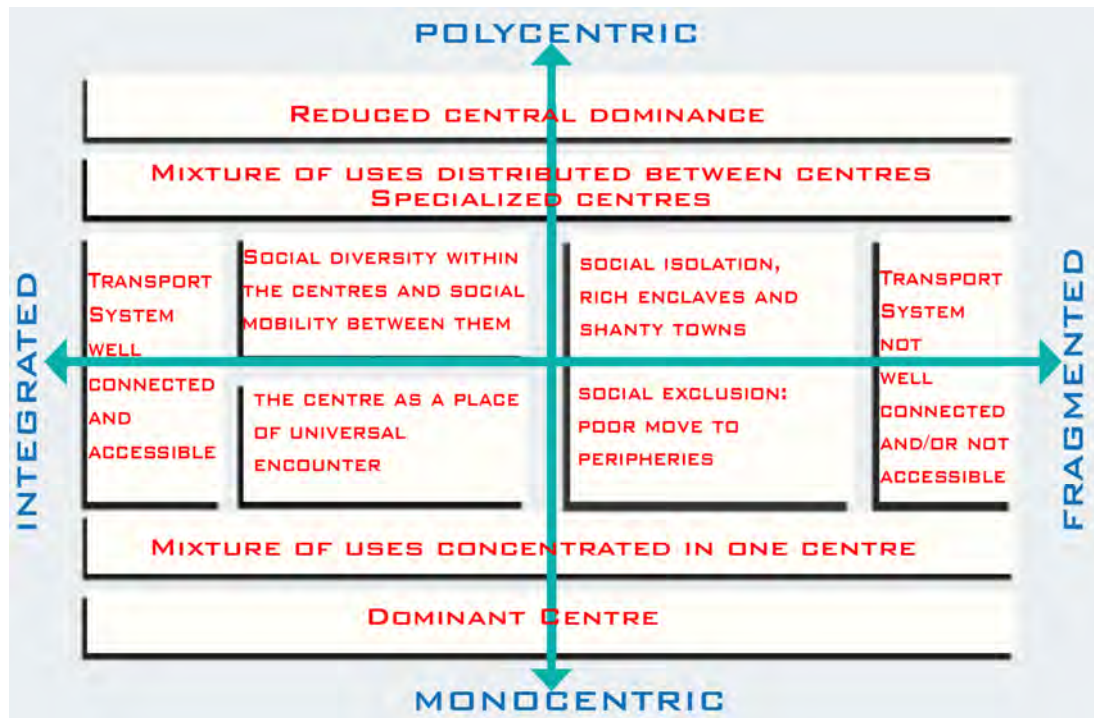


Figure 3.11 : Decentralization graphic of Jencks-Kozak, (Marcuse 2008)

In Istanbul they appear close to green areas at the periphery of the city, mostly located close to highways. In addition to that, they can have unique qualities as a whole community; people of same belief or political view are often found in same gated communities. Ethnic enclaves owe their existence to their residents social and economic needs, cultural similarities with each other, and cultural differences with the rest of the citizens of the global city, in which they exist. Marcuse examples them with Turkish districts in Germany or Pakistani districts in England. One of the most remarkable example in Istanbul is surely Tarlabasi. Houses invaded by African, Gypsy or Southern Anatolian/Kurdish population after they were abandoned by their former owners due political problems back in 1950's against them in Turkey.

4. SPATIAL REFLECTIONS OF GLOBALIZATION OVER ISTANBUL

The theoretical background of modernism and postmodernism in Turkey directs this work to the analysis spatial organization of the changing housing trend in Istanbul. The housing in Istanbul will be examined under 4 categories. Instead of categorizing them based on their building methods and physical conditions, the different housing typologies will be grouped by the name of their producer groups and their residents, as well as the circumstances, which contributed to their emergence. This approach aims to underline the segregation and its actors in urban sphere Istanbul. The changing economical trends and political streams have been maintaining great impact on big cities, namely on Istanbul most of course. Despite the first years of Turkish modernization in early Republic years, where Ankara was on stage most of the time, Istanbul always had and always will have the biggest share from these changes.

4.1 Housing, Population Dynamics and Istanbul

As the end of 2007 % 17.8 of Turkey's current population (70.566.265) lives in Istanbul. According to official data Istanbul's population is 12.6 million by that time and when the population that flows in and out of the city due business activities is taken into consideration, the number is jumping upto 15 million. It is forecasted that by 2012 the city is accomodating % 18 of Turkey's work force. (Turkish Statistical Institute)

Figure 4.1 shows Istanbul's population growth from 1950 until 2008, simultaneously compared with Turkey's rate of population growth, while **Figure 4.2** reveals the population density by province .

There is a drastical jump between 1950-1960 to be seen, and although afterwards short before 1980 the population growth stagnates for a while, the significant impact of neo-liberal period can be observed very clear. Most of the time the direction of

population growth of Istanbul shows contradiction to Turkey's, challenging Turkey's dynamics.

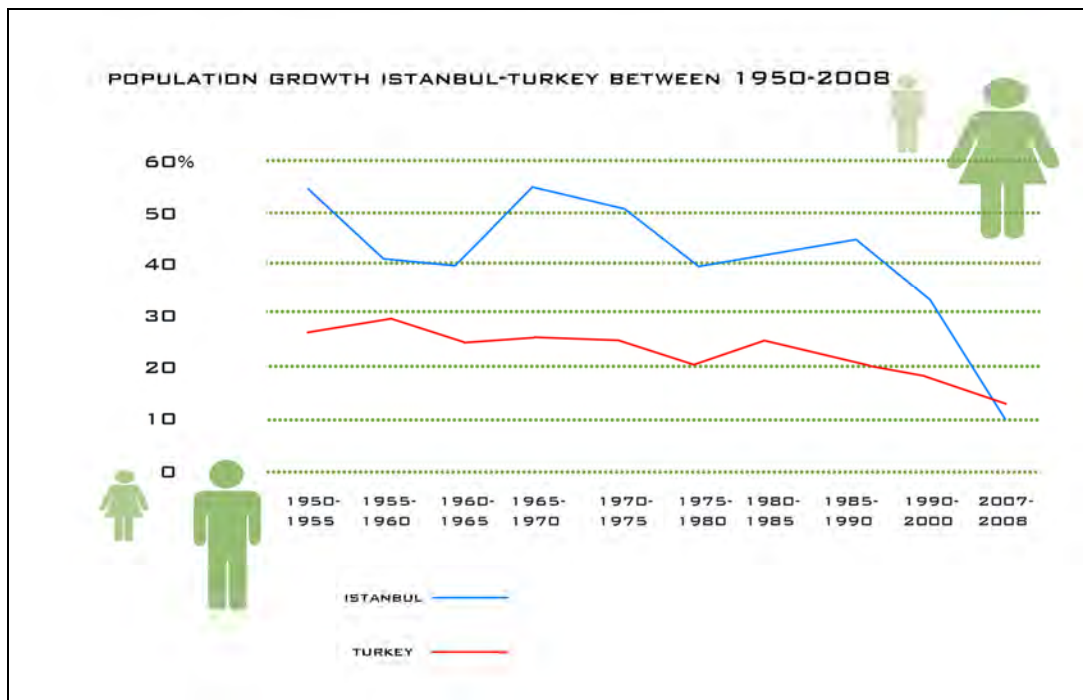


Figure 4.1: Population Growth of Istanbul and Turkey between years 1950 and 2008, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

Although the population of the city expanded rapidly after two turning points in 1950 and in 1980, the city wore a growth form of islands from the Historical Peninsula to the outer skirts.

Construction activities were initially triggered by these population increases and they have been surrounding the center with an incredible rate of urbanization. Istanbul is turning into a multicentered city, as the distance between new districts and the old city center has been stretched. The population between furthest points of Istanbul before 1960 as Kartal, Sariyer and Avcilar, being the North, West and East corners of Istanbul, did not change much with these population movements. The increasing pace of population growth was effecting Istanbul's edges more, forcing edge cities to emerge. These edges, being connected to the far away city center, result in sub-city centers in multiple points. The motorways play an important role on this (Guvenc, 2009).

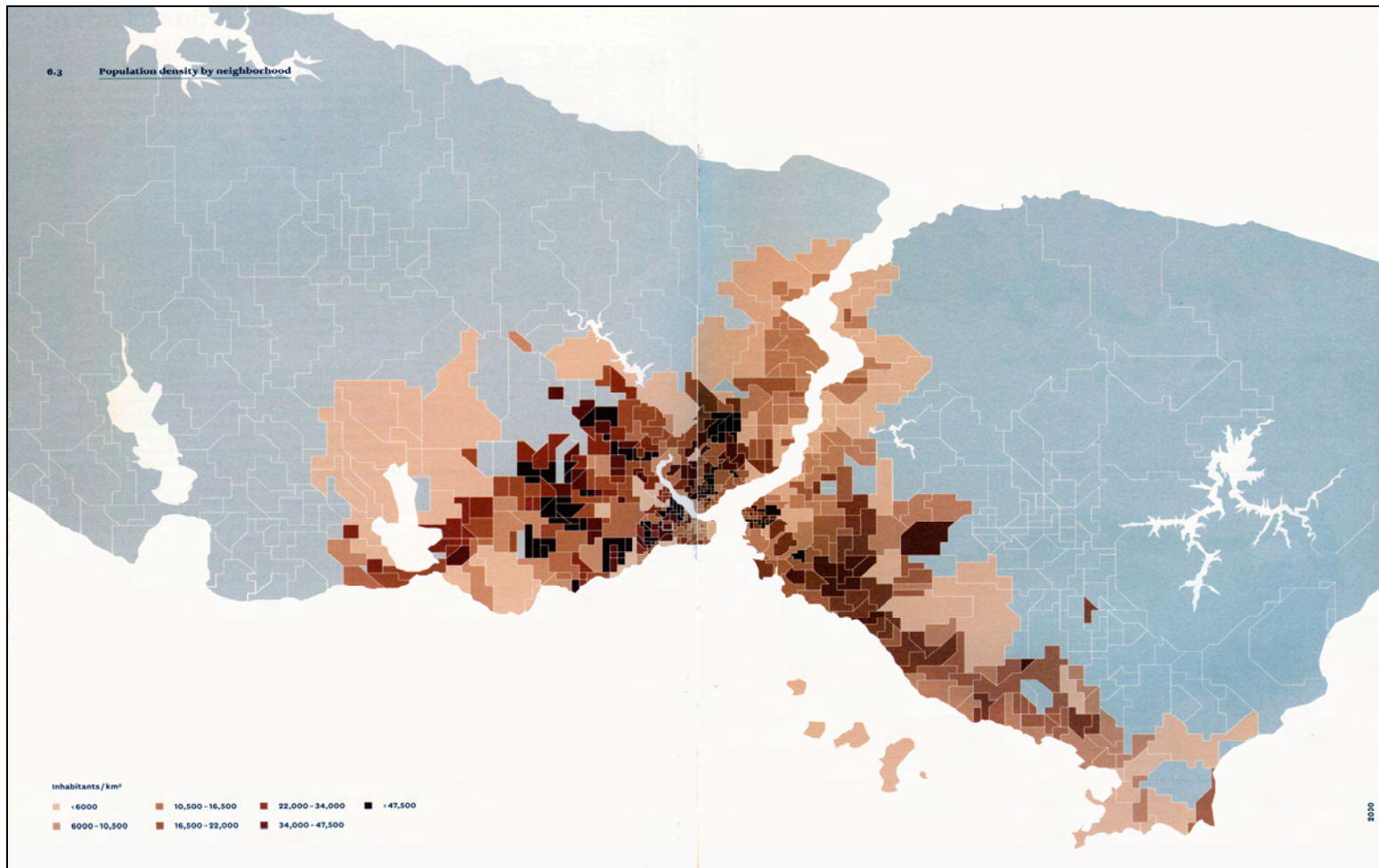


Figure 4.2: Population density by neighbourhood, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

The first bridge and the E-5 endorsed the existing growth tendency along the East-West axis, parallel to the Marmara shore; and the highway still functions as a boundary between the neighborhoods of the upper-middle and lower-middle class. The second bridge and the TEM triggered the expansion towards North. TEM set the northern boundaries for the lower-middle class neighborhood, but for the areas of its north, it is just like a pioneer of the invasion of the natural reserves of the city by enclaves of the upper-middle class in the forms of university campuses, gated-communities and beach clubs.(Guvenc, 2009)

According to Tumertekin Istanbul is a city that reflects the spatial anatomy of its citizens behaviours. This anatomy is constantly changing, because the structure of population that it is consisted of is changing as well. The impact of decisions made by local or central authorities remain important during this process but what the future Istanbul will look like, is going to be determined by the preferences and perceptions of its future dwellers. (Tumertekin, 1997:27)

Guvenc (2009) points out the law of March 6, 2008, according to which the city of Istanbul and its newly redefined districts were placed under the administration of an expanded Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The industrialization that started in Istanbul in second half of 20th Century properly, has pushed towns and districts outside its borders. According to Guvenc %80 of the Istanbul population is living in aforementioned Avcilar-Sariyer-Kartal triangle, but % 80 of economic activities of Istanbul are happening outside its administrative borders. In order to see the relevance, the development of the urbanization in Istanbul over the ages has to be examined (**Figure 4.3**).

4.1.1 Expanding Borders

The population density in historical old city quarters is relatively high in comparison to newly emerging districts outside administrative borders. According to Ustun 70 % of the population was living in these old districts until mid-1970's. (Ustun, 2009)

The immense urbanization speed is especially after 1950 but the urbanization continues with an increasing pace after 1960's (**Figure 4.3**).. The city starts to expand its borders outside its peripheries, the "in-between places" start to be shifted towards neighbour cities, converting Istanbul from one big city to a whole metropolitan primate region for its surroundings.

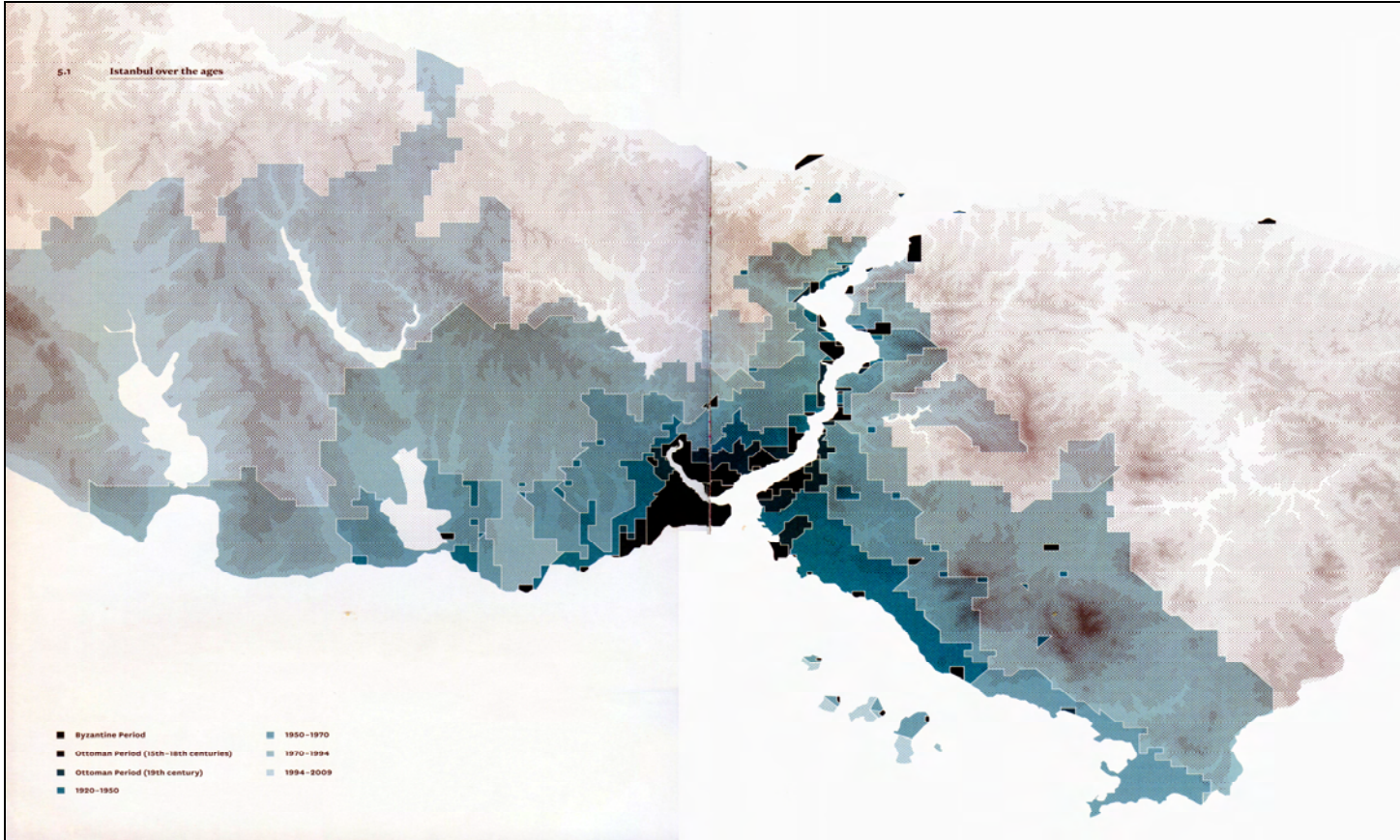


Figure 4.3: Istanbul over the ages, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

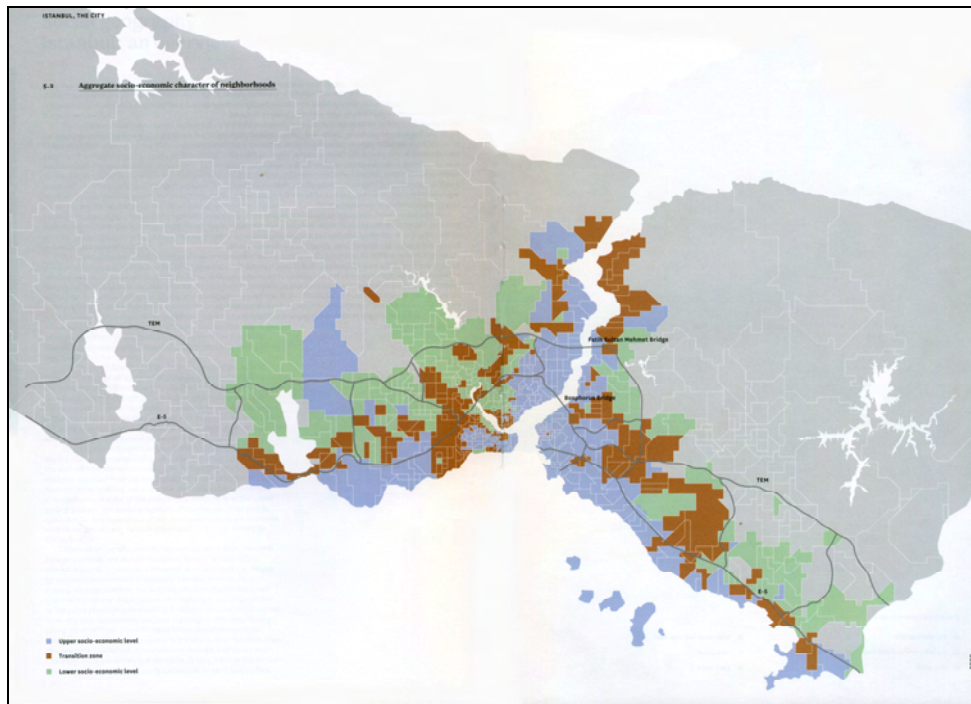


Figure 4.4: Socio-economic structure by neighbourhood
(Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

The housing in Istanbul shows different variations over time. This, surely has with a lot of factors something to do, such as the modernization, the postmodern period or changes on consumption habits, production methods etc. The public authorities have had only little impact on land distribution and failed most time on concentrating related functions with each other. This firstly results in a multi-centered city with distanced functions from each other, therefore in transport and residence problems.

Figure 4.4 reveals the role of motorways and coast as borders between different income groups. The districts that came to existence in post-liberalization period are containing social groups from high-income groups, and affording direct accessibility to motorways in order to stay in connection with city centers. White-collar residents of these districts, with high educational profiles and high-income level are working in sectors that are vertically integrated and require a lot less concentration of their work places with their residences.

Following the patterns of postmodernism and globalization the locations of sectors and their reflections over housing areas that are being stretched out from each other can be observed clearly.



Figure 4.5: Kartal Cement Factory, 2006, (Tracing Istanbul, 2009)

Goods such as automobiles, household appliances, chemicals are produced in vertically integrated manufacturing facilities on the Asian side. Being at the intersection point of Istanbul with Anatolia, their location affords direct accessibility to the majority of the country (**Figure 4.5**). Workshops that produce ready-to-wear clothing, textiles, leather goods, etc. are located on European side. High labor force demanding sectors as such are not by a coincidence on European side, but as mentioned before because of the reason, that the European side hosted 70 % of the city population until mid-1970's. There is a linear distribution of industrial facilities. Because the fordist production model does not require a direct relationship between location of factories and workers residences, the major factor determining the location of the factories is their distance to motorways E5 and TEM. Non-integrated production organizations like the sectors on European side however require their workers to reside close to employer workshops. Seasonal demand and instability of job security, traditional production organization results in such concentrated districts (i.e Zeytinbunu). (Ustun, 2009)

The origins of building stock, as majority of the areas being urbanized in last decades, showing a tendency to expand towards north (**Figure 4.6**).The discontinuities between new and old districts are enforcing empty vast spaces between districts, only later to be invaded by informal settlements.

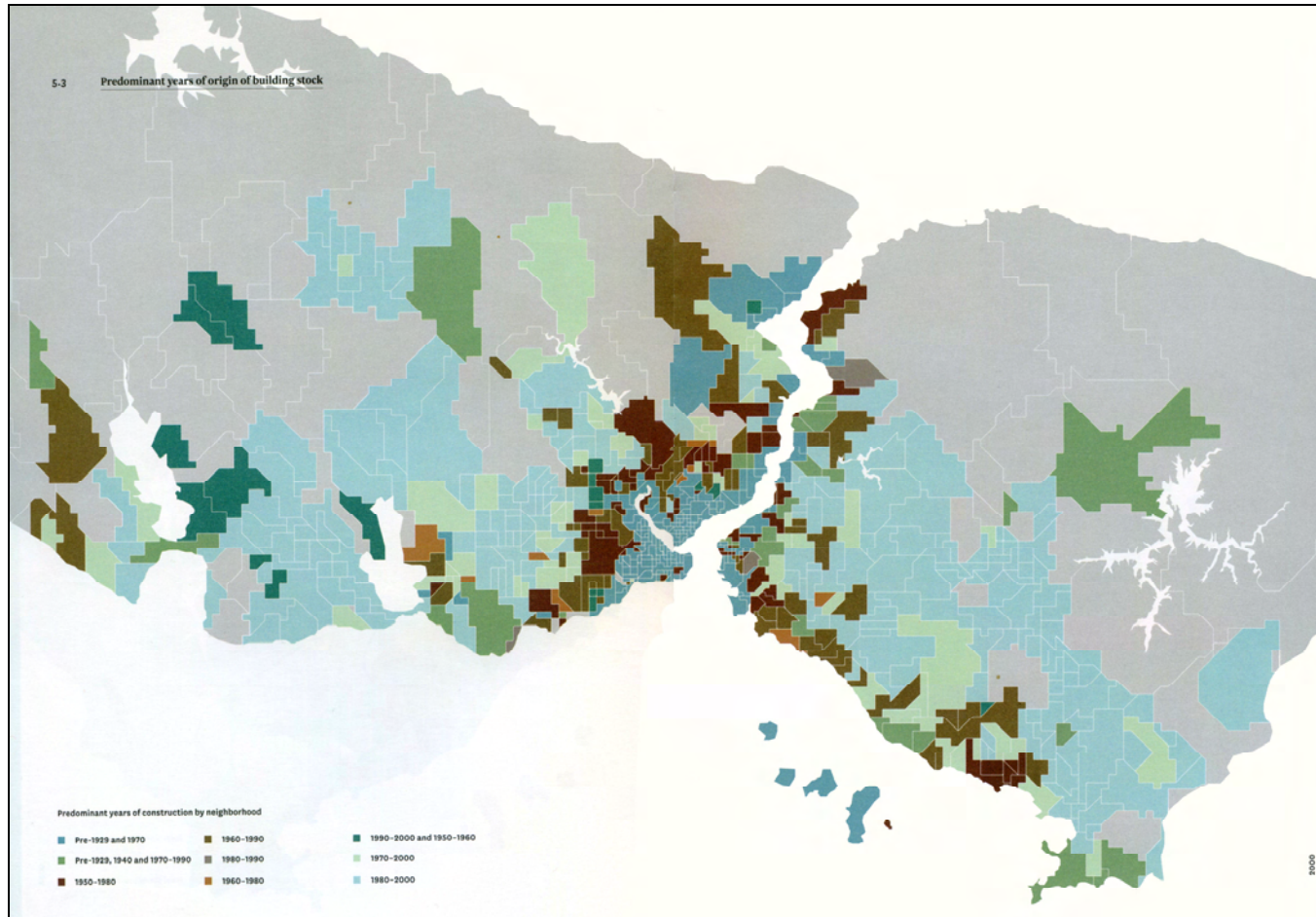


Figure 4.6: Origins of building stock, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

4.1.2 Employment Profiles and Education

The metropolitan form is a reflection of the division of the processes of labor and work. **Figure 4.7** and **Figure 4.8** are providing an overview to the spatial organization of workforce within Istanbul Metropolitan Area. Depending on employment by sector, punctual concentrations of different social-stratas in certain areas can be seen. Along with the socio-economical structure it addresses the current demographical changes and their spatial reflections to Istanbul Metropolitan Area in light of aforementioned terms like postmodernism, globalization and their space-living-consumption organizations.

The employment profile concerning the housing in Istanbul has important impacts on changing environment. It is possible to address the blue- and white-collar populated areas through the employment patterns and education levels.

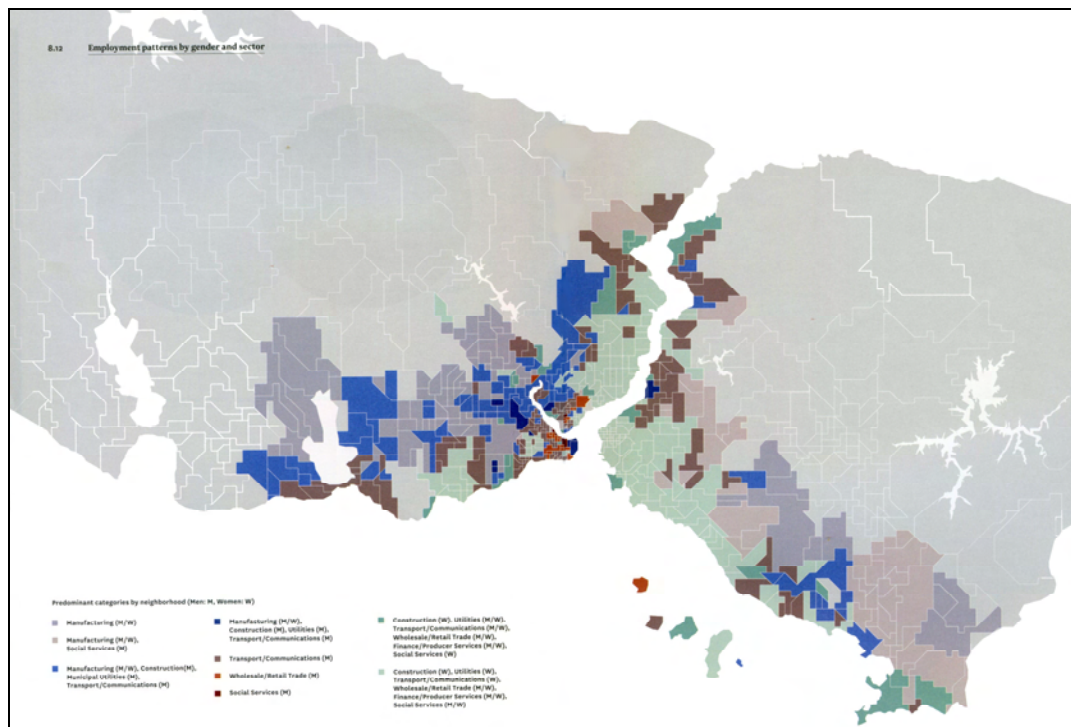


Figure 4.7: Employment profile by gender, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

The only region interrupting the continuity of the white-collar profile on the shoreline was at Zeytinburnu, a predominantly blue-collar working area. During the 1950's this area was overran with informal settlements. Now hosting a big amount of small industry, it is a developing area and also the biggest subject of urban transformation as many other areas containing low-socio profiled population of the

city. Whether the low-income population does have permission to live in the city at all, could be asked.

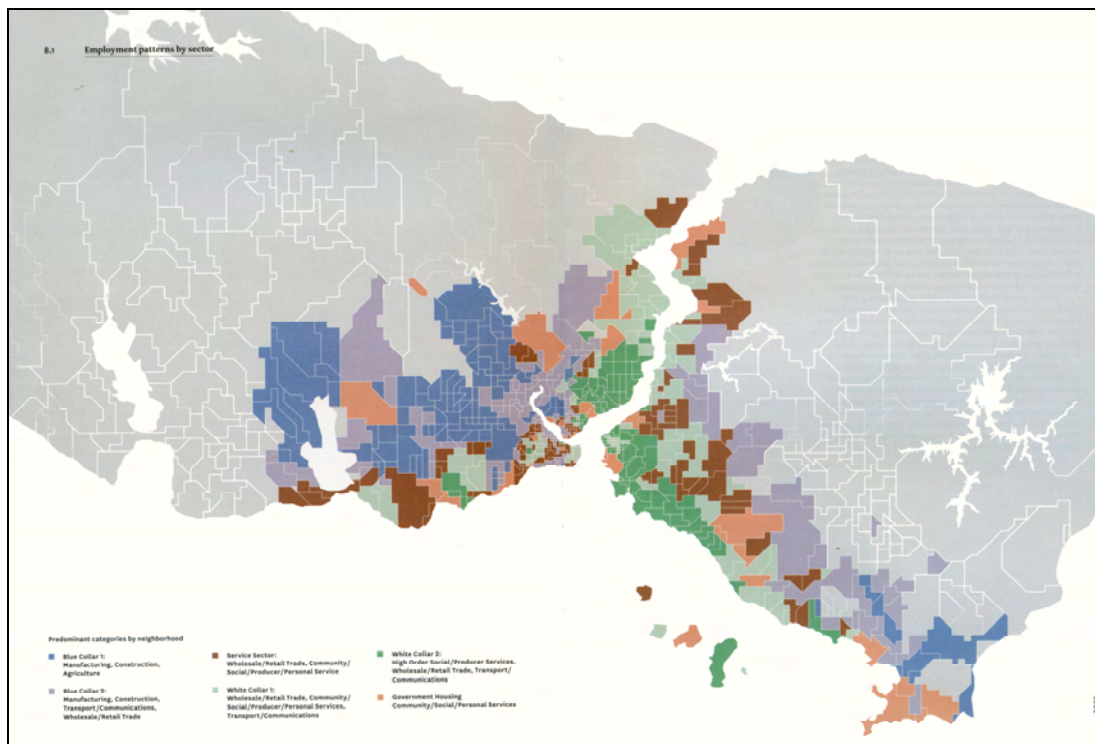


Figure 4.8: Sectoral employment profile by neighbourhood
(Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

The social stratification of blue- and white-collar population shows itself in living spaces. Until the 1990's this difference was more obvious at two different sides of E5 motorway. E5 in these terms functioned like a social wall to separate communities of different socio-economic layers.

The employment profiles analysis puts a very sharp observation into discussion. In blue-collar majorized regions women participate in economic activities mostly in field of manufacturing. In areas where white-collar population predominates the majority however, women work alongside men in most sectors. Whether someone can be described as a member of white-collar work-force or not, is strongly dependant on education profile and income level. This group characterized by high levels of education, small households and originating mostly from the Western parts of Turkey are more likely to live on the shores, using the most expensive transport opportunities and are at the top of the consumer pyramid. (Guvenc,2009)

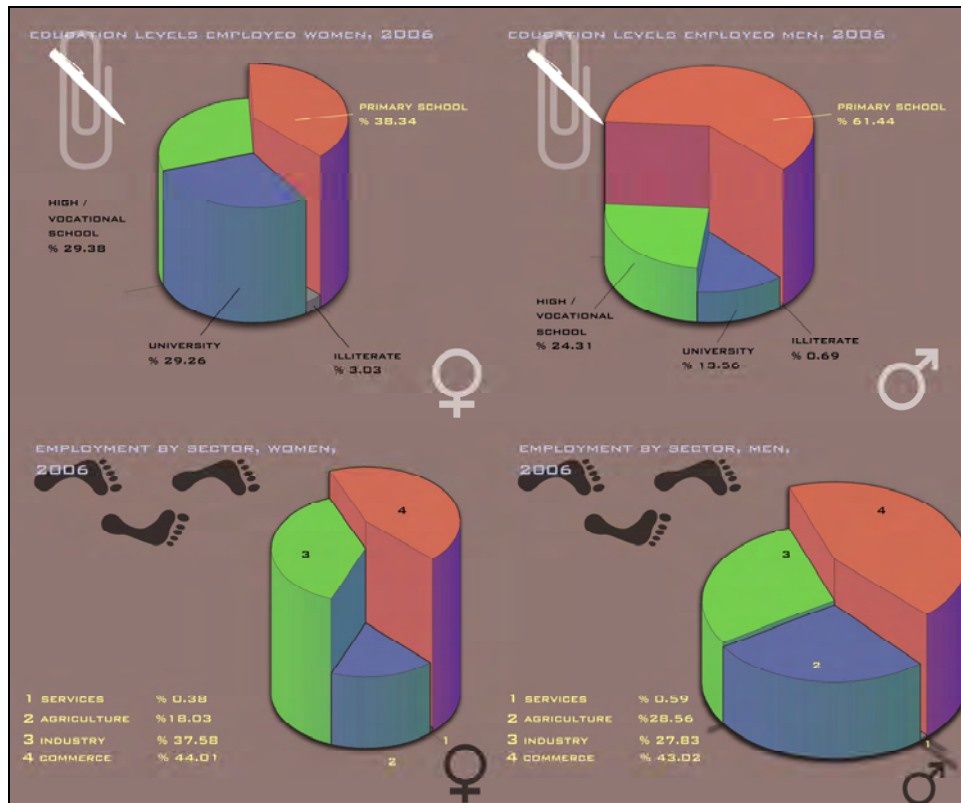


Figure 4.9: Education patterns with 2006 data, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

Workers in fields including social services, utilities, construction, and transportation and communication are almost exclusively male. Sectors like finances and producer services that are vital to global status contain more women work force where white-collar population predominates the majority. (Guvenc:2009)

By male work-force the lowest education profile predominates the majority of labor force (**Figure 4.9**). The increasing participation on economic activities by women with increasing education level should be noticed. Blue-collar work force has bigger households and a more traditional family structure. High income groups on the other hand with their smaller households are the stronger economic actors in consumption and work environments.

The socio-economical dynamics, being the indicating factors of emerging housing trends, are briefly summarized. As being the target of resolving forces of globalization, Istanbul is hosting sharp contrasts between residential areas of different social layers. This far the process and triggerers of vast abysses between different living areas are revealed. Attempting to categorize the aforementioned dwelling types in Istanbul raises the necessity of understanding the structure of

background factors. In coming chapters, the practical experience of these factors in urban sphere will be examined as different types of houses within city.

4.2 An Alternative Way To Shelter? : *Gecekondu* ('built overnight')

In early Republican times, Istanbul shrank dramatically due politics of central government and economical struggles of new Republic after war. The role of Ankara as main city was taken back after years, especially after 1950. Three decades between 1950 and 1980 were the years of compensating the neglected times of industrialization, and this approach brought up the rapid urbanization as an inevitable result and side effect. The city regained its importance on national scale again. Although the global identity remained hidden, potential has always been there. After the economical crisis in 1958 the government had to choose between urbanization and industrialization to distribute and divide its sources. But the industrialization was vital to become a part of world system, so the housing and urbanization problem was left to its own destiny. The unattended urbanization failed to follow a planned housing development problem due the lack of funds and interest. In this context the city compensated the housing lack with informal housing mechanisms, which was pretty much tolerated. The immigrants, who had to fend for themselves, constructed on-spot solutions for their shelter needs, i.e., *gecekondu* (literally, 'built overnight'), occupying mainly the available public lands, empty spaces in the inner city and the peripheries of the industrial areas. In addition to the construction of informal housing, an informal network of transportation, the minibuses, gradually emerged to provide connectivity between work-places and *gecekondu*'s. (see Figure 4.10) For being outsiders, migrants became a docile labor force and those who were better established, took advantage of their insecure existence.

After an uncertain period, populist politicians used the legalization process by means of granting amnesties to informal houses and providing them municipal services to gather votes. There has been a reverse urbanization process in this illegally built shantytowns; first the houses were constructed, then the infrastructure followed. The house-ownership rapidly increased. Every time before elections, massive amounts of migrants came to Istanbul and built *gecekondu*'s occupying public lands, empty spaces in the inner city or old industrial areas at the peripheries.



Figure 4.10: The mini-buses of Istanbul, (Exhibition Istanbul 1910-2010)

The amnesties encouraged the *gecekondu's* to get transformed into multistory apartments. But the urban layout remained as bad as it was before, no improvements were made at physical or social infrastructure. Due these changes the current bad urban plot of *gecekondu's* remained same, furthermore it continued with the over-dense urban fabric with very poor construction quality. This transformation also represents a turning point for commercialization of *gecekondu* areas. Those who managed to obtain multistorey apartments instead of their former one-room *gecekondu's* have started to rent their extra apartments. An informal real-estate market has come to existence. *Gecekondu* areas, formerly enclaves of urban poverty were providing its dwellers solidarity networks to fight steamrolling destructive effects of metropol life. For new-comers, it was a survival mechanism, which was compensating the absence of formal social programs, the strong social environment was making it easier to survive the alienation in the mechanic order of modern metropol (Yucesoy, Korkmaz: 2009).

Class difference based segregation started to show its spatial organization within city through emerging informal and formal living environments. Until the neo-liberal period in Istanbul, there always has been an inofficial mutual tolerance between citizens, new-comers and authorities since everyone was abusing the opportunities informal mechanisms were offering. The social diversity of this situation was very

similar to the one of imperial city back in Ottoman days, as it was representing the social tolerance of co-existence of different cultural groups together.

The changing economical politics implied new consumption patterns in no time, the definition of ideal house changed, apartments with bigger living areas started to be built. Old Ottoman buildings along the Bosphorus shores started to get replaced with apartment buildings to make room for 'modern life'. Upper-middle class was the dweller of these regions. These years were the times, in which urban transformations were made through investments of small contractors. House-owners were assigning a contractor to build instead of their old building an apartment, of which one or two storeys would be given to the constructor as profit.

The building stock produced during this time was rather a representation of an ideal life style than being practical. They were planned as an environment rather than a single building lot and all had a common language. This language was the outspoken rhetoric of Republican upper-middle class to exclude the urban poor. This class was building an invisible wall around its enclaves to mark the differences with lowest social-layer.

Nonetheless, except for these designed housings, at the beginning of the 1980s the very anonymous fabric of the city was constituted by apartment blocks, neither by the good quality of the upper-middle class or the poor quality of the working class (**Figure 4.11**). Moreover, they were generally produced by small contractors whose primary concern was their own building lot. Within their approach to building practice, architecture's contribution is merely cosmetic, and thus, superfluous. Consequently, within this incremental production of the city, architecture was marginalized and planning devoted itself to legitimation of the emerging situation.

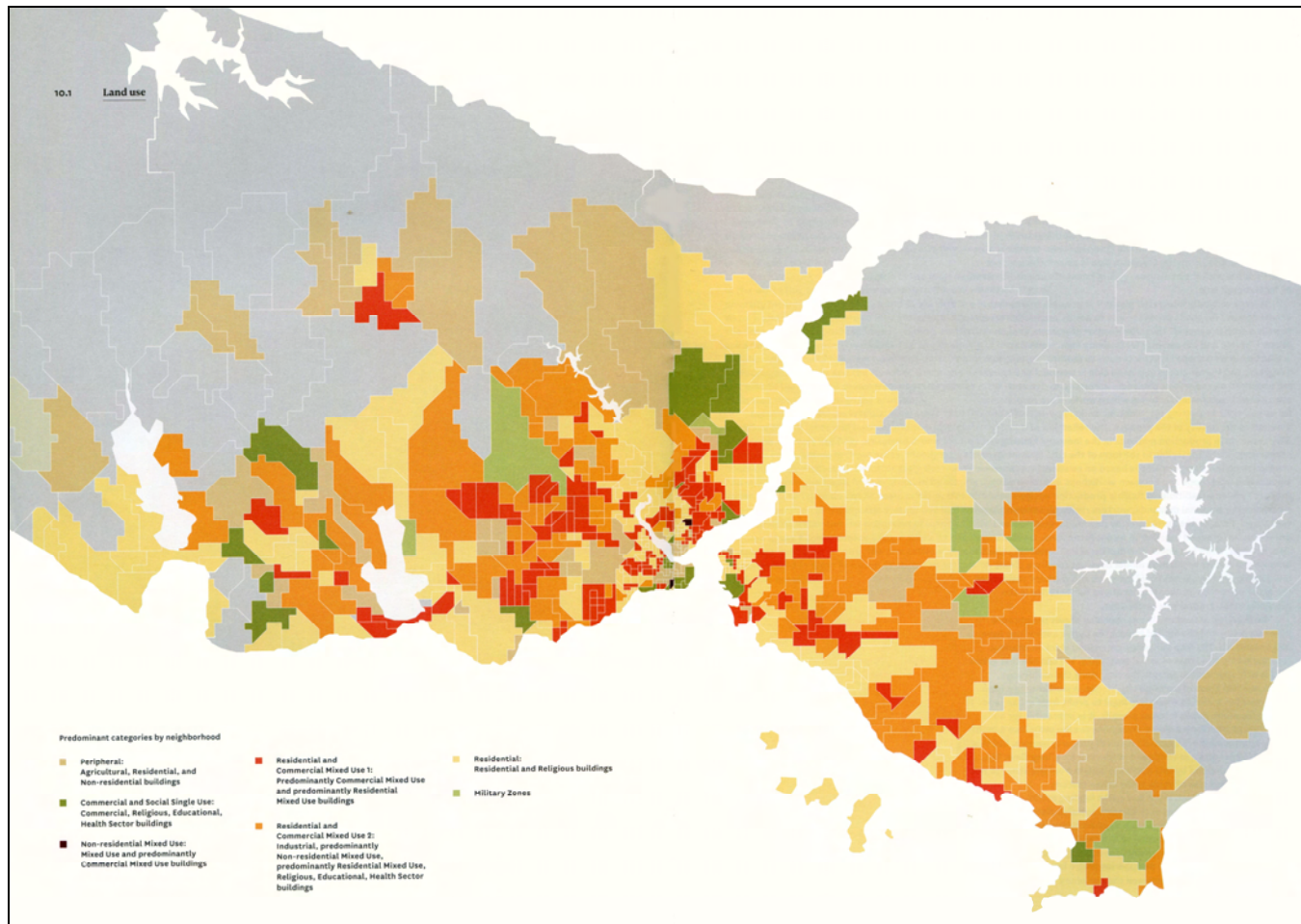


Figure 4.11: Urban land distribution, (Mapping Istanbul: 2009)

4.2.1 Segregation starts with the turn of 1990's

Beginning with the 1990's, a widening network of global cities became base substance of the new order replacing the former one, which was based on nationalization and development plans. The global cities had similar urban preferences all over the world: An urban structure allowing the global capital to flow and settle down in places of consumption, which was also promoting a shift in current urban plot to allow financial center characteristics, turning the city into a touristic arena for its own citizens while excluding the urban poor, was emerging. The structural and economical changes were not for everyone benefitable. While some groups are the main actors and are able to determine where to live, the others were pushed aside as an expected consequence of social inequalities due this new 'global agenda'. The socio-economic gap between the urban poor and the new global elites has converted the cityscape into a series of islands emerging independent from each other. Every island saw the 'others' as something that had to be eliminated. That is at the same time the consequence of the *gecekondu*-globalization co-existence in the city. (Keyder, 2005)

The late 1980's was a turning point for Istanbul: as a result of both global and local dynamics, the mode of co-existence established within the dynamics of rapid urbanization began to dissolve gradually. Since then, conflict areas of tension have surfaced.

The massive rural movement towards the metropolises from throughout all country since mid 20th Century has triggered a change on the demographical structure of these areas. Istanbul and its citizens has grown a resistance against the newcomers by claiming themselves as the original owners of the 'cosmopolitan imperial city'. This resistance to defence their status-quo resulted in increasing commodification of *gecekondu*; as a real estate market that was not controlled by the upper-middle class, with other words by the 'global elites'. The main political issue today took priority over the question of whose culture would monopolize the urban public realm: either that of the 'moderns' or that of the 'traditionals'.¹⁹ Paradoxically, the 'moderns' are those who have already engaged in the western lifestyle and do not want to change

¹⁹ In this context, the moderns are made of non-immigrant originated population and the traditional of the rural immigrants

the status quo; on the other hand, the ‘traditionals, who are eager to change the status quo, have engaged to local values and life-styles.

4.2.2 Defining *Gecekondu* (‘built overnight’)

Gecekondu’s can be described as structures which are built against development and construction laws on public or private lands without permission of their owners. (Law Nr 775)

According to Urban Science Dictionary *Gecekondu*’s are defined as shelter types on public or private lands without notice, approval and permission of their landlords that are built by low income groups whose need for healthy accommodation is not fulfilled by local or central authorities. (Keles, 1998)

General preferences of *Gecekondu*’s are (Gokmen, 2009):

- Built against development and construction rules
- Built over corporate, public or private lands without permission as invaders.
- Very short construction time, unhealthy physical conditions
- Built by lowest income groups, immigrants from rural areas

Development of *gecekondu* family:

- Adaptation on urban life has started
- Financial partnerships in rural area are over
- Nuclear family structure is in progress
- Slowly leaving agricultural living habits

Showing growing trends in punctual forms squatter areas are one of the oil flake forms that have been appearing in development process of Istanbul since early 20th Century. Although they started to spread with the rural movements past upon 1950 as for today squatterization is decribed as crime (Kuyucu, 2010). Squatters are one of the identity forms of urban poor within metropolitan area. They are also raising the urge of isolation for upper-middle class members, as the prestige of an individual among other society members is measured with consumption habits in postmodern cities.

Housing Typology of Urban Poor (Gokmen, 2009):

A-In Metropol Centers

1. Formal Houses: Cheap rentals, physically damaged old houses, rental houses built for low-income strata, mass-houses, dormitories/pensions
2. Informal Houses: *Gecekondu's*(with/out license), street residents

B-Periphereal City

1. Formal Houses: Single houses or apartment with private ownership, rental houses, mass houses
2. Informal Houses: Houses built against laws (not squatters), rental houses, squatters (with/out license)

Squatterization process in Turkey before neo-liberalization can be examined in 3 periods:

1. Until end of 1960: Innocent shelter needs
2. Between 1960-1970: Horizontal movement, increasing number of storeys, increasing number of rooms for rent in informal settlements
3. 1970-1980: Complete commercialization of squatter construction, first appearances of *gecekondu* producing illegal organizations in forms of companies, vertical movement on construction process.

The houses built during first phase are described as *nouvel-houses* and are consisting mostly one single room and a bathroom. This phase is called the orientation phase. The shelters in second phase have up to 3 rooms and are built for semi-temporary accommodation needs. This is the adaptation phase of the rural strata on urban life. The last phase is the integration phase and consists permanent houses including rooms for rent (Pulat-Gokmen, 2009).

In squatter areas in Turkey is the average number of persons living per room is 2.6, almost % 72 of dwellers are residing in 1-2 room dwellings. % 40 of the *gecekondu's* in the city are repairable, %30 of them are in good stance and the rest is physically damaged. %67 of squatters have no electricity, % 40 of them have no water(Akdemir, 1998)

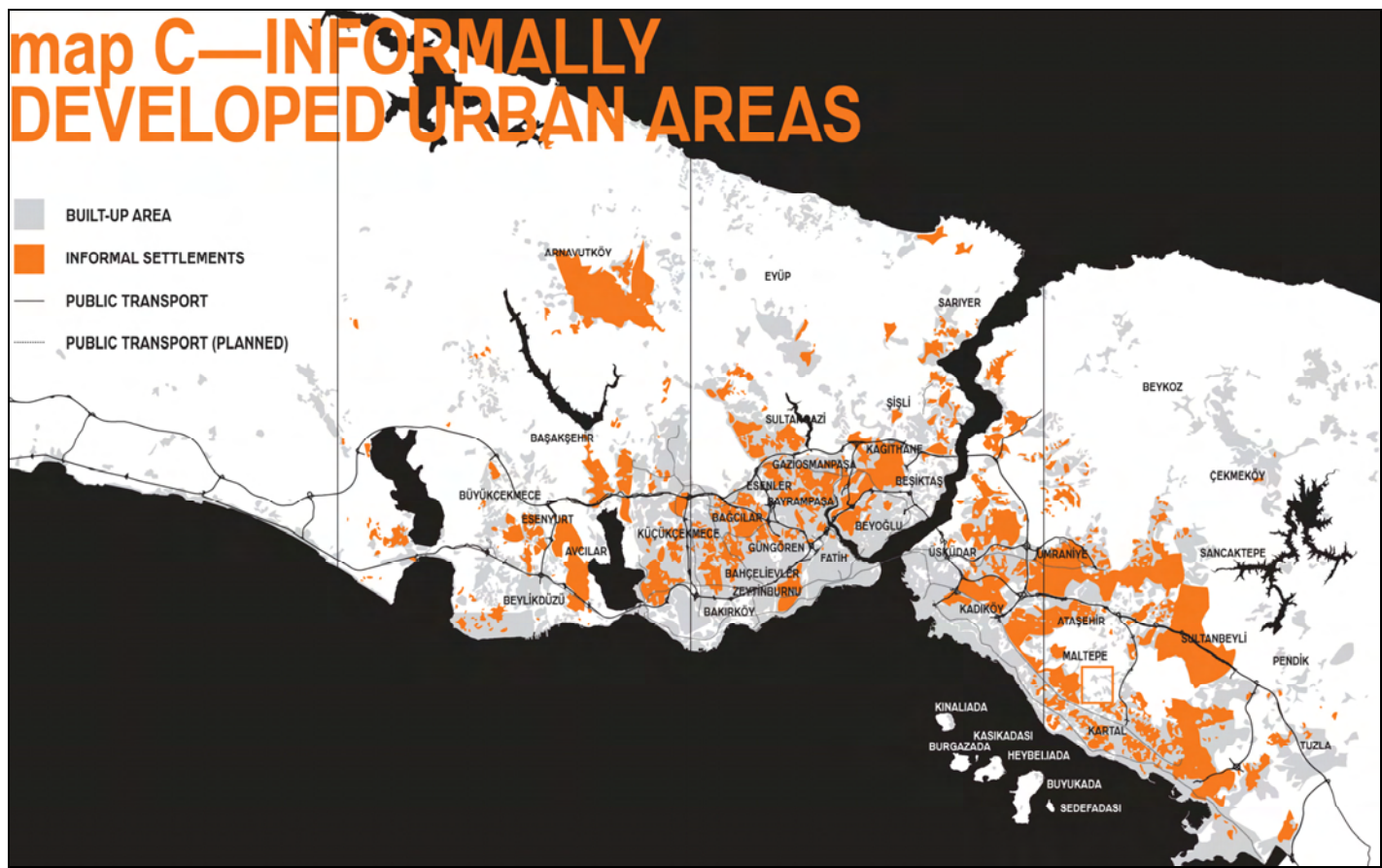


Figure 4.12: Informally developed urban areas

(Source: Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion -2009)

From the first day until today *gecekondu* buildings kept evolving, some of them are transformed into apartments as today. Infrastructure, distance to central city and motorways, population density are the indicators determining the characteristics of *gecekondu* area. Means of infrastructure such as connections to central city, electricity, sewer and clean water networks do not play an important role at the start when the first *gecekondu*'s are being built (**Figure 4.12**). But later on most of the problems occur due absence of those. Since the older *gecekondu* areas already contain these utilities they are always more popular among new coming *gecekondu* dwellers. This of course results in long term in social layerization within *gecekondu* society itself (Kongar 1998).

4.2.3 Results and suggestions:

Solutions developed for *gecekondu* at earlier stages are (Gokmen, 2009):

- Ignoring
- Demolishing
- Controlling land, house and rent price speculations
- Freezing prices
- Limiting big developments
- Mass house production

Solutions that are being used today are:

- Demolishing, reconstructing
- Moving *gecekondu* dwellings that are built on water basin areas or topographically problematic zones elsewhere
- Demolishing the slums on areas with high density where parcelization is almost impossible and remaking new housing units at the same area with proper parcelization
- Providing land and service
- Improving the infrastructure step by step

- Giving consultancy services in terms of construction methods and materials

Main criterias for a successful rehabilitation or transformation are:

- User participation
- Construction through direct help
- Legitimizing houses and their ownership
- Providing access to urban services
- Interventions to improve quality of the house and its surrounding together
- Improving responsibilities of local authorities
- Strict standardizations in providing urban services
- Redefining housing standards when improving *gecekondu* zones
- Supporting production of cheap construction materials and components
- Providing long term cheap credits for urban poor
- Reorganizing house ownership
- Limiting single house ownerships
- Producing units for rent to allow multiple ownerships
- Coordinating ownership models with cooperatives

Suggestions:

- Developing creative ways to secure shelter accessibility instead of distributing single house ownerships in *gecekondu* areas would prevent commercialization of these buildings.
- Central and local authorities should distinguish *gecekondu* areas that are eligible to rehabilitate from the informal housing areas that are building environmental threats to their surroundings.
- By improving transformation models a careful, consistent and stable attitude is for successful results vital.

- Land planning and new land producing plays an important role on such interventions. The former “land office” in Istanbul should be reappointed to its duty.
- Interventions being made in *gecekondu* areas should be sensitive, protecting cultural values and caring for expectations.
- During the rehabilitation technical help and education can bring a great asset. Women population in such dwellings should be included in these organizations.
- A great risk is the rapid increase on property values upon rehabilitation process. The regulations on market economy should protect interests of *gecekondu* dwellers.
- Gathering all sources in a pool system would allow them to be made use at maximum efficiency, prevent waste and mistargeting of result. The residents should be participating in decision making mechanisms as such.
- Job chances upon finish of the transformation.
- Deed distribution to *gecekondu* dwellers has to stop as it is encouraging possible construction of new *gecekondu*'s. Rent and leasing can be considered as alternative solutions.
- Providing credits for construction material instead of houses would limit the commercialization of *gecekondu*'s, instead it would encourage the rehabilitation of them.
- Educating construction workers would improve the construction quality, providing small contractors credits for needed equipments would boost up the construction speed.
- District residents should be prioritized on increasing economic opportunities upon transformation.

4.3 Urban Transformations, Apartments and Mass Housing Administration

The urbanization process in Turkey went through two very important turning points. First one is the declaration of the Republic in 1923 and the second one is the Second World War with the industrialization period after it. In 1927 the share of urban population in Turkey was % 24.22. In 1960 it was % 31.92, in 1980 almost % 50 and in 2000 it was % 64.90. (tuik.gov.tr-2009)

According to World Bank data between 1980 and 2000 Turkey had the third fastest urbanization speed in the World. (Bayraktar, 2006:101-102)

In terms of housing the first legal regulation appears in the Constitutional Law in 1961 in section 49, underlining the government's responsibility to provide healthy shelters for the urban poor. In 1982 Constitutional Law the state was adopting the duty to produce development plans and to support mass-housing productions but left the social aspect in 1961's Constitutional Law that was emphasizing low-income groups. (Bayraktar, 2007:16)

The first housing cooperative was established in 1934, after the Law for Cooperatives in 1969, cooperatives started to appear in an increasing number. Founding MHA in 1984 has had a significant impact on the housing sector. The average of 140 cooperatives per year in the pre-1984 period has rapidly expanded to 2700 cooperatives per year upon the establishment of MHA. Almost one million houses were produced with MHA credits by housing cooperatives during this time. In following years however, these statistics could not prevent the popularity of cooperatives from dropping down, as the construction durations were increased up to 96 months in some cases. MHA started to provide credits for uncompleted housing projects since 2003, considering the aforementioned problems with the former cooperatives and their projects. (Bayraktar, 2006: 173-174)

Mass Housing Administration Turkey (TOKI), has been founded with the 1978-1982-4th Development plan along with the first mass housing law of Turkey. Most of its income was provided by taxes from luxury trade goods and it was aiming to accelerate production of shelter. During these years the standards for houses started to be determined, and the state-housing policy was being reconsidered. The construction companies received bigger supports in this period, and those who

invaded government lands have gained long term use permit for these, thus of the informal building stock became obvious (Dulgeroglu-Yuksel, 2008).

Public bodies, mainly supported by mechanisms as banks, cooperatives and contractors are the major actors. Housing provision through a mass housing authority has both advantages and disadvantages. Dynamics of contemporary housing market are:

- target groups and other actors
- credit strategies
- power relations
- size and scale of the units and housing settlements (Dulgeroglu-Pulat, 1996)

In 1984, with law Nr.2985, a fund for mass housing formed by combining several sources of income. In the same year a new and legal entity, Mass Housing Authority (MHA) was also established to meet the housing need of low income groups.

- To provide housing for low and middle income groups without homes
- To develop alternatives for opening new residential areas with infrastructure following the cleaning up of squatter settlements
- To provide financial support for housing construction
- To pool public funds for urbanization and house production
- To obtain new sources and mobilize them for housing purposes

4.3.1 Urban Transformations

Between 1984 and 2001, approximately 950.000 residential units across Turkey were financed through loans issued by TOKİ and around 45.000 units were constructed by the administration itself. The vast majority of state-funded loans were used by middle-classes; lower income groups were unable to access these loans. Henceforth, TOKİ policies managed to provide cheap housing for middle-classes but it failed to deal with squatter buildings which were produced by lower income groups, that moved to city for better work opportunities. After 2001 economical crisis the administration was granted broad powers and resources to develop its own projects and sell them through agencies. (Kuyucu, 2010)

Spatial differentiations and its reflections to urban sphere in Istanbul can vary. Mass Housing Administration (MHA/TOKI) in this context is a major actor. With drastical measures of urban transformations, it has been shaping our surroundings simultaneously with emerging neo-liberalization and later on globalization. Mass housing made a remarkable impact on the major urban areas in developing countries. In this frame the shrinking role of official bodies too, be it local or central, has to be taken into consideration.

Urban transformation has to be defined as the process of solving urban problems, the series of actions and visions to improve social, physical and enviromental issues of a deformed district in the city. Because of these reasons, it requires a multidisciplinary cooperation between sociologists, economists, ingenieurs, architects, urban planners, landscape architects and various other professionals. In a national and transnational economical environment with a remarkable labor force and capital activities, urban transformation is not allowed overlook and neglect localities. Isolating localities would result in social failure of the project. (Turok, 2005:25. Karadag, 2007)

To clarify borders and meaning of urban transformation following classification about different kinds of urban transformation is made (Kara,2009; Palabiyik, 2009):

- **Renewal:** In cases where improvement in conditions of building stock is not reasonable, a percent or all of the original buildings are demolished and reconstructed.
- **Gentrification:** Rehabilitation of misused and physically damaged buildings in central city hosting a a group of a certain income level as residents. Upon such transformation a shift in socio-economical profile of the rehabilitated area is expected. In gentrified areas, rents and house prices becaome more expensive in comparison to their previous state, thus the previous dwellers cannot afford to live there anymore.
- **Rehabilitation:** Partial renewal of old urban plot and opening it to public use
- **Preservation-Conservation:** Urban pattern that contains reflections of socio-economic conditions, cultural values is improved in terms of physical conditions, preventing it from extinction due to the on-going changes in urban sphere. The reconnection of this urban area with contemporary urban

life, increasing the health of its cultural values for society's greater good by minding reasonable function assignments and financial affordability belongs to the description.

- **Revitalization:** Historical urban areas that lost their identity and attraction will be granted improved qualities via social measures.
- **Redevelopment:** Urban lands with irreversibly bad economical and structural stance will be demolished and replaced with appropriate new designs. Target of such applications are mostly squatter areas with low income social groups.
- **Improvement:** Preventing a town, village or district from being developed by itself and limiting its expansion for society benefits.
- **Clearance:** Eliminating unhealthy conditions in low-income housing areas
- **Infill development:** Adding new functions and facilities to a certain area
- **Refurbishment:** Reviving historical areas with landscape interventions and city furnitures, improving its qualities to an attraction point.

Immanuel Wallerstein in his 'world-system' analysis suggests a center-surrounding antagonism. According to him the social and economic structure of cities result in certain classes living in central city, while others are being pushed towards peripheral city. But the reflection of this 'central' and 'peripheral' terminology to living areas is a complicated paradigm. For instance squatterization is being economically in central city but in terms of settlement it is being dispersed from central city. These happens only then, when participation in economic activities within central city, and the necessity of living isolated at city periphery come to existence at once. (Wallerstein, 2004)

The upper- and upper-middle classes in Istanbul have rediscovered their city as 'tourists' through their global consumption habits. Actually Istanbul has been reorganized and rebuilt to a tourist city ever since, with sterilized places and islands of consumption, avenues cleared of small buildings, Istanbul has lost most of its identity inherited from the end of 19th Century. Wide roads built to provide a touristic

experience through the city, have pushed poor districts out of sight. A reproduced Istanbul is to be observed when driving these roads today. (Oncu, 1999:26)

For middle-class, apartments always meant being modern. For Oncu, this big meaning of owning a house is not something that came out of nowhere. What in this paradigm new is that an universal mythos²⁰ through house ownership is being created. Middle-classes under the influence of global consumption culture are directed towards an ideal house-mythos. In middle-class understanding, the ideal house means not just a house but also clean air, an active life for all generations, safe open playgrounds for kids, decent people surrounding a barbeque for their social longings. Buying a house would have to fulfill these needs and therefore represents the longing for a better life, the identity in society. Due squatterization process after 1950, the apartments became proofs of being modern in contrast to slum dwellers in Istanbul. In this context the settlements of social houses are identical, multistory buildings produced by MHA or by related contractors and cooperatives. In Istanbul in first half of 1990's 1000 projects got granted credits by MHA, this with a rough calculation means a number of 1.000.000 houses total. (Oncu 1999:29-30)

The middle and middle-low class tends to live in apartment blocks next to the highways. Moving to an apartment here or in a gated settlement in periphereal city represents preserving and reproducing the middle-class identity in society. From 1984 until 2006 MHA produced almost 944.000 houses. In 2008 in 81 cities all over the country this number is almost 350.000. (TOKI, 2009)

Oncu qualifies the urban transformations in last two decades around two main axis'. First one is the housing preferences of upper-mid socio-class through globalized consumption behaviours and their ideal house mythos. Second one is s about the ascendance of the capital accumulation and welfare of middle class due their access to every kind of consume product. For these classes it became vital to obtain a house at periphereal city to preserve their 'symbolical wealth' (Oncu, 1999)

²⁰ Mythos is a Greek word meaning "story, legend, plot" (Url-8)

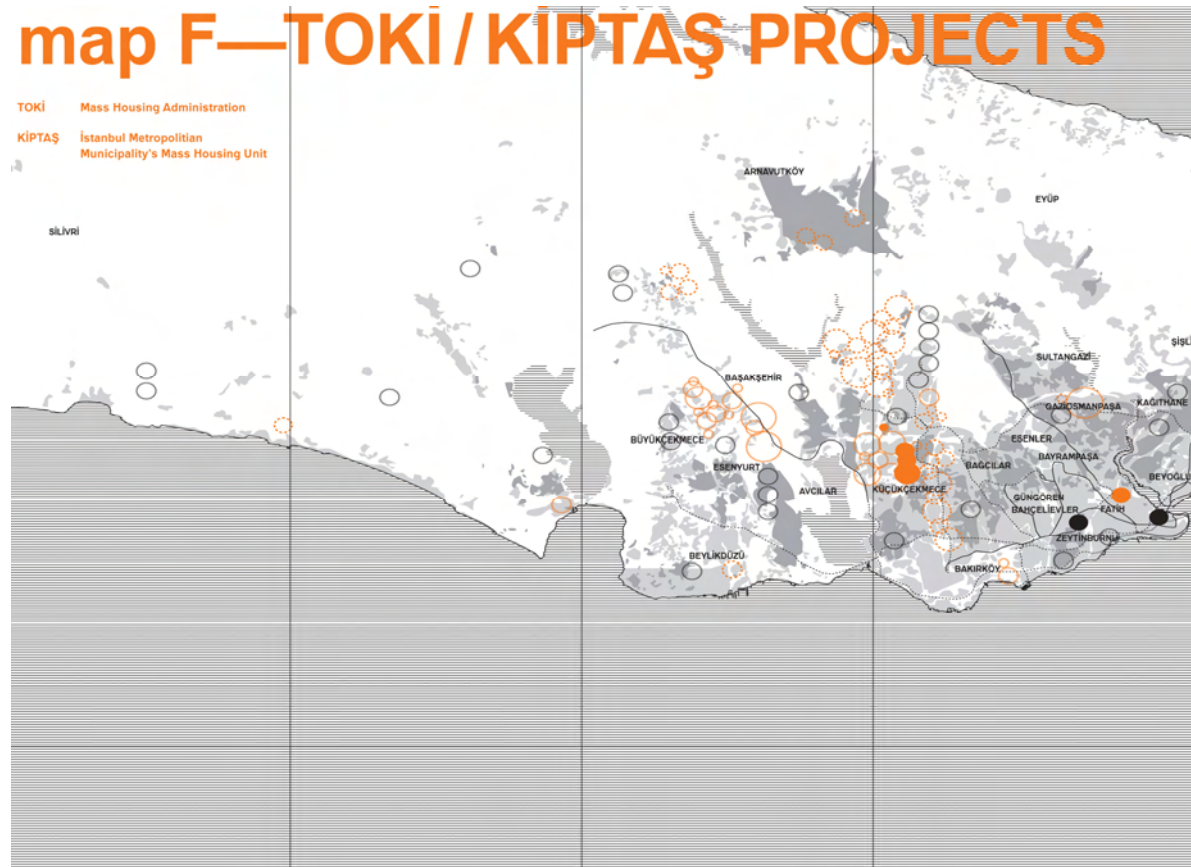


Figure 4.13: TOKİ (MHA) Projects-1

(Source: *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion* -2009)

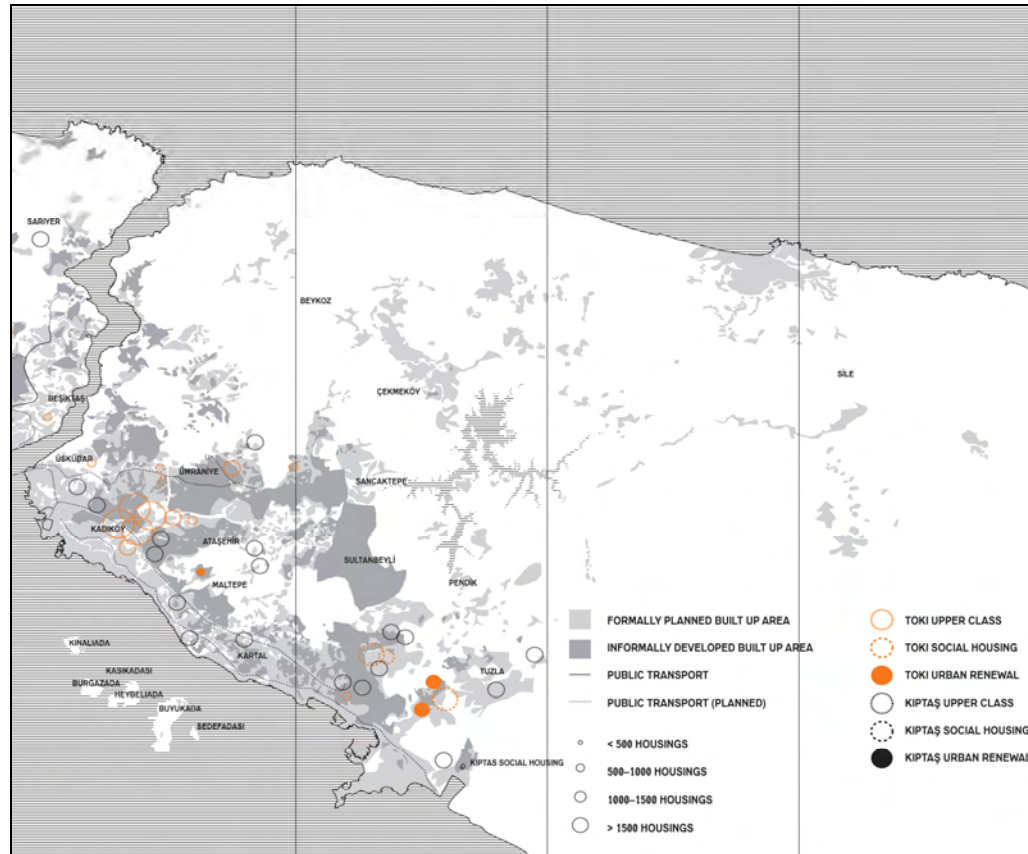


Figure 4.14: TOKI (MHA) Projects – 2

(Source: *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion -2009*)

4.3.2 Roles and Tools of MHA

MHA's roles are 1- Direct intervention into the housing market 2- Indirect intervention into the housing market

In 1996 the first Real Estate Investment Trust (Gayri Menkul Yatirim Ortakligi) was established which facilitated the investment of finance capital in large scale real estate projects. MHA, proceeding under control of Prime Ministry, emerged as another significant actor central to the restructuring process in Istanbul. Forming partnerships with private construction companies, involvement in the construction and selling of housing for profit, being able to take over state urban land at no cost with the approval of the Prime Ministry and the President's Offices: expropriation of urban land to construct housing projects; and developing and implementing squatter (*gecekondu*) transformation projects.(Bartu-Candan-Kolluoglu, 2008)

- At the end of 2001, MHA fund was deactivated due its ineffectiveness in providing credits to mass-housing construction
- By 2002, The Real Estate and Monetary Funds of the Real Estate Bank had been transferred to MHA, increasing it's financial power even more.
- MHA's share in housing construction jumped from % 0.6 between 1984 and 2002, to 24.7 % in 2004, and decreased to 12.1 % in 2005. MHA has constructed 50.183 housing units in Istanbul. (toki.gov.tr)

MHA's production models are as follows:

- Agriculture villages
- Social housing fund raising projects, land provision and production in cities
- Disaster housing
- Urban transformation projects (Squatter Transformation Projects)
- Housing production on MHA's lands for low and middle income groups

Kuyucu describes the process of TOKI transformations in last decade as real estate transfers between different income groups. In 2004 squatter building (*gecekondu*) were described as crime for first time. With Law Nr. 5366, MHA got granted urban transformation right in historical/preservation areas. In 2006 the new mortgage law

changed the face of housing sector. In 2008 selling lands to foreign capital was allowed. Many important areas are privatized according to these laws later on. (i.e: IETT land, Sisli Liquor Fabric etc) (Kuyucu,2010)

4.3.3 Changing Role of MHA

After 2003 the housing and urban transformation projects start to appear more often in political strategy plans produced by governments. Improving urbanization and life qualities became first priorities and regulations to organize and ease these actions have been added to field of authorities of MHA. In 2004 MHA got bound to Prime Ministry again, land and house production became it's main duties.

With the law Nr.4966 (31/07/2003) and with the change of MHA-Law 2985 the extra duties of Mass Housing Administration are as follows:

- Founding housing production related companies or participating on such organizations as contractor
- Providing single or mass-housing credits, improving village architecture, transforming squatter areas, developing projects towards reservation of historical pattern and local architecture in cities and when needed, granting loans to such projects.
- Developing projects with local or international actors
- Building social houses and facilities in disaster areas
- Gained the right to accumulate state lands with approval of Prime Ministry, Economy Ministry and Construction Ministry (Yuksel-Pulat, 2009)

With changes and new assignments since 2003 MHA became the most powerful actor in housing sector (**Figure 4.13** and **Figure 4.14**).

An outstanding example on urban transformations, England, has experienced the transformation process' in 1950's as reconstruction, in 1960's as revitalization, in 1970's as renewal, in 1980's as redevelopment and in 1990's as renewal. (Eren, 2006:21)

The main actors involved in urban transformations are local and central managements, private sector, local community, non governmental organizations and other related groups. (Turok 2005:27)

The power balance between these actors is the key to success. (Barka, 2006:10)

The partnership term in such cases is born in England due an agreement between political benefits. Effective urban transformation strategies were then achieved through a balanced partnership between public sector, private sector and local community. Direct participation of local community ensured the acceptance of the project by its future users. (Mccarthy, 2005:99)

It acts as a fund provider, land provider and enabler at local level, MHA has had significant impacts on developments in economic market as sharing revenues with the private sector, cooperation with local government agencies, increasing labor capacity, reducing bureaucracy for mass housing production. In return, it is having immense pressure from private sector to increase residential density.

Figure 4.15 suggests a sharp contrast between tenants and owner-occupiers. Here, the inner city is characterized by an overrepresentation of tenants and the fringes by an overrepresentation of property owners.

Low education profile, low income level and low quality of building stocks is converting these areas into targets of possible urban transformations as being the 'ugly face' of the city. Kuyucu describes these areas as places of low social resistance against such transformation attempts. Earthquake and urban fear are being used as legitimizing arguments in these transformations. While on the other side enormous integration problems of squatter dwellers to their new homes are being mostly ignored. The social organization between these groups, that was imported from their former rural residences to their squatter neighbourhoods in Istanbul is fading away in MHA houses. Vertical organized buildings prevent one even from knowing his own neighbour for years. (Kuyucu, 2010)

Target groups of MHA are mostly low-income groups, housing needs of this class are met through subventions created through construction of high-, middle-high income group residences. MHA is meeting the shelter needs of the middle-income groups most. The urban poor, who constitute the bottom end of the low-income groups and who usually have no ready assets for immediate purchase, are to be provided with housing in long run, which they can pay over 10 to 20 years. (Bayraktar, 2008)

4.3.4 Critics and Current Situation

The development plans of the city, which would guide planned growth of its population have changed to include peripheral settlements since last two decades. The new satellite towns and gated settlements built during the last several decades have made that inevitable. MHA today owns almost half of the real estate market. Most mass-housing projects have the planning principles of providing privacy at home, economical and fast construction of as much as possible units, yet they also have problems of flexible growth, sound and thermal insulation problems, excessive vertical density of high and wall-like or point blocks, unaesthetic city silhouette and too much space consumed on ground parking lots. (Dulgeroglu Yuksel-Pulat Gokmen, ENHR Conf. 2009))

Among the criticized aspects of MHA are:

- The head of MHA is the only authority concerned with selling urban land, making decisions on planning and determining the value of lands. Hence it is a kind of government supported monopoly in the housing sector. (Geray, 2009)
- MHA has right and authorities of a financial institution among other finance offices and banks.
- MHA has extended power on city planning and tax exemption.

The government makes it easier to sell public lands for the use of MHA. In 2004, all duties and authority of the urban land offices were transferred to MHA.(Pulat Gokmen, Ozsoy, 2008) Therefore, MHA has become privileged among the government institutions that have taken responsibility of development plans and construction permits of local authorities in cities. MHA has not been able to give credit to cooperatives since 2003; they prefer individual applications for their affording needs for new projects. (Geray, 2009)

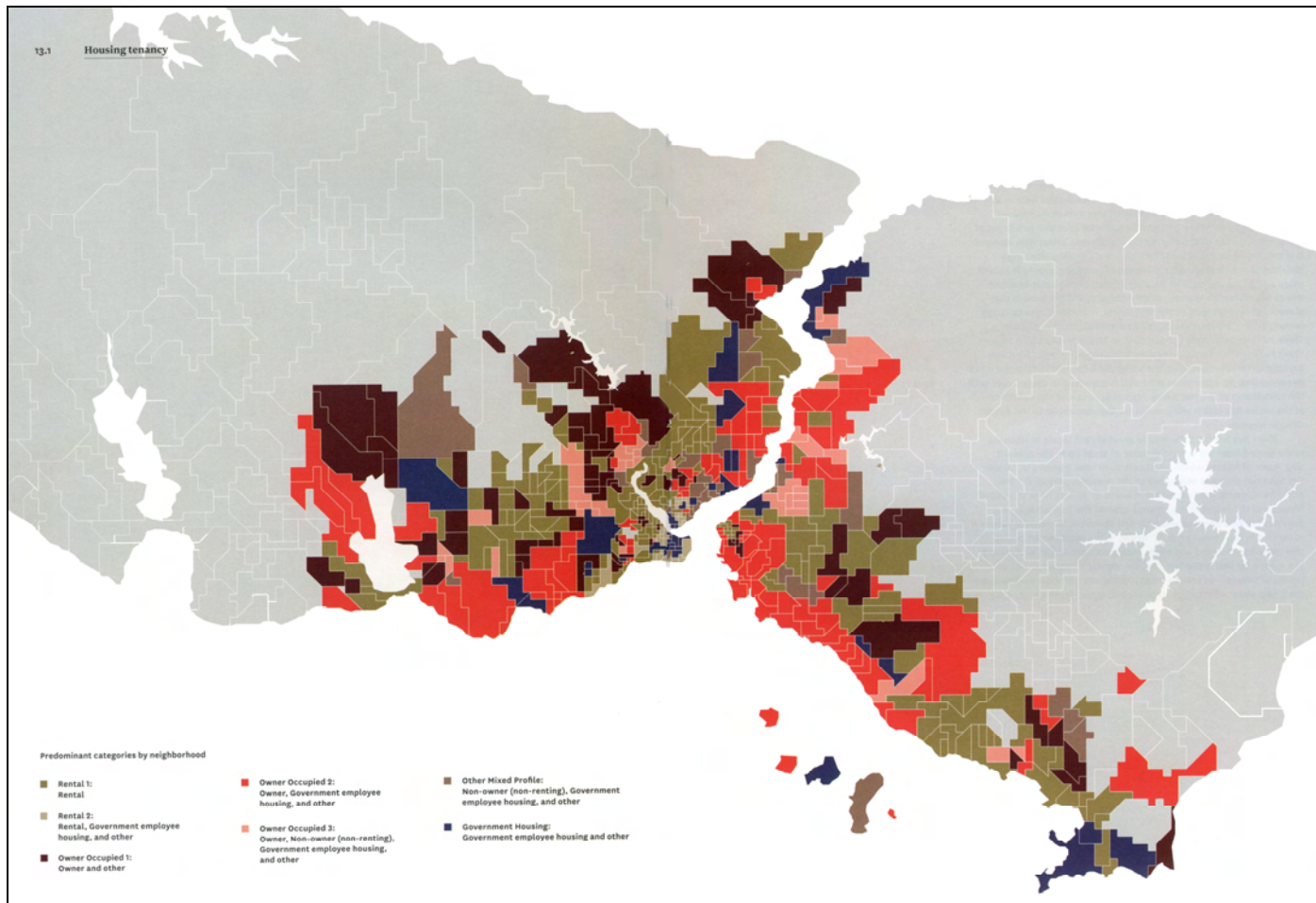


Figure 4.15: Housing tenancy, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

Large transformation projects undertaken by MHA, are changing the city layout and social make-up, causing ownership problems (i.e change of hands, rent focus formation etc.) and a non-conforming urban texture. Low spatial quality, a neglected aspect of prestigious housing, furthermore the identity of the city is lost with the high blocks of residences and commercial buildings. (Birol, 2008)

As an evaluation criterion, user satisfaction is quite difficult to meet. On one side, limited housing typology for the economies of scale, and on the other, multi-culture and heterogeneity of urban populations, the values and needs of which vary greatly, are on the other. The issue is how to meet the sometimes conflicting needs in the same project. One consideration is related to quantity and the other one is related to quality.

The dwellers of the mass-housing projects constitute too big of a population sample to properly exemplify in terms of their assessment of their homes. It is said that MHA's construction methods are producing the same plan types and views in all cities .(Tomruk, 2009)

The middle income groups in the city (i.e Kayseri) are growing fast and determining the future generation and production of urban lands—in terms of emptying-- of central city. This kind of transformations of city with such a change in the role of the middle-class, together with mass-housing projects, may lead to concerns about such changes in the environment with the existing historical center. (Tozoglu, Sonmez, 2008)

One of the major criticisms of the mass-housing projects in urban areas is related to those built at the periphereal city for the urban poor. Their far distance from their work places and social networks may turn out to be a disappointment in the future and may even be vacated by their dwellers. (Kumkale, 2009)

The existence of a city is symbolized with its dwellings. A city's majority is built of houses. For instance the share of houses within 'share of additional buildings in terms of functions' in Turkey is %90 and has the first place. (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2008:361)

Houses play important role in World not only with their physical size but also in terms of economy. The money spent on dwelling issues varies between % 10-30 per family budget depending on their socio-economic structure. The share of housing

sector in total capital accumulation in Turkey is around %20-30. Supportive sectors that depend on growth in housing sector produce every year % 7-18 of national stock. Labor force working in this sector in developing countries is around % 1-3, in developed countries % 3-6. (TOKI, 2006a: 3-4)

But contrary to its importance governments in Turkey neglected housing sector, instead they preferred to address health and moral problems occurring due to sheltering issues. (Keles, 2008: 427-428)

The first rights regarding housing was defined in Universal Human Rights Declaration in section 25, stating that it is everyone's right to have access to food, clothes, shelter and medical care. (Bayraktar, 2007:18)

The housing policy in Turkey has been using the house production as a tool to boost economic growth to overcome economic crisis' since 1950's . To do this, urban lands have been used to provide capital accumulation. (Dincer and Ozden, 2002:103)

4.4 Secured Enclaves : Gated Communities

Gated residential communities in Istanbul are maybe one of the most important reflections of globalized economical and social structure in metropolitan area or with 'corrected' words in 'peripheral metropolitan area' after 1980's.

Alongside all the economical and social changes, a new residential spatial arrangement is recasting Istanbul's urban space. Gated residential enclaves are representing a new life-style as an imitation of their Western examples. These housing trend of the new groups of wealth began to emerge in the mid-1980s. Their numbers made a rapid increase just in the late 1990s. The growth in the number of gated settlements is continuing on an accelerated pace since 2005.²¹ In other words, Istanbul's urban plot keeps getting segregated and polarized with the new gated residential compounds with increasing security concerns, as well as consumption,

²¹ *The count in Göktürk, one of the gated towns of Istanbul, shows that the number of segregated residential enclaves has doubled since 2005. Taking into account the fact that Göktürk is no exception to the general pattern in Istanbul, this growth rate may form a basis to approximate a parallel rate of growth concerning the whole city.*(Bartu Candan-Kolluoglu., " Emerging spaces of neoliberalism- A gated town and a public housing project in Istanbul", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 39 (2008): 5-46)

leisure and production spaces that are kept under constant sterile environments through strict security measures..(Bartu Candan-Kolluoglu, 2008)

4.4.1 Voluntary Exclusion and Isolation?

This whole situation has as result an ongoing exclusion of some groups from urban life concerning every way of living, the identities of individuals are being expressed through these new emerging ways of living and consuming. These closed enclaves bear new forms of social and political relationships between people, they are being managed with their own rules and are pretty much independant from the urban services the local management is providing for the rest of the city. An island formed expansion within the city is still in process, first it was through squatterization and later on through mass housing projects and legal forms of suburbanizations like this.

The gated developments have also a different marketing strategy then their respective examples in other countries. The closed enclaves in America or Europe have been emerging mainly because of strong social contrast and security concerns, while the gated communities in Turkey and Istanbul represent also their owners prestige and social layer within other members of the community. Being a tool of proving the socio-economical class difference, these settlements are hosting residents with similar social and economical profiles as expected. ²²

According to the research conducted by Baycan Levent and Gülümser in 2005, there are four types of gated developments in Istanbul: “gated towers; “gated villa towns”; “gated apartment blocks”; and “gated towns”. Depending on the size of the development, gated communities in Istanbul have emerged in both the inner and outer city on both the European and Asian sides of the Bosphorus (**Figure 4.16**).

²² The basic idea of being excluded from the rest of the community may depend on various reasons but in Turkey it has a lot to do with postmodernity and its emerging spaces via neoliberalization. Being subject of World-wide capitalist globalization projects like every other developing country, Turkey has been reflecting the spatial reflections of this new order as forms of consumption within its urban life, and mostly in Istanbul as it is the biggest and most important city along with Izmir and Ankara.

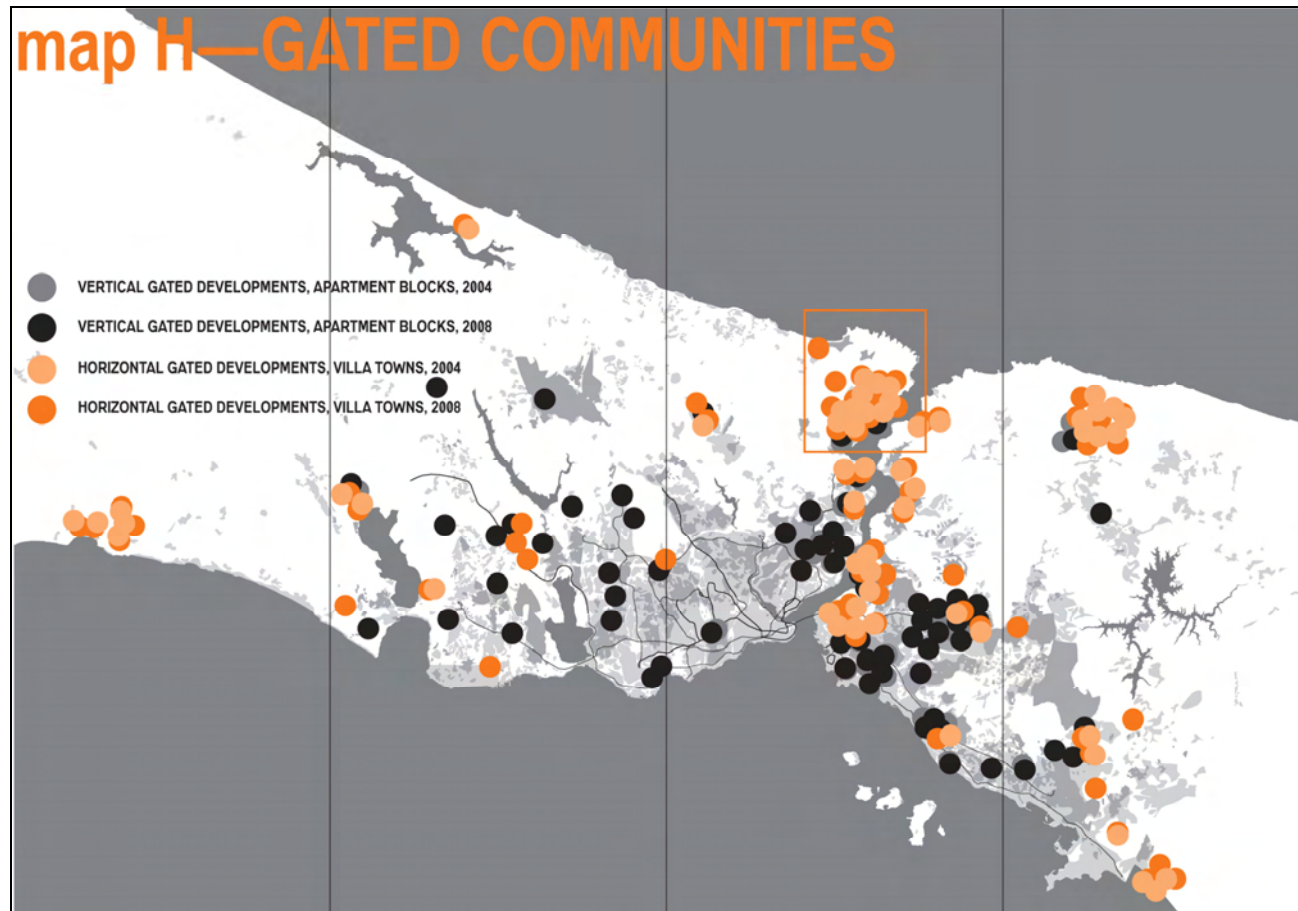


Figure 4.16: Gated communities by type and location
 (Source: Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion -2009)

Today, in many locations, different types of gated communities can be found together. The reasons are, first, the belief of developers that following the marketing strategy of pioneering projects will bring in more customers, and second, the enthusiasm of the inhabitants to have self-defined privilege of living in gated locations. The location preference of gated communities has not had damaging effects only on the natural environment but also on the social environment of their surroundings by making the social and spatial segregation visible. Specifically, communities located on the outskirts of the city result in animosity and tension between local families and higher income new arrivals.

The impact of gated communities on urban sphere of Istanbul is difficult to see at first sight. They are representing the housing preferences of the higher segment of the society, which preferably lives in these enclavements by being attracted to their prestigious appearance and high security opportunities. On the other side the gated settlements are surrounding the northern parts of the city slowly. These places, containing most of the green surface, in other words the lungs, of the city, are being slowly destroyed through these settlements. The inequality between groups that can and can't afford to live in these settlements makes one question the right to the accessibility to these privileged areas of Istanbul, which actually supposed to remain for public use and it's greater good. Another and more serious result of gated communities is the decline of the proximity and interaction of diverse social groups and classes, which was once the cosmopolitan face of imperial Istanbul for hosting 'every kind' of people regardless nationality, religion, economical and social status.²³

4.4.2 Urban fear as transformer

Upon the earthquake in 1999, a very strong public opinion has been raising questions about potential dangers of the low quality of Istanbul's building stock. This has been suggesting a rapid improvement and rehabilitation of the physical and environmental qualities of the urban plot. The urgency, that is being injected through the natural disaster rhetorics to the public opinion, has brought up the necessity for more secure and newer buildings to live in. Bartu Candan-Kolluoglu(2008) mentions about the

²³ Istanbul has always been a multicoloured and multifaced city with its diverse social groups. Even during the imperial time it hosted people from all sections of the community and combined them with different relationships.

hype about crime, and its function to justify the rising need for urban transformations. The urban fear in Istanbul has always been an important actor in marketing strategy of housing sector. In this connection, the ‘original citizens’ of Istanbul were needed to see the immigrants, minorities like gypsies, the chaos of transport system and the pollution of city as threats and would move to sterilized secure enclaves that would offer them the ‘clean’, ‘modern’ life they sought. This life would grant them a different position among society as well. A certain proof of being a member of white-collar population is made through another way of consumption, the luxury housing possible. The support for urban transformations and allegedly rehabilitations on the structure of the city have been through these rhetorics legitimized.²⁴

As a clear example of this situation, urban transformation and the public housing projects along this transformation are presented as the solution to “irregular urbanization” in Istanbul. Although the mentioned irregular urbanization is barely a matter caused by urban poor and different groups, many upper-class residents too have been a part of this matter, it is a very popular point of view to represent the urban poverty as the main indicator of the deformations on the urban sphere (Bugra: 1998; Erder, 1996).

The urban transformations, which result in forced evictions of urban poor from their locations appear more often in press articles today. The island-formed growing form shows itself here as well. The relocated groups are mostly moved to the mass-housing settlements outside the city. Formerly living in vertical organized squatter settlements like their original houses in rural areas, these groups show great adaptation problems to their new homes and end up searching other means of informal settlements. But the main issue is actually rather financial.

A very simple formula is used to solve this problem. At one side there are natural disasters, the increasing crime, changing structure of the city and the increasing urban fear, while on the other side the urban transformations and new settlements are promising to ‘solve’ all problems. The press and televisions are playing a vital role on deformations of consumption preferences of the citizens as well. Implying that the

²⁴ See the definitions of postmodernism and neoliberalization in section 2 of this work. The current housing trend and the main stream of ‘modes of post/late-modernity’ can be read through residential organization in Istanbul quite clear.

city is not safe any longer makes one want to move outside and isolate himself from the unexpected 'contacts' with potential dangers. Gokturk for example is one of those closed enclaves emerged upon this implemented marketing angle that depends on urban fear. It promises its residents prestige, safety and a clean life. (Bartu Candan-Kolluoglu:2008)

The on-going urban transformation projects are yet another wave of "cleaning up" the city, and squatter settlements seem to be the primary targets. In his discussion of various "beautification" projects in the Third World, Davis suggests:

In the urban Third World, poor people dread high-profile international events—conferences, dignitary visits, sporting events, beauty contests, and international festivals—that prompt authorities to launch crusades to clean up the city: slum-dwellers know that they are the "dirt" or "blight" that their governments prefer the world not to see.(Davis, 2006)

"Privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces" are common qualities that Teresa Caldeira includes in her definitions for closed settlements. She points settlements alike in Sao Paolo and other developing countries. Being the spatial reflection of social segregation, these settlements and their contrasts are widely spread throughout the World, which are trying to be a part of the 'World system'. (Caldeira, 2005:93)

One could argue that on the one hand a city that is chaotic, heterogeneous, old, rooted, and consists sign of a state and its rules. But the main idea is that the citizen experiences his city in random places and in randomness, where he is not limited by his every day experience when his path crosses the aforementioned 'islands'. Being one of the anonymous faces in the public grants one the freedom to taste the urban life as much as possible, but anonymous faces are at the same time the source of the urban fear that is being implemented.

The spatial shrinkage ends up with increasing social and physical distances between different groups and classes. As Bauman argues: "Nearness and farness in social space "record the degree of taming, domestication and familiarity of various fragments of the surrounding world. Near is where one feels at home and far away invites trouble and is potentially harmful and dangerous." (Bauman:1998).

This is how gated community residents approach the working classes. They have very little and limited contact with other social groups. And the reason for this

limited contact is not the social interactions but through the needs for every-day services. The worker class, means the blue-collar population, is there to fill the gaps of the lives of white-collar population. Unseen, unnoticed they should be providing waiter, nanny, security and services alike. Kurtulus (2005) is finding similarities in various gated communities in Istanbul in terms of social exclusions.

Furthermore the white-collar and blue-collar co-existence is very much dependant on the demand for the services. This structure shows itself in re-organization of the city as well. The migration theories start with the mechanizing agricultural production and the mobilizing rural population. This group, formerly the main force of the industry, does not always serve as members of this industry army but also tends to provide other low-income services. The white-collar population, working most of the day, can afford these services and gains in exchange a certain flexibility to participate on “activities” to become a “modern” citizen. The prestige of having someone to do the small work is very important too. Apart from that, the blue-collar population is expected to stay out of sight with their residential areas and everyday life.

While the increasing popularity of domesticity and the family is growing against each others favor, they are eliminating different forms of sociabilities and relations. The private sphere is slowly conquering the public space and the local authority. These groups way of perceiving the World and its role within the World is revealed by what Sennett calls “an intimate vision of society” most clearly. In this context, the World outside the personal habitat appears to fail the individual, it seems to be empty. Sennett describes the appearance of this intimate vision as a disproportionated balance between an ever-expanding and ever-impossible-to-satisfy private life, and the evocation of public sphere as a growing trend since the begin of 19th Century (Sennett, 1977:5).

The expansion of private life will have serious repercussions for the future of urbanity and the future of the city. Classical conceptualizations of the city and urbanity are emphasizing publicity and urbanity most. The pioneer of this vast landscape of urbanity is a social existence, that allows freedom through anonymity. As Wirth argued, even if the interactions in the city happen in a personal level, they are still superficial and fractal. This results in an indifference and protection against the personal claims and expectations of others, which set the individual free by his

choices. This urban condition has created a civilized kind of urban cosmopolitanism and isolation, even disconnected from the claims, whether definitions of anonymous, heterogeneous and private urbanity capture everyday urban existence in specific socio-historical contexts. It can be argued that these features related with urbanity have restructured the various perceptions of the city in people's eyes. This reality is in Istanbul's everyday life fractal but continuous.

4.5 Traditional Houses and Gentrification

Although gentrification appears most of the time among postmodernism theories, a considerable amount of theorists think that it cannot be separated from modernism and its rhetorics.



Figure 4.17: Ataköy Mass Housing Project, (Tracing Istanbul, 2009)

When he was mentioning the Baltimore example, Harvey (1990) pointed out the chariot lamps that has been hanging on the doors of the houses as a symbol of standardization and claimed that gentrification and rehabilitation mostly keeps the monoton structure of modernism although it allegedly replaces it. But the fact that extincted architectural styles in old housing stocks in central cities is being repaired

and revived through rehabilitation, the cultural and economical profile of their dwellers represent a different identity and a change of life standards, remains still very important (Kurtulus, 2003).

Today's trendy term "gentrification", be it the modernism or postmodernism of current order, represents the capitalist urbanization and emerged through evolving urban transformations throughout these processes.

The Second World War has brought up the need to reconstruct destroyed cities of Europe. This was also the period for reorganising the lives of middle-class in America through Fordist production and consumption methods (Turkun, Kurtulus. 2005). During this time the industry in the cities was directed towards peripheries and the central city was pretty much abandoned with an empty housing stock. Due to massive rural migrations to the metropolises these houses in Istanbul were invaded by newcomers.

With other words, the Post-WW II socio-economical changes occurred as a big housing shortage in Istanbul Metropolitan Area. In addition to this with changing housing politics apartments became tools of investment.

The mass housing policies along with these changes made a big transformation on the wholeness of Istanbul. The Atakoy Mass Housing Project in 1955 for instance was by far the biggest building stock produced with government hand (**Figure 4.17**). While working middle-class was buying houses from this area, old districts like Beyoglu, Pera and their surroundings were losing their popularity. In addition to this, the 6-7 September Incidents²⁵ in 1955 caused a massive amount of minorities leave the country. Those being the residents of old districts in Istanbul left these places unattended and abandoned for long time. In following years these buildings provided shelter for rural immigrants.

²⁵ 6-7 September incidents in 1955 are known as tensions between foreign minorities and Turkish citizens in Istanbul due to the unsolved grudge from the recent Independence War of Turkey in 1923. The attacks against minorities in Istanbul resulted in vandalizing and demolishing foreign property and enterprises and a massive move-back of their owners to their countries of origin due to security concerns. The abandoned buildings were invaded in following years by rural immigrants. (Güven, 2005)

4.5.1 Gentrification Term and Discussions

The first gentrification definition came from Ruth Glass in 1964. The term was used to explain the process of ‘rehabilitation’ of worker districts in London to offer them as luxury residential areas for upper-middle classes. (Glass, 1964) Later on the term was used to describe the improvements of central cities in America and the process of restoring the fallen cities of Europe after World War II. Upon Glass’ (1964) London specific description theorists such as Neil Smith, David Ley, Savage-Warde and Chris Hamnett have been coming up with different descriptions of gentrification.

Smith(1996) explains gentrification with a rent gap theory, while Ley focuses on social aspect of it. Rent gap theory is based on value differences of rents and prices of houses before and after rehabilitation process. Ley(1996) explains these changes with a shift of socio-economical profile of the resident groups within gentrified areas. According to this theory, the first gentrifiers are the young population with housing preferences in central city due high accessibility to cultural urban life. Through their demand of rehabilitation of their environment their living area starts to attract big investors and finally the whole process results both in rent gap between former and latter stances of buildings and in a higher socio-economical level of residents in comparison to former ones at the end.

Smith(1996) summarizes the process that shapes the gentrification as follows:

- Suburbanization and increasing rent gap
- Increasing number of white-collar labour force and de-industrialiaztion in over-capitalized countries
- Centralization of space and decentralization of capital
- Decrease on profit percentages and circle movements of capital
- Change on consumption habits and demographical structures

Rose (1984) and Munt (1987) base their explanations about gentrification on demand of the market, as such the interest of gentrifiers focusing on certain areas even though other parts are for them affordable too.

Savage and Warde (1993) explain gentrification in 4 different processes:

1. Due reasons like reorganization of residential areas and increasing density replacement of a resident group from a certain social strata with another one of a higher social strata
2. The transformation of built environment triggers a series of improvements in terms of aesthetics. This process results in new local services to be provided.
3. Gentrification brings individuals that differ from others with their consumption patterns, class relationships and cultural preferences together.
4. The commercial value of real estate will be reorganized and these offers financial opportunities for the construction industry. The local house ownership draws the frame of this system.

The processes expressing the built environment are production, consumption and their flow throughout a spatial organization. (Smith, 1996) The geographical organization of spatial economy is always unequal. Because of this inequality the reorganization of a district within a metropolitan area in a national or international economical zone can not be compared with another one. (Sen, 2005)

Like other city theories there are two basic theories about gentrification as well. The traditional theory is based on neoclassical place preferences. The other theory is the historical critical approach. First one focuses on demand aspect of gentrification process and has a positive setting towards it. The historical critical approach inspects gentrification over the connection of spatial dynamics of economy, politics and culture, criticizes the process through the relationship between powerholdership and inequalities. In this regard the historical critical approach does not only have a critical aspect but also a containing character by providing for both the structural and subjective aspect a dialectical environment. From this point of view the dominating factors of gentrification are the transformations of economy and politics, the restructuring of social stratification of the community, the role of newly emerging social groups and classes, the spatial inequalities through these processes and their cost on communal level. (Kurtulus, 2005)

The early gentrification theories were aiming to trigger discussions in order to understand and examine the process via statistical data and results. The researches lately have been focusing on following subjects:

1. Production biased declarations against consumption based ones
2. Appearance of an “industry city”
3. Is there a “new middle-class” and if yes, what is its role?
4. What is the cost and brunt of gentrification today and in the future?

Smith (1996) underlines the current rent value of urban lands with their future value upon physical improvements. Bigger rent gaps result in faster gentrification processes. Rose(1984) examines the gentrifiers and their origins, while Munt (1987) focuses on the dependancy of the demands of gentrifiers on their demographical qualities and the integration of these factors with the unity of space.

4.5.2 Actors of Gentrification: Gentrifiers

A potential gentrifier group and an area with a historical urban plot, are the unchanging parts of the process. Ley (1996) explains gentrification with people that prefer to live in central city and their demographical qualities together with their cultural profiles. In common literature the gentrifiers have been generalized as a group of individuals with a high education profile and income level, seeking a Western life style and prefer to live in central city close to entertainment and cultural activities while staying in touch with the authentical historical building stock. The highest education profile is gathered along the coast line and in historical central districts (**Figure 4.18**).

When Savage and Warde (1993) explain gentrification in 4 processes, as first process they see the replacement of a group from lower social layer with another group from a higher social and income level.

The first definition of gentrifiers goes back to Glass (1964), owner of first definition of gentrification itself, describing them as groups consisted of mostly single or recently married people without any kids, talented, high educated professionals, managers with a very high income. But Rose (1984) points out a gentrifier group that doesn't necessarily follows these patterns. They are described as marginal pre-gentrifiers with lower education level and income, which mostly work in creative job sectors and are members of middle-class.

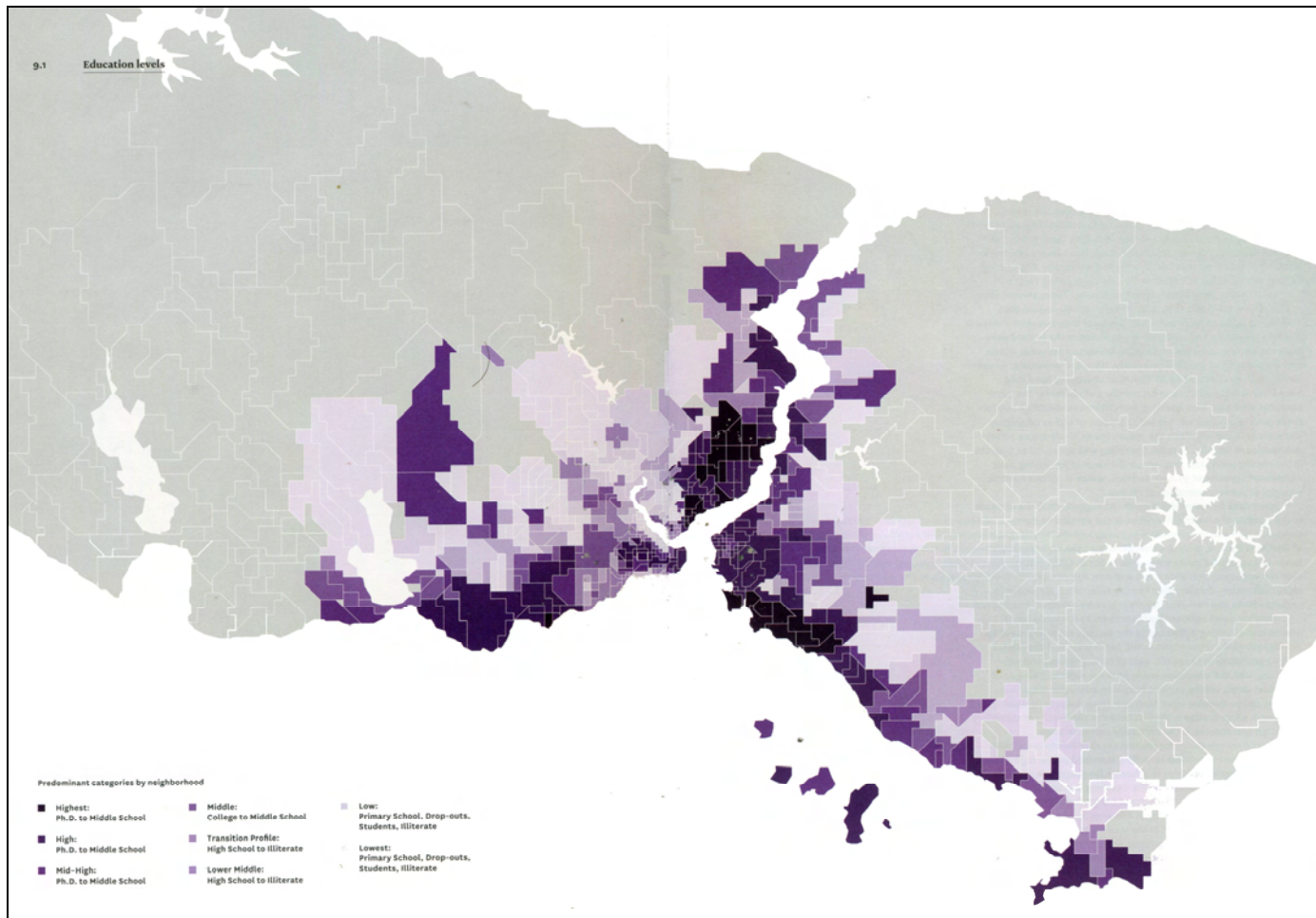


Figure 4.18: Education profile by neighbourhood, (Mapping Istanbul, 2009)

The class profile of gentrifiers is called “new middle-class”. The existence of this name is still being discussed in literature about subject gentrification. But as an actor this group has a significant impact on gentrification process. Theorists like Smith, who prefer to explain the gentrification processes with a rent gap theory, see the existence of such class doubtful as the income levels does not reflect the necessity for emergence of a “new middle-class”. (Sen, 2006) Theorists like Ley and Hamnett however mention the “new middle-class” when explaining the reasons of gentrifiers moving to central cities. Islam(2006) defines the gentrifiers as a layer of middle-class and describes them as a layer that is trying to distinguish itself from middle-class via its consumption patterns, family structure, employment profile as a part of information sector within capitalist system. Sen (2006) describes this new middle-class layer as a high-income group working in international economic sector with a difference of not being independent regarding their existence like the traditional manager class or national bourgeois group.

4.5.3 Who Are the Gentrifiers?

With the differentiation of actors of gentrification three waves of gentrification movements can be observed. These processes can be evaluated by examining the identity of gentrifiers.

Within first wave gentrification ‘marginal gentrifiers’ must be mentioned. Marginal gentrifiers are the artists and population with foreign origins. Called the leading group, this people trigger intentionally or unintentionally the gentrification process in a urban space with promising cultural potentials. (Tan, 2006) The second wave gentrifiers, called “the cultural mediators” , use art intentionally as a tool of cultural politics to transform the area, increasing the popularity of the area by suggesting and demanding art galleries, cafes, restaurants. (Ley 2003) claims that these groups does not belong to gentrification actors as the identity of the artist tends to move against consumption and market economies. The last and third wave of gentrifiers are the entrepreneurs, trend-followers, yuppies, the ones who sense the increasing rent gap, “bobo”’s (bohemian-bourgeois people). (Ince, 2006)

During last decade the words “bobo” and “yuppie” seem to be appearing more and more often when talking about demographical changes in ‘global’ cities. The word “yuppie” is used to describe young, metropolitan professionals that are working with

certain shifts with a high rate of success and strict schedule. (Yavuz, 2006) The term “bobo” is derived from the book “Bobos in Paradise” (2000) of David Brooks. Brooks (2000) reflects the emergence of a new class, life style, the trend of being bohemian and the integration of people of these qualities with capitalism. (Mert, 2005). Although the term “yuppie” has been used longer, “bobo” gained a significant dominance in literature lately as groups, which prefer cultural capital over financial capital and have more flexible working hours due shifting economical tendencies, have been representing the young populations of today's metropol's more accurately. Mert(2005) points out the differences between yuppies and bobos and says that yuppies are more integrated and closer to bourgeois culture while bobos have a protesting attitude towards these rhetorics.

Cameron, Coaffe and Ley(2005), in their analysis' about the role of artists on gentrification processes in Canada and England describe them always as leading group of these transformations. The capital flow follows the artist and his activities, results in replacement of the artist himself with the capital holders as well and leaves him in this whole transformation process as an inbetween function. According to Cameron, Coaffe and Ley, the transformation of urban lands in third wave gentrification process become a politic of central and local authorities, meaning that institutions related to art and culture contribute to the social and physical changes of city districts. (Cameron, Coaffe and Ley 2005)

Smith (2002) explains that the third wave gentrification, that appeared after 1990's, have standardized the city and shows similarities in every city when it occurs. In third wave, art and culture production stops being an individual activity but a macro scaled investment subject closely related to private companies and government.

4.5.4 Gentrification Waves in Istanbul and Discussions

Although gentrification was first defined by Ruth Glass to describe the transformations in London, in global World it has be read with the local dynamics together. Keyder (2006) sees the gentrification processes in Istanbul quite similar to the transformations in Europe and America, while the central cities in these countries are being seen quite popular contrary to central city in Istanbul.

When examining important events in Istanbul, that played an important role on such transformations, the forced evictions being applied to minorities in the past,

proliferation of central business districts via capitalism, improving transport opportunities, proliferation of housing areas and the massive rural migration from Anatolia, have to be mentioned.

The central business district on Karakoy-Galata Axis kept its importance until 1950's. After these years it started to spread towards Salipazari, Findikli and finally with the construction of Bosphorus Bridge in 1970 towards Şişli-Mecidiyeköy Axis. (Dökmeci, Dülgeroğlu, Berköz; 1993). The changing economical structure has transformed the middle-class as well. Due to these changes the development direction of the city has been shifted towards new, homogeneous settlements at city periphery from the culturally heterogenous, central districts with class diversities. (Keyder 2000) Oncu(1998) connects the changing preferences in housing sector with changing consumption patterns. New apartments with ceramic tiles, comfortable bathrooms, kitchens and large living rooms were now the new standards of modern living. Nişantaşı, Şişli, Bakırköy, Yeşilköy, Kadıköy are some of the examples to middle-class districts in Istanbul and they gained a 'rent gap' potential with these changes to attract big investments for transformations (Dökmeci, Dülgeroğlu, Berköz; 1993). Old Ottoman houses on Anatolian and European sides following the rail road parallel to the shore were offered to apartment market with changes made on construction laws during 1960's by allowing multistorey building constructions on the lands, which before served as a garden to only one house. This resulted in extinction of this traditional building stock. (Keyder, 2000)

While the middle-class was moving to the newly emerging districts, the foreign minorities were being pushed outside the country with government politics. A population exchange agreement with Greece in 1924, a wealth tax law for foreign minorities in 1942, the establishment of Israel in 1948, the attacks against minorities during 6-7 September incidents in 1955 and the Cyprus War in 1974 made the non-muslim population slowly leave Istanbul and the country, resulting in their abandoned homes to be left to the invasion of rural immigrants from Anatolia that started to come during 1950's. Keyder (2000) states that the abandoned lands and houses by of minorities, foundation lands with no right claims of anyone and the unattended public lands have been subject of squatterization. Bartu (2000) says that the old Istanbul families describe the movement of urban poor with rural origins to the central city as the second invasion of Istanbul after Fatih Sultan Mehmet. With

the ascending social profile, districts like Beyoğlu and their surroundings became dangerous areas.

Oncu (1997) mentions two main lines in Istanbul settlement map when the renovation of Pera was being considered during 1980's. The middle-class members that want to buy a house would be either directed towards new settlements at peripheral city, or they would get a nostalgic corner in old districts of the city. Mert (2003) explains the increasing interest on potential gentrification areas, Galata and Pera most, with middle-class' search for a Western identity and the ode to the old cosmopolitan Istanbul with an illussional nostalgia feeling and supports this hypothesis with Suleymaniye example and with the lack of interest to this district in comparison to areas that once belonged to Western minorities. Even though Suleymaniye has a rich architectural language and hosts extincted old Istanbul culture like the currently gentrified areas, it more importantly has a dominating Moslim identity and an Eastern character and that is a handicap for someone, who wants to express his Western identity with his house and modern life style.

The renovation idea of Pera and other gentrified areas has been discussed during the time of Mayor Bedrettin Dalan²⁶, who with his own words claimed to give Istanbul its old glorious days back by converting it into a metropol of 21th Century (Keyder and Öncü, 1994). The pedestrianization of Istiklal Street²⁷, opening the parallel steet Tarlabası Boulevard to vehicle traffic and the demolitions made to accomplish these changes have had big ractions from different segments of the society, nevertheless it has been a big step for giving Pera its good old days back. In 1980's old workshops and other buildings in Beyoglu and Ortakoy has been appointed office and entertainment functions. A reorganization through culture sector was in process. Gentrification in Istanbul happened mostly in districts like Ortaköy, Cihangir, Galata, Fener-Balat , old Kuzguncuk, and old Bosphorus villages like Arnavutköy. The common feature of these places was their multicultural demographical structure; their residents were non-moslims like Armenians, Greeks and Jews. The historical architecture of the buildings and the astonishing Bosphorus and Golden Horn landscapes were other important common qualities (Şen, 2005).

²⁶ Bedrettin Dalan, one of the founders of Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party) was the mayor of Istanbul between years 1984-1989. (Uncular, 1991)

²⁷ One of the most important major streets in cultural district on Historical Peninsula Istanbul

The gentrifications from 1980 until 2010 can be examined in three waves for every decade.

For United States of America, there are three gentrification waves are representing the profiles of actors and their coalitions. Guvenc (2006) claims that the gentrification wave theories are case-specific for America and have no common universal attitude. First gentrification wave appeared through wealth-state politics, suburbanization and urban renewal programs. (Guvenc, 2006) Second gentrification wave includes processes like integration of cultural and economical transformations on national and transnational level, the valorization of real estate on national scale, appearance of a new class with new life style and consumption habits, rising popularity of a 'global city' rhetoric and the appearance of public-private sector partnerships. (Wyly and Hammel. 2005; Guvenc, 2006) In third wave of gentrification the house contractors play a bigger role, the low-income groups that were excluded from the process before, are provided long term credits with the support of financial institutions and participate on the transformations as gentrifier. In third wave the increasing pressure of public authorities over potential urban districts can also be observed. Yavuz (2006), when commenting on gentrification, names the current massive urban transformations with expropriations an improved version of gentrification. Guvenc(2006), on the other hand, thinks that the effects of first wave gentrifications in Istanbul were rather limited, and contrary to the appearance of a second and third wave gentrification in other countries, he describes a hybrid wave, which was made of integration of this second and third waves inside each other. As for today projects like Haydarpaşa, Galataport, Küçük Çekmece and Kartal can be considered in this hybrid wave (**Figure 4.19**). Islam(2006) defines the first process as “ being gentrified by itself” and the second one as “being gentrified”. Guvenc (2006), however, names the first wave as gentrification, while according to his discussion, the second and third one are considered under the tag “urban transformation”.

Islam (2003) classifies the gentrification movements in Istanbul by districts and years. The movement named as first gentrification wave appears at the start of 1980's in Kuzguncuk, Arnavutköy and Ortaköy districts at Bosphorus coast. The attractive part of these districts for gentrifiers was the architectural style of the houses from 19th and 20th Century (Islam, 2003).



Figure 4.19: Galataport project, (Url-9)

The gentrification in Kuzguncuk started after the famous architect Cengiz Bektas bought a house in this area. He was followed by his friends and social surroundings and in short time the district became a popular area for architects, artists and writers. Uzun(2003) describes the most important aspect of Kuzguncuk example as the preservation of spatial and social wholeness of the place through a conscious renovation process. The gentrification process in Arnavutköy on the other hand is proceeded with the impact of white-collar labour force of information sector instead of artist.(Keyder, 1999) Ortakoy experienced the gentrification with the impact of square reorganization and renovation projects of the mayor very fast.(Ergun, 2003) Fast-food restaurants, bars, clubs and other places for entertainment culture have popped out one after another, the gentrifiers that renovated the historical buildings around the square at the start, abandoned the district later on due environment problems such as increasing noise, number of car-parks. Later this resulted in new functions being re-assigned to the unattended buildings, converting them into places serving the entertainment sector (Ergün, 2003).

Islam(2003) mentions as parts of second wave gentrifications the changes in Cihangir, Galata and Asmalimescit in Beyoglu district. The “Beyoglu Sensitivity” project of Chamber of Architects in 1980’s has triggered the increase of interest on the area and contributed to Beyoglu’s becoming of a culture and entertainment center. Bali(2003) claims that even though Beyoglu became a cultural district at the start of 1990’s, it still was not an attraction point for the intellectual elites back then, that happened only after the appearance of workers in sectors like advertisement, public relationships, media press and art as residents in the area. Gentrification in

Cihangir for example started after an artist couple (Beril Oktay Anilmert) and their social surroundings moved to the district. (Uzun, 2000). A similar case, gentrification in Galata took start when an architect couple Mete and Nadire Goktug and their architect and artist social circle started to use the buildings in district as studios, art workshops and galleries, and finally bought and restored the buildings to preserve their architectural qualities. The transformation of Asmalimescit has big similarities too; an artist, the painter Muzaffer Akyol moved to the district and different gentrifier layers such as journalists, artists, architects and finally as cultural mediators the yuppies and bobos moved to the area. The gentrification proceeded over clubs, cafes and other places for entertainment afterwards.

Third wave of gentrification in Istanbul are consisting of the transformations in poorest districts such as Fener and Balat in Golden Horn area. (Islam, 2003). Especially after 1950's this minority districts lost most of their former residents, as they were forced to eviction due non-muslim politics of the government back then. After 1980 the decentralization of industry sector in Golden Horn the area lost its commercial activity as well. Golden Horn carries similarities to Bosphorus zone in terms of being a potential gentrification area within first wave at early stages of the transformation, but Islam(2003) sees the conservative and poor demographical structure at both sides of Golden Horn as a setback during these process. Golden Horn was pretty much polluted until the decentralization of industry. The industrial facilities and sewer waters of residents were being decharged to the water. The polluted water was partially cleaned at the end of 1990's and the disturbing smell was gone. 200 houses have been renovated with a project of UNESCO.(Ergun, 2003) Though within third wave gentrification process Fener and Balar have significant similarities to Bosphorus villages like Arnavitkoy, it differs from them by the corporational interventions made at the start of the transformation.

These movements in Istanbul were folowed in 2000's with Tarlabaşı, Sulukule, Süleymaniye and Tophane projectsd. Actually the gentrifications movements appear more and more in urban politics of central authorities lately and with the urban transformation projects of these politics they are seen as big rent gaps promising investments. These movements exemplify the cases within second and third gentrification movements as Guvenc(2006) once reflected.

5. EVALUATION

The major purpose of this research was to achieve the two hypotheses mentioned in the first section. First that the emerging postmodernity has resulted in a certain amount of urban segregation, which is very common to find in metropolises with “global city” title, secondly that this segregation was not just a result of structure of economy and demography but it also has significant impacts on newly emerging housing trends within Istanbul metropolitan area.

The evaluation chapter contains a series of maps, which are unique for this study. These maps are produced by overlapping the socio-economic, employment and education patterns of Istanbul with patterns of 3 different housing types. As the maps reveal, the relationship between these 3 indicators and chosen housing typologies is examined.

In order to prove the interaction between postmodernism and urban segregation in living environments in Istanbul, the superpositions of Istanbul maps are addressing the intersection points, where different profiles of inhabitants meet each other and reflect vast diversities of choices regarding residences.

5.1 Application of The Work With Comperative Mapping of Housing

As it is the case with most metropolitan regions, specifically in rapid-expanding cities, Istanbul has faces an immense growth in numbers of motor vehicles along with its population and economic expansion in last decades. The average time keep increasing with this developments too. Istanbul like every other big city in developing countries, suffer problems occurring due high density of traffic. The public transportation system is unable to keep pace with rapid growth and expanding urban structure. The distances between service and production keep growing, so do the distances between living environments and working areas of the inhabitants. One of the main characteristics of the public transportation system in Istanbul is the low share of railway and sea vehicles. The decentralization of industrial and commercial

services from Historical Peninsula, caused this area to lose its identity as the old city center. One of the main factors which had significant impact on changing urban structure of Istanbul is this radical relocations of functions throughout city (Gerçek: 2009).²⁸

As a part of the global network, Istanbul is growing into a more multi-poled city every day. The neoliberalization process has opened the way to Istanbul's vast expansion.

Facing the new ways of living in cities, habits are changing, so does the environment and lives in urban sphere. Surely today's global cities were way more different before than they are right now, and as expected; our urban lives and consumption habits as well. Shopping in big malls, and driving everywhere with cars. A considerable amount of the city population lives in "gated communities", the secure sites. Their number keeps increasing everyday. What is the reason for this isolation? Where does this urban fear come from? The cities become more and more segregated. Based on the income level, consumption habits and integration with the city consists a strong contrast between the residential environments of different segments within communities of the city.

In every city there is a way of segregation embodied through different structures. Obviously this is way more clear to be observed in global cities like Istanbul. Having a very colourful historical background, having hosted people from many nationalities religions and social levels, Istanbul has unique special aspects that needs to be taken into consideration. Henceforth the work did not just include architectural structures and creations of neoliberalism, but it also tends to address its reasons. Just with changing districts sometimes a big shift on the language of the whole environment is to notice, the faces of the houses and the life styles of the population suddenly changes. these changes are of course having their results on the urban sphere, with the descending numbers of bank headquarters, office towers and business centers the structure of the population polarising strongly, thus the living areas as well.

The government hand, the big investors are the strongest actors on the urban transformations of Istanbul, but the question that has to be asked is whether these

²⁸ Haluk Gerçek is a professor in the Civil Engineering Faculty, Istanbul Technical University, the passage is derived from the paper "Istanbul: Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Seclusions" from Rotterdam Biennale 2009.

transformations are treating the city's problems or are they making it just worse.

The examinations in this work show the different preferences of workforce of different subjects regarding where they are residing, and building their own living environment, including the slum production. This can be examined also on gender-work participation percentages, or the education levels of different genders in different areas, on different sectors. The development level is extremely dependant on these signs; in white-collar living areas for example, dynamics are way more different than the blue-collar living areas.

The enormous difference between certain districts of the city regarding economical levels and social living habits result in tensions between deep structures of Istanbul. The slums, the urban transformations, gentrified areas and the secured enclaves at the periphery are the most remarkable island structures within Istanbul at the moment, forcing the transportation to expand over large areas, contributing to the emergence of multiple poles at different far away corners of the city. Not only in terms of traffic but also socially, the city centers raise a strong contrast between these two groups among the society.

5.2 Comparison of Housing Types in Terms of Education Patterns

Overlapping informally developed areas with education patterns by district reveals significant remarks. As expected, the areas with lowest education profile are hosting the majority of informal settlements. These zones are either stuck stuck between E5 and TEM Motorways or they are pushed further away. Here, the motorways are functioning as a border to refrain squatter settlements from invading the coast. The education profile on the coast line appears to be highest and these districts contain almost no squatters despite the small flakes as furthest West and East points of the city. The signs of former reverse urbanization strategies should be noticed. Many squatters became multistorey apartments and are commercialized. This explains the seldom interceptions of these into areas of high education profile (**Figure 5.1**, **Figure 5.2** and **Figure 5.3**).

map C—INFORMALLY DEVELOPED URBAN AREAS

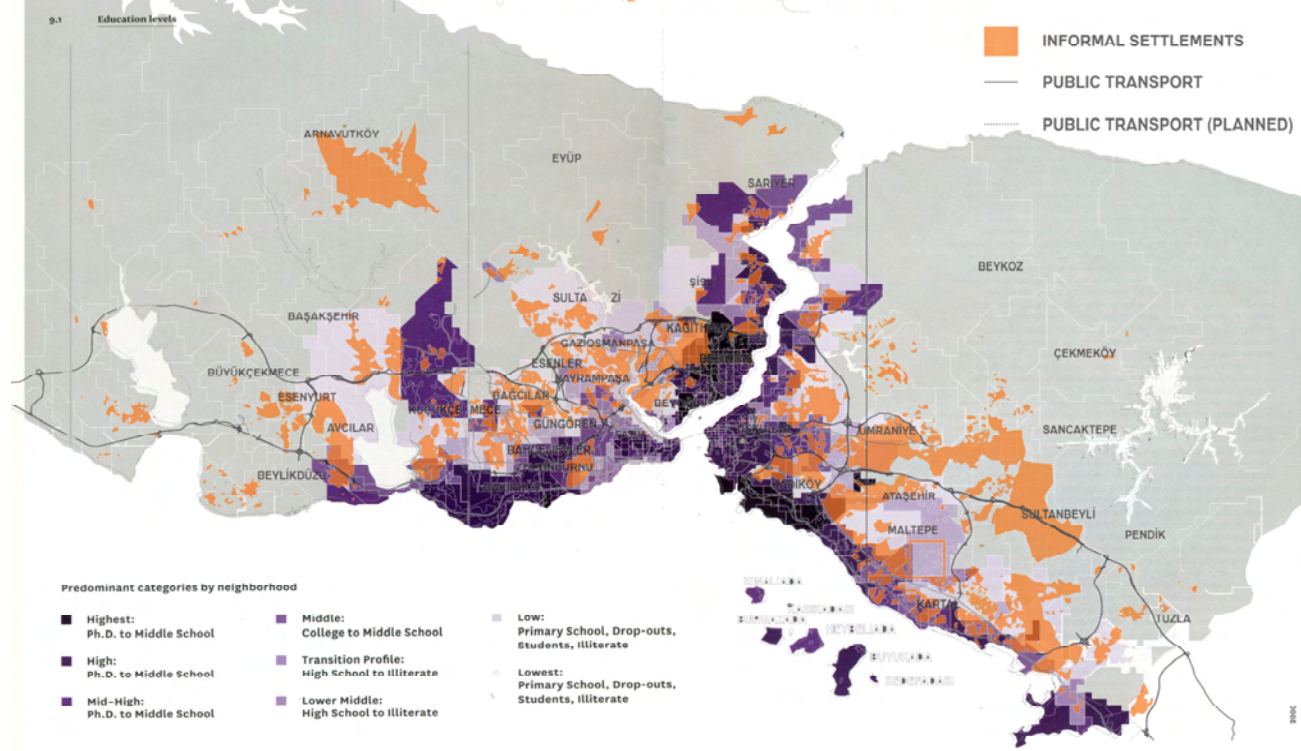


Figure 5.1: Education Pattern in Informally Developed Areas

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

The education profile of secured settlements is relatively high. While the low-education zones are being seldom interrupted by horizontal, villa formed developments, most of the luxury residences are concentrated in zones with high educated population. The areas endorsed to the motorways are overran with vertical organized secured enclavements. These luxury apartment blocks are hosting young population with a Western Turkish origin, which make them respective members of the white-collar population.

Gated communities do not always host a resident group of same political, religious or ethnic background. These kind of closed enclavements are in Istanbul present as well. But the main factors effecting the preferences of gated settlement residents significantly is their education level and the employment profile. The white-collar population prefers to live close to the transport veins of the city, as they mostly abide by different work-shift rules than the blue-collar labour force. Being attached to the city with highspeed motorways, allows the users of these housing units to benefit both from being 'protected, away' from the central city and from having access to it at the same time.

Having a strong education background, and being specialists in their fields, this work-force adopts a hedonist life style. Defining themselves as different and more qualified from the rest of the community requires them to follow postmodern consumption habits.

The strong intersections of gated communities with squatter zones gives hints about their relationships and previously mentioned fractal and transitional relation-art of postmodern city. The low-educated neighbour zones are the workforce for the everyday life of white-collar population. Be it the service sector or small commercial activities, they socialize with each other as less as possible while interacting on economical level as they are required to.

map H—GATED COMMUNITIES

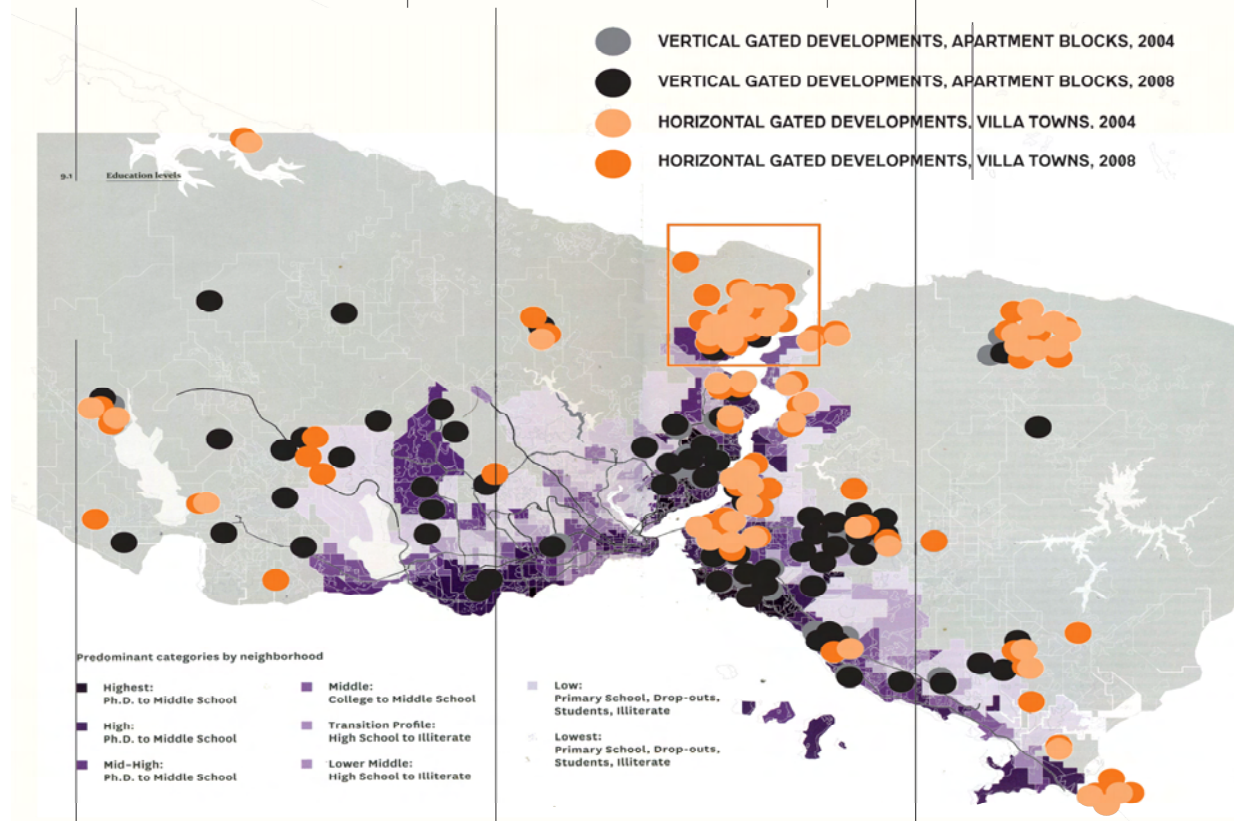


Figure 5.2: Education Pattern of Gated Communities

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

The projects of MHA are translating into same vast segregation, which is defined with characteristics of gated communities and informal settlements as well. Social-housing projects are being executed on furthest peripheral lands, while the low-education zones are being surrounded with upper-class projects. In previous chapters about MHA, it was explained that it was producing luxury houses too, which are being sold to the upper-class. The profit is used for the financialization of the housing projects for the urban poor.

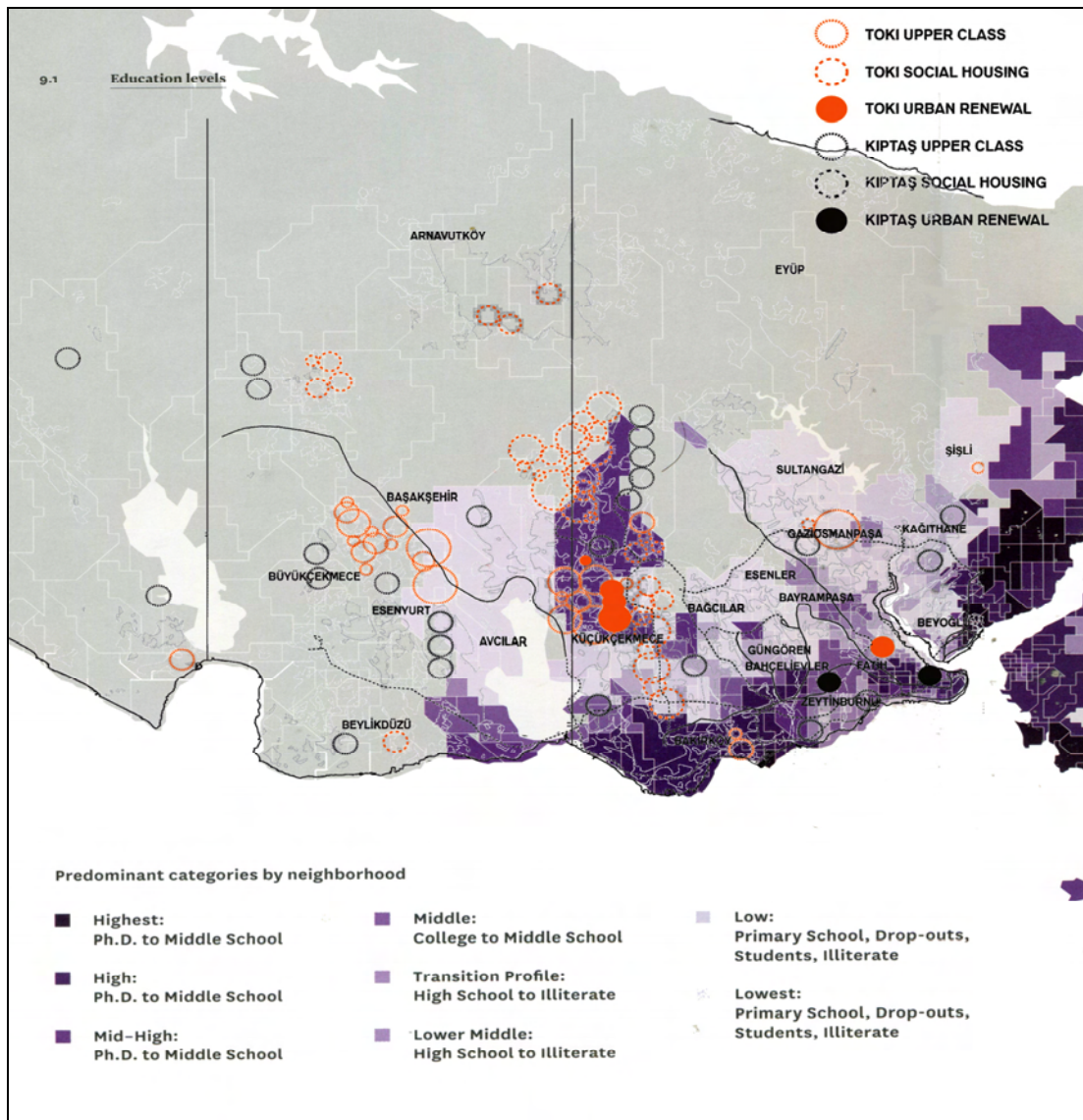


Figure 5.3: Education Pattern of MHA Projects-1

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

The areas with high- and highest education profile contain urban renewal projects made by MHA and its contractor KIPTAS. Emphasizing the gentrification process, areas with historical urban plot such as Golden Horn shores or Beyoglu are being targets of gentrifying transformations. Formerly having hosted a lower social strata, their future dwellers are going to be definitely from higher social layers.

Most projects are further away from the central city. This is a characteristic of social-housing policies as the lower social-strata is not much of a resistance, when they must evocate their places and participate on the proposed MHA project. As Kuyucu (2010) discusses, the relocation of this population results in disfunctionalities of their social and educational communal life.

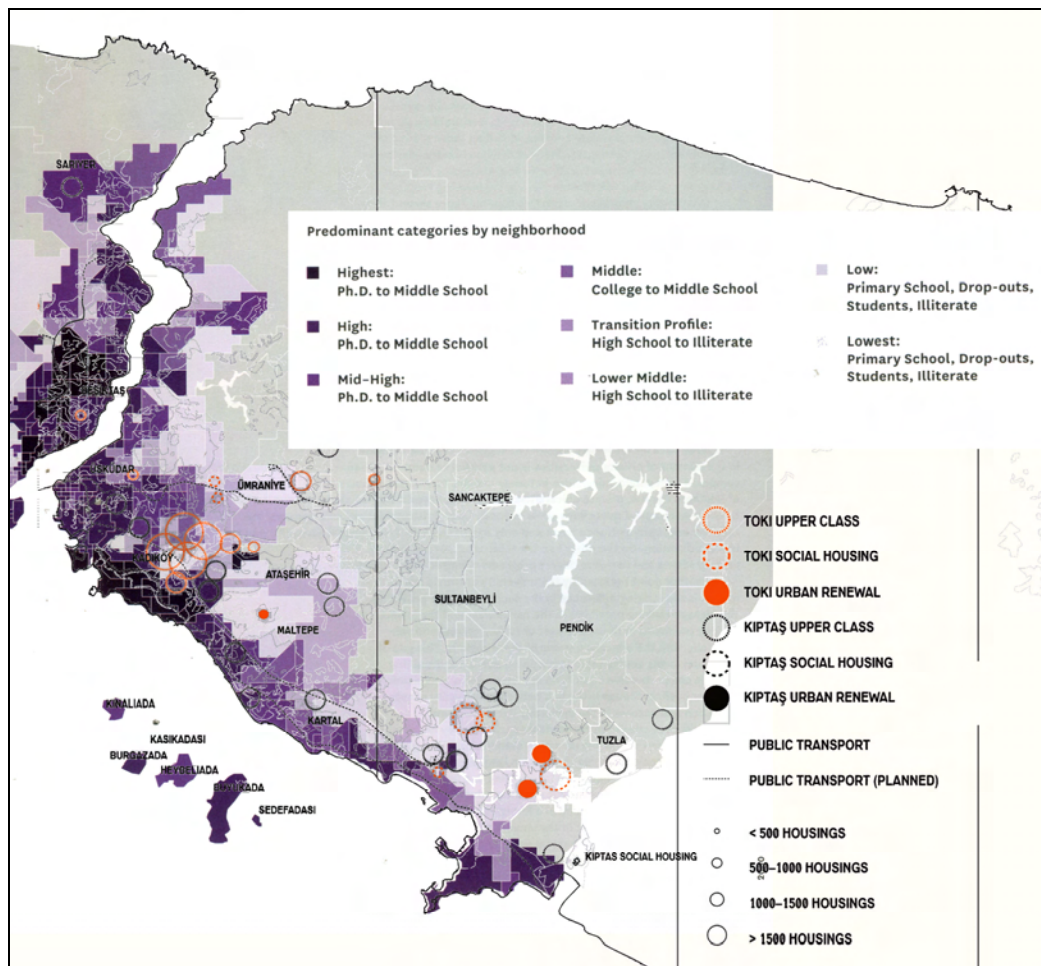


Figure 5.4: : Education Pattern of MHA Projects-2

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

5.3 Comparison of Housing Types in Terms of Employment Patterns

The employment patterns by sector proves the fact that most of the informal settlements are hosting blue-collar population. Zeytinburnu excluded, there is no break-through into the white-collar areas along the coast. As expected, Historical Peninsula being the first urbanized zone of Istanbul, has left no chance to invasions of these developments.

Employment profile of gated communities is showing different variations, but the white-collar zones are dominating the majority. An immense concentration of these settlements is to be noticed at Northern part of Istanbul, which is containing the biggest share of city's green surface and water basins. The secured enclaves in this area are consisted of horizontal developments such as villas. Vertical organized gated communities are commonly in areas that are closer to the blue-collar zones. Their locations, formerly having hosted residents of lower social-strata, was once an ideal target for the transformations that enabled their current classification.

The maps related to social and economic characteristics show notably similar patterns. The sub-centers in the three sides of the metropolitan area are distinguished by certain characteristics. These enclaves show particularly high schooling profiles. In terms of employment there is an overrepresentation of those involved in trade and finance; and producer, social and public services. Majority of Istanbul's population born in the western cities of Turkey are concentrated in and around the three enclaves. Migrants from the east are located in sectors to the north of the E-5 motorway. These neighbourhoods depict distinctively lower schooling profiles and a high concentration of blue-collar occupations. The two distinct segments of the urban society, separated by the E-5 motorway, have very limited contacts at community level.

Subsequent to the completion of the Marmaray project, the three-partite metropolitan area will be integrated via an efficient transport system. In all likelihood, it will have serious repercussions on the social geography of Istanbul.

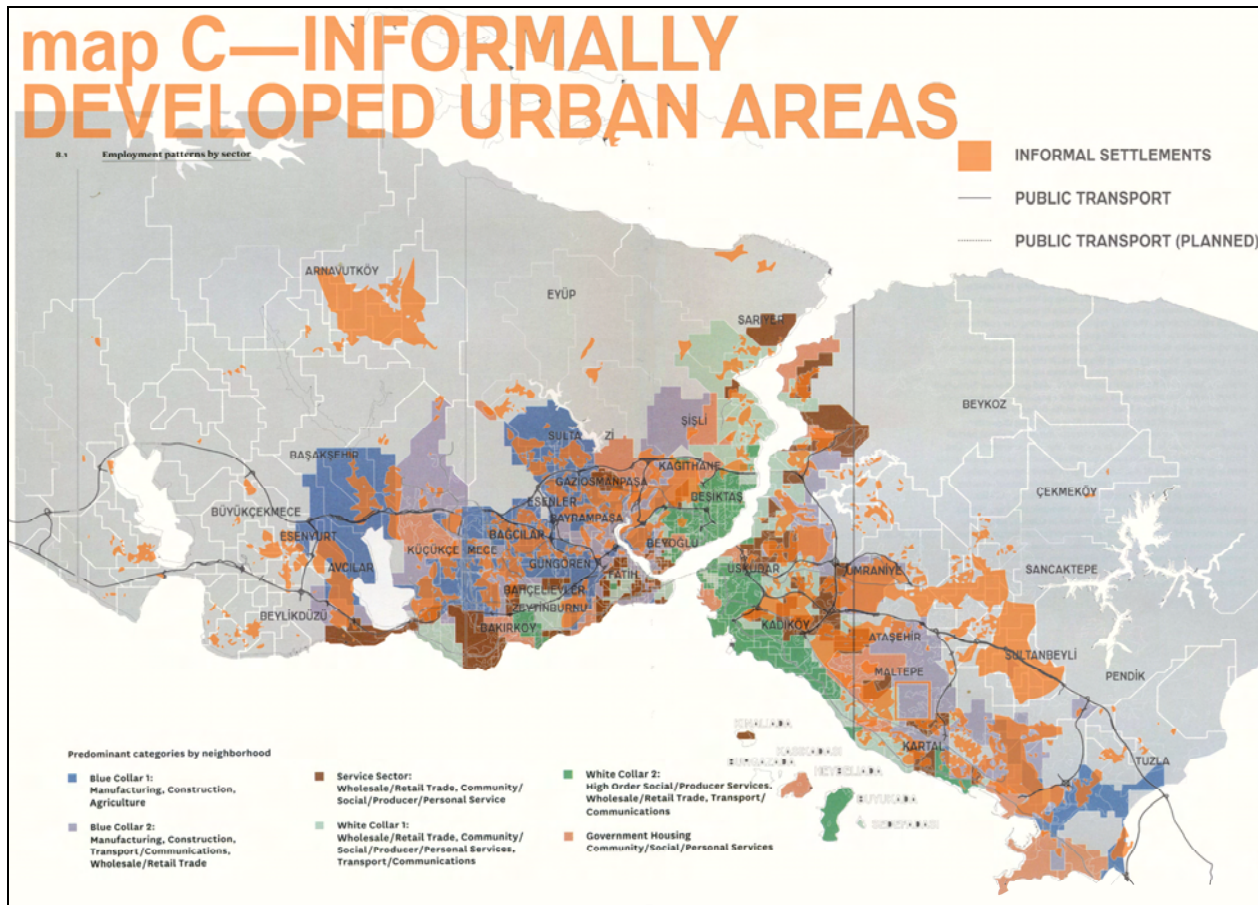


Figure 5.5: Employment Pattern of Informally Developed Areas

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

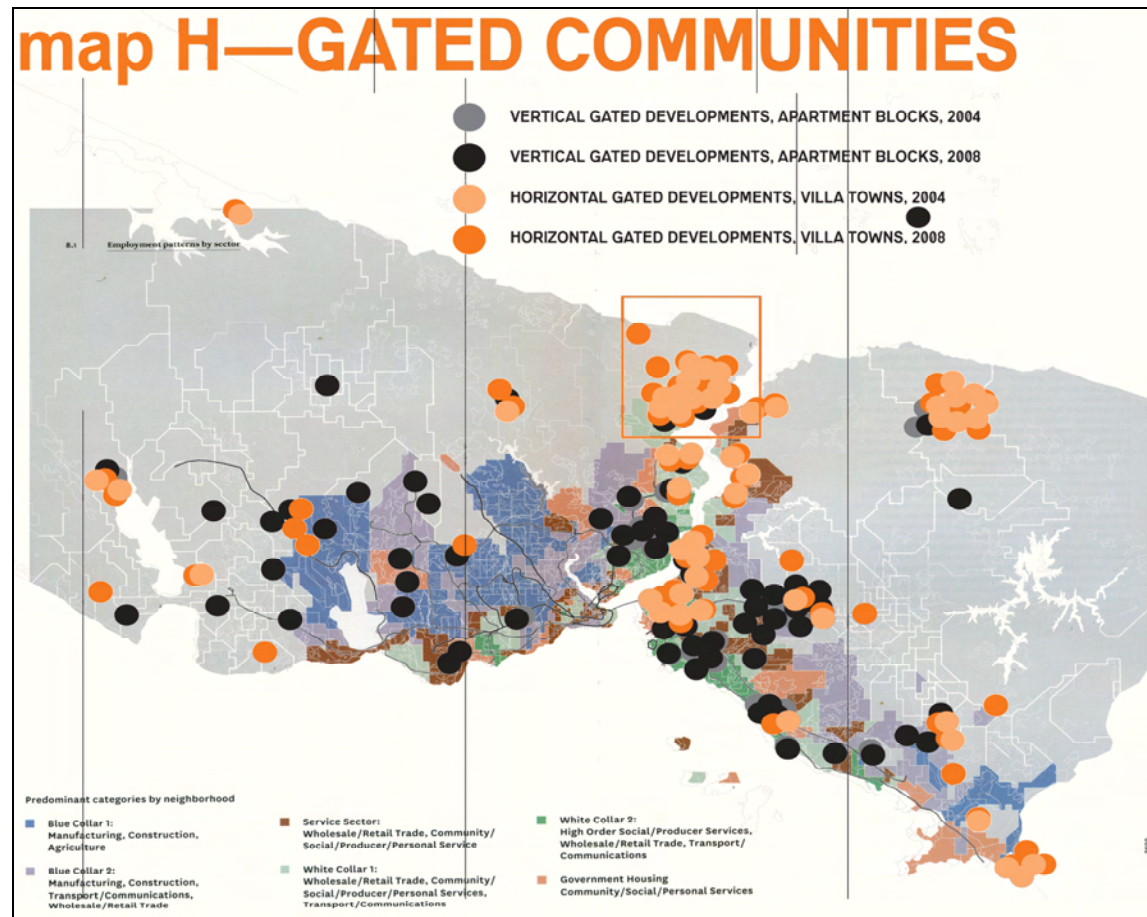


Figure 5.6: Employment Patterns of Gated Communities

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

According to Cengizkan (2009), during the last 6 years, the aims of creating a quality living environment especially for the low-income have not been implemented. Instead, superficial numeric aims were adopted. The aims were set as:

- Improving quality of the finished housing with new actors in the building production
- Increasing the quality of near environment of housing and settlements
- Supporting the level of justice among different user groups by bringing them together in the same living quarters
- Homogenizing housing based on the common grounds of affordability.
- Obtaining the sustainability of mass housing projects through participatory democratic methodology

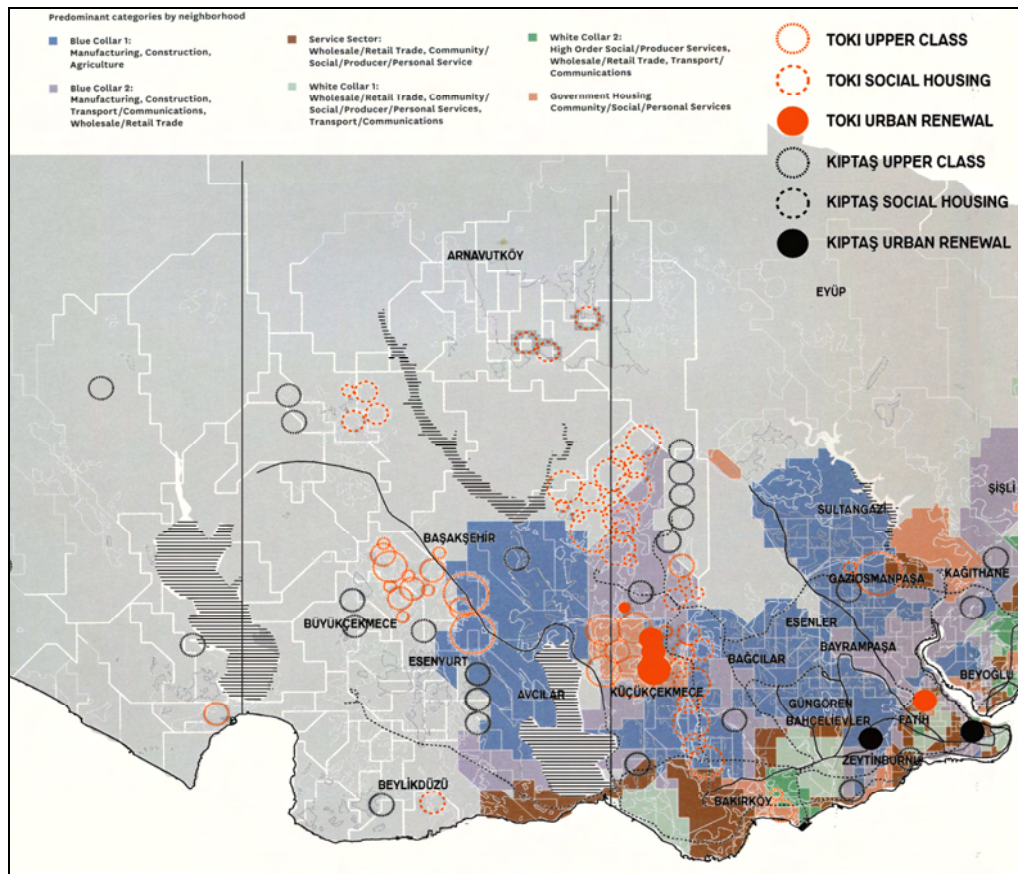


Figure 5.7: Employment Pattern of MHA Projects-1

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

The aims have not been met due to the predominance of the low-cost public lands in the global market, it has been met though rents and profit. The mass-housing projects on large scales are pushing forward the population growth of the cities. Instead of providing shelter to those who belong to urban poor, these houses are becoming subject of investment for those who already own a house. These projects are also orienting the development plans, indicating the location of residential areas and urban facilities.

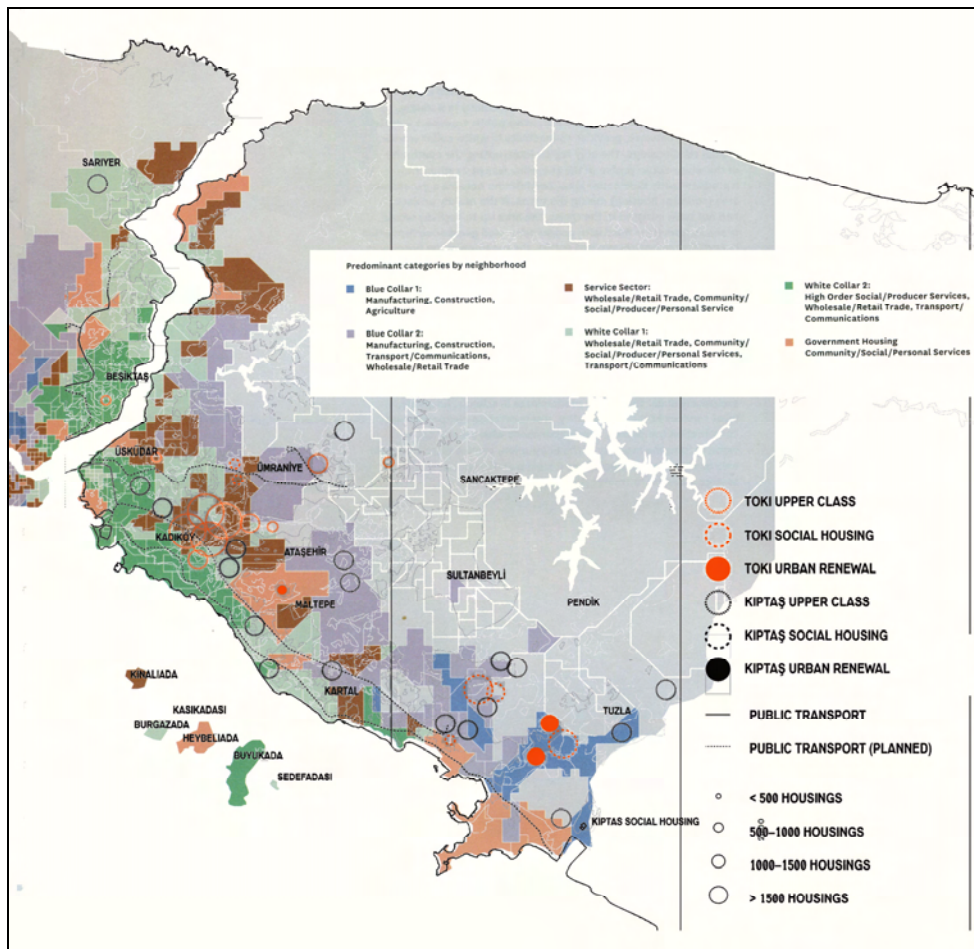


Figure 5.8: Employment Pattern of MHA Projects-2

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

As **Figure 5.7** and **Figure 5.8** reveals, the blue-collar zones are the main subject of social-housing issue, while service sector and white-collar zones are containing urban renewal and upper-class projects. The basic idea behind the reflection of this housing profile in terms of MHA projects throughout the city is closely related to the employment and education patterns of informally developed areas and gated

communities. Low profiled zones are being surrounded by housing units notably more luxurios, moreover which are produced by MHA, whose first task is to produce shelter for those in need.

5.4 Comparison of Housing Types in Terms of Socio-Economic Profile

Socio-economical superpositions are following a similar pattern to the educational and employment overlappings in terms of informal developments. (**Figure 5.10**) Apart from the transition zones such as Zeytinburnu and Kartal, the continuity of upper socio-economical class ensue along the coast line. This excess concentration of the informal settlements at lower socio-economically profiled areas explains the correlation between income, education levels and affordability of sheltering needs.

The co-existence of white-collar and blue collarpopulation is close related to the demand for the cheap services of higher social-strata. The migration theories take their origins from the mechanization of agricultural production and the mobilization of rural population. This group was the original work-force of industry at early days or industrialization. Upon the de-centralization of industry from central city, they have been employed as blue-collar labour force in servicing sector. With the small-scaled industry enterprises being pushed to the periphereal city, urbanization in their surroundings was triggered. Illegalization of housing via land accumulation through invasions eradicated the character of these areas, the infrastructure followed them during times of political elections. The reverse urbanization enforced the punctual concentrations of illegally developed housing zones at these areas, but most importantly with strong connections with the socio-economical character of their residents.

For the gated communities, these areas are promising high-accessibility to both sub-and main city centers (**Figure 5.9**). With inspiring topography and attractive scenery, these districts along with their invaders have been put under marketing pressure. They are surrounded with secured enclavements of higher social layer, leaving them as islands of disproportions, unaesthetical view and potential dangers for their rich neighbours. The results of this hybrid intersections end up in producing tensions.

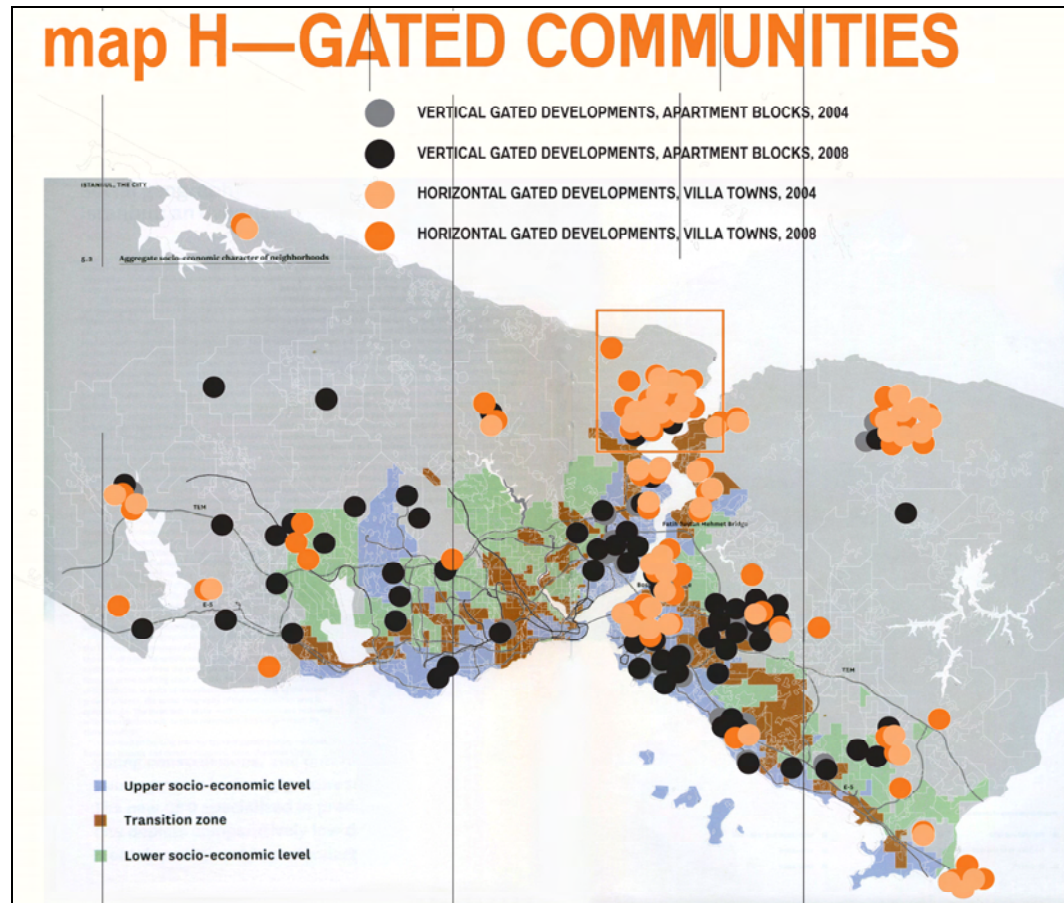


Figure 5.9: Socio-Economical Pattern of Gated Communities

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

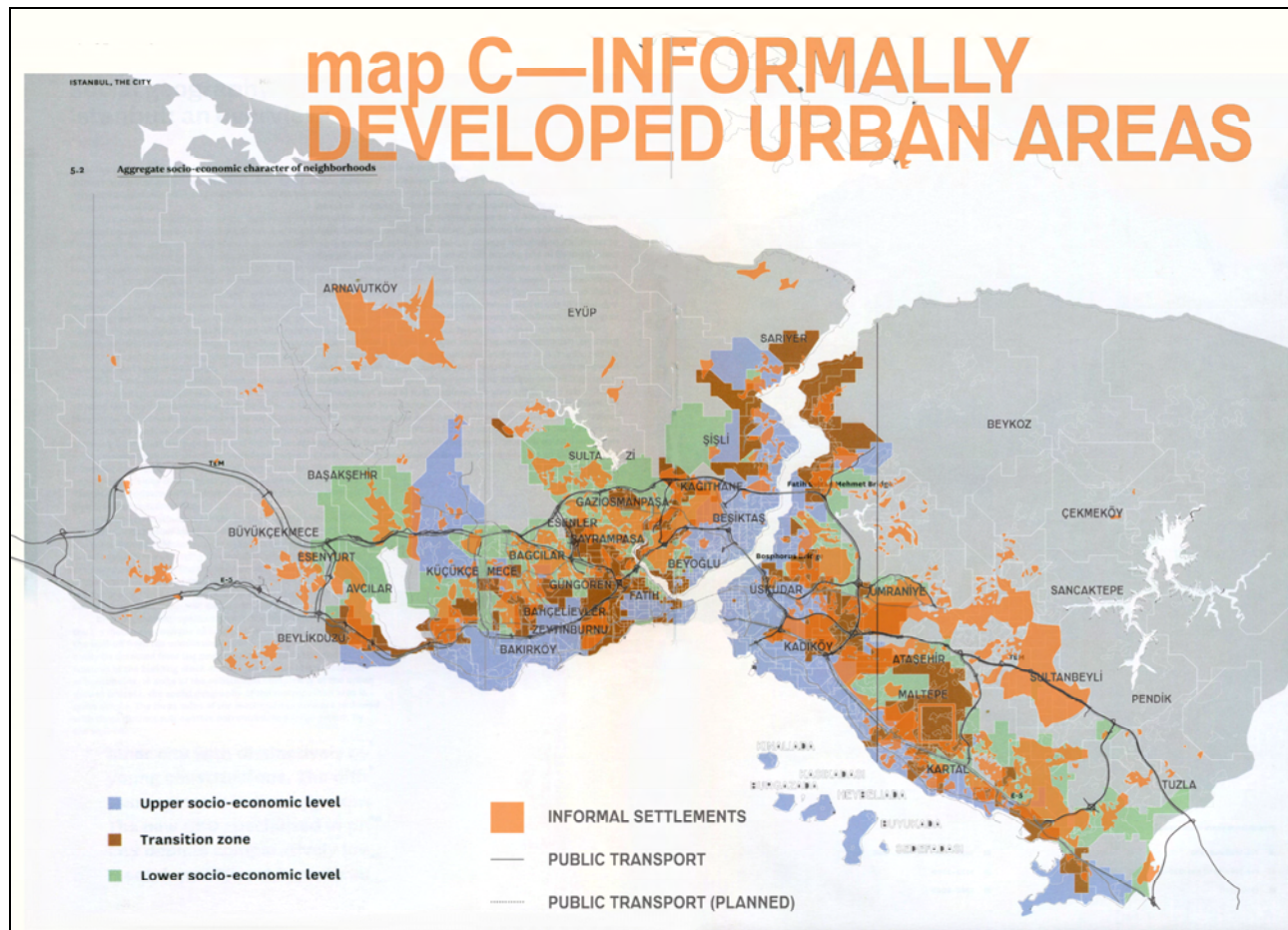


Figure 5.10: Economical Pattern of Informally Developed Areas

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

Yildiz argues that urban renewal processes do not care about the inhabitants' needs. These places are seen as part of an international capital contest (Yildiz, 2009). Baysal reports that living in refined spaces with little access to the outside has eradicated the neighbourly interactions. There are barely any public areas in MHA blocks for them neighbours to gather and meet. (Baysal, 2009)

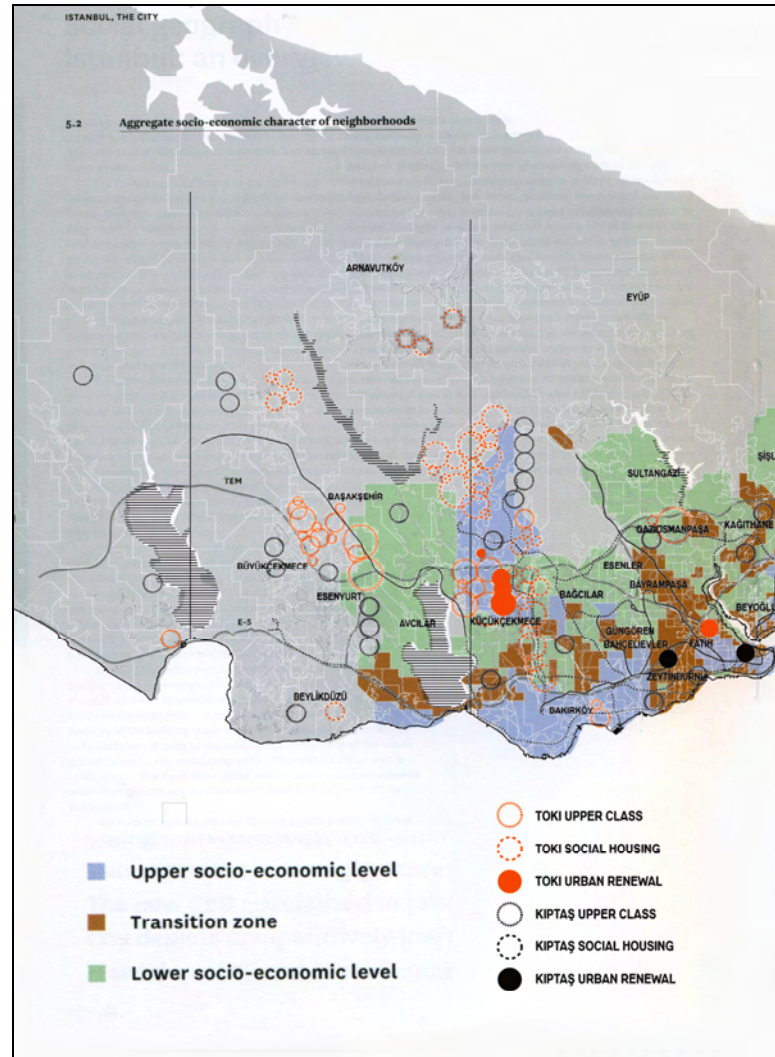


Figure 5.11: Socio-Economical Pattern of MHA Projects-1

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

Places of lower layers contain almost no gated communities, they are however, surrounded with them at their border-lines. This situation is translating into future urban transformations of these surrounded settlements, for them disturbing their luxury surroundings. Figure 5.11 shows that despite few examples there are almost no interventions from MHA to the transition zones of different socio-economic

layers. Upper-class zones have already completed their urbanization and there is no excuse to accumulate these lands from their owners in order to execute a transformation project. Therefore these areas remain almost untouched in terms of MHA actions. The same interesting intersections of lowest and highest levels occur in MHA geography as well, specifically on Northern part of Bakirkoy.

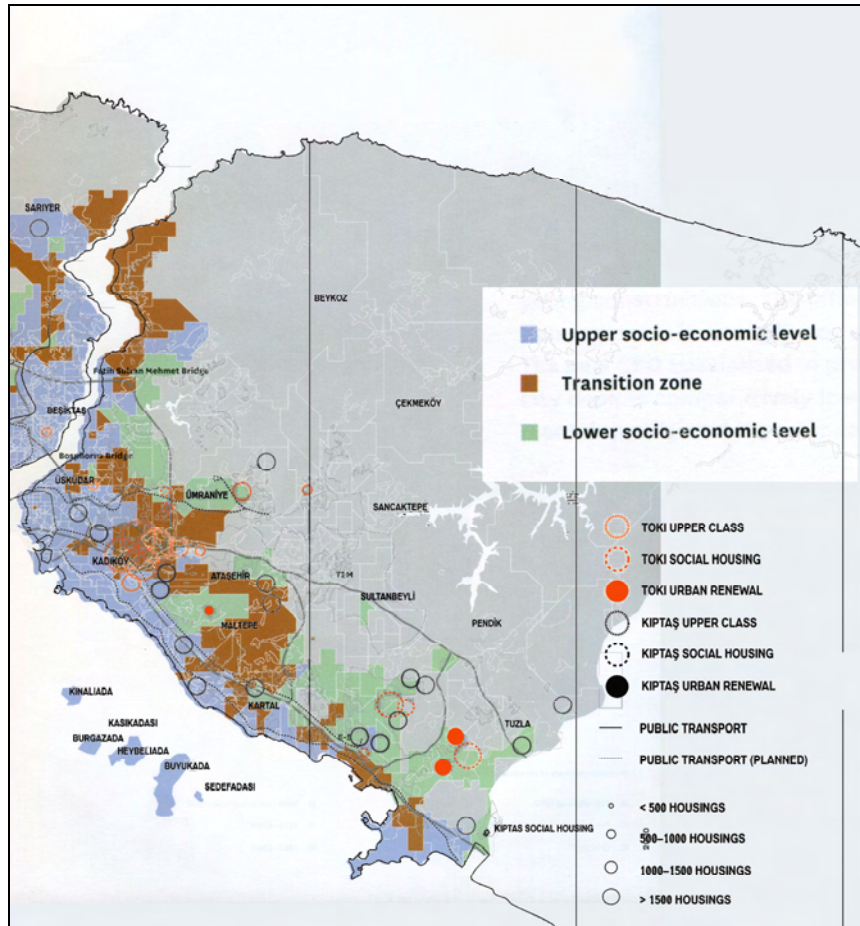


Figure 5.12: Socio-Economical Pattern of MHA Projects-2

(produced by overlapping the map from *Mapping Istanbul* and the map from *Istanbul - Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion*)

According to an interview with Cabannes (2009), a multi-functional city in integration with the neighbourhood level is being segregated with consuming function in shopping malls, residence functions in other parts and the transport in between. The functional segregation in the city²⁹ is expensive.

²⁹ See the employment and land-distribution patterns in previous chapters

6. CONCLUSION

The gated communities, the informal settlements and the MHA blocks are all punctual developments. The main problem that occurs in Istanbul's urban sphere is that everything is growing with a disconnection from each other. Being the sustainer of another is what the urban growth structure lacks. In previous chapters with various superpositions of socio-economic, educational and employment patterns with different housing zones, it is now more clear that all enclavements have a common point in terms of being concave islands.

Better housing and a fairer urban space distribution is everyone's right. But it must be admitted that a city has its own dynamics and these cannot be disrupted at drastical measures.

This study tends to address the most important aspects of segregated places of neoliberalism, the hybrid developments that occur at the intersection points of them, and is suggesting a participation-based, improvement model that would support the heterogeneity of the physical and social structure of the city. The hypothesis of the study, which at the very start claimed that the postmodernity, contemporary housing and urban segregation are the triggerers of each other, has been with previous analyses discussed. The mutual interaction between these mainstreams is now obvious.

To intercept the on-going polarization, certain things can be made. The aforementioned actors of change in urban sphere would only then be prevented from boosting the segregating structure, if the local authority and central authority acts together around participation principle.

In this frame the suggestions for improvements could be as follows:

- Adopting models that are prioritizing the user-participation in squatter transformation projects
- Organizing design competitions for possible urban transformations beforehand, drawing the legal frame of these for community's greater interest

- Making pilot improvements on slum areas to encourage the residents to contribute to the quality of the environment
- Abandoning the legal frames that opened the metropolitan area to neo-liberal investments, adopting a law code with a strong social aspect
- Planning the city as a whole instead of searching spot-solutions for problem areas
- Organizing local activities to improve the integration of residents, contributing to the local identities
- Supporting and protecting the architectural values
- Setting population limitations on reservation areas, opening them to public use instead of privatization
- Defining the housing standards with the local demands of Istanbul citizens taken into consideration
- Supporting research projects on housing problem, developing useful know-hows applicable for Istanbul's dynamics
- Zone planning throughout whole country to prevent regional inequalities, disrupting the migration movements via this by decreasing the social diffusion by discarding the economical imbalances.
- Planning the transportation system for the whole city instead of using punctual solutions.

The main goal in this set of suggestions would be to gather all problems and sources in one pool to direct the right amount of them to the right problem. If the urban sources are distributed equally throughout community, that would prevent social layerization, thus the spatial reflection of this layerization would fade and it would result in less segregation throughout the city.

The suggestions made above to achieve improvements on urban segregation issues of living environments in Istanbul, are addressing the analysis frame of this study. Firstly it is the global financial organizations and its spatial reflections, which occupy the most valuable city centers for their centers. Secondly, the improvements of telematics made distances meaningless. When facilities of same organization are

placed far away from each other but they can still function simultaneously, the urban macro form makes random choices where a punctual development as a business district or as a living enclave will emerge. This randomness has then only one certainty, that the emerging development has to be close to motorway network, so that access to city is always there in case it is needed.

And finally, the consumption habits of the society are becoming a way of expressing their identity. This is also the exact point where the content of the work about postmodernism emphasizes the situation. Housing, occupying the most important and expensive part of the consumer individuals budget, is therefore revealing the facts about the social layerization within city, that is read in previously analyzed residence typologies.

The user participation on transformation projects in informal settlement areas is vital, so that the later phase, where the inhabitants are provided social housing opportunities, can socially and physically succeed. It is in many cases seen that the inhabitants can not adapt themselves on their new living environments when they are relocated from their previous informal settlements to new houses produced by TOKI/MHA.

Secured enclavements display a strong isolation and social distinction among the society. The urban form of these settlements is supporting the island formed growth within city, enforcing the expansion towards peripheries and jeopardising the green zones of the metropolitan area. Their architecture lacks the cultural references.

The solutions, which are developed to improve the quality of a certain area, are not finding their correspondences in other parts of the city. It is therefore very important, that a holistic master plan with a transactional approach must address Istanbul, so that the disconnection between “island formed” developments can be prevented. The consultation with experts such as urban planners and architects remains in current situation lower than it is supposed to be. As it is in the chapter 2 explained, the locality in the language of architecture leaves its place to imported imitations from other cultures, as this culture is being imposed with the mass-communication to the society. The dislinkage between culture and architecture is hard to perceive, since most of the eclectic developments are emerging at city peripheries.

The title of the work gains at this point more clarity. During 20th Century the habitat of Istanbul was neglected at the start. It was occupied by modernist movements right after and finally it has been the subject of postmodern rhetorics. These movements have been both the triggerer and the consequence of eachother at the same time. Postmodernism have been erupte close link between culture and locality. It is imposing its own hyper-realities. Postmodernism and its architecture remain far away from expressing a whole. Istanbul, therefore, is a patchwork of vast diversities in its social and spatial organizations. The foundation of this urban form finds its tools for legitimation in postmodernism. The contemporary housing in postmodern Istanbul is isolated from the local cultural background and reality. It is the spatial reflection of a postmodern reality, imposed by mass-media.

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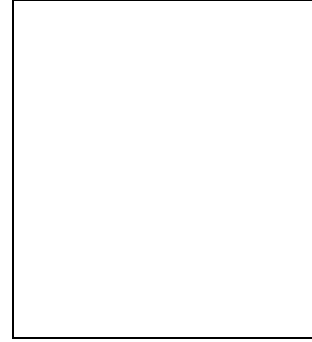
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